



CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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1984

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.

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

ANTI-SEMITISM ∇

EARLY ANTI-SEMITISM: THE VOICE OF THE MEDIA

Part 1

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1984

ISSN 0576-5528



Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec



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

From 1981 to 1982

NEW SERIES

Volume 1, Number 1

For information, contact the National

Archives at the University of Toronto

(416) 978-1000

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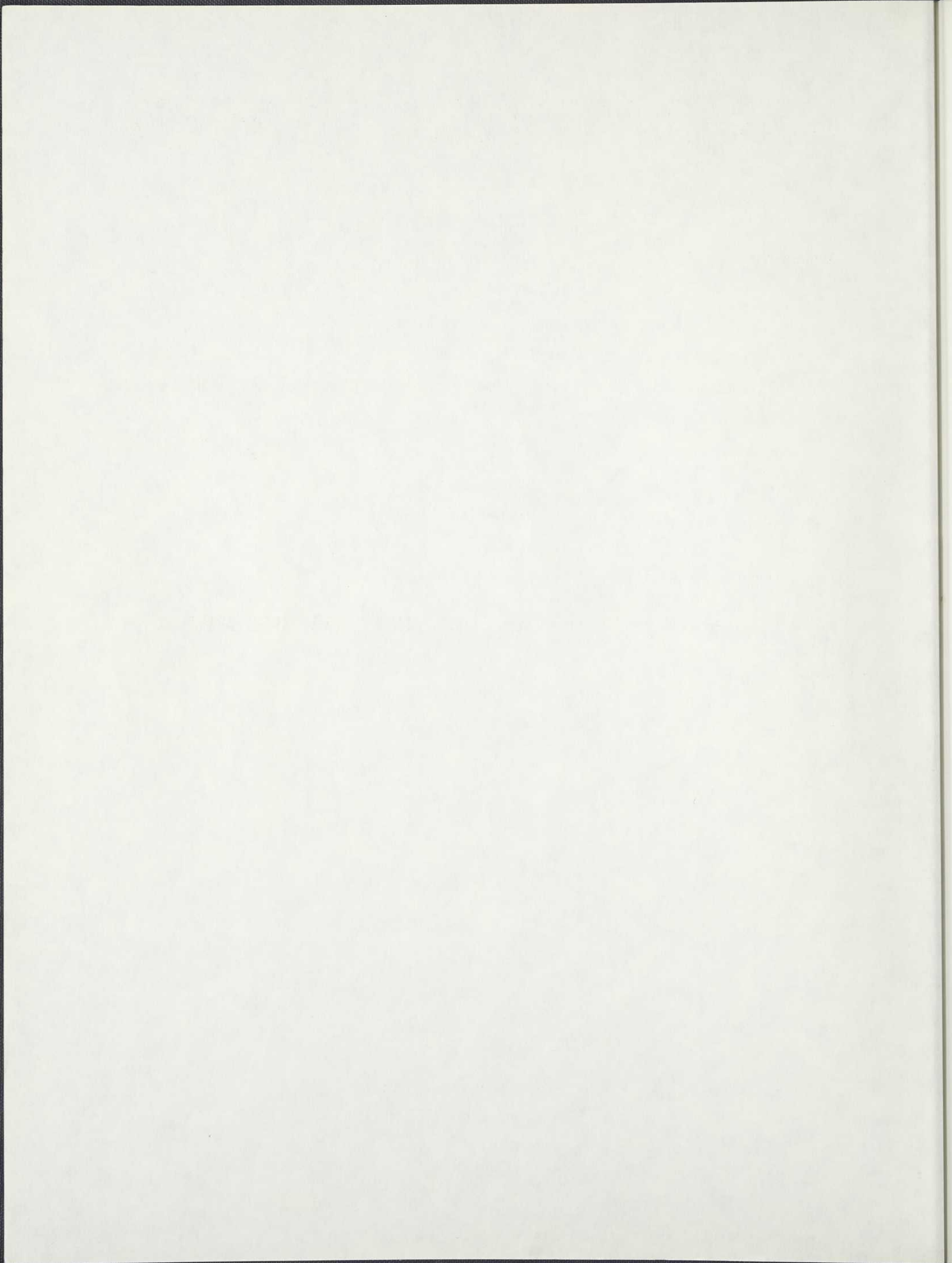
NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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1981

1981-1982

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Nous nous souvenons

NEW SERIES
Number thirty-three

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QUEBEC: HERE AND THEN

In their summary of Quebec Catholicism of the period Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon (Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Le XXe siècle. Quebec, Boréal Express, 1984) note that the Catholic church occupies a preponderant position. It is where all features of Quebec society are focussed. There it arranges its social organization; its vision of the world constitutes the dominant element of the symbolic universe...It is ultramontane in its ecclesiology which absorbs all society, leaving scarcely any secular areas outside the bounds of its concern; it is ultramontane in its trust in the power of its church institutions, in its worship of the cult of the papacy which tolerates no reservations or criticisms,...in its network of a press cast in the French mould and inspired by L'Univers...

"The church is where Quebec society creates the image of itself: a society which is Catholic, French and rural...The border which separates the Us from the Others is a religious boundary, not political, linguistic or simply ethnic.

"The Other is the Protestant ethic which bears the marks of capitalism or of Americanism or neutralism.

"The enemy is the Jew, it is the freemason, the traitor, the apostate." (vol. 1, 1898-1940, Pp. 41-48)

End-of-the-century Quebec's church was the dominant institution of French Canada which knew only one religion.

This highly structured church was governed by an integrated system which harmonized, and responded to, the vast variety of social, spiritual and intellectual elements; responses came from Rome through sophisticated channels of manpower and communications never better integrated, more articulate or more widely diffused.

Early in its long career La Semaine religieuse de Québec again recalled the authority of the Syllabus of 1864 which affirmed that Christianity finds it "repugnant to believe that man and societies are perfectly free to profess any religion they please or none; such views ignore the dignity of the church, its powers and rights and would make of it a vassal of civil society." (Jan. 24, 1891)

The liberal weekly Les Débats was seen by Mgr. Bruchési as ridiculing the Syllabus, as insulting priests and spreading doctrines close to the heretical and was therefore condemned. It ceased publication in October 1903.

La Semaine saw the new Alliance israélite universelle in Paris, with its own messianic vision of society based on the libertarian traditions of France, as the danger to Catholic aspirations.

"The means they are employing to prepare the messianic age are to force the nations to abdicate all patriotism and to be indifferent to all religion. They know that peoples without religion or priests are rife for slavery.

"What is their basic idea? The distinctions between men must be abolished. Equality is the supreme law. All men are equal, and consequently we need not speak of nationality or religion, nor prefer a compatriot or a coreligionist, for all are only members of the same human family. These are the ideas which the Revolution has planted everywhere, the ideas which freemasonry preaches tirelessly.

"The fulfillment of these ideas which Judaism pursues should bring about a unique universal republic which shall be governed without fail by the Jewish people.

"The Jew works equally to extinguish religious feeling. Whenever they come to court we sense the whisper of persecution, of secularization in all its forms. Jews always inspire measures and laws in favor of laicization." (Feb. 26, 1892, Pp. 422-23; March 12, 1892, Pp. 453-55)

Significantly La Semaine reports a debate between Adolphe Crémieux, one of the inspirers of the Alliance, and the anti-semitic French writer Des Mousseaux who was so influential in Quebec. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27)

It describes the aspirations of an unnamed "Grand Rabbi,"

"When we shall become the sole owners of all the gold in the world, true power will pass into our hands; then the promises made to Abraham will be fulfilled.

"Eighteen centuries belonged to our enemies, but the present and coming centuries should belong to us, the sons of Israel, and surely will...

"We ought to work with all perseverance to lessen the influence of the Christian church, one of our most dangerous enemies. We ought to plant as much as we can in the minds of those professing the Christian religion the ideas of free thought, of scepticism and schism, and provoke religious debate among them. Logically we must begin by discrediting the ministers of this religion...

"The idea of progress leads to the equality of all religions which, in turn, leads to the suppression of Christian religious instruction from educational programs. By their skill and learning Jews

will easily obtain teaching posts and professorial chairs in Christian schools. Hence religious instruction will be relegated to the family. But since in most families there is no time for such teaching, the religious spirit will lessen and will slowly disappear in its entirety.

"If gold is the first power in the world, the second power doubtless is the press, our people must direct all daily newspapers in all countries...

"We must control the workers as much as possible, make them submit to those who control money. Thus we can arouse them at our wish. We can direct them to uprisings, revolutions. Each of these catastrophes advances our private interests..." (Jan. 14, 1899, Pp. 325-26)

MYTHS IN THE IMAGE OF THE JEW

The very complex history of anti-Semitism as it developed in Canada since the middle of the nineteenth century can be usefully comprehended by remembering that it was expressed in a series of cultural languages which reflected the concerns and the power structures of history. The content of the statements made over the 100 years is remarkably consistent: hostility towards the Jews and an intent to injure them by means of the weapons of the time. The language may differ but the identity of the thread is strong.

An example of the recourse to this weaponry in Canada, even before this time frame -- and possibly not even motivated by the general intention of injuring the Jews, and therefore possibly not a legitimate link in the Canadian anti-Semitic continuity -- was the Ezekiel Hart case. At the period the operative language of conflict was the constitutional, and therefore it was fought in the legal terms of the status of the Jew in the political life of the British Empire.

By the middle of the nineteenth century Canada saw the introduction of the more ancient and fundamental question of the place of the Jew in Christian society; the question as raised particularly by Catholics and increasingly by their church with important recourse to partners who were Protestants and/or atheistic "scientists" who for their own reasons shared in the dream of reversal to the world half a millenium back.

In their review of the social condition these thinkers concluded that western humanity had erred when it accepted certain precise positions -- the church counted and listed 80 of them -- and had based its direction on them during the French Revolution and since; among them the tolerance and liberation of the Jews. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 31)

Hence the language of the attack on Jews between the Syllabus of Errors and the demotion of the Archbishop of Montreal was theological, directed at the principles of freedom of conscience and of the equality of religions, at the promoters of modernism and of consumerism; rarely at the Jewish person or at his community which were, in any case, few and not strongly visible in pre-1880 Canada.

By this year 1880 the mankind that was centred on Europe enters into a new phase. With the appearance of the Jew fleeing from Eastern Europe, with the French Revolution, the spreading of racist theories, the growing dissemination of the media, etc., the war against the Jew ceases to be authoritarian and élitist; it becomes democratized and populist.

Still impelled by the Catholic version of history, Catholic journalist Louis Veuillot comes to be supported by his dubious fellow anti-Semite, the demagogue Edouard Drumont in France as they address themselves to the masses on themes based on non-objective perceptions which contain tremendous dynamic and even explosive force, many of them mythical in the manifold senses of the term myth.

In this meta-history we are distant from the ethical element which we expect to find in religion. Yet these non-objective perceptions feed upon many narrative elements in religion: Old Testament, the Gospels, the Wandering Jew, satanism, the mystery-laden survivor, God's scourge, usury, the condemned nation whom to injure is to fulfill God's intention; the themes of theology and of secret plots; the image of journalists and editors whose hands are on the controls of the international press; the Cabbalists of whom nothing is known but the term, and who work to translate trash into gold.

In this construct the people are the passive objects of ecclesial policy -- in turn punitive or charitable.

Other myths join the mystery fictioned by the works of Disraeli and his equally mysterious biography; the despoilers of the Host, the consumers of Christian blood, the characters in Shakespeare and in Dickens.

They are joined by archetypal figures who are alive in world literature such as the survenants of Quebec who parallel the Palestinian Meshulach in An-sky's Dybuk, in Boraisho's Der Geyer in Yiddish literature and the Homeric heroes of Lamdan's Hebrew Massadah; the rabbis who gather to to control Kipling's underground rivers of gold -- revelations compounding only deeper darkness, confusion and helplessness.

As we examine the growing flood of Jew-hatred in Quebec towards the end of the nineteenth century, the non-objective foundation of the antipathy becomes startling, especially in the first decades of racism when there were but a few, barely visible Jews in Canada -- a representative Quebec instance of the pattern which is portrayed in the Swiss dramatic classic tragedy "Andorra": violent anti-Semitism even in the absence of Jews.

All these many elements are marked by one factor: total ignorance of the concrete reality of the Jewish man and woman, their significant history, their languages, their religion, their customs, their sociology, their group structures, their aspirations. The vast totality of universal learning in the possession of Christendom, the sophistication of Quebec political lore, the family traditions already centuries old on the St. Lawrence, the moderations of schooling, developed music, art, folklore and social refinements did not include the simplest knowledge of the Jew, for a variety of effective reasons.

To concretise the mythical foundations of these conceptions we need only turn the pages of the Quebec calendar to mid-twentieth century, or a decade or two earlier, when economics and sociology began to replace theology and folklore as the factual basis for the people's self-analysis and for its intentions and plans. Chanoine Groulx may have been among the precursors of this realism; the Quiet Revolution was its first sweeping manifestation, and the independentist movement with its interest in the welfare condition of the geography and its population in various scenarios were notable dates in its maturation.

Yet even at this time of more widely generalised knowledge, the mysterious anti-Jewish myth is only joined by a malevolent observation, and is uttered in a new language of hatred.

As we approach Quebec in this survey of the years since the 1880's we find the anti-Jewish movement groping in its effort to establish a consistent frame of perception.

If this credulous acceptance of myth and hatred of the Jews had existed only before the 1860's, this would be half explicable: those who might thus have been chosen as targets of hatred were then largely absent and even less visible in Canada. But by the century's end Jews had begun to come to the Dominion. It had become possible to control imaginative perception against reality. They were there to be seen; they were articulate, learned; some spoke French; there was a literature about them.

Yet the critical perceptions purged by reality did not come about. When the anti-Semites even a score of years later turned their eyes upon the immigrants, it was with a venom that fed the ignorance -- for half a century.

This ignorance emerged to tragi-comic effect when the scholarship of Quebec's academic learning was put on the courtroom stand in the Ortenberg-Plamondon case. (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26 and 27)

In this confusion and uncontrolled flight of the imagination, of ill-understood, primitive fancy and of fear it was not unnatural for the satanic conception of the Jew to become compounded with active forces of evil and of perceived evil, images of plots, conspiracies, diabolism, witchcraft, black masses, freemasonry, respectable citizens drawing blood from Christian children whom they had murdered, and heaven only knows what elements the people were taught to suspect, to hate and to fear. This ignorance was strengthened by the policy and social law which forbade association with "neutral" non-Catholic persons.

This Canadian experience is a strange episode in the annals of anthropology and its whirlpool of myths and malevolence. Its precise interest for historians of Jewry is what became associated in the minds of the more superstitious and illogical with the Jewish fact.

Possibly because of this unreal imaginary foundation for the perception of the Jew, far from day-by-day observation and experience, the hostility did not readily translate into personal concrete action.

It may be that this mythic irrationalism made it possible for one historian to write that,

"Aside from Arcand and his Parti national social chrétien, anti-Semitism in the 1930's was virulent but not violent.

"Finally it is well to debunk the myths which would describe anti-Semitism in Canada as a monopoly of French Canadian nationalism and would thus imply the anti-democratic nature of Canadian society." (L.R. Betcherman. The Swastika and the Maple Leaf. Toronto, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1975; and Le Développement des idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours. Montreal, Québec-Amérique, 1977. Pp. 280-83)

Quebec society was honestly puzzled by Jewish survival under such unfriendly conditions and by the measure of success attained by some (as it seemed to them, by all) the Jewish immigrants. They sought keys to the mystery in various Jewish conspiracies localized in the Jewish Laurier and the Disraeli political clubs, in the Hebrew Free Loan Association, in the Baron de Hirsch Institute, in the vast resources placed at the disposition of the poorest newcomer, in secret organizations.

History records the implantation of this myth in Canada since the middle of the nineteenth century. It records -- insofar as the word is printed and insofar as the teaching authorities have put it in writing -- the transmission and the legitimization of the myth as effective, religious dogma, its imbedding in the nation's literature, patriotism, socialized economics and nationalism.

The wonder is not that it spread. The miracle is that nearly a century later the people, beginning with a younger war-chastened generation, virtually expunged it from the province.

In the meantime we follow this inconcrete world which saw the birth in Canadian francophony of the literary conventional image of the Jew as traced by Victor Téoul in his Mythe et images du Juif au Québec. (Montreal, Editions De la Grave, 1977. 237 p.) It emerges in the press such as in La Libre parole and in such fiction as "Comment César payait ses dettes; le caractère d'un Juif" (La Croix, March 3, 1906) which portrays a Jewish debt collector calling on a pro-consul in the field to secure payment of a debt owed to a Roman financier.

If we are to select virtually at random a Quebec sample of this myth image of the Jew as frequently set forth in the press of the age we can find it easily in La Croix, "Le Juif à travers les siècles".

Merely to look at the name of this periodical, one of several periodicals which appeared in Quebec at this time, is to remember that it does not derive directly from old Jewish history but is an importation from Paris where this symbol of the Christian faith was sullied with blind Jew-hatred by Catholic editors who gave their vicious periodical that name. Quebec publishers imported from across the Atlantic not only the title but much of its anti-Semitic contents which resounded with Catholic authority for many years from being frequently quoted and reprinted.

Across half the front page of the issue of May 5, 1906 of this Montreal weekly G. Roy recalls "the crucifixion and the God-killing people wandering the world over, carrying shame and curse; the people turning away in horror. For seventeen centuries civil society rejected the Jew from its midst. Once the privileged people, now the Jew bowed his forehead before insult, bent under the hand that oppressed him, not even groaning; for he felt the divine curse on his head.

"Recently many Jews were massacred in Russia. Why all this blood? We do not know; it may never be known, for where there is a Jew there is mystery. They are accused of fomenting revolutions and the czar's empire is a witness. It is probable, even likely; for we find them in all revolutions, as in all treacheries.

"These Russian massacres are without doubt to be condemned; for bloody reprisals all too often strike the innocent as they hit the guilty. But as we study the history of the Semitic people since the Christian era we find nothing surprising here, for their passage through the various countries unfortunate enough to have sheltered them has always left bloody tracks.

"The legend of the Jew wandering over land and sea in spite of his nineteen hundred years is the living personification of the Jewish people. In the Middle Ages he was not even considered human; when he deserved death he was to be hanged between two dogs...Luther proposed that Europe rid itself of the unbearable plague by sending them back to Jerusalem...

"Judea itself was struck by the curse; read the descriptions by the pilgrims who return from the Holy Land. Once abundance and fertility reigned there; now it is a sterile and deserted land of denuded mountains and silent deserts...The Hebrew people, once renowned as the most intellectual and most religious in the world, became a quasi-savage tribe scarcely differentiated from the desert Bedouins. And what has happened to Jerusalem, the pride of the East?

"The Jew continues to search for his Messiah; his god is the golden calf and his enemy the 'Goy' or the Christian. Each day he reads his Talmud where he meditates...'The Christian race is a

race of cattle.' It flatters the pride of the Jews and permits him all possible license against the Christians -- theft, murder, perjury."

All in all the distrust and even the ostracism of the Jew, later painted as anti-Christian and anti-social communist, was often accompanied by a jealousy and even a suppressed admiration of this people which was perceived to have learned to survive and to prosper by the instrumentality of solidarity.

A.-D. DECELLES

Readers of these historic documents are familiar with the name of Alfred D. Decelles, Ottawa librarian and author, historian of '37 (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 29) and contemporary of Canada's premier anti-Semite Goldwin Smith (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32). He seems to have fed on the same "information" about Jews which was widespread at the time, although it is difficult to pin the label of anti-Semite on him.

This is evident from his article on "La Question juive" in L'Opinion publique of December 1, 1881 in which he dwelt on the phenomenon of Jewish survival, of their consistent success, of their admirable family and personal qualities even as they exploited nation after nation (vide the Rothschilds), buying up real estate, speculating on the misery of peoples, usurious, never working the land, never in industry, seldom in the professions.

"In the Middle ages, Jews became rich at the expense of the negligent and of the improvident, as they do even now; and from time to time the debtors arose against their creditors and pleaded with their governments to drive them out. It was an expeditious and a certain means of getting rid of creditors, as embarrassing a brood as ever was.

"Our age, so fertile in expedients, has not found a better one. How compare bankruptcy to the mass expulsion of an entire class of usurers!

"There are still uprisings against the Jews. Thousands in Russia and in Germany plead with their governments to drive them out. In France financial institutions were established to fight Jewish capital. The Union générale, whose unprecedented success was recently reported, has as its primary objective the substitution of the influence of Catholic capital for the influence of Jewish capital." (The Union générale collapsed in 1881.--DR)

"It is a religious war, with millions at stake. A host of Jewish financial institutions have already suffered enormous losses; the Union générale is the Samson who is overwhelming these victors of the Philistines.

"It is rather late to launch this new crusade, for Jewish influence based on the wealth of Israel is immense. Jews direct a large part of the European press, in Austria as in Russia, in Germany as in France. Certainly Jews are among the backers of an array of important newspapers. The financiers of these dispersed tribes are among the most solid in the world; they are bankers to

governments, and it may be said that the most celebrated among them is the King of the Jews and the Jew of Kings. They invade everywhere, and we find them in the salons of the great.

"Having lent millions to kings, they grant them hospitality. Their alliances with great families are such that one man of wit has prophesied that soon the descendants of the crusaders will be sons of Abraham. The late Baron James de Rothschild lived in one of the great residences of France, the Abbey de Vaux de Cerny where, it is said, Blanche de Castille went on a pilgrimage; ancient ruins restored with marvellous artistry to receive this prince of finance.

"In spite of their success there remains much prejudice against them. They inspire an aversion which their money does not always counterbalance. Have we not seen in this great America, which is so proud of being open and welcoming, the hotels of Saratoga shut their doors to Jews and a company refuse to insure their properties? The Americans have proven as exclusive as the English and the French, which proves that prejudice insinuates everywhere and that it is often stronger than institutions.

"Jewish traits are universally recognizable, as are their customs which distinguish them from all others. When they settle in a region of Russia, Germany or Poland, all properties there are mortgaged within several years. In the cities they scatter in sordid stalls, speculating on the miseries of the people, hoarding their usurious profits from loans on weekly payments.

"After a few years a well established man, covered with diamonds, walks out of the stall. The Jew has become rich; now plated with gold, the Hebrew changes his name from Jew to Israelite; the repulsive caterpillar has become a butterfly. That has been everyday history for many centuries...

"In spite of their faults, the Jews have many qualities which the Christians who despise them may well borrow from them. They amass wealth, but they do not waste it; their economy is proverbial. When one of theirs is in need, they hasten to put him back on his feet, which many Christians avoid doing for their own. They have a sense of family and of tribe, and we seldom see a Jew marry outside the faith.

"It is the nation that has survived throughout the ages. Where are the Romans, or their conquerors? Where are the Greeks or their contemporaries? They have all melted into humanity, and left no trace. The Jew has remained unaltered for two thousand years, with his own physiognomy and character. Other eastern peoples of Semitic origins persist, but they have remained immobilized by place and sheltered from all the corrosive influences of the civilization of Europe where the Jews have been scattered.

"This remarkable fact of the conservation of a race in the midst of nations which have undergone a thousand transformations even in the face of this immutability -- is this phenomenon a simple result which we can rank with other ordinary facts, or is it the consequence of an extraordinary cause?

"History teaches us that the Jewish people is the author of a great crime and has accepted responsibility for it even unto its descendants.

"Is it not continuing to traverse the ages as a living and as a constantly renewed witness of the death of the Saint, bearing across these ages the expiation of this sentence which it assumed itself upon itself, 'May his blood be upon us and upon our children'?"

COMPARE IT WITH THE GAZETTE

It is useful to compare Decelles' analysis with the anglo-phone record.

In 1882 when a series of pogroms in Russia shocked the freer world, the Lord Mayor of London set up the Mansion House Fund to assist the victims. Sir Alexander Galt, Canadian High Commissioner in Great Britain, accepted a position on the committee after consultation with Jewish friends, and consequently took energetic action to promote settlement of Russian Jews in Canada; not without the support of Sir John A. Macdonald, a semi-humorous expression from Macdonald to the contrary notwithstanding. (Congress Bulletin, July 1946; Sack, History of the Jews in Canada, 1945. Pp. 261-63)

Montreal anglophone opinion was expressed by the Gazette in February 1882,

"The persecutions to which the Jews were subjected in Russia during the past year, as appears from recent apparently well-founded communications in the Times, were of a character even more barbarous than the reports received from time to time had led us to believe.

"It would seem that the first prompting of the cruel and organized attack on an unoffending people came from Germany, the outcry against the Semites there being re-echoed in Russia under circumstances and with accompaniments quite in accord with its inferior civilization and the familiarity of the people with fanatic hatred and deeds of violence.

"The worst phase of the persecution was the indifference and, in some cases, even the assent of the authorities to the wild outrages of the mobs. It was in Elizabethgrad that the first symptoms of anti-Semitic sentiment were exhibited. The public mind had just been inflamed and worked up to a pitch of violent fervour which prepared it for any deed of crime by the recent murder of the Czar, and it only needed the impulse of the anti-Jewish emissaries who had their instructions, perhaps from Germany, to fan it into a conflagration of savage fanaticism. These agents, it is said, belonged to some of the Pan-Slavic societies of Moscow and they chose the time between the Czar's death and the Easter festival, a season when Russian religious zeal is generally at the height, to begin their propaganda.

"In the city above mentioned the Jews constituted about a third of the population and their numbers and the influence of the

wealthier ones had already excited the ill will of the lower classes of Christians. Foreseeing by unmistakable signs the storm which was approaching, some of their representative men applied to the authorities for protection, but the latter rejected their application with contempt.

"Their fears soon proved to be well founded. From the 27th to the 29th of April, their part of the city presented the combined features of siege and a battle. Some of them were killed, others badly wounded, and what was worse than all, their wives and daughters fell victims to the brute violence of the mob. Some Jewesses threw themselves from the windows to escape what they dreaded more than death. It was not until, the Jewish houses being set on fire, their own property was involved in the danger, that the authorities made any attempt to restrain the savage passions of the excited multitude.

"At Kieff, at Smiello, all through the province of Chernigoff, and in many other districts of Russia, similar scenes occurred, with a like display of apathy or of sympathy on the part of the authorities. In most cases, when the police and soldiers finally received orders to interfere, they made a point of arresting more Jews than real offenders and, in some cases, the former were punished by the law for defending their lives and trying to save their households from the most terrible fate. In some instances, also, even helpless children became a prey to the brutality of the assailants.

"What the Times' correspondent has recorded is, of course, only a part of the melancholy scenes that were enacted throughout the Russian empire from spring till the close of the year. If the whole story were published, it would be a tale of horror to which history contains few parallels and which are a disgrace to the name of Christianity and modern civilization. The total loss of property suffered by Jews is estimated at £16,000,000. Over 100,000 have been rendered homeless; 225 women were ascertained to have been outraged, and the number of the killed and severely injured has not yet been reckoned up, but it must have reached the figure of several hundreds. The investigation ordered into the matter by the Russian Government proved to be simply a continuance of the persecution under another form.

"When such is the treatment they receive, we certainly cannot wonder that the Jews are glad to seek an asylum on this western continent, and it is the duty of the authorities of the Dominion to make proper provision for the hospitable reception of such of them as may land on our shores. The people of their own race and faith, of whom many living amongst us occupy position of respectability and influence, will, of course, do all that is in their power for the succor of their unfortunate brethren. But it is no less incumbent on Christians of all denominations to give a helping hand, which shall atone to some extent at least, for the brutal usage

inflicted by those who profess to serve the same 'master'." (Feb. 1, 1882)

The Gazette editorial, so sympathetic and hospitable towards the Jewish victims of czarism, was an expression of anglophone opinion in Montreal during the very weeks of the commencement of the migration of Eastern European Jewry into Canada. Indeed, it preceded the arrival of the first groups by several fortnights.

In his study of "Immigration and Charity in the Montreal Jewish Community before 1890" Gerald Tulchinsky traced the initiative of those Montreal Christian friends of the suffering Jews. (Social History, vol. 16, no. 32, Nov. 1983. Pp. 359-80).

A public meeting was convened by the Christians who sympathized with the suffering Jewish migrants on March 15, 1882 at the YMCA to deal actively with the problem of providing relief for those who were on the way to Montreal; a committee, of which J. Redpath Dougall of the Witness was named secretary, consulted with Jewish representatives in extending aid to the sufferers.

In the meantime the advance guard of a large and to a great extent destitute Jewish emigration arrived in Montreal. "The people of Montreal who seemed, two months ago, ready to do their share in relieving the distress of this outraged people, have now the need for such relief brought in the most practical manner to their own doors," wrote the Gazette.

The Jewish Relief Committee which was organized by these Christian citizens raised substantial funds, and continued its efforts for many weeks.

At the same time the Jewish Emigration Society, now become the Montreal branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association, also received contributions from Christian citizens as well as from members of the Jewish community. As we read the press about these campaigns it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the reports of the Christian committee and the Jewish committee, both recipients of equal generosity from Christian as from Jewish sympathizers.

Significantly in terms of integration of the Jewish citizenry into Montreal society, the Gazette continued to report these activities as an accepted element in the local scene, deserving news and editorial treatment equal to its other community events. (May 23, 27, 30 and 31; June 1, 3, 9, 1882) It need scarcely be said, there was barely a francophone parallel in the Montreal press.

Even twenty years later Henri Bourassa, the tribune of French Canada, in his anti-Jewish phase poured out on the floor of the House of Commons the more primitive brutal myth of the guilty Russian Jew, oblivious to the more factual Times of London and the Montreal Gazette of 1882.

A HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

Denis Monière later situated this anti-Semitic scarecrow in his outline of the historic perspectives of the long-lasting conflicts which had been set in motion in the mid-nineteenth century.

In his chapter on "Anti-Semitism, Anti-Communism and Fascism" in La Pensée économique, 1925-45, taking the early twentieth century as his starting point, he wrote,

"Backed by Vatican Council (1870) which proclaimed the infallibility of the pope, the ultramontane movement was crystallized by the Riel Case."

He described the condition of the church as it sought "to preserve its privileged position and to establish a new base for negotiating with the political parties; it descended into the political arena. It acted as a political party without a structure. It sought to control the electorate and through them to lead the French Canadian politicians on the provincial and federal levels, to defend its interests and its conception of society. It sought to influence public opinion and to use the press to spread its ideology. Journalism was to be an instrument of the apostolate and of preaching. Towards this end a number of periodicals were established: Mélanges religieux, Le Nouveau Monde, Le Journal des Trois-Rivières and La Vérité."

"Ultramontanism is an ideology of fear, developed in this sense, and of foreign experiences and apprehension that these might be reproduced, and not as a function of the concrete situation. Essentially it is an inspired ideology. So Canadian liberals were evaluated in the light of the school question in France (such as compulsory education) and the liberals in Italy. The effect of this procedure or of this scarecrow tactic which exaggerates the importance and the power of the enemy by referring to foreign experience -- in addition to diverting attention from real problems -- is to reinforce the monolithism of the dominant ideology and its capacity to mobilize. As a result, public attention is drawn away from reform projects. By displacing the debate in this manner, the concrete questioning of the dominant ideology is avoided, and its confrontation with its reality is prevented."

"The Bolshevik revolution, the rise of Fascism and of Naziism and the Spanish civil war aroused doctrinal debates and crystallized political ideologies, usually of the right. These new realities were incorporated into a traditional ideology which set up three scarecrows for the people: the Jew, the freemason and the Bolshevik, allegedly united in a vast conspiracy to destroy the temporal foundations of the church. Clerical imagery presented them

as the fomenters of revolutions and as the sons of Satan, and thus to create a psychological fear of any projected change.

"Contrary to some thinkers, this French-Canadian xenophobia was not a cultural atavism nor an integral part of our mentality: it was absent from the attitudes of the patriots towards the Jews or the Irish before 1840.

"This ideological reflex needs to be placed in the socio-economic context of the time and understood as a perverse influence of colonialism. Anti-Semitism developed in French Canada as a reaction to the power structure and to the class structure where the French Canadian is dominated. They feel threatened in their very survival, and they seek to affirm themselves not by attacking the real causes of the situations but by striking at other collectivities which are weaker than they are. They abhor others to compensate for their sense of inferiority.

"This reaction is confirmed by deeply felt material interests. The Jews threaten the economic position of the urban petite bourgeoisie, for their instruments of social advancement are the same as the French Canadians! In the same perspective anti-Semitism is a weapon used by the petite bourgeoisie in its economic struggle...

"In the face of the structural transformation of its economy which came upon it from outside, French Canada had to face forced changes. Its traditional social village structure did not protect it any longer. It was confused in the urban world, and the factory was strange to it. It was no longer at home, and the fear of the city soon became xenophobia.

"On the scale of the nation's adversaries Jews came second only after the monopolies. They were blamed for seizing a growing number of places in the liberal professions and for threatening the retail trade by disloyal practices such as working on Sundays, of threatening the Catholic religion and of being anti-nationalist.

"The Jew became the scapegoat, responsible for all our misfortunes. Anti-Semitism provided an artificial coherence to the dominant ideology which is again outside the rhythm of the objective condition...

"They were held responsible for the First World War and for the Second, for the Russian revolution, for modernism, for materialism, for communism and for the emigration of French Canadians." (Le Développement des idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours. Pp. 212-225)

Monière quoted Dostaler O'Leary, leader of the separatist Jeune-Canada movement, who formulated the relations between anti-Semitism and anti-communism when he defined communism as "Monster

with an Asiatic face distilled by a rickety unclean Jew out of the theories of 1789." (D. O'Leary. Séparatisme doctrine constructive. Montréal, Les Editions des jeunesses patriotiques, 1927. P. 210)

Some of the concrete cases which developed from these important political-religious tendencies in Quebec political and social thinking may not have had a direct bearing on Jewish history in Quebec, but served to establish the general ground rules of the thinking of this Quebec society and its conduct, and as such need to be remarked for an understanding of day-by-day events in the Jewish history on this territory.

But the ramifications and the intensity of the alleged masonic issue in Quebec, which reached and was believed and accepted even in the highest spheres of the hierarchy and of Catholic education, and its impact upon the development of Canadian Jewry are hard to believe now, a century later. Robert Rumilly, no revolutionary or liberal, relates them to the broadest Catholic policies of the universal church.

What is as remarkable as the evil story thus placed in the group memory, not to say the heritage, of Canada is the remarkable success of a single later generation, the generation of the 1950's to date it grossly, in ultimately disavowing and in erasing it from consideration and memory; a feat of societal cleansing that should be honoured by all who treasure the achievements of the Canadian people.

This cleansing generation faced such an impressive record of more than half a century of unabated frightening anti-Jewish propaganda from scribes and from archbishops that their moral and political success on this front, as on probably a score of other fronts, provides the student of the period with remarkable evidence of the nature of their Quebec revolution.

Early in the 1970's Archbishop Paul Grégoire of Montreal initiated a Catholic-Jewish Dialogue which has a distinguished record of militancy in the cause of profound understanding in inter-denominational relations. Jesuit priest Stéphane Valiquette was named the Catholic chairman and Rabbi Alan Langner his first Jewish co-chairman.

During the Yom Kippur War it became known that Israeli prisoners in the hands of the Syrians were being maltreated. Israel appealed to the world for intervention to secure for them the protection of international law. In spite of Syrian denials the Dialogue committee issued a public statement supporting the Israeli representations.

A decade later came another symbolic moment in the career of the Jesuit priest when he again demonstrated the measure of the change.

The spring of 1983 saw an intensive campaign against Jewry in the language of the period; not Judeo-freemasonry, not ritual murder accusations, not God-killing, not achat chez-nous, not Jews as communists, nor as Elders of Zion. Now it was the Jewish state of Israel as the invader of Arab lands and as oppressors of the Palestine Liberation Organization that was the objective of anti-Semitic attack. About this anti-Jewish standard there were mobilized all the enemies of the Jewish people into a single coordinated drive.

But, unlike the times a century earlier, another voice spoke out: Jesuit Father Stéphane Valiquette who had for decades been opposing the rooted anti-Semitism in the country in whatever forms it took. In his own words,

"In May 1983 I was invited at the last moment to take part in a public demonstration against Yvon Charbonneau and the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec which were accused of using the school network to propagate the totalitarian ideology of Libya and of the P.L.O.

"After examining the validity of this accusation I agreed to take part in the demonstration which was held outside the offices of the C.E.Q. at 8225 St. Lawrence Blvd. on June 1, 1983 at 6 o'clock.

"I appeared on the improvised stage which was surrounded by a large crowd who had come from all parts of the city, convoked by the organizers: the Comité Québec-Israel, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Bnai Brith and the Canadian Zionist Federation. I protested against the use of our school network for even the most legitimate political purposes; still less for the propagation of racial discrimination.

"Some Jesuit brothers who had come from Maison Bellarmin which is quite near the C.E.Q., heard me and congratulated me on the courage of my convictions. Later I received a letter from Mr. Bernard J. Finestone, president of the Eastern Region, Canadian Jewish Congress, thanking me for taking part in the demonstration." (Letter, May 24, 1984)

PUTTING THE IRRELEVANT AT THE CENTRE

It is therefore not surprising that the history of this fundamentally irrational theme, the early anti-Semitism in Canada, begins quite incoherently with a senseless manifestation, the identification of the masonic myth with Jews.

The Catholic perception of the masonic craft, whatever that may be, has a history all its own which does not touch Jews; except that at one moment some minds established a conceptual -- and fanatical -- link that became central in their world view and in their attitude to the Jews. Strangely this linkage was dominant in Canada, possibly more so than in other Christian societies, and received the highest approbations. Perhaps it was natural for a society, in which it was primitive Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière which first spoke out anti-Semitically (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 31) and whose own anti-Jewish Ordre de Jacques Cartier had early links with the area in close vicinity to the agricultural school at Ste-Anne, to assume that Jews were involved in secret plots and had their own arcane societies even earlier.

Pierre Savard notes that it was following two papal encyclicals of 1892 which warned of the dangers of freemasonry that the evils of satanism, of the masonic craft and of Judaism became prominently associated and developed into a general Catholic concern. (Jules Paul Tardivel, la France et les Etats-Unis, 1851-1905. Quebec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967. P.275)

Several Quebec publications on the freemasonic craft -- such as La Maçonnerie canadienne française by Jean d'Erbée (nom de plume of Edouard Hannon, s.j.), La Franc-maçonnerie dans la Province de Québec du 1883. 1883. 276 p., and L. Fouquet, o.m.i., Luciferianism or Satanism in English freemasonry. Montreal, Cadieux et Derome, 1898. 60 p. -- have not a word relating the craft with Jews. (Clouds in the Thirties, section 3, P.97)

It so happened that more sophisticated Laval University was the target of those who were fighting an alleged masonic conspiracy.

We have noted that the archbishop's palace in the Old Capital was the seat of rather cosmopolitan thinking, resistant to the more primitive fanatical wing it had quarantined at Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière. This isolation did not silence the enemies of the prelate and of the university. Even though these zealous ultramontanes claimed to teach closer fidelity to the Holy See, Rome appreciated Quebec City more than Ste-Anne. The confrontation was at the core of decades of Canadian church history.

A significant incident of indirect interest in this connection took place in the province on June 1, 1882 which, although it had no direct bearing on the Jews, told much about the forces of obscurantism and about the place of freemasonry at least as a codeword in that very fateful conflict.

The situation involved one of the great and influential figures in the history of Quebec social and political thought, J.-P. Tardivel and his La Vérité. One of the fathers of modern Quebec nationalism, he shaped the policies and emotive patterns of generations of Quebecers and fixed their attitudes and reactions. The writings in La Vérité by the founder and by his son constitute important documentation of Canadian Jewish history.

Tardivel was long most deeply involved in his own peculiar researches in freemasonry. He may have been the first in Quebec to link the term "Jew" with freemasonry in the course of one of his attacks on the visiting French parliamentarian Vermond in 1883. (Pierre Savard, Pp. 172-73)

Noting the current discussion of French policy, La Vérité asked, on Oct. 10, 1883, "What do the words mean? Do they intend to introduce Jewish and masonic capital into Canada?"

La Vérité was the voice of the Cercle catholique which helped taint Laval with freemasonry because years earlier one of its professors (later rector) made light, in a conversation at the Vatican, of the presence of some distinguished and estimable Protestant teachers of medicine on its staff; they knew freemasonry only as a mutual aid society not at all hostile to the church, he had said.

It was enough. As the Grand Vicaire-Rector put it, "This current of ideas is seen by this organization as a danger to religion. The support of the archbishop, of the Roman congregations and of the Pope himself is not sufficient to quiet these restless, turbulent spirits. Convinced that the Holy See has been deceived, they are constantly lying in wait, hoping to discover error in those whom they call adversaries." (Journal of Quebec, May 17, 1885)

Even Archbishop Taschereau was not safe from those who seemed clearly to be holier than the Pope.

Probably in order to defend Laval University, which was thus being attacked as a nest of freemasonry, Mgr. Taschereau, Archbishop of Quebec, issued a mandement which singularly restrained those who denounced freemasonry. Such denunciations, he ordered, may henceforth be made only by the bishop! (Mandements des évêques de Québec, IV, Pp. 366-70) Membership in a secret society is so grave a sin, he stated, that he reserved unto himself -- and he forbade to other Catholics in his diocese -- the right to accuse any Catholic of such affiliation; particularly an accusation against a priest, a grand vicaire, a bishop or a Catholic institution.

But his action was protested and challenged in instances of very much higher authority than his archdiocese.

The Cercle catholique sent their criticism of this order to Rome.

The archbishop had, in effect, to withdraw it in Feb. 1885. (Mandements, VI, 453; Savard. Pp. 171-72)

To quote Rumilly,

"It was no mere episode in the rivalry between Quebec and Montreal or in the battle between the two great consortia called liberal or conservative. It was indeed what the ultramontane felt vaguely and what explained and ennobled their stubbornness: a split between two currents of ideas in the Catholic world; the same currents which met in the Catholic world of France. And of all the sovereign pontiffs of the nineteenth century, Léon XIII, the pope of the Ralliement (the rallying of the French monarchists to the side of the republic, as counselled by the Holy See), was the most favorable to the current of ideas represented by Laval." (Histoire de la Province de Québec, IV. pp. 72-83)

Remarkably, those in Quebec and in other countries who claimed to be the proponents of keen obedience to the popes often failed to follow the moderating counsel of this head of the church.

This problem in Canadian ecclesial and political history has arisen repeatedly as readers of Quebec history have had occasion to question the ultimate consistency of the Catholic connection of many sectors of the provincial ecclesial-patriotic complex.

Most recently historian Raymond Laliberté has noted that many of the chaplains of the Order of Jacques Cartier, which J. Charles Harvey labelled anti-Semitic (Le Jour, Nov. 15, 1941), clergymen as they were in their day, seemed more attached to the nationalist cause than to the spiritual and to the religious cause in their sermons and in their frequent interventions...Many of them have never accepted a new structure which was entirely quasi-religious. Laliberté cites half a dozen prominent bishops, some of whom, it was said, owed their nomination to the campaigns of the Ordre de Jacques Cartier, who were more nationalistic than Catholic...

"They were certainly militant Catholics. But are we dealing with Catholic militancy, or with the nationalist and political militancy of Catholics? Who was serving which ends in a complex crossword puzzle? Did the order use bishops for its own purposes, or did some bishops rather use the order for their own private political-clerical ends?" (Une Société secrète: l'Ordre de Jacques Cartier. Montreal, Hurtubise HMH, 1983. Pp. 144-46)

Another distinctive example of this attitude is in his perception of the Catholic Knights of Columbus which was combatted most vigorously in a 1949-50 campaign led by Pierre Vigeant. (P.237)

JUDEO-FREEMASONRY...

In 1880 Father Zacharie Lacasse had warned from the pulpit that reading the bad press, edited by freemasons or managed by Jews, can be as damaging to the soul as addiction to novels, especially love stories where one never reads of people at mass or at confession. Sainte Thérèse had had a vision of the place in hell that would have been hers had she continued to read novels. (Nagella Quinn, in Idéologies au Canada français, 1850-1900. Pp. 277-79)

"The reading of bad newspapers, edited by freemasons and managed by Jews can be as damaging for the soul."

We have here this early the linkage made by Quebec anti-Semites between Jews and the myth of freemasonry.

A very interesting Quebec document of 1883 is indicative of the attitude towards Jews in places of high authority at this time. It concerns the teachings of the Quebec church about freemasonry, a general topic that is not in itself germane to our examination. What is very important in the history of Canadian Jewry is the mental connection many Canadians made conceptually between the freemasonic craft and the Jews.

It was in this climate of 1884 that the Etendard issued from its Presses à vapeur in Montreal a pamphlet Encyclique Humanum Genum de Sa Sainteté Léon XIII et Mandements de NN SS les Evêques de Montréal, Rimouski et Trois-Rivières.

The bishops of Montreal and of Rimouski say not a word about Jews as they condemn freemasonry in their mandements which appeared in this pamphlet.

But Mgr. Louis-François Laflèche of Trois-Rivières (pp. 31-43) added a new note to his comments by basing them in part on a work by St-André, Franc-maçons et Juifs. St-André was the nom de plume of French priest-author Chanoine Chabauty.

This obscure reference made by the highly regarded Bishop of les Trois-Rivières opened the floodgates of anti-Jewish propaganda identifying Jews with the craft.

The anti-Semitic signal by Mgr. Laflèche associating freemasonry with Judaism may be historically significant beyond Canada. It would be interesting to know which other Catholic bishops in the western world gave their approval to such a provocative and dangerous association of ideas. If French Canada "enjoys" a reputation of race hatred more severe than other societies and other

churches, we may find a beginning and published authority for this in the Trois-Rivières contribution to the 1884 pamphlet.

It is important to note the date of the first Canadian association of Jews with the freemasonry which the Catholic clergymen hated so: 1884. After that date scarcely one of the unfriendly commentators on the Jewish people for half a century -- and we shall see that they were numerous -- but made the hyphenation of Judeo-Masonry central in their argumentation. It is even possible to narrate the history of French Canadian ideology in terms of its expressions on Judeo-freemasonry. Such media as La Vérité, les Croix, Action sociale catholique virtually beg for such an interpretation. Political and social writers vie in their subtlety on this "issue". Public manifestations such as the imported Ernesto Nathan "scandal", foreseen decades earlier by Father Lacasse, centre on the mason-Jew.

The 1884 silence of the bishops of Montreal and of Rimouski went totally unregarded; the bibliographic footnote to a pseudonymous writer by the Bishop of Trois-Rivières turned Canadian writing about. Decades of ultramontane teaching obviously prepared the soil.

For many years the hunt for Freemasons, which was a feature of francophone political life in the province, was of no Jewish concern because there seem to have been none, but by April 1910 La Vérité noted that, "St. Georges has, so to speak, fallen into the hands of the Jews in recent years. Most of its officers are Israelites." (May 15, 1908; April 16, 1910)

The significance of this development within the lodge in terms of the Jews' integration into the Canadian society escaped, or did not interest, the editor of La Vérité. What was useful for the construct of his vision of society was a new identification between the craft and the Jews, and giving it a local habitation.

The consequences upon Canadian social thinking, particularly on the half-educated sector of the population which had been prepared to accept colourful myths at the roots of their societal perceptions, were long lasting. The self image of French Canadian society and of their persons as victims of a diabolical conspiracy survived long after they came to recognize the absurdity of identifying the Jewish immigrant pauper with the omnipotent controllers of the wealth of the world.

During a crucial period of Canadian history serious and influential circles further connected Jews with secret and murderous ritual. No less deadly in its consequences was the acceptance of the secret conspiracy of the "Elder Sages of Zion." Even the economics-oriented "achat chez nous" boycott of Jews included in its rationale a secret or half-secret Jewish conspiracy which justified the French Canadian effort to starve the Jew out of the country. Often even the friendly or neutral investigation of Canadian Jewish sociology

strangely seeks a mystique to explain it fully. Some of the finest Canadian considerations of the Jews are marked by a readiness to explain their subject on such mysterious or conspiratorial bases.

An examination of the French anti-Semitic record whence Mgr. Laflèche drew indicates that these teachings thus introduced into Canada stemmed from the earliest continental inventions of the Judeo-Masonic canard.

Léon Poliakov called "Abbé Chabauty the dean of French anti-Semitic priests" and notes that his 1880 work Franc-maçons et Juifs had appeared pseudonymously; two years later he could publish his Les Juifs, nos maîtres under his true name. (Histoire de l'anti-sémitisme: L'Europe suicidaire, 1870-1933. Paris, Calmann-Levy, 1977. P. 52)

Pierrard, professor at the Institut catholique of Paris, traces the early connection in this hate mythology in France which identified Jews and the masonic order. One of the first of these, he notes, was Father Chabauty, Chanoine of Angoulême and of Poitiers, who published a 820-page work in 1884 under the title Franc-maçons et Juifs, sixième âge de l'Eglise d'après l'Apocalypse. (Pierre Pierrard. Juifs et catholiques français, de Drumont, à Jules Isaac, 1886-1945. Paris, Fayard, 1970. 336 p.; Robert F. Byrnes, Anti-Semitism in Modern France, vol. 1. New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1950)

The anti-Jewish forgeries of Abbé Chabauty in his Les Juifs nos maîtres were invoked for the readers of La Vérité by Jules Romain in his exposure of the Jewish plans for world domination. (May 28, 1910) Another of the collections of garbage to which he had recourse on that occasion was Copin Albancelli's La Conjuración juive contre le monde chrétien.

That year the Paris Catholic journal La Franc-Maçonnerie démasquée promised its readers in its first issue to prove that the secret rites of the Masons were Jewish rites.

Also in 1884 there appeared an abbreviated version of Jesuit Nicolas Deschamps. Les Sociétés secrètes et la société, Ou la Philosophie de l'histoire contemporaine which was devoted to the Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, the accusation of ritual murder by Jews, etc. (Pierrard, Pp. 128-30)

By 1889 it became common Catholic dogma that the Jews inspire and lead freemasonry, as L'Etendard put it on Sept. 24, 1889, a dogma to be long and consistently followed by Tardivel's La Vérité after Oct. 4, 1890 and by a large portion of the Québécois press.

Mgr. Laflèche delivered a series of lectures in the cathedral of Trois-Rivières in 1885 on the Humanum Genus Encyclical. One of

his sources was, again, St-André. (Oeuvres. Paris, Arthur Savaète. P. 370)

The Paris publisher of Mgr. Laflèche's lectures, Arthur Savaète, has an important place in this Quebec record. As an ultra-conservative Catholic, he studied and encouraged Quebec churchmen in this anti-liberal, and possibly anti-Semitic militancy. He was both an influential force for action in an aggressive sector of Canadian society and a unique documentalist in a world which made a complete diplomatic profession of guarding privacy on controversy and on divided opinion in matters churchly.

In one of his studies on the current very important problem of the French language and of Catholic schooling on the developing Canadian prairies Savaète approached the theme with "a survey and a summary of the situation." (Voix canadiennes, vers l'abîme, vol. 9. Écoles de nord-ouest canadien, 1889-1912. Paris, 1913. Pp. 1-9)

In this analysis Savaète relates the school question of western Canada to the roots of Canadian history but no less energetically to the primacy of Catholic interest in education and to the ongoing attack by the enemy throughout the world on the principles which dominated western mankind before the French Revolution of 1789.

"The school system which has now been established, with which they are experimenting, and which is now being applied in the Canadian west, is an act of war at this time, of oppression in the future, which triumphant Judeo-Masonic liberalism is attempting, and will continue to attempt, to spread as occasion presents itself across Canada for the diminishing if not the destruction of Catholicism in Canada."

From his Paris office Savaète published such anti-Jewish works which stain the history of French writing as Rohling's Le Juif talmudique, pourquoi faut-il être anti-sémite? Abbé Vial's Le Trahison du Grand Rabbin de France, Révélations accablantes, etc.

Pierrard notes that each of these purveyors of falsehood was basing himself on an earlier, equally discreditable writer, "For it is a mark of anti-Semitism that it is nourished in its own excrement."

La Semaine religieuse de Québec finds that cosmopolitan Jewry -- the term was later borrowed by Stalin in his murderous anti-Semitism -- pulls the strings of the revolutionary propaganda by the freemasons in Belgium, Austria and France, through the lodges and the press. "A Vienna newspaper in their control recently boasted of their growing success in ruining Catholic nations." (Sept. 9, 1899, P. 40)

This weekly also found that "Jews are the root of freemasonry, in the United States as in France; in New York certain religious songs are not sung in the public schools so as not to anger

the Jews, and in Toronto it was necessary to remove the crucifixes from public schools, again to please the Jews.

"These are the first public manifestations of the Jewish influence in America operating against Christian beliefs...Freemasonry is seeking to destroy the Catholic church by any possible means; it can therefore be said that the anti-religious campaign is, in substance, the war which the Jews have always waged against Christ and are still waging.

"The increase of Jews in the United States and in Canada has been continuous, and we have been warned in advance to be on guard against their influence in American society in the future...

"Even in our province Catholics would err greatly to count on perpetual peace and not to prepare for all eventualities." (Dec. 14, 1907, Pp. 279-80)

This is confirmed by a report in the Witness of July 20, 1907 listing a number of American daily newspapers owned by Jews.

"We therefore see that, deliberately or instinctively Jews follow the signal of the Jew Adolphe Crémieux, the late Sovereign Grand Commander Grand Master of the Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite, Ancient and Accepted for France and for its dependencies, former president of the Alliance israélite universelle: 'Get the press. With the press you have all the rest.'" (Sept. 21, 1907, Pp. 91-92)

The facts and the documents of Canadian anti-Semitism over the decades will constrain us to examine the heritage of this form of anti-Semitic articulation by a long series of personages, of authoritative institutions and of a variety of recorded media communications. Names such as J.P. Tardivel, Father Antonio Huot, L. Hacault, La Vérité and Action sociale catholique loom large.

As we follow this chronological trail day by day, it is useful to look ahead for an orientation of general direction over the longer time span, to see where such leaders as Mgr. Laflèche had led and for how long.

Le Messager canadien du Sacré Coeur de Jésus of Montreal made the accusation more specific in April 1896 (no. 4, pp. 112-13) by reprinting an article from the Toulouse Messager du Coeur de Jésus of February entitled "Revelations on Satanism":

"In place of the sweet flame of love which ought to animate the entire social body, the Jewish God-killers have succeeded in inspiring the burning fire of a Satanic hatred of Christians who are marked by baptism."

The article quotes Mgr. Léon Meurin, Archbishop of St. Louis in Mauritius, author The Synagogue of Satan, "The Judaized and Satanized man is called upon to spread lies, vice and the sacreligious acts to which he was initiated." The monsignor is known for the extent of the dissemination of his anti-Jewish teachings in Canada. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 26, P. 36)

At the end of 1910 La Semaine religieuse de Québec devoted five pages to a presentation of the anti-Jewish views of Mgr. H. Delassus, domestic prelate of Pius X, as presented in the French and Italian editions of La Conjuración antichrétienne, voulant s'élever sur les ruines de l'église catholique. Blessed as it was with the enthusiastic approbation of Quebec theologian L.-A. Pâquet, it served as one of the authorities for the unfortunate libeller Edouard Plamondon. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27)

His contribution to the blood-letting lie of the Jewish world conspiracy is to describe the Jews and the freemasons as the besiegers of the Catholic citadel. He had also propagandized these views in Le Problème de l'heure présente. In particular, he stressed, the humanist and naturalist religion, spreading from the United States to Europe, is a variant of the Judaism which the Alliance israélite universelle is promoting.

In the masonic temple abuilding, he wrote, the Jews are the master workers; Satan is the grand architect.

For this work he was thanked by the pope who appreciated his zeal and desire to serve God and the church. The apostolic benediction he thus earned came with the personal thanks and congratulations of Cardinal Merry del Val who, in the event, was the prelate to whom world Jewry appealed but several years later to clarify the libel being circulated in the Catholic world that they murder Christian children.

Québécois were tendered the fine words of French Mgr. Delamaire, "We are not under the heel of the Russians, the Prussians, of the heretics, but under the disgusting claws of freemasonry...They are only a gang...this infamous and cursed sect!...Have some courage, some good sense, some of this good French blood which cannot run in the veins of these Jews, these traitors who are the freemasons." (Semaine religieuse, Jan. 7, 1911, P. 340)

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion which cost many Jewish lives later had great credibility in Canada where influential notables saw them as an extension or a realization of the heritage of the pseudo-masonic force. (Clouds in the Thirties, sections 2, 3)

Canon G. Panneton recalled Mgr. Jouin, the director of the Revue internationale des sociétés secrètes of Paris and author of many books on the Jews, as a friend of Abbé Antonio Huot who had written clairvoyant articles on freemasonry in Quebec. ("La Franc-maçonnerie", in Semaine religieuse de Québec, vol. 52, no. 50, Aug. 1940. Pp. 787-89)

Even during the Second World War, while Canada and France were shedding their blood fighting Hitler, the Canadian canon was writing that "freemasonry is the enemy of the Catholic Church, just as its accomplice, Jewry, is the enemy of Jesus Christ." (La Franc-maçonnerie, ennemi de l'Eglise et de la patrie. Montreal, Oeuvre des tracts, no. 255)

Clearly there is a straight line from this image of a powerful Jewish conspiracy to Bishop Philippe-Servelle Desrainsleau of Sherbrooke who saw the World War against Hitlerite Germany as "wished, desired, prepared and launched by the Jews, for the benefit of Jews and for the future of the Jews." (Jean Hamelin. Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Le XX^e siècle. vol. 2. Quebec, Boréal Express, 1984. P. 19)

Many years later, in 1954, a Quebec analyst was still able to report,

"Anti-Semites attack both freemasonry and socialism as similar godless and subversive movements. Now in Quebec, freemasonry has also been looked upon with disapproval by many of the local clergy as an irreligious and anti-Catholic movement. Some French Canadian nationalists and xenophobes consider communism to be a purely Jewish invention and a Jewish movement, and they imagine that the present rulers of the Soviet Union and the leaders of world communism in various countries are all Jews. All over the world, they are perceived as being engaged in a diabolical plot whose object is to overthrow the existing social order in the countries of the west -- to destroy Christianity and the Catholic Church and to set up a pagan and godless Judeo-Communist dictatorship.

"Jews have also become associated in the minds of some French Canadians with extreme political radicalism and with communism. This is quite natural since in the eyes of the conservative French Canadian, the Jew is a non-Christian and a free thinker, and the connection between free thought and political radicalism in his mind is a very close one. One finds a good deal of propaganda of this type in the pages of such a publication as Le Cactus.

"Among some of them, an actual phobia has arisen concerning a deep laid plot on the part of the Jews to seize domination of the business life of the province and to reduce the French people of Quebec to a position of inferiority and servitude. This is the

origin of much of the anti-Jewish propaganda which one finds in the literature of the Arcand movement and of l'Union des Electeurs. This sentiment seems to be strong among the French Canadians of the lower middle-class store keepers and small retailers who have suffered from the competition of the chain stores and other organizations of a large wholesale and retail type."

.....THEIR ANTI-SEMITIC FREEMASONRY

Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon also saw their "churchmen suffering the inevitable adjustments between their intransigent church and modern societies not less on either side of the ocean. In Spain and France and in the New World the problems are the same, varying possibly only in intensity. The Evil One is pulling the strings behind the agents of change. The paganism which is transforming manners and the Protestant ethic which overturns values are but two sides of a coin and lead to the same revolt. This Evil One intervenes in society by secondary channels -- freemasons, Jews, socialists, distillers of whiskey. They are clearly the carnal forms of evil for many Quebec Catholics, except that the bishops rarely call them by name...

"The Jews represent the phenomenon of the alien stranger within the traditional milieu who, if only because he is a stranger, presents a problem and is therefore set apart.

"There is only superficial knowledge of the Montreal Jewish community, deriving from several points of contact which only deform reality; the subcontractors who live by the home labor of women and children, the petty merchants who keep their stores open on Sundays and holidays, the refugees from Eastern Europe who are active in the international unions and in the Socialist Party. They are the more feared as they acculturate with the English and grow rapidly by immigration.

"The context is a veritable scarecrow to mark out fertile soil to feed on anti-Semitic sentiment and to legitimize the myth of a Jewish international which may have struck root in Montreal as the Grand Orient might have. Arthur St-Pierre wrote,

"The Jews, the natural allies or rather the inspirators of freemasonry, have invaded Montreal...Not satisfied with corrupting our young with bad theatre and cheap bad literature; not satisfied with ruining our merchants by disloyal competition, they still reach out for power and claim what they call their share in the administration of our city.'

"...They are the scapegoats for the ultramontanists and for some nationalists." (*Histoire du catholicisme québécois*, vol. 1. Pp. 183-85; A. Saint-Pierre. Vers l'action. 1911. Pp. 21-22)

As we examine more closely the Quebec record of the next half century and more that was thus initiated by the distinguished and profoundly influential Mgr. Laflèche we must note a condition

which passes easy credence because of its inconsistency, self-contradiction and irony:

By the early 1930's or earlier the forces which had been accusing the Jews falsely of organizing surreptitiously and secretly to act against the interests of innocent and helpless Christian society had themselves formed a secret network of persons, organizations and media voices to collude against the Jews on all levels of action; the links were clearly forged.

The ideology and the symbolic work of this network, which resounded regularly and with unaltering fidelity over the decades, had been shaped in the 1880's. It was ritually repeated in the 1930's and during the succeeding years in the magnificently structured Order of Jacques Cartier. The differences in the Anno Domini are illusory in the light of thematic consistency.

The perception of the Jews as an element in a secret, far-ranging conspiracy, gave form to a French Canadian "discreet" secret conspiracy of "self-defence" which became a powerful instrument in Canadian life, well before it assumed its name and charter. The orchestration of its anti-Jewish action is glaring as we examine the Jewish historic record in Canada after the 1880's.

There is much that is evocative in the fact that, early in Laliberté's history of the Ordre de Jacques Cartier, we come across the locale of Ste-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, familiar to the readers of the earliest annals of anti-Semitism in Canada. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 31)

As we have noted, T.D. Bouchard saw the Ordre de Jacques Cartier as the first movement to promote the interests of French Canadian civil servants at Ottawa, founded with the approbation of the French-Canadian clergy, aided by a combination of nationalism in local trade and anti-Semitism. (Mémoires, vol. 1, Pp.241-52, cited by Laliberté. P.26)

By February 1931 the secretary of the order in Ottawa had asked the Archbishop in the capital to intercede with the superior of the Collège at Ste-Anne to become chaplain of the branch of the order being formed there. Within twenty-four hours Mgr. W. Lebon in that town gladly complied with the request. (Laliberté, Pp.43-44)

Charles-Henri Dubé calls the Ordre de Jacques-Cartier the French Canadian counterpart ("pendant") of freemasonry. ("La Vérité sur l'Ordre de Jacques-Cartier," in Le Magazine Maclean, May 1963. Pp. 23-26, 65-74)

Senator T.-D. Bouchard revealed to the Senate of Canada on June 21, 1944 that the secret society was to restrain the establishment of alien establishments in local commerce, those not belonging to

French Canadians. "Anti-Semitism served as a lure in activating the recruiting of new members."

Roger Cyr confirms the accusation made by Sen. Bouchard concerning the Order invoking anti-Semitism as an element in its anti-Semitic program.

Cyr also names Edgar Tissot as one of the officers of the Order in office for a number of years. Tissot was the son of Ottawa detective. Jean Tissot, the well known anti-Semite who had his hour of glory in 1935 when the Montreal paper Le Patriote founded by Adrien Arcand, gave very much publicity to the campaign he waged against the Jewish businessman A.J. Freiman.

Another familiar name which figures in the leadership record of the order was that of Pierre Vigeant, editorialist of Le Devoir. (La Patente, Montreal, Editions du jour, 1964)

Le Jour named Omer Héroux, the prime anti-Semite in Quebec journalism for a third of a century, as a member of the order (Nov. 15, 1941), but this was denied a week later (Nov. 22) by Georges Pelletier of Le Devoir

The history of the order from the pen of R.-G. Laliberté, though incomplete as a chapter of Canadian Jewish history, supplies us with sufficient indications of this continuity in anti-Semitism.

As the Laval sociologist makes it very clear, the anti-Semitism prevalent among the leaders of the order was very dangerous. But in the context of their intentions and record of activities it plays a very minor part. Their total program was much wider, and their immediate objectives were much more numerous, so that in their record of action the anti-Jewish directions do not loom greatly, dangerous as they were for the Jewish community.

The brazenness of the lying accusation of maleficent links between Judaism and freemasonry appear the more daring when we note the parallels in symbolism between the Ordre and the freemasonic craft.

This chapter in the history of Canadian Jewry living in a society influenced by anti-Semitic agencies interests us the more particularly because of the fixation upon an evil (real or imagined) entitled "freemasonry." The operations of this institution were presumed to be intimately connected with Jews. This freemasonry, with its structure, terminology and symbolism, is then twisted into a social and religious political reality manipulated by the Ordre as an instrument against the Jews in this country.

As G.R. Laliberté told the Canadian Jewish Historical Society at its Guelph session of June 1984,

"I have not gathered as systematically as might be all that was said and done within this organization in regard to Jews. But a number of documents provide a good view, directly or indirectly, of their perception of the Jewish community.

"On this basis it seems that we can state,

"a) They never speak of Jews other than as a global, uniform, united, rich and powerful community ('The Jews').

"b) They readily refer to the existence of a powerful and dangerous world organization ('International Jewry').

"c) Jews are readily referred to as tricksters, liars, thieves and deceivers.

"d) Nevertheless, they admire the Jews, all Jews, for their solidarity which they are ready to recommend to the members of the Order.

"e) Only once have I seen a warning against anti-Semitism.

"f) Generally they are feared

- in the interests of Catholicism
- in the interests of the French Canadian nationality
- because of a certain economic control which they would wish to have or to retain in trades, in the garment industry, land ownership (especially farms) and real estate.

"g) Again generally they would attempt to protect, in regard to the presumed activities of the Jews,

- small trade
- the demographic proportion of French Canadians
- employment in times of crisis
- the Catholic political experience of Franco in Spain and of Salazar in Portugal.

"h) Fascist sympathies exist, but they distance as clearly as possible from Adrien Arcand.

"i) When reference is made in any matter in regard to Jews, there is a ready association of ideas, above all by the placement of texts. They are then related

- above all, to communists
- occasionally to freemasonry
- at times to the British, all of which are the declared adversaries of the French Canadians for whom they are fighting.

"j) In this sense the Jews are a multifaceted danger (ethically, nationally, religiously and economically), but they are

adversaries only by association with others. The fight is not really against them; they are rather feared; the fight is really against others, the true adversaries of the French Canadians.

"To place them in their true perspectives, according to all evidence, active anti-Semitism figures in the intentions of the leaders of the Ordre de Jacques Cartier. They are even more virulent than many other French language groups during the thirties, forties and fifties (for we must remember that Jews have often been the scape-goats of our problems so difficult of solution, even among gentlemen such as André Laurendeau in the thirties).

"But the Ordre, taken all in all, seen closely is active on a much vaster scale (from 1938 to 1964) can distinguish among direct national economic programs and state programs dealing with political control of the power of the state.

"Clearly the control of the ideological instruments within society absorbs most of its interest (some 7% to 34% of the campaigns), and the relations with other national groups in society draws the most attention (between 37% and 58%). These two classifications possibly include anti-Semitism in effect, as we have seen; but this anti-Semitism is not the principal object of their preoccupation.

"They envisage a certain specific social control rather than a battle against adversaries, even if these be considered badly as the Jews are. The intention is rather to infiltrate than to battle the adversaries directly.

"The configuration of the opponents most feared, against whom orders of command are most directed, the configuration of the various active campaigns of action between (1926 and 1967), are:

"a) There are virtually none of the economic order. The aim is to cover the interior market, mainly on the level of the circulation of merchandise and on the 'national' collection of savings, rather than the potential opponents to fight, if exception is made of the anti-Steinberg and the anti-Roy Nat campaigns of 1962.

"b) Nevertheless there are opponents of the political order, and they are fought. But they are mainly anglophone groups, particularly the Irish and the 'neutral' social groups, that is non-Catholics who are envisaged thus, as well as political socialist and communist association. It is scarcely Jews as such.

"c) There also exist opponents on the national level: Knights of Columbus within the Catholic Church, the 4-H Clubs, the Red Cross Clubs, the international unions, social clubs in 'neutral' organizations, freemasons and Orangemen...

"All in all and considering all elements, we must conclude that the anti-Semitism of its members, intolerable as it is, is only a

minor facet of their program. It nevertheless did exist and it can be found in all letters among writings. If we focus on this we can find enough that is hair-raising. But put in perspective is to conclude that it is secondary in their social approach."

Jean David coheres with this questioning when he cites L'Emerillon, the publication of the Ordre, to the effect that the worst enemies of the French-speaking Catholics are Irish Catholics. (Maclean's Magazine, June 15, 1963. Pp. 18-19, 58)

Roger Cyr described the type of leader in the order as ferociously anti-Semitic and as an advocate of the "Achat chez nous." (La Patente, 1964. Pp.74-75)

In the perspective of the development and the sophistication of the Quebec economy Laliberté places the achat chez nous movement "in its first period which was devoted to efforts in the geo-ethnic market directed at the seizure of a primary diffuse economic We-identity." (Pp.256-66)

The Order placed this boycott movement within its objectives: "to reaffirm the importance of purchasing power by practising 'Achat chez nous'" as late as 1946. (Laliberté. P.182)

This economic activity preoccupied the Order for many years afterwards. Members in each parish were instructed to set up their own section of the Ligue de l'achat chez nous and to organize sympathizers "to explore further" the principles underlying the Ligue; teams of organized and trained women were to visit housekeepers for this purpose; boys and girls in the schools were to partake of this education; reports were to be submitted to the Order and to the general secretariat of the Ligue in Montreal.

This was constantly reiterated in circulars and in L'Emerillon over the years, as late as 1963.

The high command of the order at Ottawa on Feb. 20, 1935 "drew attention to the custom of a certain element of the foreign population of Canada to change their Hebrew family names to English or French.

"It is not only small merchants but also professionals and industrialists of the Hebrew race who thus deny their fathers the better to lure the native population. We ask our branches to watch this situation and to make representations to our constituted authorities to put an end to it.

"In many cases the method followed is illegal, for recourse is not had to the parliaments of the various provinces as the law requires, but they are content to sign a document before a notary certifying that henceforth Mr. So-and-so will be known as Mr. Such-and-such. Unscrupulous creditors thus avoid honoring their

indebtedness, and this disloyal custom works to the detriment of the honest Christian merchant."

Laliberté notes that "it is not without importance in this connection that one of the first acts of the Parti québécois party on its election in 1976 concerned the publication of a booklet intended to encourage l'achat chez les nôtres.

Readers of Clouds in the Thirties are aware how great in cost of human lives were the campaigns conducted by the anti-Semites of that period.

One regional congress of the Order drew attention to the prodigality of French Canadians who with gay hearts devoted frightful sums to alcoholic and soft drinks, candies, luxurious cars, games of chance and shows of all types which has led to economic subjection. This can be countered by popular education on savings, a new orientation and achat chez nous, etc.

Among the order's campaigns opposing ethnic and national groups Laliberté cites such precisely anti-Semitic programs as the 1936 opposition to Jewish (and Slav) immigration into Canada and the Order's 1953 campaign against the Steinberg Co. (P.232)

After nearly half a century many of the most objective French Canadian readers of the records of that period still find it difficult to identify the "Achat chez nous" movement as a phase and form of anti-Semitism. By implication, they accept this division of Quebec society and economy into ethnic units, not all of them equally privileged or all of them equally the charges, wards and beneficiaries of a democratic legitimate state. They are prepared to accept the alienation of Jewish neighbours and citizens from the economy of society. An examination of Canadian economic practice in this light would still prove interesting, for this anti-Semitic lesson of half a century has been very well inculcated.

This toxin imbedded at the roots of Quebec democratic heritage and of its cultural aspiration has probably turned out to be the most durable and effective heritage of the "Achat chez nous" movement dating from a period and from institutions which we cannot be quite certain are dead.

Its anti-Jewish intention was clear and deeply based. In Europe as well as in Quebec the anti-Jewish economic boycott during the years between the wars became the social and nationalistic program to destroy the physical presence and existence of the Jews; this cold pogrom was the more effective successor to the hot bloody pogroms of the Russian Czar and of the defenders of czarism before and after his overthrow and to the Torquemada religious persecution of the middle ages. In a world of weakening religious impulse this anti-Jewish boycott appealed to nation- and race-worship of patriotism. To those who would have their hands clean of the

incarnadined stain it offered a cool economic matter to chant; it appeared "positive, legitimate defence" against many enemies -- imperialists, bankers, trusts, chain stores, conspirative capital, freemasonry, what have you; not only or not at all anti-Semitic in verbalisation. In fact, of course the only targets affected were, quite deliberately, the Jews.

In the journalistic event, the anti-Jewish economic campaign in Canada became altered from the primitive language of La Vérité to the more sophisticated argumentation of the 1930's. This was most strongly formulated in the debate in Le Devoir which engaged the lone H.M. Caiserman against the more clearly orchestrated spokesmen for the achat chez nous.

The founders of the Ordre de Jacques Cartier justified the establishment of the association in terms remarkably similar to those that were current in Quebec anti-Semitism a score of years earlier: "the regression of the province for more than a quarter of a century in all areas, not only in the face of the English, our age-old adversary, but above all before newcomers or refugees. Barely disembarked from the ships, they settle in our cities, secure our trade, reduce our sons and daughters to work for them at starvation wages, raise and manage prices and control our entire activity through clever anonymous management companies." The language is close to that of early Quebec anti-Semite Father Lacasse.

The Ordre document continues, "those of international Jewry of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion arrive in Canada by transatlantic vessels from Germany and from Poland" (Dec. 12, 1936); "Their sons, deny their own parents to delude the local population by changing their Hebrew family names into English or French." (Feb. 20, 1935; cited by Laliberté. P.318)

The language is almost a paraphrase of the young anti-Semite Raoul Renault who wrote wherever he could, as he did in Tardivel's La Vérité on November 10, 1894,

"They win our trade, rob our people by selling them inferior goods, infest our countryside and are often guilty of offences against good customs."

This had been constantly repeated in the voluminous press as exemplified, at random chance, by J.-U. Bégin in his La Croix in 1897.

Years later A.-J. Bélanger noted that Le Devoir in the early and mid-nineteen thirties "was not loquacious about the Israelites and contented itself with underlining their presence as invaders. Without being openly hostile towards them, the newspaper only recalled them as a bad memory for its readers. The immigration theme was already nothing new at this time. The menace that was felt on this point since the beginning of the century had become part

of the repertory." (*L'Apolitisme des idéologies québécoises, Le Grand tournant de 1934-36.* Quebec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974. Pp. 37-38)

A circular issued by the order in Ottawa on December 12, 1936 about Polish-Jewish immigration notes,

"We have been informed that, if German-Jewish immigration has somewhat diminished, on the other hand the entry of Polish Jews has taken on a serious dimension.

"The arrival of each trans-Atlantic vessel in our harbours poses some hundred Israelites on our banks, entering our country on the special authorization of the minister of immigration (Natural Resources) and bearing Polish passports. In the meantime protests have been sent to our members and ministers against the admission of German Jews.

"Please protest now against Polish-Jewish immigration.

"The leaders count upon the immediate cooperation of all its branches to advance these movements of prime importance for safeguarding our religious and national interests."

Two years later another intention of the Chancellery called "for immediate and serious attention.

"Whereas measures have been taken before the federal government for the admission into the country by hundreds of Jews driven out by certain heads of European states;

"Whereas the economy of our country, itself suffering unemployment, is severely affected by the large number of men without jobs,

"Whereas for such reasons, our government has during recent years, squarely opposed every type of immigration,

"Whereas it is unwise to alter our attitude to this question,

"It is resolved that the Order, through the branches (Commanderies), calls upon our national organization, upon other groups and structures, upon our daily and weekly press, immediately to make representations to ministers and to their Members of Parliament to oppose all measures for Jewish immigration." (Dec. 21, 1938)

The circular continues,

"All well-thinking French Canadians and the Canadian population are unanimous in disapproving any immigration movement today.

"Voices and authorized societies have already spoken. It is important to show a strong and a general opposition as we approach the federal session. Public men and associations who take a stand opposing immigration deserve congratulations.

"Let us consider this carefully and study how to demonstrate our feelings on this matter at the opportune time as strongly and even more strongly as those who hold contrary views."

Even in 1944, well into the war, when the horrors imposed by the Nazis upon their victims were quite widely known, the order was mobilizing its adherents "for God and the Fatherland" for urgent and immediate action against the possibility of the immigration of Jews.

It called on January 20, 1944,

"The Order has always alerted our compatriots against renewed efforts to assimilate our nationality by mass immigration; this tactic proposes to drown our national group in a sea of Jewish and British newcomers.

"But the time for stronger action has come. Everyone is aware of all the propaganda conducted in favour of the admission of thousands of European refugees and of large-scale post-war immigration.

"Speakers in political or social clubs, newspapers, magazines, letters, radio, special committees and particularly the Canadian National Committee on Refugees are making an infernal racket to convert public opinion to this idea of immigration.

"A petition is being circulated across Canada asking the government to amend the immigration law. In some industries our French Canadian compatriots are being forced to sign this petition and our people are being solicited to this end from all quarters. The time has therefore come for us to do something to counterbalance this influence.

"The Order is therefore beginning to organize a counter-propaganda and a counter-petition. We call upon our branches to make this organization successful. The time has come to put our machinery at its most effective.

"This work we expect from you consists of:

"1) We are sending you petition forms which we ask you to have signed by the largest number of people.

"2) To reach the largest number of signatories, have your members sign first and, as intermediaries, all the associations and societies in your parish, your village or your city. In most

organizations we have brothers who can be charged with having these sheet signed.

"3) We suggest that you secure as your first signatory the Members for your constituency, provincial as well as federal. If you do not succeed in having them sign first, wait until the list is impressive enough for the electoral interest to force him to sign.

"4) Have resolutions passed by the municipal council, the school commission, national and other societies, the constituency council and political clubs...

"7) The National Committee on Refugees has stated that it hopes to receive 100,000 signatures. This is quite modest! For our part we wish to have 1,000,000. This is a fascinating figure, but it assumes that each of our branches will work at its best; that our brothers will be courageous enough to go from door to door if necessary, as do the agents of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees.

"8) Do not fail to have the industrial workers sign. Find a way of penetrating there without risk of failing in your task ('manquer votre affaire').

"9) For the present we do not want the newspapers to inform the public that this petition is being circulated. But we urgently demand our brothers to exert pressure upon the editors of daily and weekly newspapers to defend our viewpoint in their articles...

"We consider this command urgent, necessary and important. Carry it into being with courage."

In this context it is very interesting to note a distinct change in the immigration policies of the order within five years.

In April 1949 its Emerillon drew "serious attention to 'Immigration and Colonization.' (P.14)

"It has been observed that French Canadian attitude on immigration is less negative than it had been. We are beginning to look for ways to attract them; are beginning to understand that neo-Canadians should not be confused with Anglo-Saxons and that we be friends with a good many of them...

"Citizens and national societies can prepare public opinion for a selective immigration, French or other, which can bring new techniques and new cultures to our province. Fortunately they have already begun to work effectively for closer relations between neo-Canadians and French Canadians. The formula: 'Against immigration but sympathy for neo-Canadians' summarizes admirably the attitude we should maintain to benefit from some of the massive immigration which

we cannot prevent, especially those who have some spiritual affinity with us."

After the war the Order pursued its campaign against the Jews even outside Quebec and outside Canada.

In January 1946 it made "Jewish Solidarity" the subject of a bulletin,

"The Morgan incident recently provided us with a striking example of Jewish solidarity in the world."

A word about the setting. The war had ended but months earlier. The dead were scarcely counted, the survivors were scarcely bandaged; they had not yet become aware of their own location, wandering as they still were without a roof or a bed; many were still in the lands where the anti-Semites had barely ended their butchery (or had they?); their wandering was aimless, in search of their former families or future refuge. What remained of humanity was desperately attempting to feed them, cure them, assemble them, reassemble their shattered families, settle them somewhere, prevent a recurrence of the astronomical holocaust, possibly abolish the diaspora which was at the foundation of the catastrophe.

The new United Nations, which had not yet discovered that Zionism is racism, was putting together the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to resolve the myriad problems. In this context the Canadian Ordre de Jacques Cartier told its members,

"Early in January Sir Frederick Morgan of the English army, commanding UNRRA in Germany, spoke of a Jewish secret society and denounced the campaign it organized to make the world believe that only Jews suffered from Naziism and from the war.

"There was a great universal jeering! A clamour like the coming of the atomic bomb. International Jewry raised the highest alarms. Fortunately, doubtless by sheer chance, the director general of UNRRA is an American Jew by the name of Herbert Lehman. He immediately demanded Morgan's resignation. The general refused. The next day it was announced that he had been dismissed. Twenty-four hours passed between his declaration and his firing.

"This proves Jewish power in the world. It is a power explained by its wealth, but also by the proverbial solidarity of the Jews. They stand together, and they do it well. What an example for us!"

Continuing its comments on international affairs it reports,

"International Jewry keeps up its attacks on the Franco régime and on Salazar. We receive no news from the inhabitants of these two countries which would confirm the lies which are spread out

before us in regard to Spain or Portugal. Why should we not campaign against communism?...

"The interference of Poland for whom we fought (???) and of Communist France, together with Russia, in Spanish affairs at the command of Jewry and of masonry..."

"These are matters which deserve discussion at branch meetings."

At this time another code signal for an attack on the Jews -- this time at the ancient heart of Jewry -- Jerusalem. For many centuries, while the Holy City and the Holy Land were in Muslim hands and while travellers -- including québécois -- wrote volumes on the adventures of access to the Holy Sites, no one in Canada questioned Muslim control. Nor did Catholics question the Protestant British mandate of the area.

But by 1949 half of the city was in Jewish hands, and a new anti-Jewish front developed: "the internationalization of the Holy Sites." This was not an effort to eject the Jordanian legion from Jerusalem where they were preventing open access to the Western Wall and the Holy Sepulchre. Rather the Emerillon of December 1949 proclaimed that "The Internationalization of the Holy Sites are Essential.

"While Israel needed the United States, Great Britain, Canada and others in order to attain recognition as an independent state and as a member of the United Nations, its leaders were to have accepted the Bernadotte plan, and the internationalization was to have taken place. Now it seems to be in no hurry to keep these fine promises..."

"This is no longer a time for promises. Christian nations, ours in particular, should raise the question at the United Nations. If Israel is sincere it should not oppose it; if it plans to make Jerusalem its political capital, this is all the more reason to call for internationalization before such a plan takes form.

"Many social and national organizations and Catholic action groups have called on the Ottawa government to take this initiative. This pressure on the prime minister must be increased." (Pp. 8-9)

Significantly L'Ordre de Jacques Cartier saw itself as open to any French Canadian practicing Catholic. "His patriotism must be active, free from partisan bonds or racial fanaticism." (L'Emerillon, Dec. 1931, vol. 1, no. 5; cited by Laliberté. P.159)

There is a great measure of sincerity in this disavowal, supported as it so often is in many anti-Semitic appeals which close with references to Christian love, charity and justice. There is a touch of the repeated stereotype formulary in this, but its honesty

and restraining influences are indisputable; not without concrete consequences in the development of Quebec history.

Allowing for a large measure of sincerity on the part of these leaders of the order -- and of French Canada -- in disavowing fanaticism and hatred of any type, including race prejudice and even religious fanaticism, there is a considerable strategic consideration in the directive.

We need to remember that in the centuries-old domestic political dialogue in Canada such terms as racial fanaticism had reference to the English-French conflict; never to relations of other ethnic groups in this geography.

Nevertheless a commentary by André Laurendeau on the background of such denial of racism in at least one instance is not without its illumination.

Writing of the anti-conscription campaign of 1942 and the Ligue pour la défense du Canada he said,

"We asked (all Canadians) to put the fatherland above the spirit of race." he added parenthetically, "this for the anglophones." (La Crise de la conscription. Montreal, Editions du jour, 1962)

OBLATE ZACHARIE LACASSE....

Jean-Paul de Lagrave traces the origins of Quebec anti-Semitism to the religious society. He finds strong evidence in the work of Father Zacharie Lacasse, o.m.i., (1845-1921), especially in an 1893 work, Une Quatrième mine; dans le camp ennemi. (Montréal, Cadieux et Derome. 1893; also cited by de Lagrave in his "Vieille histoire qui remonte au passé lointain", in Regards sur Israel, March 1978. Pp. 10, 12; Quinn, P. 423)

Father Pierre Zacharie Lacasse had been born at St-Jacques de l'Achigan, had studied at L'Assomption and took his vows at Lachine as an Oblate two years before his ordination in 1873. He served as missionary on the Labrador coast at Bethsiamits and among the Eskimos at Ungava Bay. He was named by Cardinal Taschereau to the colonization project at Normandin on Lac St-Jean and to St-Zacharie de Metgermette in the Beauce. This was a new parish named by the bishop in appreciation of Father Lacasse who thus came to found it. He worked at St-Boniface for many years. (J.-B.-A. Allaire. Dictionnaire biographique du clergé canadien-français. Les contemporains. St-Hyacinthe, La Tribune, 1908. P.323)

In a profound sense he was representative of outdoors, backwoods Quebec, of its rural défricheurs, fishermen, hunters, half-breeds, missionaries, sailors, trail breakers, farmers. The vast province was not only his home. It was the only land he knew.

Clearly he was a back country man; his oratorical power and his writing ability were in tune with the popular and folkloric tradition of that Quebec population which appreciated him greatly.

His Une Mine de souvenirs (St-Boniface, 1920. 180 p.) is a classic description of French Canadian traditional family life.

Father Allaire's biography notes, "There was a time when his pamphlets were to be seen in every home." La Vérité wrote of him, "His life is as full as any life could be. It is replete with apostolic zeal, with hard labor, privations, sacrifice, suffering; in brief, with all that counts in the eyes of God and even of sensible persons." (Jan. 27, 1894)

In his mine of wisdom and of virtue, Une Quatrième mine, Father Lacasse already sounds the themes of the economic boycott of Jews of the Jewish-masonic association, of the anti-Jewish organization:

"Among our friends who prefer our enemies are those who do not patronize Catholic merchants, and workers who cast their moneys on the scales of our adversaries. A Jew buys from a Jew; a freemason from a freemason; an Englishman from an Englishman. They have esprit de corps. But we Catholics let a worker, a jeweller, a groceryman, a merchant pray with us at the same altar, and then go to enrich a Swiss, a recent arrival from France, a Jew, a freemason, a declared enemy of our holy religion and of our dear fatherland, a man who dreams of the day when there shall be no Catholic Canadian in the confederation.

Anticipating the passion of venom about Mayor Ernesto Nathan of Rome nearly two decades later, Father Lacasse pours out his hatred of the Italian government, and does not forget the Jews:

"See all the Swiss, the Frenchmen, the freemasons, the Jews run to salute the (Italian) flag which has caused the blood of our people to spill, blood poured out to protect the honour which has brought nobility to twenty generations." (p. 189)

He concludes with an appeal to organize and to polarize:

"On the one side, those who do not attend mass or confess, all the Swiss, the freemasons, the Jews and all who blaspheme against the priests who have done them no harm; and on the other side all the French Canadians worthy of the name; all who know that God exists, that God has established a church, that this is the church to which we belong and outside of which there is no salvation." (P. 215)

"We need an organization, for our money goes to our enemies. The Jews' stores are always full of customers who are neatly cheated." (P.156)

We have here an early formulation of the program of the *achat chez nous* movement which has struck such deep and lasting roots in the economic, political and folkloric life of Quebec society.

The fifth chapter of the *Quatrième mine* dealt with "Our Enemies the Jews" (pp. 57-63). After narrating the story of a Jewish girl who deceived her parents by converting secretly to Christianity, and was thrown out of the family home, the Oblate father continues,

"This story, unhappily all too true, shows you the deep contempt of the Jews for Our Lord. Yet our sworn Jewish enemies threaten to seize our province. We can only say, 'It is our fault'...

"The Jew who cast out his daughter had been made rich by the Catholic clientele of a city seven-eighths French..." (Pp. 153-54)

"They are very poor when they come to our land. They begin by running around our countryside, peddling odd merchandise for double its value. They spend no money. They are lodged and fed by our Canadians who ought to know better; we need to remember that they are not beggars, they are merchants. They eat and sleep at a farmer's home, and they give him a four-cent handkerchief, then they sell him merchandise worth a button for a dollar.

"They eat no pork and often embarrass their hosts. They have these farmers drive them for miles and give them a rag for their trouble. So they save up some \$500 or \$600 a year. After four years they have enough to buy a shop of rusty watch chains. They spend nights polishing them, and then sell them as new. You must have seen that some of them put a portrait of the Virgin Mary at the door of their junk stores to attract the gaping passersby.

"Don't be taken by these enemies of the Christian name. When they stay with you, make them pay. Be charitable, do not let them starve to death or sleep outside in the rain; but get full payment, for these merchants give you their merchandise only at your expense.

"Why buy from them? If the business of the cities of Montréal and Québec fall into their hands, whose fault is it? Is it not that of the customers?

"Instead of encouraging the friends of the good cause, who attend the same church as you do, who are Canadians and Catholics like you, who lead our fine causes, you give your purse to the sworn enemies of the Canadian Catholic cause because you pay two cents less for material which was already half moth-eaten in London warehouses. Let us encourage our Catholics and not give our enemies the influence of money which is so enormous in the nineteenth century.

"I would even dare ask our councillors to be more careful than they have been in the past. Once in the power of the Jews it is difficult to escape their pressures."

Lacasse' peers did not fail to re-echo this tale of the peddler which entered into the mythology of half of the people. Churchmen, such as those of Action sociale catholique which was established on the highest papal and arch-episcopal authority, repeated it endlessly in popular and in authoritative media ranging from the Ottawa Oblates' L'Etincelle to its Quebec successor Le Croisé, to the Hawkesbury Monitor -- endlessly and dangerously.

The sections on "Our Enemies, the Jews" in his Une Quatrième mine, in which he calls them the sworn enemies of Jesus who threaten to seize the province, was reproduced in La Vérité of December 30, 1893.

In January 1908 Antonin Labrecque repeated the call of "this great patriot and man of great sense" in the Semeur, the official

journal of the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne, in his call "Formons bloc!" (vol. 4, no. 6, pp. 142-45)

Oblate Father Zacharie Lacasse counted the 550 Jews residing in French Canada in 1871 among the enemies of the church. By 1891 they had reached 2700, an "invasion" to alarm the clergy and the ultramontane. In 1893, he wrote that "these sworn enemies of Christ threaten to grab our province" by their hypocritical ways of exploiting and robbing its inhabitants. They represented for him all the principles which are contrary to honest labor. (Une Mine produisante l'or et l'argent découverte et mise en réserve pour les cultivateurs seul. Quebec, Darveau, 1880. Pp. 101, 109; cited in Recherches sociographiques, vol. 10, no. 2, May 1969. Pp. 419-25 and by Quinn. P.279)

This thread was later taken up by the Croix of Québec, whose program was actually written, at its founding, by Father Colin, superior of Sulpicians, as Chanoine Groulx attests. In its fourth issue, Aug. 1897, éditeur-gérant J.-U. Bégin published "Le Fléau de Dieu," a hate article on the Jews, aping Drumont, author of La Dernière bataille.

"The Jew will bring the Christian to his knees and will crush him with his heels. His hatred of Christ demands it, as does his character. The Jews are preparing to devour our country. They are only several thousand now. In ten years they will be a hundred thousand; in fifty there will no longer be a Canada, no province of Quebec, no society, no family. There will only be mummers, pornographers, corrupt financiers, pushcart politicians. There will only be Jews. But I am mistaken. There will also be strangers. We shall be the strangers."

We find Renault writing on the same vein in La Vérité of November 10, 1894.

"They ruin our trade, rob our people by selling inferior merchandise, and plague our countryside, often violating our good customs."

On the Lacasse scale of virtues work is at one end of the scale, and non-Catholics and, above all, Jews are at the other end. (Pardon his grammatical imbalance.) He advises the faithful not to follow the example set by persons who become rich through exploiting others.

Substantial cultural-historical value attaches to a chapter in this work which incites his Catholic readers against the "francissons," the Frenchmen recently from la patrie who do not share his religious or political loyalties. These ungrateful blasphemers seek above all to obtain influence in journalistic circles. They are paid by Jews and by freemasonry and do hack writing to pervert the ideas of people. Their followers have been largely the half-educated dropouts "who

know little about the men of daylight and much about the men of the midnight," who are impressed with literary name-dropping and listen to their anti-religious and anti-clerical ravings. It was in effect an introduction of the Kulturkampf of France into Quebec.

"We are told of infamous lucubrations written in taverns on St. James St. between drinks...

"For some months a gang of rascals, jailbirds, the scum of society are attacking the Minister of Public Works outrageously...In their work they have the support of immigrants who came from France to exploit this corner of the earth where they were received with the hospitality of which they prove every day to be unworthy.

"Who is it at La Presse who writes full columns of insults? Some guy of French origin in whose eyes, behind his gilded glasses, we can see hate and contempt for all that is French Catholic."

Father Lacasse struck a note with resonance in these references to French journalists such as Helbronner.

This accords with the attitude of his friend Tardivel. The Québécois journalist begged the conference of Catholics of northern France in December 1888 to protect their Canadian brothers against "the official Jewish and freemasonic France which sends envoys and capital and decorates them." (J.-P. Tardivel. Notes de Voyage. P.246)

We hear of Father Lacasse in connection with a pious pamphlet by two priests dedicated to the religious tradition of love of the Holy Land.

In 1882 there appeared Le Chemin de la Croix à Jérusalem et les Crucifix portant les indulgences de ce saint exercice in two parts; the first by the anti-Jewish Québécois Abbé Léon Provancher and the second by the Very Rev. Father Frédéric de Ghyvelde. Father Provancher was later to establish the Semaine religieuse de Québec.

As early as 1883 Father Léon Provancher, who was later to be one of the creators of La Vérité, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. There he was, of course, confirmed in his view that the saga of the crucifixion told of the soldiers, their hands dripping with blood like the hands of criminals, had led Jesus to His death. But the father went on to tell that the "lying Jews of that time still live on in the modern world, disguised as freethinkers, atheists, impious and as Jews." (De Québec à Jérusalem, 1884, Pp. 244-45)

The pious pamphlet was published by the Vérité Printing Co., the publisher of Tardivel's anti-Semitic La Vérité. The printing

house continued the production of the periodical until 1923. (V.-A. Huard. La Vie et l'allure de l'Abbé Provancher. Quebec, Garneau, 1926. P.288)

Indeed, the outside cover of the pamphlet consisted of an advertisement for the weekly, noting the regular collaboration of Father Lacasse.

Father Lacasse was a member of the group of clergymen who were effective in founding La Vérité which became, under the editorship of J.-P. Tardivel and of his son successively, one of the most influential and virulent anti-Jewish institutions in Quebec history.

Even when Father Lacasse was residing far from Quebec he continued to contribute to the weekly and to encourage Tardivel. (Pierre Savard. Jules-Paul Tardivel. P. 104; Lacasse obituary by Omer Héroux in Le Devoir, March 3, 1921)

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

...AND THE BEAUTEOUS

One specific issue featured a lasting conflict in the career of Father Lacasse. It was central to his personality, to the annals of Quebec anti-Semitism, of Catholic education, of theology and of church history. It was profoundly rooted in his biography, but it was so deep in the time and place that it came to involve the leaders of the church and of the culture of the dawning century in French Canada:

It was "his" war against the forms of beauty in imagination and in appearance; against the aesthetic impulse which joined the ethical as motive forces in expression and in conduct of women and of men. This places before us several perceptions of the Quebec folk to whom Father Lacasse was very close.

There was the puritan habitant who may have been poor, struggling for subsistence, aspiring to become satisfied with his lot, proud of his traditional virtues, fighting off frustrations evoked by the mockeries of those who had more than he did; in continuous warfare in his home as he sought to inculcate this ethos in the other members of his family who may or may not be sharing it. The church strongly supported him in this stance.

On the other hand this habitant was living in a society which in effect bore baiting elements. There are some highbrows who have more, offer him more, tempt him. Beyond subsistence there are at least beauty, elegance, little conveniences, comforts -- possibly available on promise of future payment.

For the wife and daughter these are more than unneeded luxuries; they are the instruments for the woman's role, for the survival of the feminine person and for the pride which is inherent in her sense of identity; a sense which in many cases is essential to her human existence. They take the form of neatness, aesthetic, novelty, fashion, comparison; they are the response to brutality and to violence.

The friendly corner store -- not to speak of the visit to the metropolis -- is the arena of the combat. The Jewish peddler with his miserable suitcase of ribbons, mirrors, combs and trinkets in his ambulating store is the aggressor, the metropolis become portable. He is organically at war with Father Lacasse for whom the Jew became the symbol and the embodiment of this evil. Incidentally, so did France. It was a long battle for Quebec.

It was a conflict that ranged far beyond elemental primitiveness and subsistence. Father Lacasse sought to enlist the Church of Rome on his side of this war; or was it Rome that enlisted him.

The vast Catholic church speaks to many peoples and therefore in many languages. Father Lacasse spoke one of its tongues, but the Catholic civilization of the art of Italy and the literature of France spoke in other accents.

Sometimes they collide and theology may be called as arbiter. In Quebec Mgr. Gaume's attack on the literary classics in the seminaries' curriculum became the military standard under which Abbé Pelletier warred on Mgr. Taschereau.

But there had always been another Quebec, at least ever since a francophone stepped on its soil: urbane, sophisticated, refined, polished, heir to all the traditions of Rome and of Paris; a discriminating reader of literature, a lover of art, a connoisseur of language and of style; informed of science, of movements of ideas and of innovations overseas. By the end of the nineteenth century there was a world of creative men, earlier in painting, later in literature. The level of education in music and of training in civilized living offered in Quebec's convents and colleges was probably as high as anywhere in the western world. There was even a consumer world of style, music and of theatre and of letters.

The existence of this society created problems for government and for church from the days of the first administration of New France. It can be traced in the regulations set for the suppression of undue liberty in the colony and in the theology, in the mandements of the bishops, in the rules for community living, in the mode of life encouraged by the priesthood and in the xenophobic tradition set very early in the colony.

Father Lacasse was the veritable "maître" of Chanoine Groulx who decades later warned of these anti-social tendencies threatening Quebec: unhealthy feminism, the supreme triumph of egalitarian theories, laicism and its Protestant by-products, compulsory education, divorce laws, immigration of cosmopolitan manpower and demoralising cinema.

We realize the profound antagonism to the screen that lies in this area of Quebec society when we hear Chanoine Groulx speak of "the demoralizing cinema." It is in the vein of his objections to bridge, cocktails, ski and golf in his "La Bourgeoisie et le nationale." He might have continued his list of condemnations with forbidding reading and looking at paintings. (*Méditations patriotiques*, Pp. 4-11; *Orientations*, Pp. 229-30; "La Bourgeoisie et le nationale"; cited by Belanger, Pp. 222-24)

In 1880 Father Lacasse had warned from the pulpit that reading the bad press, edited by freemasons or managed by Jews, can be as damaging to the soul as addiction to novels, especially love stories where one never reads of people at mass or at confession. Sainte Thérèse had had a vision of the place in hell that would have been hers had she continued to read novels. (Quinn, Pp. 277-79)

We have here this early the linkage made by Quebec anti-Semites between Jews and the myth of freemasonry.

In her study of Sarah Bernhardt au Canada Georgette Weiller recalls that about 1870 "the ultramontane had seized control of the affairs of the nation, after a bitter struggle; nothing could be done without their particularly austere approval. They consisted primarily of the high clergy and then of a fair number of persons who were bound to them either by conviction or by obligation. All of them were peremptorily active for the total union of church and state.

"The citizenry of Quebec was faced with precise directions to follow which left them no alternatives. The classics since Homer were removed from the courses of study, replaced by the Church Fathers. Music and the arts were excluded from primary and secondary schooling under various false premises. Novels and the theatre were declared pernicious, deformatory of youth because, they said, they taught only what was reprehensible.

"Daily life itself suffered the imperatives of the day. Personal ideas were not permitted, at the cost of advancement in society. Any indication of independence led to a social ban...

"This extreme rigour closed them at the source from the declamatory art so brilliantly represented by Sarah Bernhardt. It was on her that the thunders of the high Canadian clergy were first unleashed; then on the spectators who dared brave the mandates -- to the days of her last visits in 1911 and 1916 which took place in peace, that is to say, when neither she nor her admirers were excommunicated or destined to the fires of hell." (Quebec, Editions Athena, 1973. Pp. 51-52)

Le Nationaliste recalled that in 1904 actress Réjan was greeted by hissing, young, hot-headed Montrealers, "the hope of our old battalions" among whom were many wearing the soutane. (Dec. 10, 1905)

The hunt for the agents of the stage, the cinema, the devil and the Jews was perpetual and phantasmagoric.

After judging by the advertisements it found in the Canadian Jewish Tribune, La Vérité came to believe that Jews owned the Bennett Theatre Company which controls theatres in Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec, "They have put their hands on the Canadian theatre," steps in the Jewish invasion. (Bennett is a Hebrew name related to Sarah Bennett, the scholar-editor of La Vérité wrote on October 3, 1908!)

Tardivel called Godefroy Langlois base and disloyal for criticizing La Vérité as insane in its battle against the theatre. He believed Langlois had no right to use Le Canada to defend the agents of dechristianization.

The war continued nearly a century.

The highest churchmen in the province note that "the cinema has divided the nation: on the one hand the clergy, the national associations and the good press; on the other side the Jewish-American cinema industry, the trust which is the Famous Players Corporation, the newspapers, and all whom the good press shocks with its austerity, its independence, the position it takes, its claim to rule everything;" in the words of the pastoral letter of Mgr. Bégin. (Mar. 31, 1907; cited in Histoire du catholicisme québécois. vol. 1. P.318)

Mgr. Gauthier of Montreal warred on the influence of American movies on Quebec society, and concluded, "I refuse Americans, Jews, the right to come here in this manner to exploit our customs!" (La Patrie, Apr. 22, 1926; Clouds in the Thirties, Section 1, P. 22)

In 1927 the Cercle d'études féminin at Québec was told that "fashionably dressed women are the slaves of freemasons and of the Jews." (Jeanne Talbot. Ce que femme veut...pour le triomphe de la modeste chrétienne. Montreal, Oeuvre des tracts, no. 94, P.13)

As late as December 1942 Father Georges Desjardins wrote, citing such authorities as the Revue internationale des sociétés secrètes edited by Mgr. Jouin, that "fashion may once have been a game of chance, but no longer. The constant and rapid evolution of women's style always in the direction of nudity leads us to suspect that at the root of this display of flesh and form a vast conspiracy of anti-Christian forces is at work, rather than the fantasy of a famous tailor or publicity organized around a Hollywood star. Secret forces, powers of shadows difficult to track down, acting under cover of a vast namelessness. But this very mystery covering them identifies them. We are in the presence of a coordinated action of freemasonry and of the international Jewry."

The authority of Mgr. Jouin (Clouds in the Thirties, section 1, P.104; section 3, P. 82), author also of La Judéo-maçonnerie et l'Eglise catholique, in his series Péril judéo-maçonique, had always been high in Québec, sustained by such as Chanoine Georges Panneton of the Semaine religieuse de Québec. As late as 1940 this was reiterated by the canon's La Franc-maçonnerie, ennemi de l'église et de la patrie, which recalled that the Vatican itself paid homage to the monsignor. (Montréal, Oeuvre des tracts, no. 255. P. 16)

In the 1940's another of these official tracts issued under the authority of the Bishop of Montreal stated,

"Why do the Jews retain the monopoly over the garment trade? Their money instinct finds profit there. It pays to gamble on human vanity and passions. Not all Jews are abject profiteers, nor are they the only such.

"But as Christian morality is finer than the Jewish, the kings of the garment trade do not hesitate to impose indecent disguises upon women. The more cynical among them are apparently moved by a positive clear plan to corrupt...As a New York manufacturer told a priest who expostulated, 'You Christians think you are morally superior. We prove the opposite. We make dresses which are more and more daring, but it is your women, the Christian ladies, who wear them. We have not yet seen the limits of their decline.'

"These masters of the garment industry and trade are nearly all freemasons, consequently there is a style code. I do not pretend that the lodges determine the code. But I assert that the masonic plan to dechristianize the world operates on all levels, and that the Jews, initiators of style, work along the lines set by the freemasons." (Si les femmes voulaient..., tract no. 282)

The nightmare of the Jewish conspiracy extended beyond the religious and the political. Among the instruments of evil that flashed on its fevered mind were the arts, the media of communication and of entertainment. The cinema was a Jewish invention. (J.A. Foisy, "Artistic Jewry" in Action sociale catholique, June 13, 1921) was echoed a decade later in Action nationale) So were jazz, fashion and the opera. (editorial signed by Foisy, "Moral Barometer", Aug. 17, 1921)

The attack on the entertainment media, notably the cinema, was a major phase of Catholic articulation for a quarter of a century. But anti-Semitism was only one phase of the campaign, and not even the major theme. The issue was so important that it provoked a pseudonymous Chanoine Groulx to threaten vigilante action if the government and its police failed to follow his proposals.

At times the name of Nathanson is bannered as a symbol of the satanic enemy. But in fact Jews were not prominent in the Quebec cinema world in the early 1920's and figured only together with French Canadians, English, Americans, Greeks and Syrians. (Antonin Dupont. Les Relations entre l'église et l'état sous Louis-Alexandre Taschereau, 1920-36. Montreal, Guérin, 1972. P. 119)

As late as 1922 -- and the line can be drawn much longer -- the Hull session of the federal council of the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne heard warnings, in the form of a provocative poll of its activists, against clothing which had Jewish or English influence in its styling and against the influence of Jewish

tourists in the countryside upon the taste, manners and ideas of the members of the Association. The investigation also warned against Jewish mail order firms and fashion magazines.

The speakers denounced Juifovitch, the King of Style and called upon its loyalists to be on guard against merchandise manufactured by Jews. (Secouons le joug, Rapport officiel du 19^e Conseil fédéral tenu les 1er et 2 juillet, 1922. Montreal, Secrétariat général de l'A.C.J.C., 1923)

La Revue nationale listed "Jewish-masonic fashions" as among the most urgent problems of the time. (Lévis Lorrain. "Notre scandale de catholiques", in vol. 10, no. 7, July 1928. Pp. 197-202)

This explains the primitivist attack on Sarah Bernhardt in Quebec City which followed incitement in the press against the current stage.

Of course, with time French Canadian Catholics largely outgrew this political-theological condition. Even during the years of the Bernhardt visits there was progressive liberation. The Lacasse influence on Quebec thought was not as pervasive and permanent as he had wished. But it was a war that left many wounded and many scarred.

But the hunger for freedom of thought, even for freedom of the body from the encumbrance of excessive and unbeautiful garments and freedom of the limbs to dance, was long an element in the social and psychological history of Quebec. We recall the movement for public libraries which surfaced again during the conflict in regard to the Syllabus of 1864. We recall that the Gazette des campagnes first attacked Jews in the context of its combat against fashionable modes of dress and against luxury. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 31) The social history of les Trois-Rivières records restlessness against the rigours of social dancing.

An intellectual rooted many generations into Quebec land, Jean Charles Harvey could write,

"A democrat who has always lived in New York, in Washington, in San Francisco, in London, or in Paris, will be shocked to learn that there exist, in North America, in the middle of the Anglo-American world, three million individuals whose official and general system of education teaches that liberty of thought and conscience is the greatest of dangers, and a serious offence against God and man. He will be yet more surprised to learn that, among these people, a citizen of Canadian birth and origin and French speech, once openly known as a free thinker -- however honest, intelligent and useful he may be -- will be the object of very effective boycott, and of such exclusion from many activities as to

neighbour on ostracism." (The Eternal Struggle, the Truceless Conflict between the Rights of the Individual and the Forces of Despotism. Toronto, Forward Publishing Co., 1943. P.6)

To anticipate, it should be noted that, when the anti-Semitic movement in the province was checked, it was often the men and women of the arts who preceded the social engineers in breaking the barriers of prejudice. The names of such women as Mme. Donalds, Sarah Fischer, Ethel Stark and Ida Hendel figure among these pioneers in normal relationships.

.....AND SARAH

But in the life of Father Lacasse the persons who stood out as opponents and as symbols of the other universe were the Canadien Louis Fréchette, outstanding poet of Quebec at this time, an aesthete and spokesman for the other world, and the Parisian actress of Dutch-Jewish origin, Sarah Bernhardt (1844-1923)

The life of Sarah Bernhardt incorporated the classic phenomenon of the liberated artist who was opposed by traditional morality. Her several visits to Québec never failed to evoke attacks from the church which were echoed in the conservative press but were ignored by the lovers of art and of the theatre, including very many believing and practicing Catholics.

Her complex biography does not follow simple lines of progress or difficulty; it frequently changes planes of action, so that terms and vocabulary do not have fixed meanings. In this context the label "Jew" which often reappears in her records is difficult to define; even her rejection of Judaism was so often thrown in her face.

As early as 1880 the phrase "worthy Jewess" entered the vociferous debate (Ode by Fréchette, La Minerve, Dec. 30, 1880)

But Georgette Weiller remarks that "whatever she said about it, atavism may have a large part in this unending need of change, for she has travelled about the world without ever finding rest in it. Did she not say that 'her true motherland is the air of freedom; her vocation, art without constraint?'" (Sarah Bernhardt au Canada. P.20)

Sarah Bernhardt's Montreal 1891 visit led La Semaine religieuse de Québec to serious thinking about Catholicism and Protestantism, in the train of parallel consideration in Courrier du Canada.

"If it is true that all her plays but one are bad, it is sad to admit that a large part of her audiences are Catholic, and that most Catholic newspapers have unreservedly placed themselves at the devoted service of the famous actress.

"It is sometimes said that Protestantism is easier living. This is very true. But let us admit frankly that Catholic principles as practiced by a goodly number, are hardly too troubling nor any less comfortable.

"The Protestants who live among us, whose beliefs are further confirmed by the conduct of many Catholics, are sound in

their reasoning. The people are not the religion. It does not follow that Catholicism and Protestantism are the same. But, after all, it is quite natural and easy to understand that the Protestants came to believe it is so.

"Ignorance and lack of reflection, rather than wickedness, we trust are the cause of the contradictions between the actions and the beliefs of many Catholics." (May 2, 1891)

Even in her absence from Quebec she was very much of a powerful presence in the awareness of those to whom she represented art, beauty and liberation; for some she was the significantly beautiful embodiment of evil. Reports of her appearances in Paris and of the enthusiasm she aroused in the City of Light were reprinted in such Montreal newspapers as La Patrie (Dec. 22, 1896) and were vigorously denounced in La Vérité (Jan. 2, 1897)

The battle which La Vérité and Father Lacasse fought against the poet and the actress was monumental for the society of their time and significant for the social historian of Canada and for the reader of Jewish history. It began early. ("Le R.P. Lacasse et son détracteur," in La Vérité, Jan. 27, 1894 and Feb. 7, 1903; La Patrie, Dec. 30, 1893 and Jan. 13, 1894)

La Vérité argued, "It is a national nameless shame to see our people prostrate themselves before this actress, acclaim her and literally harness themselves before her chariot like beasts in the field."

Her first visit to Quebec was crucial to her complex biography. It came after many years of artistic labor when recognition was coming slowly and uncertainly in her native France. Attention and appreciation were beginning to emerge, but her place as an acknowledged artist was precarious. There were some enthusiastic admirers, but as many sharp-tongued critics. In a characteristic impassioned gamble she resigned from the Comédie française, where she was not always happy, to venture on a tour across the Atlantic.

Whatever part lecture or concert tours may play in the lives of artists, scholars and companies, in the life of the "Divine Sarah" such tours were virtually the totality of her career, in spite of her unique place on the Paris stage, or stages.

For it is clear that the courageous non-conforming Sarah, who led two of her several lives -- the career of the sublime creative artist actress and the ugly intimate life of the woman -- simultaneously on the public stage, did not establish a personal base in human society, and this restlessness made her a defiant multiple stranger wherever she travelled. None of her experiences were unique in her life, remarkable as they are in the history of the theatre and in social history.

So in Canada too, as elsewhere, she aroused the enthusiastic admiration of the generation of young and the expansive who quickly saw her as a courageous militant symbol of a universe to which they aspired.

"The miracle happened: the sweetness of the voice and the grace of the frail creature were instantly seducing; success was immediate, and after each of her performances the applause sparkled. The victories won in Old Europe were surpassed by far." (Georgette Weiller, P.15)

The visit of Sarah Bernhardt was also an important date in several sectors of Canadian life, not least in L'Histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles as told by the Collectif Clio (Montreal, Les Quinze, 1982. P.230)

"And in 1880 we heard the most beautiful voice in the world. We suddenly find the 19th century newspapers where women do not exist speaking of an overseas actress, Sarah Bernhardt. Her arrival in Montreal is a frenzy. She is met at the station by the mayor, notables, a crowd of students and by the poet Louis Fréchette who wrote 'L'Ode à la Diva' for her. Tickets are grabbed at the doors of the theatre. Sarah Bernhardt is not a star; she is a myth. Her private life -- marginal, free and eccentric -- is told in the papers. While some see her coming as a theatre event as well as a patriotic event, it can also be seen as the creation of a new myth of the woman; the free and scandalous woman who is the more admired as she is distant from the daily life of Canadians."

Historian Edgar Andrew Collard described that Montreal event in the Gazette of December 25, 1954 and again in his articles on the history of the Windsor Hotel,

"It was in the Christmas season of 1880 that Sarah Bernhardt made her first visit to Canada. She was already the 'Divine Sarah' of the world's stage, and her coming caused a great stir in the city.

"The Academy of Music in Montreal, where she was to appear, announced that its free list would 'positively be suspended during the Bernhardt engagement.' And Hovey and Company, the important florists on Beaver Hall Hill, urged all their customers who required flowers for the Bernhardt engagement to place their orders early, 'and thus prevent disappointment.'

"To welcome Mademoiselle Bernhardt as soon as her train reached Canadian soil, a deputation of leading citizens of Montreal had left Bonaventure Station for St. Alban's, Vermont, in a special car placed at their disposal by Mr. W. B. Vial, of the Central Vermont Railway. In the deputation were Henry Thomas, manager of the Academy of Music, Louis Fréchette, the eminent French Canadian

poet, Hon. J. R. Thibaudeau, and such distinguished Queen's Counsel as Joseph Doutre and F. X. Archambault.

"Shortly after the deputation had reached St. Alban's, the train bearing Sarah Bernhardt and her company arrived from New York. The members of the deputation entered Mademoiselle Bernhardt's carriage, where each was given a cordial shake of the hand and a few gracious words.

"The actress was wearing a brown dress and a long cloak of blue-green plush, trimmed with fur. Her hat was of seal, with golden feathers; her scarf was of lace; and her travelling gloves were of fawn velvet. These clothes were part of the wardrobe, valued at \$80,000, which she had brought to America and on which the Government of the United States had required her to pay a duty of \$4,800.

"Mademoiselle Bernhardt, who was tired and not in robust health, expressed her regret that she was not able to converse at greater length with those who had (as she phrased it) 'paid her the delicate politeness' of coming to meet her. Monsieur Fréchette then read a poem specially composed by him for the occasion. The last verse opened with the lines:

"'Salut donc, O Sarah! salut, o dona Sol!
Lorsque ton pied mignon vient
fouler notre Sol...'

"She evidently appreciated the sentiments of admiring welcome expressed in Monsieur Fréchette's poem. At its close she warmly thanked the author, and the deputation withdrew.

"When her train pulled into Montreal's Bonaventure Station, Mademoiselle Bernhardt could hear La Marseillaise being played by the City Band on the platform. When she looked out of the window of her carriage she saw that a vast throng had gathered. Advantage had been taken of every point, and some persons were even standing on the roofs of the carriages of the outgoing trains.

"Upon her appearance, the crowd surged forward, and only with much difficulty could a passage be cleared for her. So great was the pressure that Mademoiselle Bernhardt gave way to tears and fainted. She recovered herself, managed to reach her sleigh, and was driven to the Windsor Hotel. There were cheers along the route, especially at the corner of Bonaventure and St. Catherine streets, where many had gathered to see her pass by.

"On the night of Thursday, December 23, Sarah Bernhardt made her first appearance at the Academy of Music, Montreal's principal theatre of the day, which stood on Victoria street, on the property now occupied by the store of the T. Eaton Company. Long before the doors were opened, the street was filled. When Mademoiselle Bernhardt arrived in a closed sleigh at the stage door,

there was a burst of applause and a rush forward to catch a glimpse of her as she stepped out and entered the theatre.

"That night Sarah Bernhardt played the title role in 'Adrienne Lecouvreur'. The first entrance of Adrienne occurs shortly after the opening of the second act and, as Mademoiselle Bernhardt advanced upon the stage, a round of greeting arose from the audience, and some minutes passed before she could speak her first lines. It was not long before her charm and skill as an actress had had their effect, and even those who had come to scoff remained to applaud.

"As the curtain fell upon the dramatic last scene, there was a brief hush, and then wild cheering. As the curtain arose again, the Divine Sarah was presented with a splendid floral trophy, bearing the tricolor of France. Detaching the tricolor from the flowers, she waved it over her head, while a new burst of cheers came from the gallery. Again, and again she was called back to the stage to bow over the gaslights to her new admirers.

"It was only the first of a series of successes. She was received with equal applause on Christmas Eve; when she played Gilberte in 'Frou-Frou' and in the matinee on Christmas Day, when she played Camille in 'La Dame aux Camelias'; and again on Christmas night when she played in Victor Hugo's 'Hernani.'

"There was a marvellous appeal to her acting. She could speak a single word, even some ordinary monosyllable, with vibrating feeling. And in her roles she was an artful contradiction of coquetry and devotion, thoughtlessness and tenderness.

"But it was always for her final scenes that she reserved her full power, and it happened that in each of these final scenes she depicted the death of the character she was playing. So it was when the curtain fell upon the death of poor Adrienne. So it was when she passed away as Gilberte, 'au milieu des miens, tranquille, heureuse,' murmuring the words, 'Frou, Frou! Frou, Frou!'

"So it was again when, as Camille, she showed how the rigid cruelty of death can conclude the irrevocable tragedy. And so it was in the last of her plays, in 'Hernani' when she exclaimed the single word, 'Mort!' and fell across the lifeless body of her husband.

"Perhaps it was all rather sombre as Christmas entertainment, but Victorians took kindly to tears; and, in any case, it was all magnificent art. If it was tragic, it was also sentimental, and it was satisfying to have the emotions stirred, in the midst of the most emotional of seasons.

"Her final appearance on Christmas night evoked the greatest ovation. After enthusiastic cheering, the audience broke out singing La Marseillaise. When Sarah Bernhardt left the theatre by

the stage door, a crowd of young men took the horses out of her sleigh, and themselves pulled it to the Windsor Hotel. Meanwhile the members of her audience had entered their sleighs and many drove behind her in the procession, singing French national airs.

"At the entrance to the hotel, a passage for her was cleared, and she passed to the steps amidst a roar of 'Vive Sarah Bernhardt!' At the door she bowed in acknowledgment, and disappeared from view.

"The following afternoon, Mademoiselle Bernhardt drove around Mount Royal, catching glimpses through the bare trees of Montreal's silent roof-tops. Between eight and nine o'clock that evening she left with her company by a special train on the Vermont Central Railway. The distance between her and the city gradually lengthened, and the gaslights of the houses and streets were lost in the blackness of the countryside.

"The 'Divine Sarah' had made her first visit to Montreal, and in Montreal, as elsewhere, she had triumphed."

Senator Raoul Dandurand, who graced Canada by serving as president of the League of Nations in his time, remembered Sarah Bernhardt's visit of December 1880.

He recalled in his *Mémoires* being on Liberal Party duty in Berthier when the great actress came to Quebec.

"We had been waiting weeks for her. The students had painfully saved for weeks to buy tickets for the four shows. The first evening she had a great success in 'Adrienne Lecouvreur'. We brought her in triumph back to her hotel. The following day the student community was astir. The admiration was unanimous, and everybody contributed to send flowers to the divine Sarah.

"But during the day we were called by Honoré Mercier; he asked us to come with him that evening to Berthier County. The older ones refused, but the younger men could not resist the call of their chief. One of my friends called me a fool when he saw me leave town -- and Sarah Bernhardt.

"Eighteen years later this same friend stormed into my office asking whether I had really been named to the senate. 'Whatever did you do to reach this?' he asked in astonishment.

"'It is simple,' I told him. 'You thought I was insane when I chose politics over Sarah Bernhardt. Well, this insanity has not left me. Now you see where it brought me.'" (Quebec, *Les Presses de l'Université Laval*, 1967. Pp. 37-38)

Her person comes to life in a paragraph of an interview with the Montreal *Gazette* during that early visit.

"On being told that the St. Lawrence was frozen over so that she could take a sleigh ride upon its icy bosom, the great actress was delighted and declared that she would go for a drive on it at the first possible moment. It is hardly likely that she will suffer from the cold, as she was fairly burdened down with extravagantly expensive furs." (Reprinted in Gazette, June 3, 1978)

A century later, summarizing the history of the theatre in Quebec as researched by André Duval in his Place Jacques-Cartier, ou 40 ans de théâtre à Québec, the record remains,

"When Christian morality acted as a censor...the divine Sarah Bernhardt was the watermark omnipresent, monopolising the international news pages: one day announcing her coming; later the rumour is denied; finally the legendary star comes to Quebec, but not without creating a stir in the peaceful capital. This is the melodrama which dominates this fin de siècle in the theatre, in Montreal no less than in Quebec." (Le Devoir, Sept. 29, 1984)

A COOLER WELCOME

The hostility which she had aroused even in the Old Country crossed the ocean with her to the New World at a time when it was not yet seen as a centre of western art and culture.

As Rumilly reminds us, the church of the province had become alarmed at the growing popularity of the theatre. In Montreal, Mgr. Bruchési asked the press to deny them space. And when the great Jewish actress of the French language, "the divine Sarah" Bernhardt, came to French Canada he issued an official warning. The bishop of Montreal threatened to excommunicate her and her entire company for performing on Christmas day. (Gazette, June 3, 1978. P. B-59)

Archbishop Fabre of Montréal condemned her appearance in 'Adrienne Lecouvreur' as approving adultery and as a danger to public morals. (Letter to Minerve, Dec. 21, 1880, reprinted in La Vérité, Jan. 13, 1894)

"The very talent of the persons representing the situations can only augment the danger and render the passions the more fascinating and more excusable."

Father Lacasse, the Catholic missionary, found an ally in Toronto's Protestant spokesman, Goldwin Smith.

Smith, the cultured don from Oxford now in Ontario, joined the Catholic Archbishop of Montreal, some American Puritan ministers and some clergymen in Toronto in public criticism of Sarah Bernhardt who had become the cynosure of moral attacks on indecency, the state and the Jews during her visit to Toronto in April 1881.

In February 1881 Smith defended the right of the Ordinary to warn his flock against the French artist's performance.

"Morality is their province, and so long as the world chooses to have a clergy, a bishop warning his flock against what he deems subversion of their morals will be a policeman on his beat. Those who do not acknowledge his jurisdiction will, of course, treat his manifesto as waste paper and buy their tickets for the theatre with a safe conscience.

"That the stage is out of the pale of morality will hardly be pleaded by those who are calling on the church-going world to reconcile itself with the theatre and to accept it as an auxiliary to the pulpit. All the high language which we have been hearing on this subject is a mockery if in the drama there is no distinction between

right and wrong, between a true wife and an adulteress, or a concubine.

"Not less suicidal would it be to proclaim that character is of no consequence in an actor or actress. Ristori, the queen of the tragic; Jenny Lind, the queen of the lyric; drama would have spurned a charter of depravity. In ordinary cases it is nobody's special duty to peer behind the scenes and scrutinize the lives of the performers; but in the present instance the social question had been forced upon public attention by persons, some of them cynosures of society, who thought fit to pay homage not only to the actress but to the woman.

"It had come, in fact, to something like a dead pull between those who care and those who do not care for the regular union of the sexes. We should have been surprised if in such a controversy an archbishop had been silent or had taken what it appears some divines profess to think the more Christian side; forgetting, perhaps, that when Christ bade the woman taken in adultery go, He also bade her sin no more.

"It is coming to be deemed very morose and narrow to say anything against the Dame aux Camellias. We are told that in London, as well as in Parisian society, she has made her way through the old social barriers which were respected even in the Duke of Grafton's time, and secured recognition as an object of legitimate interest. In France the highest literary talent has been devoted to her glorification.

"There is something fascinating in the idea of a vein of good lurking beneath a surface of evil, and people take pleasure in backing up warmhearted and spirited vice against cold Pharisaism or seraphic insipidity. Possibly under this social rebellion there may be a movement of ethical transition, though it presents itself in a very questionable guise.

"But the Dame aux Camellias, if she really exists anywhere but in the fancy of Dumas fils, is the glittering apex of a pyramid the base of which does not glitter. In Montreal we are told there are one hundred and eleven houses of ill fame; and the lives and ends of the wretched creatures who fill these houses are of all the depths of human misery and shame the very lowest. A true history of the career of a low prostitute ought to be bound up with the Dame aux Camellias." (Bystander. pp. 68-69)

Not surprisingly, he still stood for virtue and decency; not he on the side of Sarah Bernhard when he wrote again in April 1881,

"With regard to the social question, we have only to repeat that anything Pharisaical or inquisitorial we abjure. It is perfectly true that usually no one is called upon to pry into the characters of

actors or actresses, though it must be said, on the other hand, that the stage cannot be proclaimed out of the pale of morality and at the same time recommended to general support as an organ of moral improvement.

"But in this case the social question has been pressed on the public conscience both by the conduct of the lady herself, and by that of her worshippers, some of whom are recognized leaders of opinion, and who have insisted on her receiving not only professional but social homage.

"For our own part, we hold that the pure and regular union of the sexes is the mainstay of our happiness as well as of our virtue; that without it life would be wretched as well as filthy and vile, and that everything said to the contrary in French novels or other depositories of elegant pruriency is nonsense as well as vicious. This being so, we cannot withhold our support from clergymen who, like the Archbishop of Montreal, Canon Basil Wilberforce, and Mr. Rainsford, have done firmly but temperately that which it appears to us was their duty.

"There are women on our streets, despised, abhorred, and outcast, who are not great artists, but who have more than a great artist has to plead in extenuation of their fall. If the story of the woman taken in adultery covers one case it covers all. It must be strangely twisted to turn it into a rebuke to an honest clergyman for warning his people against paying homage to evil." (p. 224)

The conflict between the two worlds became drama when Fréchette stepped forward as the ardent friend of Sarah Bernhardt, an actress living a notoriously scandalous life, tremendously popular among a growing number of young Quebeckers -- and Jewish.

The editor of La Minerve had sought to dampen the ardor of her admirers,

"She desired love, or rather loves. She had them; no one knows how many, probably too many. She wanted glory and honors; she attained them. She wanted riches, as a true Jewess, she has it."

Fréchette responded, "Of what interest can it be to Montrealers that she had had lovers? She does not interpret less well the roles which she experiences at each presentation. Then, finally there is that strong word thrown in her face at each of her public appearances, the true Jewess. Why describe her so inelegantly? Does her Jewish birth affect her marvellous theatrical qualities? All that counts is the woman in her roles and not the stamp that is absolutely meaningless." (Weiller, Pp.26-27)

Fréchette wrote a play Veronica for Sarah Bernhardt. It was performed in Montreal early in 1907. (La Vérité, Feb. 7, 1903)

Among those who aroused the hostility towards her which eventually moved Quebeckers to jostle her rudely on the sidewalks and at the stage entrances was the oblate of the backwoods from St. Zacharie parish.

At an early stage in this cultural conflict Father Lacasse had his say.

Fréchette had composed an ode to the "worthy Jewess" which appeared in La Minerve on Dec. 30, 1880. The good father criticized him harshly.

Fréchette responded with equal harshness in a series of four articles in La Patrie. These were couched in language which shocked even Phillipe-Auguste Choquette, whom Rumilly describes as no model of deference to the clergy, in the columns of La Sentinelle. (Histoire de la Province de Québec, vol. 7, pp. 170-71)

Significantly, Fréchette was able to quote a number of clerical friends of the priest who, behind the veil of anonymity, described him as a gross boor, an unhinged peasant not worthy of attention.

The Three Rivers Frères des écoles chrétiennes had awarded Lacasse a prize for his Quatrième mine. Québec littérateur Louis Fréchette angrily protested. (La Vérité, July 28, 1894)

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

In concert with the Québec episcopate, La Vérité and La Croix fought the "French" theatre in Canada as it was represented by the "Great Sarah." (La Vérité, Jan. 14 and 21, 1905; Savard, p.424)

An important turn of a sort in this fundamental Quebec conflict came in April 1893 when Sarah Bernhardt again visited Montreal for a new series of theatre.

La Minerve devoted much space to her, erasing the effect of Tardivel's La Vérité. Besides, wrote Robert Rumilly, "The actress won her greatest triumph in Jeanne d'Arc by Jules Barbier. She had that evening performed an act of piety. But she had won her greatest success in a profane role." (Histoire de la Province de Québec, vol.6, P.320)

1905

Sarah Bernhardt's visit to Canada in the winter of 1905 was marked, as was much of her biography, by much sensationalism daringly exploited by the media before the word was invented.

The archbishop of Montreal pursued his campaign for a clean theatre, precisely against the performances of Sarah Bernhardt. After speaking out at the end of November 1905, Mgr. Bruchési returned to the matter on December 2 to note "many of the most distinguished citizens have bowed to our wishes and sacrificed the tickets they had already bought. But others did not heed our call and attended plays in which the church is insulted and Christian morality trodden under foot. They explained that the pastoral warning had come too late. In fact when the warning was issued the theatre was not sold out." (La Croix, Dec. 9, 1905)

A journalist from the L'Événement reported an interview which took place before her performance,

"She appeared nervous and affected as she entered the room where the newspapermen waited for her. The impression was rather unfavorable and what followed showed that, in spite of the opinion that she entertained of Canadians, it was justified.

"After being introduced she went to the window and spoke of the country and its people.

"'Quebec is a beautiful city, very beautiful, and Canada is also a fine country. I came here fifteen years ago'... 'no, nine years ago,' her manager Mr. Meyer interjected.

"'I do not have a good memory for dates. It does not matter. I love Canada. It is the loveliest country I have ever seen.'

"Emboldened, she gesticulated much as she continued with greater excitement, 'But I do not understand your people. You have English Canadians, Irish Canadians, French Canadians and Iroquois Canadians. But can you tell me why you call Canadiens French! You, Frenchmen! Why? You have barely a drop of French blood in you.'

"Mr. Ulric Barthe, editor of Le Soleil, wanted to comment, but the actress would not permit it. She continued too passionately and volubly.

"'You have a fine country, but that is all. Agriculture may have advanced during the past twenty-five years, but for the rest?

You have no painters, no literary men, no sculptors, no poets... Fréchette maybe, and another young man. But damn it, you have no men.'

"'But, madame, we have Sir Wilfrid Laurier,' Barthe interrupted, 'whom England and even France have acclaimed.'

"'Yes Laurier! In fact I heard something about him yesterday from someone who was here.'

"'It is hard to judge a country by its heroes,' Barthe wanted to say but the hysterical actress would not listen. She kept on speaking.

"'It is up to you journalists and young students to prepare the future and to shape the taste and the customs of a nation. But the students! Professors come to teach them and are insulted. In Montreal a lecturer who came to speak of science and religion was driven out by the students. So how do you see progress? You have progressed during the past twenty-five years, but backwards.' she said with a contemptuous gesture.

"As she paused someone commented that the article in the Quebec paper may have been written to please the religious authorities.

"'Yes, I understand.' she commented. 'You are still under the yoke of the clergy.'

"'But the clergy has done much for the French Canadians.' someone observed."

She was not averse to personifying the symbol and cynosure of profound political and cultural controversy as she rained statement after contradictory statement on her enemies, granted interviews to newsmen of all types in many capitals, often suiting her words to the avid desire of her interlocutors. Each of these pronouncements was subjected to emendations and endless commentaries.

L'Événement continued,

"Only among peoples who are themselves corrupting do persons from the entertainment world attain such importance and provoke such apotheoses. Never were such dithyrambs heaped upon the most sublime heroes of the Canadian motherland as were just thrown at the feet of this Jewish actress whose skill lies in poetizing vice, and whose enflamed tirades with the worst calumnies against the church and the Spanish episcopate had led a Catholic public to cheers. Indeed, we are going well and far and down." (Dec. 2, 1905)

And again, introducing Manitoba problems and Prime Minister Laurier,

"A Jewish woman who calls herself a Catholic and who tours the world reading abominable work where the Catholic religion is insulted, despised and outraged in its dearest beliefs; a girl who says in 'Adrienne Lecouvreur' that she is not concerned with the church whose doors may be shut to her but who will attain heaven nevertheless on the wings of her love! And this the love of a courtesan. This is what counts for Mr. Laurier." (cited by Weiller, Pp. 36,42)

Sarah Bernhardt was attacked on the sidewalks of the provincial capital as a result of this press.

As Bernhardt was leaving the last performance on December 6, 1905, Laval students attacked her and her group, crying "Down with the Jewess!" "Rotten eggs were thrown. Sarah and her company barely escaped in their carriages; two or three of them were injured." (Rumilly; Le Nationaliste, Dec. 17, 1905)

We have the actress' own report on the incident which appeared in Le Nationaliste (Dec. 24, 1905)

"Yesterday the members of a Catholic circle, stirred by a letter from the archbishop against La Sorcière of Victor Sardou because of a scene which takes place in an Inquisition courtroom, met in hostile demonstration after the splendid presentation.

"The police were alerted and were at the station where a special train was waiting for us. Fighting began when the actors arrived. Unfortunately Miss Allison and Miss Duc were slightly injured. Mr. D. Max who played the bishop was caught in the crowd and would have been badly hurt but for the help of some Englishmen who pushed him into a nearby café.

"As for myself I was surrounded and protected by a large crowd whose cheering drowned out all other noise. My secretary, whom they mistook for the manager of my spectacles, was beaten with canes, but his injuries were slight. Nothing happened to me, and I received a delegation of ladies from Quebec who brought me flowers and apologized for the insane fanaticism."

The police report tells another history of that evening,

"Mme. Bernhardt descended as the crowd applauded her. A voice called out 'Down with the Jewess!' There were no rotten eggs, no snow or ice thrown at the actress. She went into her private car laughing at the demonstration as she said they were wrong to call her a Jewess since she was a Roman Catholic. So much for Mme. Bernhardt.

"The other members of her company arrived at the station at this time. When an actor made some remarks a bystander knocked off his hat which was returned to him by the chief of police. He later complained to the chief that he had received six blows on the head with a cane. But when he was questioned he laughed and said 'Don't speak of it any more.' One actress who got off at Côte du palais showed her finger to someone in the crowd and had some snow thrown at the side of her hat. The person who so offended is not known. She was the only member of the troupe who was assailed.

"At the station the police chief asked the crowd to disperse; they freely followed his orders." (La Croix, Dec. 16, 1905)

La Semaine religieuse de Québec spread very widely the blame for what happened that autumn in Quebec.

"Responsibility lies with the stockholders and managers of the auditorium. Some of them are honest citizens, Christian by conviction, fervent Catholics. They know that immoral plays of revolting immorality appear there; that this theatre is a school of corruption and degeneracy where the most sacred virtues are trodden under foot, where suicide, parricide, rape, adultery, incest -- indeed all vices are presented as acceptable... They know all this; yet head held high, they call themselves good citizens, attend church and sleep peacefully. Happy, even when they do not attend, to applaud the hapless actors in unhappy plays...

"These citizens knew that Sarah Bernhardt was coming to Quebec; they knew the repertory of the plays in which she regularly appeared in her American tours. They could not fail to know that most of them were immoral, that many of them ridiculed the teachings of our church. Why did they not prevent her coming?...

"Now we can only regret the sad events which will stain the history of our good old city of Quebec.

"An actress comes to Quebec. She knows that ours is a Catholic nation. If she knew the meaning of delicacy she would have appeared in plays that would not shock our convictions. But in Quebec, and especially in Montreal she presented plays in which our faith is shown in an odious light, in which our church, which is the dearest to us, is ridiculed.

"Nevertheless our people remained peaceful. Some put aside the counsel and the pleas of the bishops and went to applaud the actress...

"We gave her reason to believe that we are a people of imbeciles, backward, devoid of great men, since some of our citizens had the sad courage to attend her diatribes against their religion and even applauded her contempt of Christian virtues...

"We are far from approving what happened the evening of her departure. Such exaggerated expression of legitimate contempt is always regrettable, but difficult to prevent..." (Dec. 16, 1905, Pp. 275-77)

The Archbishop of Montreal was not on her side. "We invite the most brilliant orators and the finest artists to come and to mock our history and to insult the honour of the Canadian name. They cannot expect applause; the patriotic sentiment is injured." His foresight might have had the quality of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

"In this case it is the church that is offended with a travesty of its history with its long beneficent influence. Sacred morals are placed in contempt. The scenes presented before spectators are, after all, scenes of criminal passion, of vengeance, of adulterous jealousy, murder and suicide. Evil is displayed with the seductiveness of genius. Is it excessive scruple to fear this and to keep far from it?"

La Presse was sorry that the province had suffered from the incident brought about by the execrable young people of the ancient capital.

"La Presse regrets that her abusive comments appeared in L'Événement before her play opened. She did not withdraw her comments, and the Québec youth, impelled by patriotism, was led to express itself in a very deplorable manner. She benefitted by transforming inoffensive eggs and snowballs into bombs and assassins. The missiles were directed not at her but at trouble." (Dec. 8, 1905)

After the incident on the streets of Quebec the hostile La Croix of Montreal reprinted the Événement report adding,

"This woman, who took with her \$30,000 for her attacks against the church in Montreal and in Quebec before leaving Canada, opened her heart with no self-control and insulted us to our faces. Even Fréchette who had descended to pulling her car in 1892, who had lowered himself to the condition of a horse to please the 'divine Sarah', was ticketed, 'You have no poets...Fréchette may be.' Those words 'may be' must have felt hard and ungrateful when they reached the heart of Louis.

"The next evening a group of Quebec citizens protested her insults as she left for Ottawa, crying 'Down with the Jewess.'

"Le Canada and La Patrie excused her attacking the indignant patriotism of the Quebecers." (Dec. 9, 1905)

And again,

"That La Patrie and Le Soleil should follow Sir Wilfrid Laurier and shed tears at the feet of this Jewess who insulted all that is dearest to us, that is indeed surprising." (Dec. 16, 1905)

The actress wrote Sir Wilfrid on December 6 to deny that she had questioned in the interview whether the nation had great political figures as she related the attack upon her.

He replied the following day to "deplore the violence on her entourage. Such conduct is unworthy of this city which had always been aware of its reputation for courtesy and hospitality." (La Croix, Dec. 16, 1905)

Sir Wilfrid Laurier had sought to limit the harm done to the good name of the country by sending the actress a message of regret.

Bourassa wrote, "National pride ought to find better arguments than rotten eggs." It was an inadequate, immoral evasion of the issue, an implied justification of the offenders, a failure to acknowledge his own responsibility to educate the young people who respected and followed him, and to share his higher morality or more humane teachings. In the long perspective it was his betrayal of his apostles and their betrayal of his humanism which were to cost him and them and the country very dearly later in his life.

In Hamilton she spoke of her Quebec experience in the same terms. In the magnificent capital of French Canada too, she said, the public in the theatre was perfect, but its assassins are not wonderful.

La Presse commented on "Sarah's Unhappy Word," "this exaggerating, eccentric woman who quarrels with every place she visits." (Dec. 8, 1905)

"Her judgment and her knowledge of our country are not the dominant qualities of the great actress," commented Paoloff in Olivar Asselin's Le Nationaliste. (Dec. 10, 1905)

In England the London Standard regretted Sarah Bernhardt's comments. An actress is like a beautiful child; good to look at but not to hear, the paper said.

The New England Tribune of Woonsocket joined the Quebec critics. Some American Protestant writers also commented on the low standard of Sarah Bernhardt's plays.

The Tribune "was pleased that the idolatry of Sarah did not make everyone lose their heads. It is a striking confirmation of the Canadian clergy who had warned their flock of the danger posed by this 'divine' promenading in America the débris of her talent." (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Feb. 17, 1906, P. 428)

The Jewish Times had occasion to write on Dec. 15, 1905,

"The mob who attacked Madame Bernhardt and her company in Quebec with sticks, stones and cries of 'Down with the Jewess!' was in spirit all compact with the ruffians who assailed Mr. Mage, the Evangelist, in this city. These mob outrages have brought disgrace upon both cities and on the province.

"People in Great Britain and France will naturally say that, if Madame Bernhardt did apply the term 'Iroquois' to these mobs, the attack upon her justified the epithet. We are glad to observe, however, that all respectable people and the leading citizens of Quebec, including Sir Wilfrid Laurier, strongly condemn the cowardly and intolerant conduct of the mob.

"It now turns out that the interview published by L'Evenement was a pure concoction. Mr. Barthe, secretary of the Auditorium who was present, has written to the Quebec Chronicle that 'the French actress did not apply the nickname of 'Iroquois' to the French Canadian race. She did not say that we had hardly one drop of French blood in our veins. She did not refer in disdainful terms to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. She did not compare our province to Turkey. She did not say that we were a priest-ridden population. In fact, none of the strong words reported by L'Evenement were used in the sense represented by that paper. Some of them were applied to the acts of violence recently perpetrated in Montreal by a mob of so-called students.'

"On learning the facts Sir Wilfrid Laurier telegraphed to Madame Bernhardt his regret at the incident, and assuring her that those who made the attack were persons of no account.

"The affair would not claim attention in these columns but for the brutal cry of the assaulting mob against a defenseless woman -- 'Down with the Jewess!' That cry revealed the spirit of bigotry which still survives among a certain class in this province. It showed how bad was the bringing up of men who were so debased as to fling stones at a woman, and that the charge of want of education and good breeding, made against a section of the people of this province, is not without foundation.

"But painful and regrettable as the affair was, it should warn us to be constantly on our guard, for the better element of the people most concerned may not always be able to control the latent spirit of bigotry and blackguardism the mob outrages reveal as ready to appear at any moment."

Recording the efforts of Mgr. Bruchési to keep Montreal morally clean, E.A. Collard wrote,

"In 1911 the great Sarah Bernhardt was coming to Montreal. Her chosen plays were announced. Mgr. Bruchési saw she had

included two plays he considered immoral -- 'Sappho' and 'La Sorcière.'

"When Bernhardt's advance agent came to town, the Archbishop got in touch with him. He requested that these two objectionable plays be replaced by others more acceptable. And they were." (Also in La Vérité, Jan. 21, 1910)

The drama critic of La Vérité found her Montreal performance in 'L'Aiglon' atrocious. "She will not dare come to Québec. She could not have forgotten the hot reception she had received from the youth of that city. Above all, we have not forgotten the lovable accusations she had laid against our population and the extraordinary interviews she had given to American journalists." (La Vérité, Jan. 28; Feb. 4 and June 3, 1911)

But by this time the virulence of La Vérité was at its peak (or nadir), the authority with which the founding Tardivel had endowed it was soon to begin to fade, and Sarah Bernhardt's reputation had reached such a level in Canada that the younger Tardivel could not count on many to follow him in besmirching her. Even L'Événement said kind words about her.

At the time, Action sociale reported,

"We are informed that during her visit here last week the eminent tragedienne Sarah Bernhardt was constantly surrounded by detectives and that the food she was served on the stage in accordance with the play was analyzed carefully. It is alleged that she had received threatening letters, and felt it prudent to protect herself.

"Unable to defend herself against the fiasco she suffered, she thought it wise to divert attention by arming against an imaginary danger.

"She can sleep peacefully. All that Canadians desire is that she carry elsewhere the remnants of a talent that might have been put to better use." (Jan. 31, 1911)

"AN ENTRANCE THAT WAS AN EXIT"

The last act of her long Quebec career is recorded by interested observers of Montreal history.

Collard reported, "Sarah Bernhardt returned to Montreal in old age. She then had only one leg. She was borne to and from her automobile in a Louis XVI chair. The chair had been equipped with poles on either side. Two strong men carried it.

"Crowds accompanied her on this last visit, as in 1880. One onlooker said she was wearing 'a leopard skin coat, a brilliant sequin pillbox perched on her fuzzy mop of bright red hair.' Her makeup extraordinarily heavy, disguised her aged face.

"On her last night in Montreal, the crowd cried: 'Au revoir, Madame, revenez-nous!' She was too near the end of her days. She never returned." (Gazette, Nov. 28, 1981; La Presse, April 7, 1982.

Sen. Dandurand recalls her Quebec career in his Mémoires (Pp.217-19),

"I knew some stars of the French stage. The first in time was Sarah Bernhardt who came here the first time in 1880 and whom we heard more than once during her many American tours.

"During her first visit she invited some student representatives who had sent her flowers, and we came to greet her in her loge.

"I spoke to her only during her visit to Montreal years later. We were about to launch an issue of federal bonds at a dinner at the Windsor Hotel to finance the war.

"We invited her to speak. I welcomed her and she invited me to lunch the following day in her room in the same hotel.

"Sarah had been operated on a leg some time earlier and only played in scenes where she could remain seated. Popular favour had turned from her and the previous evening she played to a nearly empty theatre.

"I had not known of this failure, but she made me very much aware of it. She believed that the clergy was behind this absence of our people. She also blamed this for our low enlistments. I had to suffer her philippic which constantly repeated the accusation

of our failure in all our duties as Frenchmen. The discussion was on this front.

"I told her that we were not Frenchmen but Canadians; that the fine saying that everyone has two motherlands, his own and France, pleased the intellectuals, but that in reality a man owed his taxes in blood only to his native land, his true motherland; that ten million Americans who proudly call themselves of pure English blood did not feel the call of blood to come to the defence of their ancient motherland; that more than 25,000 Canadians of French origin had enrolled in the defence of their ancient motherland which had abandoned them a hundred and fifty years earlier and had lost all interest in them; that the French of France could claim a second spiritual homeland, Greece, but nevertheless France had not furnished even a thousand volunteers to liberate Greece in 1823-27. This was only a few years after the Napoleonic *épopée*, when all Frenchmen had military skills while our 2,000,000 French Canadians in 1914 had had no training in arms, had never seen a regiment marching or had heard a military band.

"The discussion lasted an hour. She did not calm down until I told her that I was one of the students who applauded her in 1880. But I could not answer her when she asked, 'Why do the students of today not come to hear me? Is it the movies that attract them?'

"I was not cruel enough to speak about herself.

"It was the only lunch I remember when I did not take a bite into my mouth, the discussion was so violent and painful. As I was leaving she told me that if she were ever accused of a crime at the other end of the world she would call me to defend her. And her doctor told me as he was leading me away that he would have to give her pills at night to quiet her."

LA VICTOIRE QUEBECOISE

The triumphant conclusion of the Lacasse-Fréchette-Bernhardt Ultramontanist-theatre conflict came a century after its beginning. It took the form of an artistic event in the spring of 1982 on the boards of the Théâtre du nouveau monde and in Toronto when the Québécoise comédienne Monique Leyrac presented Divine Sarah with Jacques Beyderwellen, in French and in English.

The stage production presented Sarah Bernhardt's life, her aspirations, her triumphs and sufferings, the roles she was denied and those which she vitalized, the persona she created on and off stage, the loves she never attained. The theatrical event entered into the post mortem biography of the 'Divine Sarah' and into the treasury of Canadian drama.

There is cultural historical import beyond the artistic in Jacques Larue-Langlois' report, a delayed Québécois response to Father Lacasse, his colleagues and superiors.

"Madame Leyrac is Sarah Bernhardt, who made her life an adventurous search for freedom inside the gilded prison which was the theatre where she was the uncontested queen for more than half a century." (Le Devoir, Feb. 26, 1982; Julie Stanton in Le Devoir, Feb. 13, 1982)

LA SEMAINE RELIGIEUSE

The year 1888 saw the birth of a major and authoritative anti-Jewish agency.

At this time Father Léon Provancher, the energetic priest, who was also deeply interested in science and in other branches of knowledge, founded the Semaine religieuse de Québec on his own initiative. (Clouds in the Thirties, Sect. 1, Pp. 18, 81; Sect. 3, Pp. 71-72)

The first issue of La Semaine religieuse de Québec, of August 16, 1888, lists Abbé D. Gosselin of Cap-Santé, County of Portneuf, as proprietor-editor and Father Provancher of Cap Rouge as editor. Father Provancher's record of his voyage to Palestine was advertised in this issue.

Robert Rumilly speaks of Abbé Léon Provancher, founder of the Semaine religieuse de Québec, as a disciple and correspondent of Mgr. Lafleche.

After four months Abbé Provancher turned the weekly over to another to another ultramontane priest, Abbé David Gosselin, who believed that all liberal partisans were doomed to hell. He had been prominent in the controversial Cercle catholique and had acquired a reputation as one of les exagérés. Abbé Gosselin continued to edit La Semaine for thirteen years (Chanoine V.-A. Huard. in Semaine religieuse, March 22, 1917, P. 450; and "Feu Mgr. David Gosselin, P.A.," *ibid.*, vol. 38, no. 30, March 25, 1926. Pp. 467-72)

Years after Chanoine Gosselin's association with the Semaine he was writing anti-Semitic articles for Action catholique, explaining the Jews' conspiratorial role in destroying Christian civilization. "This is why we find Jewish leaders and the Jewish spirit at the origin of the great revolutionary movements of modern times." ("La Race juive," Sept. 13 and 18, 1921)

The church-sponsored Action Sociale Limitée advertised La Semaine religieuse de Québec as "a weekly review of doctrine and religious information."

The weekly gradually gained in authority even before, in August 1901, the archdiocese of Quebec acquired the weekly and named Alphonse Huard as editor and it became the official voice of the senior see of the church in Canada early in the century.

Action sociale catholique was established under virtually the same archepiscopal authority; the Quebec church was using the two

organs to attack the Jews contrapuntally, articles signed by its journalist priests often appearing in both periodicals.

It is noteworthy that the Semaine religieuse de Montréal, not exactly friendly to the Jewish community, did not match its Quebec sibling in virulence, just as Le Devoir, another of the Bonne presse, did not reach the horror of Action sociale catholique.

As late as 1935 the "good press" summarised its current balance,

"During 1934 Action catholique continued its customary battle, and supported all movements of Catholic Action. It is consoling to state that these activities multiply in all areas...The Jews who constitute so grave a danger for the province of Quebec are cleverly supported by a number of newspapers which may have escaped the influence of the central Jewish defence office in Holland.

"Action catholique never tires of establishing the falsity of the statements by all thus concerned; it is no small task, for the defence has recourse to any instrument.

"Recently the Semaine religieuse de Québec has supported in a clear and documented manner its mode of action." (Almanach de l'Action sociale catholique, 1935. Pp. 81-82; cited in Histoire du catholicisme québécois. XX^e siècle. 1.402-3)

Thus is this fraternity of anti-Semitic communion celebrated in a rite.

ANTI-SEMITISM IS KOSHER

A century ago La Semaine religieuse de Québec sought to clarify why religion should -- or may -- be anti-Semitic.

It found a rationale in the words of one of the Catholic leaders -- the Prince of Liechtenstein: "Anti-Semitism is not based on racist or religious grounds, but has as its aim legitimate defence against abuses on the economic level.

The Catholic Prince of Liechtenstein was acclaimed right in observing that his anti-Semitic movement has no religious basis: it is solely economic, and Canada is no exception to the generalities which the prince enunciated in the Austrian parliament. (Aug. 29, 1891) The anti-Semitic movement assumed new and unescapable forms, often with a temper and value judgment which was materialistic and far from religious.

"Seen thus," concludes the Quebec weekly, "it does not run counter to the fraternal sentiments which the Gospels establish as an essential duty.

"Anti-Semitism, in short, is nothing but the social question in a particular form in a particular place. Consequently the government of no country may avoid it or shut their eyes to it.

"The experience of most European nations groaning under the Jewish yoke should serve as an example to those not yet afflicted with this plague. It is beyond question, and no humanitarian declarations can contradict, that Christian influence and Christian elements disappear wherever Jews achieve some importance.

"Canada will not escape this general rule if it is imprudent enough to let them invade it in its turn.

"It is precisely in order to prevent this Jewish preponderance, source of so much evil among Catholic and Christian people in all areas of public and private life, that Czar Alexander has determined to purge them from Russia." (Aug. 29, 1891)

Early in its history La Semaine formulated its long range intention in regard to the Jews. It may be reduced, in one word, to the application of the severe legislation of the early church in regard to the Jews and placing them into a ghetto more stifling perhaps than any that existed in historic fact.

In his analysis of "Le Mouvement antisémite" Father D. Gosselin found his point of departure in Saint Bernard who forbade the crusaders to do violence to Jews, to persecute them, to kill them or even to expel them, for they are the living letters which represent the Passion of our Lord.

But Father Gosselin asks, "But does it follow that Christians must let the Jews devour them? How then avoid enslavement by the Jews who become masters and kings wherever they are accorded equality?"

"This does not follow from the words of St. Bernard. So how can we escape enslavement by the Jews who become kings and masters in every country where they are accorded equality?"

"Only by observing the church law in regard to Jews, which can be summed up in two words: protection and suspicion.

"The church does not want the Jews ill used; but neither does it want them put on an equal footing with the other citizens.

"The church does not want the Jews to be disturbed in the free exercise of their religion; but on the other hand, it forbids Christians to live with Jews, to eat with them, to trust them with teaching or judiciary functions or to engage Jewish doctors of servants.

"Because some people in Europe have failed to heed these wise counsels, they are now slaves of the Jews. France, for instance, has opened the gates and put them on a level of equality with the rest of the nation a hundred years ago. As a result thirty million Frenchmen are dominated, persecuted and humiliated by seventy thousand Jews," La Semaine wrote on Jan. 27, 1899, (Pp. 357-58) quoting the Prince-Bishop of Olmutz, a prelate of Jewish origin,

"If Christians had remained faithful to the ancient canon law they would not today have so much to complain about the Jews.

"The experience of all the centuries proves that Christians cannot successfully fight the Jews on an even footing for several reasons.

"We do not yet have a Jewish question in Canada, but it is nevertheless true that the Jewish element is growing among us and is quietly acquiring a preponderance of which we shall have no occasion to be proud later.

"Let us not forget, at the cost of our misfortune, that the Jew is inborn anti-Christ to his very marrow."

Characteristically, this official voice of the Quebec church reprinted a revealing anecdote, "The Natural Jew," in which a French general mocked two Jewish brothers who were spying on behalf of France during the war against Austria. One of the brothers lost his life in the cause. The other is depicted by his own commanding officer as avaricious even while in the state of mourning. (Mar. 29, 1901)

The cultural value of this little story lies in its revelation of the loyalty and ethics of the narrator and of the taste level of the readers and of the leaders who edify them.

THE JEWISH CONSPIRACY

The full panoply of the accusations which years later were to fill the pages of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion were fully developed on the pages of the Semaine religieuse before the twentieth century.

Opposition to Jewish immigration into Canada on social and moral grounds was voiced by Semaine religieuse de Québec as early as August 29, 1891. "The essential is not to double or triple the population every fifteen or twenty years, but to have a healthy and moral population; whatever its figures...Christian influence and the Christian element disappear wherever Jews count for something."

La Semaine claimed to have been informed by so unimpeachable an authority as the Jesuit student of dogmatic theology, Father Schouppe, that the anti-Christ will soon appear; the Jews will recognize him as their Messiah. Freemasonry will emerge as the central power of the world, and the anti-Christ will fulfill his role as priest-king of the synagogue of Satan.

M. Des Mousseaux, who also served as an authority on Jews for J.-P. Tardivel, informed La Semaine that the secret, supreme and universal council consists of nine members, at least five of them Jewish, according to the constitution of freemasonry.

"So it is that several Jews, gathered in secret assembly, are the arbiters of contemporary events. As they must have a leader, it needs be the supreme head of the lodges spread over the earth who controls or dismisses all the governments enslaved by freemasonry.

"When the anti-Christ will appear, to be precise in 1907, he will applaud the new miracle worker who will be the master of the millions gathered up by the kings of finance, the Rothschilds, the Hirsches and the other arch-millionaires of the House of Israel.

"The prodigious concentration of all capital into the hands of the Sons of Israel is an indication of this early coming.

"These great events of the coming times and the decease of the anti-Christ will not bring the end of days.

"The Jews will be disappointed by the earthly and thunderous fall of him whom they took for the Messiah. They will finally convert, and then this time faith will be preached all over the world. But this may take some centuries." (Aug. 3, 10, 1895)

La Semaine was not the only Quebec periodical brewing its potion of hatred at this time. As we read,

To advance piety the editor identifies "God's Plague." "It was Attila, it is the Jews. The decide people cried out 'Barabbas' and Christ ratified the choice. Ever since then, wandering without a motherland, but united by a stronger bond: the hate of Christ and of Christians. Nineteen centuries have passed, hated, deservedly despised. The centuries are passed but the Jew jealously preserves the truth which condemns him.

"It is a prodigious truth: the Jew remained intact, living testimony of the hardness of his heart, of the truth of Calvary. The Jew continued on his way. Nations and ages have seen the Killer of God and have recognized him. He is the Jew before the bar, shifty, slinking, greedy, nose rapacious, a vile being, hypocritical, wandering misery. Last among the nations, the damned seal on his forehead, he has retained his features and his character.

"He cannot be assimilated. The Romans tried. He left the cistern whole and has since concentrated on the art of combining the filthy and the hybrid.

"No, there is no mixing with him. He will slither on his knees before the Christian and will crush him. His hatred of Christ commands it, as does his character.

"So, for nineteen centuries an unceasing war between the Jew and the Christian. History is stamped by this war in diverse ways: warriors against Rome, conspirators in the 13th and 14th centuries together with the Templars, shadowy and bloody; then they reaped the 16th and 17th centuries. Orientalized they recommenced the struggle; freemasons in the 18th century; socialist, cosmopolitans and financiers in the 19th, they attained victory in France. France deserved it...

"Will we deserve this punishment? If our conscience accuses us, let us convert and let us fight with no truce. Then, and only then, the Jews will disappear. If we become good again, God will put this race of vipers back underground." (Vol. 1, no. 7, Nov. 1897, Pp. 51-52)

CONJURED FROM WITHIN...

An even more ominous element in the anti-Semitic campaign in Quebec was the participation of a Jew-turned-Catholic priest, Abbé Joseph Lemann whose long series of articles on the Rothschilds were reprinted in the Semaine religieuse de Québec in 1896 (vol.8).

In his conception the banker family has become the symbol and the king of wealth, of avarice and of evil, and the antichrist; all this identified with the Jew. As he wrote in the concluding segment (P. 779),

"Modern society is on its knees today before the sign (of lucre). The Jews danced before the golden calf; the spirit of the century has become Jewish, and into this enlarged circle of the dance all the peoples have become drawn. Rothschild appears as the prince of happiness to the crowds."

In this connection he quotes Bishop Emmanuel de Ketteler of Mayence on the deification of the state and the rise of the State-God as the work of secret societies. Father Lemann sees "the insolent adulation of the antichrist. If in this society," he wrote, "ever more deprived of God, there arises a powerful personage which incorporates the means of seduction invented by modern society and whom Satan, the genius of evil, enriches prodigiously with the attractive instruments which he has saved for this son of perdition."

"If this personage chains the multitudes to his chariot by the use and abuse of universal suffrage,

"If he continues the work of Julian the Apostate and insinuates the church into hypocritical and ferocious laws and diminishes the number of true servants of God,

"If the Jews are impressed by the extraordinary prowess of this potentate and recognize him as the temporal Messiah whom they persist in awaiting, and support him with their omnipotent credit as he raises them above Catholics -- is he not the antichrist?" This is what is being prepared in the lodges, he concludes.

The record shows that this born-Jew-become-Catholic Father Lemann was ubiquitous in Catholic anti-Semitism.

His accidental meetings with J.-P. Tardivel, as we shall see, had a remarkable impact on the province and reechoed in Quebec with a remarkable resonance. Nor were he and his brother the only New Christians to resound in this anti-Semitic universe. The gallery

of Quebec Jew-hatred will parade a number of these European agitators who had been born Jewish.

It is not surprising that these Quebec Catholic explorers in Judaism referred to these former Jews for information and judgments on Judaism. What was remarkable in this situation is that there were persons born and brought up as Jews in Jewish families who found it possible to turn so hostile to their kin as to distort and even to falsify the testimony of the lives of their own to injure them and to join their persecutors to the ultimate.

What is equally surprising is that we come to deal not with one person -- the adventures and the tergiversations of one human mind are inexplicable and unforeseeable -- but that we are dealing in the plural; there are several in this tale. We therefore seek the common element and cause that form them into a group. Can we conclude that the conversion, which was common to them, is the element that created the pathology in ethics? Jewish history provides testimony to affirm this -- and other evidence to contradict it.

Among the Qubeckers who were influenced by Lemann or who exploited him was Abbé Antonio Huot whom we met in the Plamondon campaign. (Clouds in the Thirties, Section 1)

The convert from Judaism recurs in the writings of Abbé Huot in the midst of the Plamondon campaign. In his lecture on La Question juive, quelques observations sur la question du meurtre rituel before the Cercle Garneau of the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne at the Académie St-Joseph Abbé Huot cited Father Lemann first among his authorities who urged that the ancient church legislation governing Jews be applied again. Huot also found support for his anti-Semitism in another churchman, also Jew turned Catholic, Mgr. Kahn, as well as in Rohling, De Lamarque, Mgr. Delassus and Drumont.

Like some other Quebec periodicals, La Semaine religieuse de Quebec followed developments in world Jewry with unconcealed hostility. Its issue of December 12, 1903 carried a survey of Judaism based by Eugène Rouillard on the report of the Jewish Year Book. He urged that Canadians not lose sight of the danger of progressive invasion by the Israelite race. (Clouds in the Thirties, section 1, P. 36)

It is easy to trace from here a direct chain of anti-Semitic leadership to Eugène Rouillard of the Bureau of Statistics who cried havoc at the coming of so many Jewish immigrants. After reviewing the position of Jewry -- a sorry state in Russia, promising in England and in Germany, by and large good in France, excellent in the United States -- he warns of the coming of Jews to Canada, especially to Quebec.

...AND FROM WITHOUT

The notorious libeller of the Jewish people, Abbé A. Huot, cited Rouillard in his Le Fleau maçonnique. The anti-Semitic priest's L'Oeuvre de la reconstruction was published by the Semaine religieuse in 1919. (16 p.)

La Croix of Montreal had warmly recommended the Huot book to its readers on May 12, 1906

In his 1914 pamphlet of 37 pages, issued in Quebec by Action sociale catholique with the imprimatur of Cardinal Bégin, Father Huot recalls the death of Father Thomas in Damascus, the murder of Simon of Trent and the Mendel Beilis case -- all ascribed to Jews.

The church institution distributed the incendiary pamphlet as the second in its Lectures sociales populaires série à dix sous.

The first in Action's five-cent series of Lectures sociales populaires, also from the pen of Abbé Huot, was Le Poison maçonnique issued in 1911 and reprinted in 1912. (34 p.) This work was based upon the papers of the freemasonic Lodge de l'Emancipation which were seized by the young journalist Lemieux and became a sensation in Quebec at this time. Abbé Huot aimed his arrows this time at M.L.A. Godefroy Langlois who was elected "thanks to the kikes in his constituency" of St. Louis in Montreal. This militant legislator had fought valiantly for a modernized educational system in the province, but the priest accused him of "corrupting the mentality of the citizenry on questions of education by a hypocritical and insidious campaign."

Even in his last days, when Abbé J.-Antonio Huot (1877-1929) was about the last to preach the anti-Semitic libel that Jews commit ritual murder, the Semaine religieuse was publishing his work. When his France et Italie was published in 1923 in Quebec, with a preface by Abbé Camille Roy, from the Imprimerie de l'Action catholique (177 p.), the book boasted that the contents appeared earlier in La Semaine religieuse.

Huot is described as the director of La Semaine religieuse de Québec in his La Question juive chez nous issued in Action sociale catholique in 1926 (12 p.). The contents of the pamphlet had appeared earlier in Action catholique of May 17-19, 1926. An English translation was also published (12 p.).

At the end of the century La Semaine published a horrifying article on what happened following "L'Invasion juive en Autriche." (Dec. 2, 1899)

In the light of the later history of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion created in Russia it is useful to note that the Semaine religieuse draws upon Missouri sources (via the Times) for information about Jewish evil-doing in Transvaal, in China and in India as well as in Russia. There, the Quebec weekly tells its readers, the Jewish revolutionary influence is great. This operates not only through the Bund but also through the Octobrists, Constitutional Democrats and Democratic Social Revolutionaries.

"Because of their intelligence, energy and solidarity they have attained a disproportionate influence." (Sept. 29, 1906, Pp. 111-12)

This coheres with its warning of May 18, 1901 that international socialism is essentially a Jewish movement. (P. 615)

The religious weekly gave its readers a classic anti-Semitic joke about a Jewish usurer cheating a Russian peasant. (Mar. 21, 1891)

As in Europe, the Quebec Catholic anti-Semitic movement readily assumed a non-religious, even a materialist and Marxist view of history -- as anti-religious as racism -- to establish its thesis. In the view of La Semaine even so religious a phenomenon as the Spanish Inquisition was a populist movement which came about as a reaction to Jewish domination and exploitation. (Semaine religieuse, May 27, 1905, from La Croix)

Informed by La Croix of Paris, La Semaine of Quebec defended the Spanish Inquisition which had, admittedly, been condemned by the papacy because of its excesses.

However, now a Franciscan revealed that the Jews, who had earlier captured the favours of the princes of Spain "succeeded in seizing control of bishoprics and of abbeys by false conversions and continued to exploit the Spanish people ferociously. The Inquisition attacked this condition, the vengeance of a people odiously oppressed." (May 27, 1905, Pp. 653-54)

The dangerous meeting between "Jews and the French" was formulated by Semaine religieuse on July 1, 1899 as an eyeball to eyeball confrontation in terms remarkably reminiscent of our own violent time. This position is a prelude to a new crisis which may well end with a slaughter of all the long and crooked noses. This in an official, religious periodical. Like so many prophecies by men of religion, it could become self-fulfilling.

The rise of anti-Semitism does not lend itself easily to mensuration or to comparison. But Michael Brown notes that the French variety at century's end was so virulent that it even infected the Jews in France and created self-hatred. (Paper on "France, the Catholic Church, French Canadians and Jews before 1914, before the Canadian Jewish Historical Society, June 1, 1976. "In fact," Brown writes, "there were few places in the world in those years where French and Catholic anti-Semitism combined with more ferocity than in Canada." (P. 27)

The literature of that France flowed into Canada. Its repercussions were felt by Jews in Quebec for decades. It was the source of thinking on Jewry.

Edouard Drumont, the high priest of anti-Semitism in France, may not have taken the religious element into adequate account in his social reform; but as an anti-Semite the Quebec adherents of the church were urged to buy his works from bookseller J.-A. Langlais, ultramontane activist of St-Roch. (May 25, 1890, Semaine religieuse de Québec)

From its earliest days La Semaine religieuse de Québec, destined as it was to the attention of the clergy, centered its considerable and hostile interest in Jews, and particularly in those residing in France and it was fed by the press of that country. Among its first presentations were articles on "Le Grand Rabbin de France" (Dec. 8, 1898, Pp. 235-37) and on "L'Alliance israélite universelle" (Feb. 28, 1898, Pp. 422-23 and Mar. 12, 1898, Pp. 453-55) criticizing the central Jewish institution of France as an agency of freemasonry and of laicisation.

"The principal gifts of Jews to France" have been to de-Christianize the country. (July 23, 1892)

RACISM THE EXTERMINATOR

But real fright for the reader a century later comes in the very title of an item published on July 31, 1897, "Juifs et Aryens" forty years before Hitler. It shows the Quebec churchmen drinking early from the fatal waters destined and intended to drown the world.

Annonciator of Hitler, the Semaine was probably the first, but not the last, in Quebec to apply the racist theory which would deprive the Jews of a human face or even a vegetal being in order to facilitate his extermination. On October 15, 1898 the voice of religion in Quebec dealt with "The Jewish microbes in France" and gave the location of their cultures: 27 high functionaries in the ministry of finance, 30 prefects in the interior ministry; 10 counsellors in the Paris appeal court, 9 on the Council of State, etc., to a minimum total of 160 such.

This was confirmed in Transvaal, according to La Semaine of February 3, 1900 where "The Boers are convinced that the Jews are the most terrible of microbes and hunt them without mercy. They are prudent and well advised, those Boers.

"As soon as Jews attain some importance in any country, they promote religious persecution and proceed to conquer the country which welcomed them.

"So they cannot help but consider as idiots the Aryans who opened wide the gates to all comers, who fraternise with them and who don't even have the courage to reject their invitations. And they are not wrong." (July 24, 1897)

During the Boer War this church weekly reprinted accusations labelling it as the Jews' War, waged in the interests of the Jews. (Mar. 8, 1902)

This early biological or zoological anti-Semitism, so distant from, and yet so identical with religious anti-Semitism, was at the base of the more refined racism at the root of even so eminent a clergyman as Chanoine Groulx who did not hesitate to entitle his novel L'Appel de la race and his history La Naissance d'une race.

In the interests of accuracy we note that as Hamelin and Gagnon point out, the distinction between nation, people and race to separate them from fascism were made only after the 1930's. But in their appreciation of Chanoine Groulx, the master-educator priest become the depository of the historic conscience of the nation, they saw him as the creator of the soul of the race, forging a youth which

would incarnate the summation of the race; especially in his Crusade of the Adolescent.

Word studies in the writings of Abbé Groulx and his associates might prove revealing of affinities with European exponents that this Canadian would indignantly denounce.

A random reading of almost any page in his high-minded writings documents a fundamental concern with French Canadian "destiny, the principle and the condition of the ethnic personality...We seek to find again, to seize again in all its integrity the ethnic type that France left here and which a hundred and fifty years of history have modelled...We wish to clear this type of its alien growths ('émancer de ses végétations') and develop within it intensely its original culture...and it is this type, with his ethnic and psychological heredities, that we wish to maintain, to whom we especially entrust our future; for a people like every growing being, can only develop what he is within itself, only in the powers whose living seed it has within itself...

"By the history which maintains the continuity between generations like a river with its flood of accumulated virtues of the race, a people remains in possession of its constant, present world wealth...

"We do not intend to sacrifice the legitimate rights and aspirations of our race for any (Canadian) political combination...

"We offer this program to all the healthy thought of our race that they may fulfill it with us: to all who accept the sovereignty of Catholic principles in the solution of human problems; all who place the destiny of our people, its survival as an ethnic group above all combinations of political interests.

"Our ancestors have never thought of any other existence for us under British domination, within the realms of the possible, than as a French group constituting an ethnic unity politically autonomous...

"To be stubbornly ourselves, the type of race created by history and desired of God...

"Like language, though less perfectly, traditions are a sign of the race, and therefore an element in its durability." ("Notre Doctrine," in Action française, vol. 5, 1921. Pp. 24-33)

"Only the luminous idea of a sole fatherland to serve lit up the desires of our race...

"Since the federal pact...Canadian patriotism can gain over the patriotism of race or province only within the limits set by the

constitution. And if our French people have a debt to its country, they must be taught to continue their duties to their race.

"It were better that the historians of our race prepare the materials for the future, those of our great definitive history...

"It is our duty to accept this long battle and to pray that the spirit of race win over the spirit of party...

"The Laurentian valley was the cradle of our race...It seems to us that now we are the centre of great anxiety for our brethren of the same race...

"No, all the elements of superiority were not put by Providence on this spot of the globe and at the origins of our race that they may be lost or remain unutilized." ("Notre histoire," in Action française, vol. 2, no. 8, Aug. 1918)

Three years earlier (vol. 2, no. 8, Aug. 1918, Pp. 338) he had written,

"The federal act which returned our political unity to our province also in a sense consecrated its ethnic character..."

Only one race counts. To the élite in search of a collective programme he offered the creation of his spirit: the conquering soul of the Franch Canadian race.

It was a battle to ensure that "the spirit of race win over the spirit of party, the victory of the ethnic type which shaped our ancestors...the type of race created by history and desired by God...this ethnic type, the cornerstone of the nationalistic doctrine.

"This people is of the French type even though marked by a distinctive history and geography..."

Rurality is another guarantor of the future: "The races which conquer and the races which endure are the races married to the soil." (Histoire du catholicisme québécois, le XX^e siècle, vol. 1, 1898-1940. Pp. 308-12)

In this Father Groulx was not alone. Anti-Semitic Mgr. L.-A. Paquet saw it as the function of the church to preserve "the soul of the race...a product of common traditions, the worship of ancestry, the odour of the home, the glory of heroes, of learning."

There is very little here of apostolate, of a Quebec people born from various geographies, from various or no creeds, speaking various languages, the product of an infinity of biographies, responding to many folklores, experiencing a universe of emotions.

There is no reference here to a Quebec which is an element of the Canadian structure or in which citizens of more than one ethnic or racial or religious source, all full fledged, equal and essential brothers and partners share in the shaping of the civilization and of the soul of Quebec of today as tomorrow.

This Groulx is calling not only for the undoing of the conquest of 1760. He seeks to excise Quebec geographically from the globe of the twentieth century and its temporal return to the imperial almanach of Versailles of 1750. He can see the colony only in the light of its legislation which permitted no Jew to set his sullied foot on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

The selfless heart which carried an intense love for millions of his own blood had no space for those of another race.

Putting Groulx' name on a teeming Metro station may have been intended as an act of piety, or it may have been a political act. In reality it is a sacrilege; it was not inspired by a reading of his work. The memorial belongs to the hallowed repose of a very large Québécois family.

THE ETERNAL DREYFUS STORY

The reopening of the Dreyfus case, in spite of powerful opposition was seen by La Semaine as one of the greatest victories freemasonry had ever won. (Nov. 5, 1898)

None of the details of the case escaped the attention of the Semaine. It was indignant that the French republican assembly voted amnesty for the benefit of Dreyfusards immediately after it suppressed the Holy Ghost mass. (Feb. 9, 1901, P. 398)

The Quebec review saw that the forces that attacked the Catholic ecclesiastical legal system and courts were identical with those defending Dreyfus who had been condemned by the French courts martial.

La Semaine religieuse saw these organized sinister forces as seeking to destroy military justice in France, six centuries old and consecrated by national tradition. Can this organization be touched? The military cares for truth and justice; it conserves a precious depository, the rules essential for an army -- obedience, fidelity and refinement. The application of these qualities must be left to the soldiers charged with the defence of the soil of the fatherland and of the sacred heritage of its worldly glories. (Feb. 26, 1898)

The Dreyfus case was presented as "The Jewish Plot" to rehabilitate and reintegrate the Jewish captain accused of treason. To this end the chiefs of the Jewish nation devoted millions, mobilised a large press and brought to its service the brains in the war ministry and other influential people.

"This plot, planned and carried out by a handful of Jews, which nearly produced one of the gravest crises, should be another lesson for all who would, as a matter of policy, place Jews on a par with other citizens.

"All nations who forget the rules laid out by the church in this matter are sure to expiate cruelly their imprudence soon or late." (Feb. 12, 1898)

The Semaine religieuse saw the Dreyfus case as only a skirmish in the great campaign. It quoted a Protestant minister of state in France, "When the cour de la cassation will raise the stone from the grave where they wanted to bury Dreyfus, that will not be the end; it will just be the beginning." (Jan. 14, 1899)

In a coverup that La Semaine religieuse de Québec described, France seemed paralyzed by a horror of self-revelation, and it involves the old French Jewish Reinach family of scholars and financiers in the scandal. The Canadian weekly felt that the Jew Reinach was blackmailing the French cabinet in the Dreyfus case.

"The nightmare which has been weighing on France for more than a year threatens to become permanent.

"Every time a minister would move he is paralyzed by the Jew Reinach who reminds him of the Panama papers in his hands. But the publication of these papers would dishonour most of the leaders of the affairs of state of a score of years.

"This explains the Dreyfus comedy which can become the Dreyfus tragedy." (Jan. 28, 1899)

A vast anti-Semitic world of nightmare was then disseminating the abomination of a fictitious libel against the oldest of the monotheistic religions of the world Judaism: that Jews kidnap Christian children.

This at a time when Christian Russians were in fact -- not in the fiction of libel -- kidnapping thousands of Jewish children to a fate that no one dares describe.

The Semaine devoted its Chronicles section to the Dreyfus case and dared draw a parallel to the Mortara case, "in both the same sensationalism, the same passions aroused, the same alignment of all the enemies of the church: Jews, freemasons and Protestants...May God bring forth similar results.

"The Mortara case was one of the most dangerous machines to prepare souls for the destruction of the temporal power of the pope; the Dreyfus case appears increasingly set up to place France in the least favorable defence postures."

The Mortara case!

Father Edgar Levi Mortara, chanoine regulier of St-Augustin, born of Jewish parents in Bologna, had just visited New York and, on the occasion the Catholic Standard and Times of Philadelphia published his story, a biography as he stated, "distinct from the novel imagined by Jewry and given credence throughout the world by freemasonry;" the story of this Jewish child was reprinted by the Semaine religieuse of Feb. 26, 1898.

"When I was an infant I fell ill. The leading doctors of Bologna treated me for a long time, but declared that my condition was without hope; my death was but a matter of days.

"We had a servant in the home who was a devoted Catholic. At the time civil Roman law forbade Jews to employ Catholic servants, but my parents were unaware of the law.

"In the belief that I was about to die this fine Christian woman baptized me without anyone being aware of this. She kept her secret for long. But after my younger brother was born, six years later, he too fell ill of the same disease. The doctors were unable to cure him. Several of the servant's friends, visiting her the day of the doctors' consultation, urged her to baptize the child in secret, since he was on the verge of death. Then it was that she told, for the first time, what she had done..

"When I learned that I was a Catholic a strange force seized me and I no longer wanted to stay in my parents' home, being desirous of a Catholic education. My parents were practicing Jews and would not listen to me. I was only seven and the laws of the Roman state forced me to conform to their will.

"Pope Pius IX soon heard of my special case and of my parents' strong opposition. He insisted that they alter their views particularly since, now that I was baptized, he was responsible for my Catholic education. At this time the temporal power of the pope was at its height; my parents acquiesced.

"I went to Rome but I was not, as was stated at the time, forced or confined.

"My parents followed me soon after and sought to win me again. A friend of the family who was present at the interview told me, 'The fourth commandment orders to to obey your father and your mother,' but I told him that there were three others that set out my duties to God."

There is a similarity here with the conversion of the two Lemann brothers (born at Dijon, February 18, 1836) who became important instruments of nineteenth century anti-Semitism.

Their mother died on February 18, 1836 while giving birth to the twin boys who were named Edouard and Achilles. Their father died soon after and they were taken to the home of their uncle at Lyon. There the young children were taken to church a number of times by a pious servant without the knowledge of the uncle. The children were deeply impressed by the religious services, as they recalled later. They were baptized at the age of 18 and were re-named respectively Joseph and Augustine.

As we read of the Mortara parents and remember Tevyeh's daughter from Sholem Aleichem, if only through Fiddler on the Roof, we can understand the truth behind the episode in the Lemann biography as told by the Semaine religieuse de Lyon:

The brothers remember that their family at first sought to have them recant their desertion of Judaism. Failing at that the new Christians narrated that the family attacked them on the St-Antoine quai five months after their conversion and that they would have died but for the courage of several soldiers stationed nearby. (Reprinted in Semaine religieuse de Québec. (Jan. 15, 1910, Pp. 360-65))

The biographer of philanthropist Moses Montefiore records the reverberations of the Mortara case in mid-century Europe:

"At this time, in the night of June 24, 1858, in Bologna, an officer of the papal police, accompanied by gendarmes, called at night on Momolo Mortara, a Jew of Bologna, and, in the name of the Holy Office, took away with them his boy Edgar, aged 7. He was brought up as a Christian.

"This forcible abduction of a child by papal authority created an intense alarm among the Italian Jews, and they turned, among others, to Sir Moses Montefiore to take up the case. Sir Moses cooperated with Jewish bodies on the European continent and in America.

"The Board of Deputies of London decided to memorialize Pope Pius IX on the subject and asked Sir Moses to proceed to Rome for the purpose of personally presenting the case to him. As usual, Sir Moses again turned for help to the British Government, and Lord Malmesbury, the Foreign Secretary, though doubtful as to the possibility of success, readily gave him the required letters of introduction. Sir Moses left for Rome, accompanied by Lady Montefiore, although she was then in bad health.

"In Rome, Sir Moses met with a discouraging reception. His efforts to obtain an audience of the Pope were indeed zealously supported but they left him under no illusion as to the practical hopelessness of his endeavors to move the Papacy to a reconsideration of the case. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, English ambassador at Constantinople, wrote:

"The case appears to be so clear that, according to our notions, you ought to find no difficulty in obtaining justice; but judging from what reaches me, in conversation, I fear it will require all your ability, energy and experience to open the smallest prospect of success.'

"Mr. Russell, British attaché in Florence, concluded that the prospect before him was practically hopeless.

"I have to inform you that all my exertions in the interest of your cause have failed. Cardinal Antonelli declined to enter upon the subject, saying "It was a closed question"...I fear you were but too right in saying our only hope now rests with that great God

whose holy laws have in this melancholy case been violated by the hand of man.'

"Failing an audience of the Pope, Sir Moses finally succeeded in being introduced by Mr. Russell to Cardinal Antonelli, the Papal Secretary of State. On April 28, Sir Moses records:

"His Eminence received us immediately. I told him the object of my coming to Rome, and of my disappointment at not being able to obtain an audience of the Pope to present to him the address of the Board of Deputies. Every endeavour I had made having failed, I had to request his Eminence to present it for me to the Sovereign Pontiff. I then gave him the address, and said, "I would remain a week in Rome for an answer to it."

"The Cardinal replied that "it was impossible to do anything in the Mortara case, but that every precaution should be taken to prevent so unfortunate an occurrence for the future; that a child once baptised was a Christian and, as the Catholic Church considered that those of all others could not be saved, the child would not be given up until the age of seventeen or eighteen, when it would be free to follow its own inclinations. In the meantime the parents should have free access to the child, it should be well educated and taken care of, but the law of the Church prevented its being given back to the parents." He alluded to an order that Jews should not have Catholic servants, as any conscientious woman might, from pious motives, seeing a child dangerously ill and apprehending its death, baptise it, she at the time believing that it could not be otherwise saved in the event of its death.

"I said, "As we were all the children of one God, it was deeply to be lamented that we could not dwell together in peace." He again alluded to the laws of the Church.

"On my expressing a hope to receive a reply to the address from the Pope, he said, "No reply had been given to similar memorials from Holland, Germany, and France." He gave an assurance of goodwill towards the Israelites in the Papal States.

"The Cardinal was most courteous, made me sit by his side on the sofa, and very cordially shook me by the hand, both when Mr. Odo Russell introduced me to him and on my withdrawing after our interview.'

"Napoleon III and the Emperor Francis Joseph made private representations to Pius IX, but even these proved without avail.

"Not even Sir Moses was able to effect any change in the rigid 'Non possumus' of Pio Nono, who in this as in matters of even greater importance, was prepared to brave the whole non-Catholic world."

"During the Passover holidays, which Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore spent in Rome, they underwent the painful experiences of incited fanaticism at the hand of the local mob.

"It would appear that, for the first time in the history of the Roman community, premeditated efforts were made to foist Christian children upon Jews by hiding them in synagogues, etc., so as to make out a charge of ritual murder. It was fortunate that these repeated attempts were frustrated in time to avoid almost inevitable catastrophes. But such dastardly outrages and the hopeless outlook of his mission left a depressing effect on him, which was further accentuated by the waning strength of Lady Montefiore,

"This journey and mission,' he recorded, 'has been, on many accounts, a painful and sad trial of patience and, I may truly add, of perseverance, but our God is in Heaven, and no doubt He has permitted that which will prove a disappointment to our friends, etc., and is a grief to us, for the best and wisest purposes. Blessed be His name!'

"It was the Mortara case that was the immediate cause of the establishment of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, but the case had already gone beyond the interests of any particular body of Jews, and had, in fact, assumed an aspect of general European importance. (Paul Goodman. Moses Montefiore. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1925. Pp. 104-10)

Almost as if on a systematic search for falsehood, the Semaine religieuse de Québec was cheered at the progress made by Le Pionnier, "always faithful to its party, always truthful, never entering into personalities, striking true notes on all questions, coldly but with the irresistible force of argument. Newspapers of this quality are too rare for us not to wish them long life." (Nov. 6, 1897) But several years were to pass before all literate Quebeckers and its courts belied each of these words. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 11)

In the spring of 1897 the religious weekly opened its pages wide to the official statements, reports, minutes and claims of the Union Franco-canadienne which had been founded by Abbé Magloire Auclair of the St-John-Baptiste parish of Montreal and now had former school inspector, L.-G. Robillard as its executive head and journalist Amédée Denault as its secretary; all three active anti-Semites. (Semaine, March 20, 1897, Pp. 471-74; Jan. 8, 1898, Pp. 308-12; Apr. 23, 1898, Pp. 558-60)

There is extraordinary imprudence in this editorial position towards an ill-fated allegedly national project in that the editor knew that its financial bases were more than suspect. J. Hernan of the St. Louis, Missouri Review had exposed the actuarial fallacy in April and December, 1897. But the Semaine continued its support and it even published Robillard's defences at great length. (Apr. 10, 1897;

Apr. 9 and 23, 1898) The perpetual remarkable affinity of anti-Semites!

Any weapon will serve to injure Jews. Parisian poet Heinrich Heine will do.

Because a statue was erected to his memory the Semaine garnered hostile comments about him from the French press.

Le Siècle had recalled that his conversion from Judaism to Protestantism was not sincere. He had avowed, "One doesn't convert; you leave a faith you did not have to join another you will never have. I never converted; I was baptized." (Dec. 21, 1901, Pp. 275-76)

THE VICIOUS TALMUD OF THE BLOOD DRINKERS

Among the enormities in which La Semaine religieuse (what a daring irony in its title!) participated was the vulgar attack upon the Talmud, one of the classics of the religions of humanity, the major expression of the Jewish people during a millenium of its history.

From its early issues La Semaine sullied the very title of the classic Jewish collection and gave generations of Québécois a perverted and imbecile version of its contents which was endlessly repeated by anti-Semites who, in consequences were barred from its text as a source of revealing documentation on Judaism.

The defamation of the classic Jewish collections, which have shaped the ethos of a hundred generations of saints, continued in such items in La Semaine as the series "Mystères talmudiques" which ran for seven weeks in 1892. (Sept. 24-Nov. 19) The articles began with a quotation from La Croix-Revue,

"The Talmud teaches the Jews that their only obligation in regard to Christians is to deceive and ruin them. Its prescriptions and maxims state that God has given the Jews all power over the possessions and the blood of all nations

"It is permitted to lie to non-Jews if there is any profit in doing so.

"A non-Jew who kills a Jew deserves death as his punishment, but a Jew may wrong Christians.

"It is permitted to deceive a stranger and treat him usuriously.

"Where Jews govern, Jews must win all cases against strangers. Where Jews are not masters they must circumvent the strangers so that they win their cases.

"The Jew need not respect Christian women.

"It is always meritorious to secure the death of a Nazarene.

"All European Jews are Talmudists; they read the Talmud in their synagogues. Only in the east are there some Jews who hold to the Bible text and are called Karaites.

"There is no doubt that it is bad to excite the passions of the mob to commit other crimes, even because of real crimes committed. A paper recommends this course of action in regard to Jews. But the facts must be presented before the public which knows how to pray and to study, and the conspiracy of silence is forbidden."

They reaffirmed all the horrible accusations laid against Jews of murdering Christian children for the purpose of using their blood for ritual purposes. (Sept. 24, Pp. 45-48; Oct. 1, Pp. 58-59; Oct. 8, Pp. 70-71; Oct. 22, Pp. 92-95; Nov. 5, Pp. 118-19; Nov. 12, Pp. 130-31 and Nov. 19, Pp. 142-43) This series of "Mystères talmudiques" was reprinted from Pèlerin where it related to the trial of a Jewish citizen at Cleves. "Here is the testimony of the churches: in certain editions of Mishna we find most explicitly that the blood of gentile children is more pleasing to God than the blood of the Passover lamb...Thence the tradition of these crimes."

The series clearly stated that the dozens of accusations of this terrible crime were properly founded, that only Karaite Jews were innocent of this horror which is enjoined by fundamental Jewish law, and that as recently as the Tisza Eszlar shame of 1882 these were exemplified.

These mystères talmudiques introduced into Canada the entire encyclopedia of the ritual murder accusation which was reechoed time and again, with churchly authority, for decades. In Catholic history writing the list of the "martyred" who were, of course, never martyred was never followed by the historically established list of the Jewish martyrs who really paid with their lives for this grotesque lie.

Throughout the centuries laymen like Chaucer, many clergymen of all levels and others who spoke in the interests of the church have endlessly repeated the ghastly accusations. Investigations have not confirmed them.

Canadian history reflects the vitality and the seriousness of this libel against the Jewish people, notably during the Plamondon and its Russian contemporary the Beilis case (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26 and 27). At that time the Jews in Great Britain and elsewhere sought a quietus for the classic falsehood which underlay the accusation from the Vatican; but to no avail at the time, and one does not easily recall an authoritative church clarification since. The gross and fanatical diatribes of history a century ago acquires a frightening actuality when read today.

One incident in the long series listed in the Semaine religieuse was the notorious case of Capucin Father Thomas and his servant whose murder in Damascus were ascribed to the Khakham and to prominent Jews by the Muslim authorities of Syria. Not for the first time, Jews who were arrested and "interrogated" confessed and

confirmed all the details sought by the inquisitors. Two of them died in the course of the "confession."

Adolphe Crémieux, leader of French Jewry, did not hesitate to ascribe the odious affair to Christian influence in the near east.

Europe of the middle of the nineteenth century -- unlike its state of mind during the twentieth -- felt that its civilization had progressed beyond such, literally, medieval and premedieval barbarities. Crémieux and Moses Montefiore travelled east to secure the release of the surviving detained Jews.

When a Jew accused of this crime was acquitted, the convoluted anti-Semites became inventive. This happened after even the Russians could not convict Mendel Beilis. Action sociale catholique was not silenced. Are they ever silent? Do they ever retract? (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27)

When this happened at Tisza Eszlar the prince of Liechtenstein told the Austrian parliament, in the name of the late minister Count Adrassy, that the Jew was guilty but that if this were found "the day after the condemnation, the people would probably have killed twenty thousand Jews, and then where would we get our money if we have no more Jews?" (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Jan. 5, 1900, P. 317)

Probably nowhere in recent centuries had there appeared so representative a Catholic expression of an overwhelming accusation of the Jewish people of such loathsome crime -- which had in fact been denied and repudiated after close study by authorities of the Vatican.

JEWS READ LA SEMAINE

In due course this outrageous falsehood was repeated by men of the faith and wearing its livery cloth in Quebec. The grave and dangerous injustice of the irresponsible accusation was made clear by Canadian tribunals, to no lasting effect upon Quebec clergymen. The developments form a sad chapter in Canadian history.

As the Jewish Times wrote in 1901,

"We who are familiar with the utterances of the anti-Semitic, anti-British, ultramontane clerical organs of Europe, recognize the exact likeness in sentiment and expression of the article in the Semaine religieuse...Behind all stands the uncompromising enemy of free institutions, religious liberty, and of everything and everybody unwilling to accept the yoke which clericalism would impose upon the world. This is the true secret.

"But the free, vigorous Anglo-Saxon race is, like the Jews, irreconcilable to, unconquerable by clerical obscurantism. Degenerate Spain, decaying France, distracted Austria stand out before the eyes of mankind, frightful examples of the pitiable conditions to which once great nations can be reduced by clericalism.

"That it has dared to raise its venomous head and void its deadly poison in Canada is a sign of its audacity more than of its influence." (P. 57)

There was an outright political confrontation between the Jewish community and the Semaine religieuse on the imperial level at the end of the century as the Boer War polarized Quebec opinion.

The Jewish Times formulated it boldly on January 19, 1900,

"Among the Jewish colony in Montreal are many men and women who were born and brought up in Russia, Poland and Austria. They have a deep personal knowledge and lively recollection of the tyrannical and oppressive government of those countries, as well as bitter memories of the ferocity of anti-Semitic mobs led by bigots and incited to violence by fanatical priests. Breathing the free air of Canada and enjoying the blessings of British institutions, contented, prosperous, happy, these refugees from countries cursed by the triple abominations of tyranny, fanaticism and ignorance are struck with astonishment that anyone could be found in Canada so stupid and ungrateful as to rejoice in British reverses and exult in what they regard as signs of the decline and fall of the British Empire.

"The loyalty of Canadian Jews, founded as it is on sincere conviction, heartfelt gratitude and profound appreciation of the liberty, security and beneficence of British rule, afford a marked contrast to that of those Canadians of a different race and faith who, to quote La Presse, have gone beyond the limit of criticism and entered upon that of injustice, disloyalty and almost treason.

"Now comes the solid representative of unswerving Conservatism, The Gazette, with a curtain-lifter of an article on the opinions and statements contained in the Semaine religieuse, the organ of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Quebec. We have not seen that paper. It never comes our way, but we accept the Gazette's translation of its sentiments, as it no doubt is, as accurate. Thus we learn that the Semaine religieuse is pleased with the prospect of Great Britain's humiliation, and of the severance of the Dominion from the Empire, "giving the French race the right to develop freely their country of Canada." It likens the Empire to Nebuchadnezzar's statue, with feet of clay, which a single stone, loosened from no one knows where, may reduce to powder. Britain is alluded to as the great corrupter of the earth, the queen of evil, for whom a place is being prepared under the ban of the civilized world. England, arrogant now, with mercenaries giving laws to half the earth, may soon have to crave the mercy of the nations she has insulted, and humbly ask that she be left a few vestiges only of her ancient empire. Then, the abasement of the English race may make the Anglomaniacs of Canada more modest and the French Canadians shall cease to endure oppression..."

"The Gazette adds that there is a good deal more of the same kind of stuff in the French-Canadian Archepiscopal organ of Quebec.

"All this would be more than surprising to Jews, considering the extraordinary advantages and privileges enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Church in Canada and the perfect freedom possessed by the French Canadian people, did they not know the source from which the Semaine religieuse draws its inspirations. The ultramontane, anti-Semitic, anti-British party in the Church of Rome, which has spread its baleful influence through Austria and France, has found congenial soil among the bigotted knot of reactionaries and anglophobes who flourish under the medieval shadows of Quebec.

"But it is a good thing that powerful, respectable papers like the Witness and the Gazette should expose to the gaze of the educated and loyal public of Canada the unreasonable disloyalty of a party in the Roman Catholic Church, which is not only a menace to the peace and welfare of every country where it obtains a foothold, but a still greater danger to the church itself.

"Recognizing their old enemy with horror and disgust, the Jews of Canada are prepared to take their stand with the loyalists in upholding and defending British institutions with heart and hand."

HOLY LAND AND HATRED

The Semaine religieuse de Québec carried on this virulent anti-Jewish agitation consistently for decades. (Clouds in the Thirties, section 1, Pp. 18, 81; section 3, Pp. 71-75)

An epoch in Jewish history opened at the end of the nineteenth century when a long gestating revolution brought to the surface a new attitude towards diaspora, salvation and the Holy Land. To turn this age old-new dream into reality Jews of the world met at Bâle in Switzerland in 1897.

Less than two months after this convening of the first Zionist Congress in August, La Semaine religieuse de Québec showed its hostility to this Jewish aspiration. During the decades since the Catholic press has not frequently spoken otherwise.

"The most curious of all congresses which has taken place recently certainly is that of the Jews held in Bâle," the weekly wrote on October 16, 1897. "Two hundred Israelites from Europe, Asia and America attended with 50,000 members enrolled.

"The purpose of the Congress was to discuss means to return Palestine to the Jewish people.

"The adherents have adopted the name of Zionists, in memory of the hill on which Solomon built the temple of Jerusalem.

"Very well, Messieux Jews, on the way to Palestine, and bon voyage.

"Unfortunately, all will not depart, and the plan to reconstitute the Jewish nation cannot succeed!

"This deicide nation, as punishment for its crime, is banished forever from the land of its ancestors and will remain to the end dispersed in all the countries of the world as a witness of Christendom."

Several weeks later it returned to the attack, relating it to the myth of the Jewish world conspiracy, armed -- as was characteristic of the anti-Semitic press of the time -- with the testimony of a rabbi who had become converted to the church in order to do injury to the people with which he had been born. La Semaine religieuse was confirmed by him in its belief that "since the days of Moses Jews have cherished the dream of conquering the world, enslaving all races and substituting their religion for all the others. Nothing can disillusion them, and they will pursue the fulfillment of this programme to the end of the world. The recent congress at Bâle

offers new proof of these aspirations of which Rabbi Drach -- a converted Jew -- has informed us years ago." For the rabbi had said,

"The hopes of my people are that Messiah be a great conqueror who will turn all nations into slaves of the Jews. These will return to the Holy Land, triumphant and loaded with the wealth taken from the infidels."

A joke which the rabbi told gives a measure of the belief of the Jews in the days of the great universal pillage of the Christians,

"In my school in Strassbourg the children decided that at the first appearance of the Messiah they would seize all the candy stores in the city. They discussed whom they would enturst with all their precious loot. While waiting for the candies they divided into quarrelling groups and exchanged kicks and blows. The arguments ended in an agreement that each would keep what they could put their hands on. I kept my eyes for a long time on a corner store at Place des armes."

The editor of La Semaine was deeply impressed with "this naive plan of these children, the schoolmates of the very learned Drach. They show better than words the positive teachings which their instructors inculcate into them."

This was the rabbi-become-Abbé D. Drach who was to be the fountain of information about Jews for Quebec and who was cited by defence and by such of its witnesses as Father J.-E. Grandbois in the Ortenburg-Plamondon trial in 1912. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27)

The Semaine religieuse de Quebec recalled that "in 1880 another rabbi, John Readlif (sic) placed before his brethren the means of attaining their ends: the reestablishment of the Kingdoms of Israel to dominate the entire world."

La Semaine further found it ominous that the Parisian Archives Israelites of 1884 should write that Jews cannot disavow their belief in Messiah and in their return to Jerusalem which is basic to their faith and to their mission in the world. As they rise in the morning, as they lay down to sleep and as they sit to the table they call upon God to return them to Jerusalem without delay and in their own days. Without this faith there would be no significance to the unique miracle of the incredible preservation of an active people dispersed for eighteen centuries in all parts of the world without identifying or mixing anywhere with the peoples among whom they live. Every year on the evening of April 20, all over the world a people disseminated nearly two millenia suddenly rises as one man, they hold the cup of benediction high and, with one strong voice, repeat thrice, 'Next year in Jerusalem.'

And the Quebec church paper reaffirms what it had written recently, "One would have to be a perfect idiot to fraternise with Jews for whom Christians are only infidels." (Nov. 6, 1897)

A year after the first Zionist Congress a pilgrim from Lyon wrote from Jerusalem,

"The Jews have sent new colonists. They need housing. Many Russian families are coming to the Holy City and they too need houses...

"The physiognomy of the Sacred City in its major parts cannot be altered, but a new Jerusalem is being created at the side of the old...

"The modernism does not have the solemn and grave beauty of the antique. The ancient constructions of Jerusalem, their gigantic appearance, with their frightening substructures, their enormous blacks all of a piece, their ramparts forward deep in the earth --how all this crushes the modern structures hastily and lightly constructed. (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Nov. 26, 1898, Pp. 211-13)

In 1899, long before the Jewish National Fund acquired land in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people, La Semaine religieuse reported that "Jewish fortunes are unionised. So in Jerusalem, once a property comes to be owned by a Jew it is sold only to another Jew; it is a law binding upon all of them. As a result the city will slowly become Jewish and the Christian will be eliminated." (Nov. 4, 1899, P. 173)

The Semaine imported from France further support for opposing the Zionist movement. In 1911 the Paris L'Univers carried learned testimony from Father Mortara and others, and the Bishop of Constantinople, a convinced and determined opponent of Zionism, that the temple of Jerusalem will never be rebuilt, nor will the Jewish people ever be reunited in the body of a nation. Chanoine B. Antoin brings proof from St-Jean Chrysostom to condemn the movement for the Jewish return. (Feb. 24, 1912)

As Jewish history in the new century gathered speed, developments furnished renewed occasions for old hostility to Jews and created new forms of hatred and action.

The conquest of Jerusalem in December 1917 from the hands of the Muslims by the Christian forces of Britain, France and Italy may have brought joy to Pope Benoît XV, but not to Father Antonio Huot, by 1912 one of the few anti-Semitic contributors to the Semaine religieuse.

Anticipating the anti-Israel position of 1948 he was comforted to know that the City of King David may be internationalised.

It is true, he noted, that Britain had issued the Balfour Declaration, that the United States joined in support of a Jewish republic, and that the pope had expressed to Nahum Sokolow the Catholic intention of living at peace with the Jewish settlers in the Holy Land. But Jewry was not united on Zionism: the Reform Rabbi of New Orleans had reservations. The Quebec priest held that divergences between orthodox and reform would make Zionism impossible of realization and that a Jewish state would arouse anti-Semitism. (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Jan. 24, 1918, Pp. 322-26)

The editors of the Semaine summarized the consequences of World War I: through "Jewish centralization" Jews emerged as the true victors in the restoration of their great pontificate in the form of "Israeli imperialism." (The writer, probably Huot, should now be beatified by the majority of the United Nations. Clouds in the Thirites, Section 1, P. 22)

Similarly in January 1925 Chanoine Lionel Roy of Rimouski treated its readers to his hostile report on "Jerusalem of Our Time." (Apr. 2, 1925, vol. 37, no. 31, Pp. 482-85; Clouds in the Thirties, Section 3, P. 98)

Father Antonio Huot notes that Quebec Franciscan Father Paul was attached to the Custodie of the Holy Land in Jerusalem in 1928. (Semaine religieuse de Québec. Nov. 29, 1928, P. 198)

In his pious "Notes and impressions of a pilgrim in the Holy Land" in Semaine religieuse Abbé Huot cannot forget the ugliness of modern Jerusalem which constantly distracted him; the Moslem presence, the Christian schismatics, and those without faith, "the ugliness of the mass of Zionist Jews some of whom stare daringly at the Catholics, the young girls with their ultra modern dress even more brazen than the men."

As he was returning from Ain Karem "the appearance of the first houses of the new Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, quite American in style, brought us harshly to the quite modern question of Zionism. For, why the uniform screaming red of those Jewish cottages? Are they attempting to turn it into a symbol? Is it the bolshevism of their colonists come from Russia which is thus being affirmed?

"Without taking these violent red Jewish roofs too seriously, we can still ask what can well be the future of the Zionist movement? Let us first remember that the 158,000 Israelites who live in the Holy Land already hold nearly a million hectares of land out of a total area of twenty million; that the Zionist executive committee has expended 50,000,000 piastres (dollars) for this colonization between 1917 and 1926; that 118 villages in Palestine are inhabited solely by Jews; that

they own two thirds of the vast fertile plain in the Holy Land, the Valley of Jesraël in Esdrelon ('the seed of God'); that they have three great urban establishments: Tel Aviv, northeast of Jafah, Jerusalem and Haifah; that they have 194 schools attended by 18,593 pupils, and a university on Mount Scopus (neighbouring the Mount of Olives) where we saw many alert students.

"The result of this immense effort? Until the crisis of 1926, there was appreciable success in agriculture. But then the shortage of money, due to the failure of Israelites outside Palestine to maintain the Judeo-Palestine establishments, immigration fell this year alone from 33,800 to 13,506 and 7,340 Jews left Palestine. As for the urban Zionist settlements, and for Tel Aviv in particular, it was a disaster.

"All in all since 1917, the date of the famous Balfour Declaration, much effort and very slight results. What will remain finally of the Zionist movement?

"The ancient people of Israel have lost their prophets and the vision of their future when it repudiated and crucified Jesus Christ. Whatever the weight of its millions and the greatness of its dreams, it walks in the darkness as long as it does not open its soul to the light which has been coming down from Calvary upon the world for two thousand years, it can take great steps, but not along the true road.

"An Israelite, Kadmi-Cohen has written in the Mercure de France, 'Zionism has been based hitherto on mendacity.' Is it too harsh a word?" (Sept. 20, 1928. Pp. 34-38)

HATRED IN MANY LANGUAGES

After the years of Judeo-freemasonry, Dreyfus and Ritual Murder, the Semaine religieuse de Québec -- and it was never alone in the province -- changed its language, or at least its vocabulary, but never the intention.

In the late 1920's came the Montreal school question and Arcand who found in its religious pages fresh sources of inspiration. (Clouds in the Thirties, Section 5) By then Hitler was on the Canadian scene. Editor Canon Cyrille Labrecque, friend of Duplessis, was the articulate spokesman for churchly Hitler-age anti-Semitism. (Clouds, Section 3, Pp. 99-102)

Representations by the renewed Canadian Jewish Congress and its Rabbi H.J. Stern may have produced silence in regard to Jews for several months but in 1938, just when the Archbishop of Montreal counselled reserve in regard to Nazi anti-Semitism, the Semaine of Quebec invoked Mgr. Paquet in its defence of the Protocols.

Hostility to Zionism was the mode of Semaine religieuse anti-Semitism during the first decades of the century, as it was to become again the anti-Semitic them in the 1970 and 1980's, coupled with the imported-from-Russia theme of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion; since 1917 this anti-Semitism was abetted by the Communists in their crusade to destroy Judaism.

There was more than a chain; a network of anti-Semitism which included the Revue dominicaine which was accepted, by a convention, as an intellectual journal in religious Quebec.

It was not for forty years that a friendly Catholic voice was heard in Quebec for Jewish Israel, with the arrival of the crusading Sister Marie Noelle de Baillehache.

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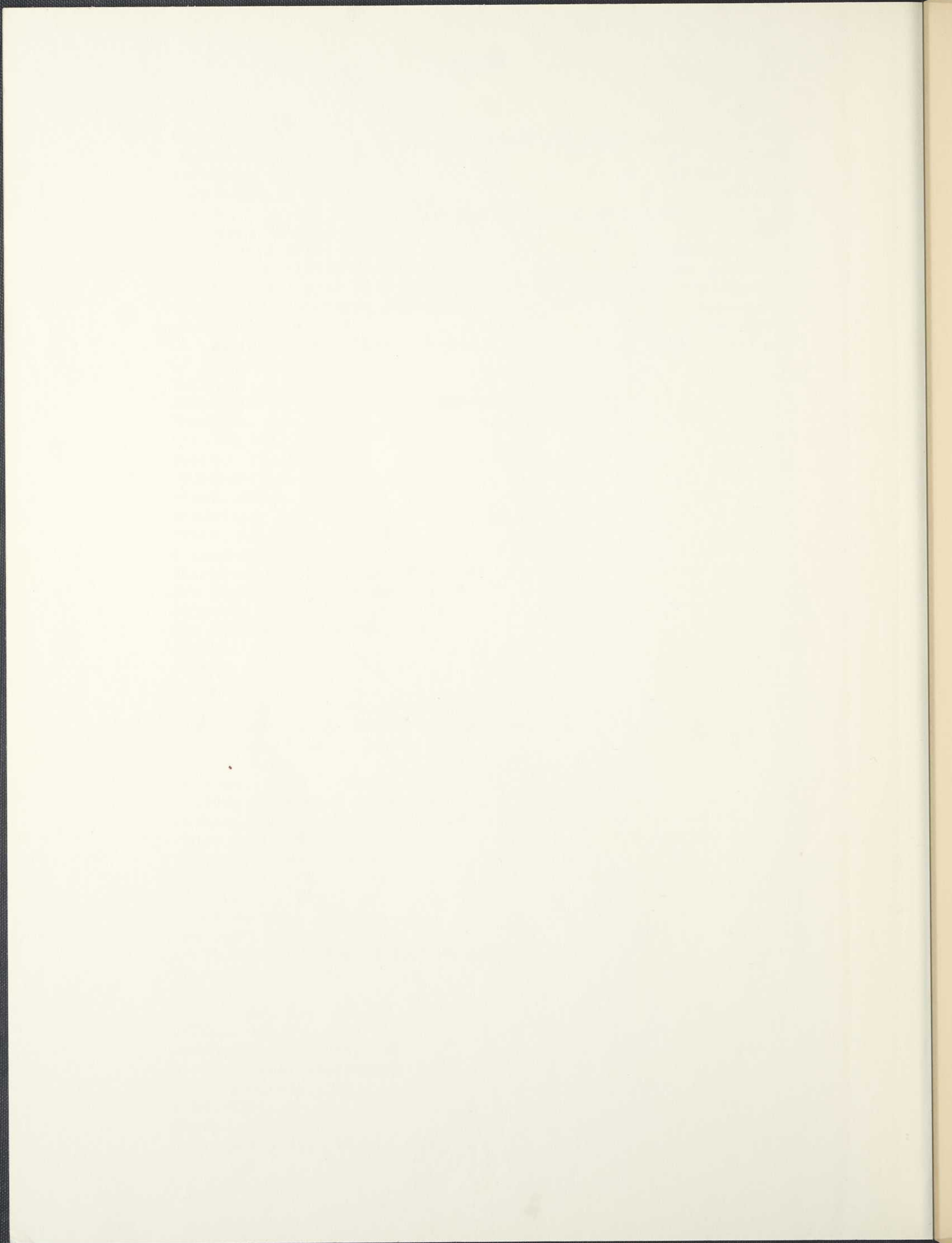
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