

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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

Nous nous souvenons

NEW SERIES 36

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

THE IMMIGRATION STORY I

THE JEWISH TIMES, etc.

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
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FIRST EDITOR LOUIS ROSENBERG, F.R. Soc.S., F.S.A.

First issue published

1964-1965

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Remembering is the first of mourning

(David Rabinowitz)

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1964-1965

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THE IMMIGRATION STORY

What is the story of immigration?

The

THE JEWISH TIMES, etc.

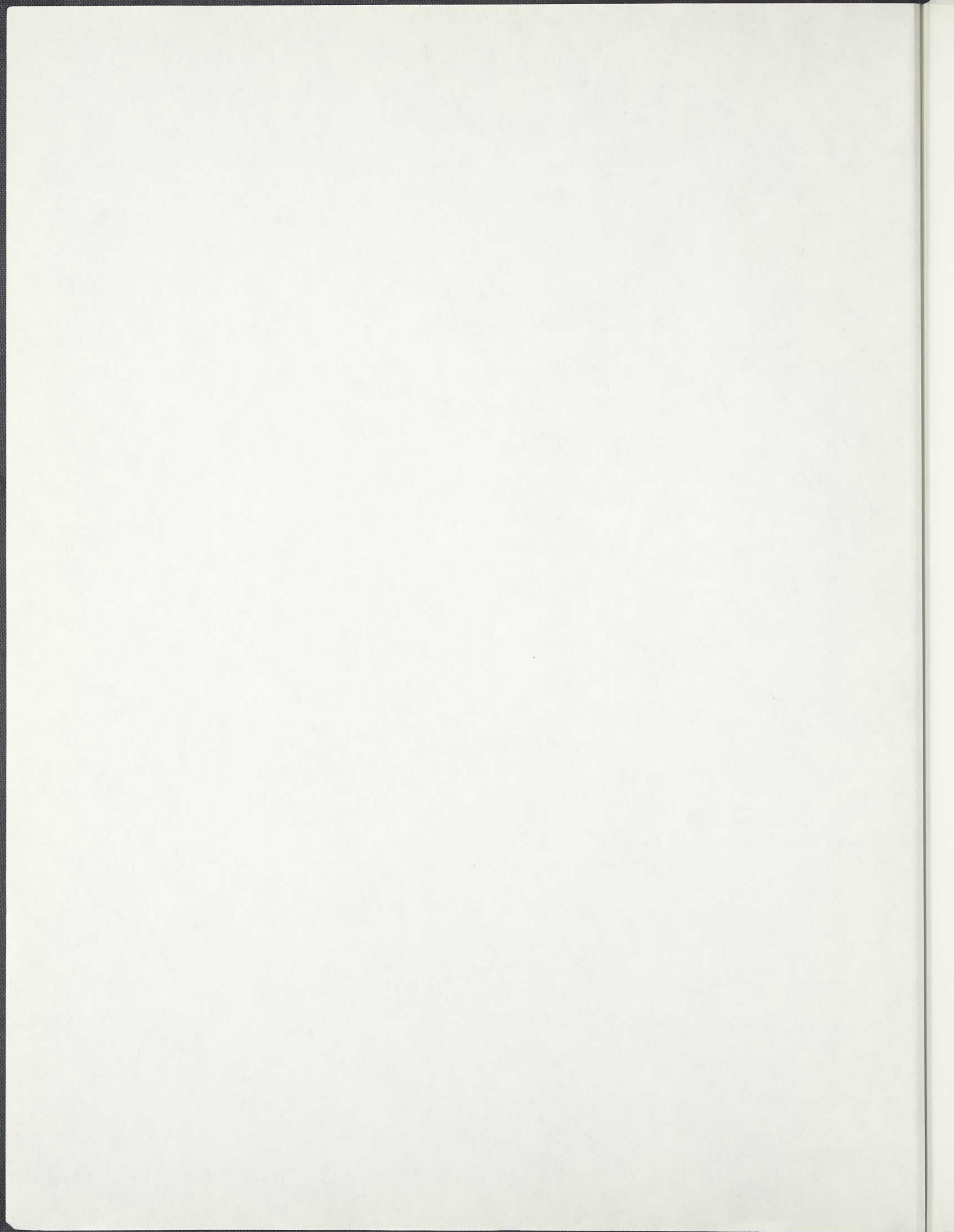
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INTRODUCTION

In too general terms Canadian Jewish history began a century ago; what preceded it was prehistory; those who came before were barely ancestry; what they had accomplished was the laying of foundations.

All this is too general. Prehistory is history; ancestry was living society which breathed life with its own present and prepared a future for some of its successors.

But even this is too general, for the years that opened the century witnessed a flood of very dissimilar Jewish humanity.

Not totally unlike; and here begins the little-known story of the uncertain kinship between the flooding immigrants of the 1880s and their predecessor kin of 1760; the story of this old kinship, of their more recent alienation and their developing passionate identification.

It is a vast unexplored saga of numbers and movements, of many peoples with their complex relationships; the balances in the making of peoples, whose traces lie in the polyglot records of western humanity.

Among the Canadian concerns of this saga are the several cultures which come to link together, in flux, in Canadian proximity, as old timers and newcomers of differing backgrounds met.

A dramatic case in point in the early culture history of the immigration centres on the 17-year-history of the first Jewish periodical in Canada: the Jewish Times.

Its contents, which varied over the years, constitute a remarkably complete record of the early annals of the community. It was not an objective record, being unabashedly representative of the established community and, initially at least, contemptuous of the new community.

The Montreal fortnightly contents were not unlike those issued in other American communities, in its defence of the Dreyfus case, its fight against francophone and anglophone anti-Semitism, support of religious creed and synagogues, opposition to missionary activities and advancement of British, liberal ideology.

Anywhere else on the continent that was to have been expected and stable. But the Montreal establishment was different; the Canadian metropolis leadership came from a region but a few leagues northeast of the German Heimat, from Lithuania, from the rationalistic home of Talmud, of philanthropy and of Yiddish. Indeed, it is still unclear how Lyon Cohen of Rabbi Hirsch Cohen's family could have subscribed to the anti-Yiddish attacks in the paper he founded together with S.W. Jacobs.

But in Canada -- and possibly also in the south -- an intense Yiddish culture was developing; in particular it was growing through the instrumentality of the press intimately bound with political ideologies and with a passion for its own print tradition. This is a chapter in the Jewish cultural annals of recent history all its own. The Montreal phase is not the least; it is possible to illustrate it in biographical terms of considerable personal fascination. Situations arise where men blinded by ideology collide in institutions where kinships might have been more natural.

Lovers of the press, ambitious would-be publishers, journalists, poets and ideologists in the burgeoning Montreal ghetto emerged as natural leaders. On further planes of the Canadian Jewish society there was born a special Yiddish sub-structure -- in the event the Yiddish press. After a number of false starts -- in several cases not even the titles survive -- there came into being the Adler which still survives after some eighty years.

Strangely, the Jewish Times barely took any note of the Adler for years, but when the anglophone weekly reached Bar Mitzvah its publishers sold their interests (or some of them) to a new publisher of whom we know little. Why?

The answer is not clear. What is most clear is that a number of developments took place in the anglophone Jewish society of Montreal, some of which altered that society internally or reflected changes therein and within the Jewish Times.

New personalities appeared on the Montreal scene -- some harsh, some noble -- new ideological programs, new attitudes towards Yiddish, which altered the establishment radically.

Within four years after the transfer of the Jewish Times to P. Nervich, the weekly was sold to the Canadian Jewish

Chronicle, a creature of the Adler! Only weeks earlier S.W. Jacobs had taken corporate steps for the return of the Times to his own control!

Which of these steps in community developments had brought these changes about we do not know. Certainly it was the end of the establishment periodical in Montreal (possibly in all Canada). It may be said that it was the end of the Yiddish-English barrier in the community, the end of Reform-Orthodox barrier; the setting up of Yiddish primacy in Montreal Jewish journalism for many decades.

A disparate series of phenomena may be listed between 1897 and 1914, the appearance and the disappearance of the Jewish Times:

The complex nature of the immigrant society inevitably brought with it scores of colourful idealists, varied in their backgrounds, in their natures and convictions, in their speech and in their perceptions of present and future. Their biographies and the roster of their masters turned the promenade of their Main St. or Kensington into a cultural parade of Marxists, Chovevi-Zion, anarchists, liberals, Yiddishists, folkists, materialists, historians, Tostoyans, Chassidim, Hebraists, Hegelians, poets, paedagogues, mystics, journalists, politicians. The traditional orthodox were relatively weak because, until too late, after the Second War, the leaders of their ideology, like the leaders of the Bund, urged their followers to fight for survival "here" rather than in Israel or in a further exodus. Hence the relative numerical and moral weakness of the orthodox migration and the ubiquity of the secular in the migration and its more variegated colour chart.

The scores of idealists dedicated to modern, secular visions of the Jewish future, posing elevated expectations from the community and its leadership, could not but add great seriousness to the deliberations of all Montrealers, even those of the Baron de Hirsch Institute and the Shaar Hashomayim Congregation. The Jewish Times, contemptuous as it was of the Yiddish language and of its advocates, banished consistency, and burst into praise of the immigrants'

People's Kitchen and the Yiddish theatre in Toronto and in Winnipeg as in Montreal.

The Poale Zion of Montreal published issues of the national organs of their national organization datelined in New York when the metropolis was unable to do so;

The anarchist H. Hershman began his "religious" mission for Yiddish papers, for radical browsing centres, for a public library, for philanthropy and for refugee aid in his very home.

An early record of this Yiddish press includes another publication with a curious dateline. About fifteen years after the appearance in 1899 of the important Poale Zion group, the Kemfer sought to assist the national weekly of this party, by issuing a Montreal number at their expense; the issue was filled with Montreal material though the place of publication was given as Philadelphia.

H. Wolofsky established the daily Canader Adler (Eagle) in 1907;

Reuben Brainin, who had established the politico-nationalistic creed of Hebraistic Zionism, crossed the Atlantic to come to Montreal where he stamped his durable mark in the course of seven years: as editor of the Adler, publisher of Der Veg, founder of the Jewish People's Schools and of the Jewish Public Library, mentor of Canadian Hebraism, inspirer of the Jewish National Workers Alliance and of the Canadian Jewish Congress, etc.

Rabbi Simon Glazer came to challenge in 1907 the Jewish Times' perception of religious authority; even more, to question its leadership role vis à vis his own as an independent rabbi and community spokesman. With an audacity which Rabbis A. Ashinsky and H. Cohen forebore, Glazer dared invest the gates of the judiciary, the prison warden's office, the press of the nation and the cabinet; Glazer offended the editors of the Jewish Times who in turn challenged his right to practise the rabbinate. The Jewish editors felt that they were trapped on the threshold of the Boshers-Kosher controversy, not distant from violence and scandal.

In their turn the Jewish Times, as they excommunicated the rabbi, ventured to condemn the Yiddish theatre and to oppose the defence plans maturing in the Yiddish ghetto against anti-Semitic street violence. This time the Jewish paper found itself faced with the new phenomenon of Jewish municipal politics, an area the establishment had carefully avoided for years.

Among the changes in the climate of 1910 was one that was fundamental and dear to the founders of the Times: the instrument of contact with the authorities for the defence of Jewish rights. It represented two decades of remarkable achievements by the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, subsequently the Baron de Hirsch Institute. Late in the first decade of the century this committee, by now named the Legislative Committee, became aware of its broader interests and sought to involve more of the newer citizens of Montreal in support of the Committee, as well as of the Institute. To the surprise of the Committee they were met with a demand that the structure be reorganized by the addition of more members, presumably from these new activists. This proposed expansion was seen as an incursion into established rights.

It was the beginning in Montreal of the battle for democracy in the government of the community, a battle which took classic form in the annals of the 1919 and later 1934 Canadian Jewish Congress, a battle not yet concluded.

In 1910 the fervent social revolutionary Leon Chazanovitch came to Montreal after his stormy months in the Argentine where he aroused the Jewish farmers against the administration of the Jewish Colonization Association. In Canada he set up the Folkszeitung as an instrument in journalism and syndicalist revolt.

With the arrival of Nervich upon the scene several new figures in turn appeared to mark the cultural arena, in fact for decades.

Archibald B. Bennett was welcomed by his Kingston school as a brilliant immigrant child. Soon after the revolution in the Jewish Times the youth came to study at McGill and began his 70-year political and intellectual leadership of Canadian Jewry and its journalism; most precisely in Zionism and in the Canadian Jewish Congress. His dynamism reshaped the Canadian Jewish Times issue by issue.

Among the most widely-famed of Montrealers to influence Jewish thought -- and we include Reuben Brainin and A.M. Klein among these immigrants to the Quebec metropolis -- was Abraham A. Roback who became one of the world's great ideologists of Yiddishism.

Like so much in the making of Canadian Jewish thought, Roback's origins in Quebec City are mysterious. His first tribune for Yiddish was the McGill Jewish students' union and the Canader Adler. By the time of his Canadian baccalaureate he was learned enough to contribute to a major New York anthology on J.L. Peretz. Decades later Moscow Yiddishists were wondering how the Harvard scholar and Quebec father of the Yiddishist quasi-religion had acquired his authority and learning of the new complex old-new language of the Jews while he was still a youth living in the heart of North American immigrant society.

MEET THE FEW

By the end of the nineteenth century the flow of newcomer immigration was such as to create a cultural awareness among those who had arrived during the earlier years, the more so as the flood of anti-Semitic propaganda from various sources alarmed at least the small segment of the Jewish community which was already rooted in Quebec. This reaction to what was being said in the press of the province about their people led to a creative project on their part of considerable scale.

To appreciate this reaction we need to recall what a tiny community the Quebec Jews constituted in that century.

At the time of the Ezekiel Hart crisis we were concerned with events in a minyan-family of about a dozen. In 1897 there were 12,000 in all Canada, some 4,800 of them in Quebec.

Of this number all but 1,100 had arrived during the decade; all but 500 came during the past twenty years.

To appreciate the Jewish culture and its new instrument the press in Canada of the first half of the twentieth century we need to recall that the community since the 1880's was sharply divided in two groups which not even their common history and fate and the tradition of philanthropy could bring together.

On the one hand there were the established Jews who were already integrated into Canadian anglophony -- a small group, mostly of businessmen, comfortably organized, quite capable of dealing with their communal problems; rather few in number, conservative, profoundly attached to the Liberal Party, largely of the employer class, loyal to the religious traditions of Western European Jewry.

As a class these older settlers were economically settled. There seem to have been few blue collar workers among them, and the white collar workers were genteel; but there were none of overwhelming wealth among them. Samuel Davis, the father of Sir Mortimer Davis, played a modest part in their group activities.

The conduct of their three synagogues and of their schools was particularly significant. Their Rev. Meldola de Sola of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation is a reminder of the tradition which his father, Rev. A. de Sola, had established some fifty years earlier. The Polish, German and English congregation had established preeminence in the three decades before the great migration of the 1880's, a preeminence that endured for another half a century. The reform Temple Emanuel was created at the very time of this migration.

Their reception of the flood of immigrants is the prime illustration of their capacity. Indeed the record of their Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society in the reception of the newcomers, in their integration program, their settling the farmers on Canadian soil and their establishment of lasting institutions for the immigrants and for their own community is an epic which has won the admiration of Baron de Hirsch and his Jewish Colonization Association and has gained for Montreal a prime place among communities on the continent.

Indeed the pride of the Jewish host society was its social institution which was formed in 1863 as a philanthropic, social group for the young men in the community; it rose to the historic challenge of the migration of the 1880's by virtue of the dignified mode it employed to develop the community to its historic role.

The first years of the Jewish agricultural settlement in Canada is a saga of leadership initiative far more extensive than its scope and economic and demographic reflections.

The generous response was not absent. Indeed, the existing Jewries transformed themselves into societies centering on philanthropy as much as upon their civil religions.

Montreal communal worker Fred Boaz, one of the founders of the new Temple Emanuel, had occasion to write to a New York Jewish weekly on this Hebrew philanthropy, "the necessary feeling of unity and brotherhood which alone has saved Judaism in the past and can do so in the future. Charity is justly claimed to be an especial characteristic of our race."

In addition to the reception of tens of thousands of wandering needy, it acted on the politico-social level in 1902 very effectively.

That year they dealt very effectively with the crisis of the Pinsler school case; and the following year they negotiated with the Protestants and with the government the legislation which in effect has fixed the public education of Jewish children to this day. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, vols. 2-3)

In 1906 they won the right for observant Jews to work on the Sunday, despite Christian resistance from coast to coast. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 14)

Young Samuel W. Jacobs described before the Superior Court of Quebec early in the century the effectiveness of these Jewish representations -- and also the high level of fairness in the provincial legislation in spite of the intensive anti-Jewish propaganda that was current. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 27, Pp. 148-49)

This Montreal group evoked considerable respect. The Toronto Hebrew Journal, generally at some distance from the scene, may be cited. An editorial calls them "the first, the best and most respected

Jews in Canada. They deserve our confidence. They are among the first Jewish pioneers in this country; they have been and remain, by virtue of their intelligence and stance, the only defenders of the Jews here. They have always worked for the public weal, generous with their moneys and their time, and have secured for us in Ottawa and in Montreal the rights which we enjoy. But for them we would be treated as a band of gypsies." (Dec. 27, 1912)

THE TWO SOCIETIES

For some thirty years this Canadianized society was unchallenged in its statesmanlike pursuit of Jewish interests -- until ca. 1910 when the immigrant society began to demand a universally democratic, virtually a Congress structure for community affairs. This was one of the many phases of the conflicts and affections that mark the near-century of this Canadian Jewish history.

The newcomers knew no English, were barely integrating into the economy, earning their substance, learning the rudiments of English and French, founding their institutions.

Father Lacasse's preachments against the Jews included caricatures of their life in the countryside which was obviously desperately poor. Beyond peddling they could not easily settle in the towns and villages, as they did in Ontario and the west, but had to turn for mutual support and assurance in the metropolis.

Not that we know of any violence against them, but the example of Beauport indicates the organized pressure to keep them out.

One item in the Witness reflects the reception accorded to this Montreal Jewish group,

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

The group of new Jews in Canada, already far more numerous, consisted of the Yiddish-speaking immigrants from Eastern Europe, bearers of the culture of the shtetel in the Russian sphere.

The records of this immigrant society are so sparse that we cannot easily reconstruct their reaction to their neighbours and to the current anti-Semitic propaganda.

The existence of two distinct Jewish societies in Montreal -- a condition which was as true in many other centres in America and in Europe at this time of Jewish wandering -- created complex situations, even conflicts.

On the one hand the mass movement of the 1880's posed a vast demanding claim upon Jewries of new continents, speaking alien tongues, following different customs, themselves coping with their own integration programs in the midst of fragile societies where hostility was not absent.

At the same time there was also in the western lands of welcome an anger, a contempt and a rejection of the immigrant. Much of the early reaction to the westward migration was to send the immigrant back to his impossible native land. Delegations proceeded to Poland to convince the Jews to remain there.

Between 1882 and 1889, 7,580 Russian Jewish immigrants were sent 'back home.' In reality it meant making them a charge on the Jewish communities in Western Europe. The immigrants were put aboard cattle ships and were required to pay for their return passage by attending the animals. (Women and children had their return fare paid and were spared the ordeal.)

When a group of immigrants from Russia reached Milwaukee through Montreal, Louis B. Schramm of the Wisconsin Emigrant Aid Relief Association telegraphed Fred Boaz of the Emigrant Aid Relief Society in Montreal on July 7, 1882 to "demand peremptorily that you send no more Russians here. All coming from Montreal hereafter will be returned without taking them from depot."

Mr. Boaz responded in "surprise at the tenor of your message. The idea must be abroad that our Russian brethren are an article of trade, acceptance of which may be refused at pleasure. If any arrive in the West hereafter without your special permission, I should advise you -- in exchange for your peremptory demand I but humbly advise -- to not concern yourselves about them.

"It would require in my opinion an Anti-Russian bill to prevent the Russians from going where they please in this land of the free. At present, if they understood their position at all, they would not mind the displeasure their presence in Milwaukee even may cause some people.

"Here in these British Dominions we allow even Russians to go wherever they please, and if Milwaukee is their place of destination -- with which we would have nothing to do -- we do not intend to stop them on their passage through here, except for the purpose of giving them a good meal."

Nevertheless a fortnight later Montreal received notification from David Adler of Milwaukee that "We send you a man to-night who is sick and is unable to do anything for his support. Please return him to Europe."

Boaz published the full correspondence in the Jewish Messenger of August 4, 1882 and added that "The man has arrived, and we are considering the advisability of placing him in the hospital or otherwise."

THE FEAR OF THE OLDTIMERS

These attitudes were not local. Alison Joanne Kahn wrote that the Mansion House Committee in London in 1887, incapable of continuing to aid refugees with passage, asked or bribed refugees at border stations to return to their homes. (The Jews of St. John's, Newfoundland, A Rhetorical Approach to a Community Autobiography. M.A. Thesis, 1983, Memorial University of Newfoundland. P.74) She wrote,

"News of the mass exodus from Eastern Europe also panicked the Jewish communities of Western Europe and North America. While they sympathized with the refugees' plight, they were hesitant to jeopardize their own status by identifying publicly with them. The prospect of resettling so many destitute migrants presented an enormous social problem. No master plan was formulated for two decades until it became clear that the exodus was not abating but was, in fact, increasing and that the scale and gravity of the situation demanded attention."

The Montreal Jewish Times was not the most brutal of Jewish voices when it published long mocking descriptions of the "paupers" and the "beggars" who needed to resort to aid from its own Baron de Hirsch Institute as late as May 19, 1908 and March 26, 1909. To quote several paragraphs,

"A woman claimed that her husband was out of work applied for relief; but the Board which had reason to believe that this was not the case, and that her husband is employed, told her to tell her husband to come personally.

"The next case was similar to the previous one, and when told that they would like to see her husband she replied, 'myn man aher kumen! Gottsbehiet, es past ihm nicht.' Needless to say, she was promptly dismissed.

"The height of impudence was certainly reached when a consumptive from St. Agathe made his appearance before the Board. This man, with his family, receives a regular allowance in St. Agathe, and it was therefore a surprise to see him in Montreal. It appears that the man had jahrzeit and came into the city for the occasion. His appearance at the Baron de Hirsch was for the necessary train fare to take him back. When asked if he could not get a minyan together in St. Agathe he admitted that he could, but had not thought of this plan."

"Miss Sadie American (This is not from the humour section.) came to Montreal to plead to some sixty women at the Baron de Hirsch

Institute to form a local branch of the National Council of Jewish Women.

"The most cogent argument presented by Miss American was her description of the work which the 59 branches of the Council with their 11,000 members are doing in regard to the protection of Jewish immigrant girls. The name of every Jewish girl immigrant from thirteen to twenty-five was taken on arrival, and through the network of societies her whereabouts could be ascertained. The immoral were deported. These were not wanted in America.

"This work of looking after the immigrant girls was extensive in the United States. Would Montreal do nothing?"

This was the vocabulary of Victorian philanthropy addressed towards the indigents of society who proudly pioneered mutual assistance and self help by its own institutions in the New World and in Europe, decades before their neighbours.

The philanthropy extended towards immigrants is documented in a report in the straight-faced news columns of the Gazette of February 10, 1910,

This division between the established community and the migrants who were arriving from east of France was not a Montreal phenomenon. It held true for every Jewish centre where Jews had been residing before the immigrants began to arrive -- in the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Latin America, the antipodes.

In the parallel condition in the United States the established group was more German, Austrian and British -- not to speak of American -- in background. The language and cultural barrier fencing them from the immigrants was quite deliberately thick and opaque (except for the few, recent, more successful immigrants who had just passed into the establishment and joined the Reform temple.)

But in Montreal the Vineberg-Cohen-Jacobs-Levinson-Kellert-etc. group was, largely, the establishment. It was orthodox; its Shaar Hashomayim outranked the Temple Emanuel and gently outshone the Harts, Josephs, Workmans and Davids when they all met in common power on the platform of the Benevolent Society, of the Baron de Hirsch Institute and of the colonization committee. They knew Yiddish. Their Jewish Times came to take note of the language. On one political occasion it even published a 4-page Yiddish supplement, in the event in support of Laurier. Significantly, the theatre appealed to them, the first of the Yiddish elements to breach the barriers.

At the other end of town the growing Yiddish society was finding its language and its press: Adler (Eagle).

The founding in 1907 of the Yiddish Adler and the mobilization of the team of dignified editors, publishers, journalists, printers, distributors and readers did not long permit condescension towards an entire sub-society. In this sub-society there were rabbis and scholars who soon became eloquent in English; one of them was a Cohen, close kin to the head of the establishment. Something had to give.

The older group was not slow to notice the philanthropic structures set up by the newcomers, often to aid the same needy beneficiaries whom the Baron de Hirsch Institute was assisting.

More profoundly the Yiddish culture of Main Street was having its impact upon the anglophone Jews of uptown. As early as 1902 the Jewish Times told its readers that the introduction of the Yiddish drama into Montreal by Jacob Adler deserves attention.

"While moralists, lovers of the chaste in dramatic art and upholders of the higher traditions of the stage in Europe and America regret and condemn its debasement in recent years, they unhesitatingly declare that the Jewish stage, as presented in Yiddish plays, sets an example that more pretentious dramatists might follow with great advantage to themselves and the public. Old theatre-goers in this city, who have witnessed the performances in the Monument National, are of the same opinion.

"Not only are the plays true to nature and instinct with the true purpose of histrionic representation, but the players as a rule are superior as artists to all but a few who have appeared of late in the other theatres in the city. Indeed it may be said with sincerity that, were Madame Lobel, Mr. Tomashevsky and their company to play in English before an English audience, they would score a triumph seldom achieved except by artists of the first rank in their profession. In parts of Europe, in England, in the United States and now in Canada, the Yiddish stage has become a feature in Jewish life well worthy the attention of sociologists.

"Everywhere it reflects with singular faithfulness the loves, the sorrows, the faith and social peculiarities of the race, and a noted New York dramatic critic has had the courage to say that on the Yiddish stage alone in that metropolis is the drama presented with purity, strength and correct artistic expression." (Nov. 21, 1902)

The Jewish Times was impressed by the Kreuser Sonata in Jacob Gordin's Yiddish interpretation at the Monument National: "an almost overpowering revelation to see so much genuine talent on the Yiddish stage," and left open the question whether Gordin's version was not superior to Tolstoy's! He admitted and then renounced "a certain sub-conscious contempt for the Yiddish dialect -- when that is not stronger. But let no one deny the possibilities of Yiddish. One cannot any longer go away with the idea that Yiddish is a primitive language in which fine thought and feeling cannot be expressed at

their best, not after sitting out a really well-acted Yiddish play." (March 7, 1908)

It was an early omen of a profound rejoinder and of unification of cultures that was to come later.

Indeed, in Montreal the confrontation was milder than in most such communities, in part because of the internal recent history of the established group. Subsequent developments in Montreal were also different from those in other Jewish centres.

The history of the Jewish Times, the original voice of the older group, proves a remarkable case in point, the more significant for having been founded as a community cause by the most authoritative spokesmen of the group.

It will be helpful to anticipate its annals broadly before examining its issues in greater detail.

Within a decade of its founding the Jewish Times faced a cultural confrontation with the ideological spokesmen of the immigrant society; by this time equipped with a not inferior press again, and a daily at that.

Remarkably this phase of Yiddish culture won the frequent and admiring attention of those hostile to the language. A guest columnist from the Jewish Times attended a performance of the Kreitzer Sonata by the Yiddish playwright Jacob Gordin, presented for the benefit of the People's Kitchen. (March 7, 1909)

"There is a certain subconscious contempt in us, where that is not stronger, for the Yiddish dialect; though it must be left only to those who are familiar with it to tell why. But let nobody deny the possibilities of Yiddish. One cannot any longer go away with the idea that Yiddish is a primitive language, in which fine thought and feeling cannot be expressed at their best. Not after sitting out a really well-acted Yiddish play." (March 7, 1909)

"We merely wish to say that it was an almost overpowering revelation to see so much genuine talent on the Yiddish stage."

An analysis of the profound issues raised in the one column indicates their irreconcilability.

THE OLD MEDIUM: LANGUAGE

Early in the nineteenth century the Jews rediscovered language, and became aware that as a people it had languages. Slowly it gave a title to Yiddish, altered the name of the Sacred Tongue to Hebrew, and separated it out from the Aramaic. The polishing of the languages -- the playing upon their words, rearranging them as other Europeans had been doing, defining them, noting the semantics, separating out the unneeded alien, politicising the languages, working philosophic isms out of them -- became the work of the entire people, long before the coming of the professors, academicians; not the philologists, structuralists, stylists, lexicographers, analysts, psychologists and the others of the army of modern linguistics. This was a people's process, as the examination of the mystery of language was always a traditional religious activity of the Jews with their concern with the Massorah, Caballah, exegesis, hermeneutics, pilpul, folklore, symbolism, figures of speech, numerology, and other traditional Bible interests.

The Jewish people's new secular concern with languages, which resulted in the "making" of Yiddish and the remaking of Hebrew, extended to literature. This period of language creation was also the epoch of the making of two modern literatures -- the Hebrew and the Yiddish. Nor was the creation of these literatures left to the *littérateurs* in their writing rooms; but became a public process which the public did more than witness. It participated. This communion between citizen and poet of Jewish became so widespread, profound and central in the emotional biography of so many that as an -ism it became one of the definitions of Judaism. For thousands this literary activism became the major or only expression of Jewish living. Leonard Cohen's grandfather who is immortalized in The Spice Box of Earth survives as one people's grammarian.

An examination by the Yiddish poet, M.L. Fox, of the biographies of the contributors to this pre-war Canadian Jewish press is very revealing. There were scores of writers in the relatively small Jewish community. Their numbers become the more significant when compared with the cultural conditions of their Canadian neighbours, especially those non-French, non-Anglo-Saxon who had also just made Anglophone or Francophone Canada their home.

Furthermore, the educational system of the Yiddish society they had left did not include language instruction, composition, or the literary arts, even on the higher level of the Yeshiva. They were autodidacts even to the point where they needed to learn -- and to teach their fellow-citizens -- the nature of a newspaper and a newspaper article, the processes of democratic debate, the social processes, their mechanics and their planning.

They are to be read not only for the literary quality of their printed heritage, but as significant personalities who peopled the ghetto streets of Canada's growing cities.

The people then discovered that a type of Judaism -- philosophy of Jewish life -- could be formulated with Yiddish as its base, just as another could be structured with Israel as its centre; a third with charity as its core; a fourth with Torah study, etc.

This Yiddishism, to use the term properly, became associated with the philosophy of folkism, with socialism; it came to oppose Hebrew, religion, charitarianism, Zionism; it centered on the unions, on reform and secularization of education, and on the values of theatre and folklore.

Yiddishism became one of the forces in the community, and added its mite to the activities and loyalties which, in their situation, shaped Canadian Jewry and still carry over to the present, more than vestigially.

Its external evidences, in addition to the school systems, were visible in the press, in authors' associations and in labour groups. One of the world figures in Yiddishism, Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky, whose political and literary career crisscrossed the world many times after its launching in Europe, carried Canadian citizenship, and died in Western Canada. Calgary and Winnipeg happened to be major centres for his ideology during all these decades, while Montreal and Toronto were also the home of many of his followers in Yiddishist activity.

While noting these elements of the pre-World War I scene we must remember that, side by side with this bustling activity involving so many poor newcomers, there had developed another, quieter society, no less important for our history.

Simultaneously, those who had been born here of parents who were natives of Canada and those who had come to Canada a generation before the great waves of immigration were living their own cultural lives in the same cities with the new arrivals, often not a mile apart, in social and economic differentiation. They had applied similar gifts and effort to settlement and adjustment. They had established themselves in Canadian life earlier; their children were already born here; they were usually no longer as poor as they had been when they arrived. Often they were employers rather than employees. They were not immediately inspired by the ideas that had spread in the interval overseas or had developed in Yiddish New York. They lived in other parts of the city; they worshipped in other synagogues, usually also orthodox but already subject to American influences in worship; they had another type of rabbi; their schools bore little similarity to those of the immigrants. The names of the New York newspapers and authors were meaningless to them and to their children.

But the differentiation was not without limits. Both societies were often surprised at how much they shared and how often they found themselves acting in communion.

The theatre and common memories of folkloric humour and language idioms were often links that vaguely bound them surprisingly, as did religious traditions.

Immigration historian Michael Brown points out "the haste with which Jews in fact discarded the Yiddish language in favor of English. Alexander Harkavi reported from Montreal in 1888 that Jews there refused to speak Yiddish no matter how broken their English was. 'They were ashamed, lest they be recognized as Jews.'" (Harkavy, in Hatzefirah, Sivan 17, 1888. P.313)

This rejection of ancestors by non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants was substantially the same whether their parents had clung to the entire heritage of the past and had sought to build on Canadian soil the classic village life of pre-revolutionary eighteenth century Jewry, or whether it was the immigrant fathers who had already rejected the basic pattern of the Shtetl and had sought to pursue in Canada a Jewish life constructed on the premises of the metropolis-being-born.

This rejection of Europe was reinforced as it clearly became an essential sine-qua-non for success in social areas where the approval of peers was essential. It was less so in labour, merchandising and in manufacture, and more so in the professions, arts and in society life.

Today we know more clearly that rejection of ancestrally-rooted culture is a painful, complex and far-reaching phenomenon, with consequences that can explode in the most unexpected areas and in infinite forms. Self-rejection among Jews is a familiar complex to psychologists and historians of culture. Sometimes it takes the form of hatred of characteristics common to self. Often positions assumed by groups of Jews on current questions stem from a negatively-originated attitude, however rationalized and legitimized by other reasonings.

This phenomenon in turn, creates suspicion by those who regarded the positions of their opponents as having their origin in self-hatred. During periods of widespread group alienation --such as during the early years of mass migration when the gaps between groups were indeed abysmal, and personal contacts few and limited -- this frequent suspicion of self-hatred was a reality in inter-factional relations in the community. It took decades of eventful history to clear Jewish minds of these negative conceptions, and to establish mutual confidence within the polychrome community.

The issue of Yiddish in Canada at that moment was more than the question of language of speech or even of familiarity with a language. It was even more than the matter of tempo of the immigrants'

linguistic acculturation into the accepted medium of Canadian communication. The question in debate was the model, the culture, the creed, the sonality and the image of the Canadian Jew and of his progeny after he had become fully integrated into the national society.

On the one side was the pattern of the long Canadianized Jew whose language of communication and culture, even of religion, was English; not even French, not Aramaic. Yiddish had no universal cultural status for him. Its East European religious condition was not fundamental to Jewish faith. Its place in the tradition was peripheral, related in geography to the most hated persecution in Russia and to the very diaspora which the old settlers and the new arrivals were fleeing.

Those who appreciated Yiddish differed both in regard to the future and the past. They were running away from the Slavic world to western freedom; they were not fleeing from its Judaism, religious, secular or atheistic; certainly not fleeing into assimilation, into an attenuated Judaism, or into a poorer Jewish culture deprived of the fruit of the most recent centuries of Hassidism, folklore, Hebrew and Yiddish literature, the secular, political ferment and from the links with family all over the globe. In this conflict each side saw the other as ignorant.

The way the old world talked became crucial to its civilization, just as its Yiddish tongue was more than a medium of communication. It was itself the major folk creation of that world. The modes of speaking Yiddish, the particular logics and their associated musics and sing-song, the semantics of words and expressions, the pastiche of languages imbedded in Yiddish, with the values inherent in the references to various cultures -- these and many more elements made their language habits a crucial heritage and tool.

Yiddish became an occasion of conflict, a value and a treasure for those who put trust in it, and a symbol in a complex social philosophy at war with another philosophy with its own perception of Jewish survival at stake. Some found in it their medium of heritage expression, the only voice of subtle religious evocation, of Chassidism, of poetry, of Yiddishist ideology, of syndicalist solidarity, of landsmanshaft linguistic unanimity, of Zionist labour unity, later the short promises of Biro Bidjan. Each with its alternatives and oppositions.

With time the conflict became more profound and irreconcilable, and the elements more priceless.

A long process was required to accustom each group to the other, to formulate common objectives and to develop a course of common action for both sectors of the heterogeneous Jewish population.

As we shall see, the conclusion was not a conciliation. It concluded with the absorption of those who considered themselves integrationists and were called assimilationists by the proponents of Yiddish even when the "assimilationists" never learned to speak Yiddish. To anticipate, the Jewish Times founded by Lyon Cohen and S.W. Jacobs was absorbed by H. Wolofsky of the Adler, four years after these spokesmen of the classic establishment saw the penetration of Yiddish literature into their weekly; when they witnessed five hundred citizens meet at the Institute to fête the 25th Literary Anniversary of the Yiddish humorist Sholem Aleichem, to listen to Solomon Chaim Shneour, Isaac Yampolsky, Leon Goldman, Rabbi H. Cohen and Rabbi H. Abramowitz praise his work and collect monies for the ailing writer. (Jewish Times, Jan. 22, 1909)

Much of the internal history of this common Judaism runs through the channels of the press of this community and can be read in the positive expressions in literature, in the formation of the Canadian Jewish Congress, in Zionism, in education and in social services.

In Montreal this adjustment came about a little more easily because of the biographies of the "Lithuanian group" within the established society; their parents had arrived only a few decades ago, and the families showed a remarkable talent for creative communality.

Two of these sons, the eminent Lyon Cohen and Samuel W. Jacobs, the heroes of our present story, chose the press as the new weapon for Jewish progress.

This Montreal experience is the more significant since the periodical press played a more influential role in the cultural and political life in modern Jewish history than in most other societies. The Quebec French press may be one other instrumentality with a role nearly parallel.

THE PRESS OF REVOLUTIONS

Whatever their understanding of their own planning and of their considerable adventure, Jacobs and Cohen entered two initiatives in establishing a Jewish fortnightly in Canada.

The simpler one was daring enough: to create a voice, naturally in English, that would respond to other Canadians -- friendly or hostile -- on the theme of Judaism as perceived by the editors and the readers; at the same time to address their own Jewish readers on their common understanding of Judaism and on their common perception of their future expectations in Canada. South of the border, in France and in England, a fine Jewish press had already established, technically excellent and intellectually fed by the new science of rabbinics in the scholarly Jewish tradition. Several of these periodicals had published writings of Rev. A. De Sola, and Montreal subscribers had collated and had bound the weekly issues into volumes which still enrich important libraries. When the Jewish Times appeared it freely called upon the "exchange" tradition to reprint from this press. The "exchange" tradition of clipping from other Jewish periodicals, and particularly the biographies of distinguished Jewish citizens, helped to unify the Jewry of the western world.

This was standard publishing in anglophone Canada, parallel to the Montreal Star and La Presse but not to La Vérité.

This technology, already far advanced, was well represented in this case by Irishman Carroll Ryan.

The Jewish bifurcation was far more complex. Embryonically it was already present in the Montreal of Jacobs-Cohen. Almost certainly Lyon Cohen was somewhat familiar with its European development. We can speculate whether members of the Cohen family had met with Alexander Harkavi and whether they were aware of the aspirations of their own printer, A.L. Kaplansky in the field of Yiddish publishing.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century Jewry found its voice -- in English, in Yiddish -- in the roots of its growing Canadian society.

Like all over Europe, the character of the Yiddish press in Canada, from its first ineffective efforts to the great days of Israel Rabinovitch's Adler, is a far-reaching and profound social and historic phenomenon. In this area we are far beyond the general histories of the press, even of the great press.

It can be understood best in the context of Eastern European history which began to experience a vast revolution when it rejected totally and profoundly the premises of the ancient, religion-based Jewish

society. The questioning may be traced to Sabbattai Zvi with his messianism, more securely to the Chassidic movement with its renewal of romance and of cabbalism, most surely with Napoleon who brought Eastern Europe eyeball to eyeball with the cosmos of megalopolis -- a challenge which many found it impossible to ignore.

Much of Jewry did not ignore it, but the responses were many, and Jewish history since these dates is vector of a score of deeply felt and deeply thought ideologies, a process in which every citizen participated. It is a process which has not concluded to this day -- even more than two decades ago; some of the postures of 1910 are to be found in surprising social regions.

In consequence the recent centuries have seen a Judaism become among the most colourful, the most varied, the most intense, the most fruitful in the millenia of Hebraic annals. They have seen the establishment of the Jewries of America, Western Europe, Latin America and above all, of Israel. They have witnessed the industrialization and urbanization of the people, the establishment of the Yiddish language and culture, the renovation of Hebrew, the vast contributions of Jewish citizenry to the civilization and to the dynamics of total society, the development of a Jewish social ethos with its own socialism and with its own mode of conduct and the establishment of scientific education. They have seen the invention of the modern Jewish community groups with its complex internal institutions, the discovery of the arts, the gestation of a life style which has replaced that which has served for many centuries, an activistic loyalism which binds the members and unites them, even a new urban distribution -- and pages more of processes still in formation.

The processes have been remarkably populist, the creation of individual citizens loosed from earlier restraints based on supernatural authority; it is not even the product of teachers of overwhelming charisma. As a whole, the lore of the folk has been, not for the first time in Jewish history, the authority and mechanism of change. Because of the very questioning of the citizens, these restraints upon the citizens have disappeared, leaving them to choose whether they are to remain or enter another tradition; whether they are to remain in the villages or go to the cities; whether they should concentrate upon occupations or upon other interests; whether they are to cross oceans -- and which; whether they are to adhere to the traditions of their faith and which, or not; whether they are to adhere to Yiddish -- and how -- or to Hebrew or to English, etc.; whether they are to build Israel, or Canada, or both; how they are to educate their children, and where; what they should eat and read, etc., etc.

These were options for individuals in a world where the very questions served to disintegrate society and its structures. The nearest to anything similar to an organization for an option was that favouring the non-questioning, the status quo. The traditional synagogue was very loosely organized, by definition, because

organization, the creation of structures, was one of the ideologies for changes. For the rest of the Jewish society, it is the histories of the organizations of the myriad ideologies -- a veritable history of the people in which the individual participated.

We need to remember that almost all these individuals were destitute, illiterate in the worldly and western sense of the word, with no benefit from governmental or hierarchical traditions. Filling these desiderata was precisely the objective of many of these options.

Under these conditions groups of the like-minded naturally formed with persons of varying talents for leadership, for philosophical analysis; hence ideologies, organizations, social dynamics.

This vast historic process of the shaping of the Jewish people is the totality of the biographies of the populace and the annals of the families. Unlike other social histories of nations, Jewish institutions and mechanism had played a minor part, as compared to the very individual decisions. For these reasons the printed word played a major role, but this operated under unusual circumstance: this highly inventive Jewish society had attained its virtually universal literacy in a schooling system which did not teach its students the general use of its sacred languages and gave no training in writing for artistic, literary or entertainment in Yiddish; of Yiddish nothing except the oral; of Hebrew and Aramaic only the reading of the classic texts; nothing of writing in sacred languages; limited training in the use of these languages for secular purposes, for entertainment; there was virtually no literature of books for general purposes; the use of these tongues for the purposes of the vast debate was forbidden.

In this complex process there entered the newly invented machine of the press and its Jewish adjunct the Hebrew and Yiddish press in Eastern and Central Europe. Soon after these came the Russian-and the German-Jewish presses.

The role of the Hebrew, Yiddish and English-language press in the nineteenth century was greater by far in Jewry than in the larger European society, even in the westernized portion of Judaism. It went beyond its news delivery, the strengthening of its social institutions and the identification of its leadership.

In connection with the Halifax Shechitah case a reader spelled out the duty of a Jewish paper "in this great Dominion to know where we are attacked, and to have us prepared to ward off the blow. We have no Kehillah, we have no institution whatever to unite us in time of peril, we are like a vessel broken in a thousand fragments, and open to be attacked by every vagabond, and it should be the duty of the Jewish press to give the warning. Your paper ought at all times to be the centre of our camp, the watchman in the tower, the bugle call, the means of bringing us together man to man, shoulder to shoulder to defend a common cause. If a paper fails that, it fails in all it is

supposed to stand for." (M.B. Steine, in Canadian Jewish Times, June 13, 1913)

As the ideas and ideals in the minds of these migrants in Canada -- and elsewhere -- hardened and clarified, centres of community ideas developed, though not always formal physical centres at first.

A major focus was the press. At first it was the New York press; relatively little of the Hebrew press or the European press. From overseas it was more often the 16-page pamphlet, Yiddish, Zionist, sometimes ideological, translated from the German or the French, sometimes in Russian, anti-Czarist. Very few Hebrew publications crossed the ocean, largely because the secular migration had little Hebrew. The religious element had brought many copies of its classics such as Bible, Mishneh, Ain Jacob, prayer books, but fewer works of scholarship, Maimonides, Albo, and even few Tshuvot or Chidushai Torah. This was the slim baggage of the early immigrants, the holdings of the few family bookshelves and the contents of ideological libraries and browsing centres.

New York was the home of the living ideas. These ideas were clearly formulated in the language and in Canadian rather than overseas conditions.

In the Jewish context on the continent the sheer volume of Jewish writing for the press far surpassed that of literature. In the archival sense this continuous diary, scrapbook, comment and letter book is an invaluable collection of current data. The bound books of English, Yiddish and German periodicals issued in America since the nineteenth century and in Canada since 1897 are the major still unexploited mine of vivid Jewish information.

In the absence of a religious hierarchy and of an authoritative educational structure, the press even established a consensus of creed during a period when this creed was rapidly altering.

Over a dozen countries it helped formulate a Jewish ethos and a civil religion if only by setting up priorities of ideas, objectives and persons.

Even the American Jewish press was so serious and erudite that large sections appeared to be rabbinical and academic, going beyond congregational and personal news, apologetic articles and defences against anti-Semites.

These presses put themselves at the service of the Great Debate as the free Jewish citizens of the western world and the liberating ideologists of the eastern heartland were freely shaping the image of Judaism to their own satisfaction. Even when each of these publications was not committed to one or another of the complex options, they were nearly all committed to training their public to participate intelligently, profoundly and with maximum sophistication

in the process. The least of the assumed functions of these newspapers was the provision of news.

These press writings and their direct communication with their public was the daily bread of the literary and ideological leaders who created the Jewish people of the last two centuries.

EFFORTS AT A YIDDISH PRESS

Hence in Canada as elsewhere the roles and the mechanisms of its founders and of its leaders became history: Harkavi, Rabbi S. Glazer, H. Wolofsky, Reuben Brainin, J.I. Segal, H.M. Caiserman, Mark Selchen and, indeed, hundreds of others listed by C.L. Fox. (J. Chaikin. Jewish Newspapers in America. New York, 1946)

B.G. Sack notes that the pre-history of the Jewish press consists of local reportage by Canadians in the columns of foreign periodicals. He cites the 1842 reports in the Archives israélites of Paris, the Winnipeg reports in the American Israelite of June 3, 1881. Harkavi had reported on Canada in Hatzefirah and in Hamagid and in Goldfaden's Illustrierte Yiddishe Zeitung of 1887 (on the history of Jews in Canada). Other early reports from the dominion appeared in Heassiff of 1887, as well as in Hatzofeh, in Hazman and in Hamelitz. Gregory Sander contributed to Der Freind on Canada.

In Russia the readers of the Nedelnaya Chronika Voschoda read about Jewish farm settlement in Canada, and in 1903 on the Montreal school question ("Before the Eagle was born", in 1957, anniversary issue of Eagle, Pp. 37-38).

The origin of the Jewish press in Canada lies with Alexander Harkavi (1865-1939), native of the town of Novorodek, which revolutionized the Jewish religion and literature by nurturing the Mussar movement.

Almost symbolically the youth wandered to Vilna and became a type polisher in the Romm publishing house. His acquaintance there with the pioneer Yidish storyteller Isaac Meyer Dick led him to the Am Olam settlement project in the United States in 1882; five years later to Montreal where he settled briefly as Hebrew teacher in the Congregation of Polish, German and English Jewry (Shaar Hashomayim).

Ambitious planning was the mark of these men of change. Harkavi proposed the setting up of a Yiddish printery for Montreal some score years before this was realized.

The young man was already an accomplished scholar by 1889, a militant Zionist before Herzl, an intense social revolutionary and one of the creators of modern secular philosophy. Inevitably he offered a far more profound Jewish ideology than his officers in the synagogue were prepared to subsidize, and their relationship of several years was not too harmonious.

The first Yiddish press in Canada was Harkavi's Die Zeit which the young intellectual inscribed on lithograph stone for want of Jewish type. Years later Harkavi discussed the effort with Yudel Mark and

B.G. Sack. It was noted by Montreal bibliographer G.-A. Dumont, (La Presse québécoise, vol. 3, Pp. 218-20) but no copy of Die Zeit survives. (La Presse québécoise, vol. 3, P. 219; B.G. Sack, History of the Jews in Canada. 1965. Pp. 218-20; D. Rome. "Our Canadian Yiddish Heritage" in Viewpoints, vol. 18, no. 4, spring 1980. Pp. 46-55; A.L. Kaplansky, 1932 Jubilee Issue of Eagle, P. 10)

Always in the de Sola tradition, young Harkavi, during his eighteen months in Montreal, contributed to the scholarly press of America from Montreal: "Rules for Yiddish Orthography" and "Letters About Our Language" in the Illustirte Yiddishe Zeitung.

Israel Rabinowitch, for many years dean of Yiddish journalism in Canada, recalls beginning of printing in this language.

In 1886, he notes, the Shaar Hashomayim Congregation wished to issue a prayer book in English and in Hebrew but could find no printer with Hebraic type in the country and were forced to resort to the Yiddishe Gazetten in New York.

In the absence of a Yiddish printery in Montreal in 1887 Alexander Harkavi had had to resort to English characters to prepare a Jewish election leaflet. At the time the Shaar Hashomayim sent to the Yiddishe Gazetten in New York for the Hebrew printing they needed. (This is remarkable, because Hebrew type did exist in Montreal and in Toronto scholarly printeries long before. Hebrew printing appears in McGill publications in connection with Dr. de Sola's courses. Either the quantity of their type was insufficient or, simply, the Jews searching for this technology were unaware of the other world of Christian scholarship in Canada.)

The young immigrant from Vilno actually published the first number of what was to be a Yiddish paper, Die Zeit, "a periodical for education and colonization." For lack of type he lettered it himself on lithograph stone very laboriously. It proved so difficult that he did not repeat the experiment. This was the birth of the Canadian Jewish press.

No copy of this first periodical exists. The date is founded in large part on interviews of Harkavi by B.G. Sack and by Yudel Mark, which were the basis of his article on Harkavi in the Zukunft when the pioneer lexicographer passed away, and in the annual of the Jewish Book Council. (letter from Mark, Oct. 28, 1969)

During his short stay in Montreal (1887-90) for a time as Hebrew teacher in the Shaar Hashomayim Congregation Harkavi wrote on a variety of Jewish questions in the Montreal English-language press and in European Hebrew periodicals.

Harkavi's voluminous writings had hardly begun when he came to Montreal in 1887; by the same token, except for the widely published work of Dr. de Sola, Montreal was hardly known as the home of

Jewish inquiry when Harkavi dated his article in the Hatzefirah of June 21, 1888 as from Montreal, April 25, 1888 ("On Jewish Learning; in a Babylonian Document"). At the same time he wrote on "The Problem of Spoken Yiddish" in its issues of December 5 and 6, 1888.

Years later B.G. Sack recalled that Harkavi was among the very first to devote himself to Yiddish at a time when even intellectuals regarded that language with contempt, as a jargon. Harkavi pointed out its particularities and unique qualities of expression. ("He was a Quiet and Modest Searcher," in Adler, Jan. 2, 1954)

He also contributed "Letters On Our Language" in Goldfaden's New York Illustirte Yiddishe Zeitung, no. 6, 1888, under the nom de plume Hippens, and on the history of American Jewry in the Hatzefirah of Warsaw, no. 67, 1888. (Harkavi's Bio-Bibliography. New York, Hebrew Publishing Co., 1933)

Harkavi wrote on the Jewish community of Canada for the Hebrew Hatzefirah of Warsaw (nos. 29, 30, 106 and 114, 1888) for the Illustirte Yiddishe Zeitung (no. 1, 1887), for Hamagid (nos. 10, 12, 1887), and the St. Petersburg Hamelitz.

He also wrote for the Montreal press, especially the Gazette and the Witness. In the latter he published "Chinese Jews" on January 27, 1887; "Jewish Slaughtering" on July 6; "Jewish Character" on August 6; "Babylonian Judgment", August 8; "The Names of the Jewish Months", August 10; "Hanukah", December 14; and "Celebration of the Seventieth Birthday of a Jewish Savant" in the Herald of May 11, 1888.

He did not confine his writings to Jewish matters. He wrote in the Witness of May 4, 1887 on "The Cossacks", and on "The Russian Language" in the Gazette of June 4. Harkavi later recalled that some of his contributions to the press were evoked by newspaper stories that caricatured the Jewish community, e.g., a story about Rosh Hashonah, concluding, "as a result all the Jewish pawnshops will be closed."

In 1888 he wrote A Dissertation on the Judeo-German Language, issued by the Witness press. (36 p.) A decade later he contributed to the Jewish Times on "The Language of the Jew" (Aug. 19, 1898, Pp. 293-94).

Harkavi continued his American career to become one of the great early scholars of the Jewish community. The bibliography of his writings fills an entire volume; the English-Yiddish, Yiddish dictionary with its green and red foreedge became the best selling of Jewish books for generations as it stood beside the prayer books in virtually every Jewish home, a well-travelled bridge between the cultures of the native lands and the homes of the future.

Harkavi was closely associated during his stay in Montreal with Joseph Elijah Bernstein "Man of Poland," founder in 1887 of the first Zionist group Chovevi Zion and of the Hebraist Agudah Ivrit. Both were among the first more sophisticated Jewish journalists to report on the community to the Hebrew press of Europe, including Hamelitz, no. 4, 1884 and nos. 21, 25, 1885; Hamagid, Feb. 6, 1887. (Hadoar, June 27, 1930; C.L. Fox. 100 Yor Yiddishe un Hebraische Literatur in Canada. Montreal, 1980. P. 36)

By chance the immigrant boy Benjamin Sack who arrived at Ellis Island aboard the Hamburg-America liner was met by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society agent Harkavi. On board ship the youth had learned enough English to answer Harkavi's questions without an interpreter, which Harkavi noted and appreciated.

It was but natural that decades later he should be the guest of the Poale Zion when he visited Montreal in 1922 in connection with the issuance of a new edition of his Yiddish-English Dictionary.

LOVERS OF PRINT

La Presse québécoise, C.L. Fox (Hundert Yohr Yiddishe Literatur in Canada, p. 129), and Abraham Rhinewine (Der Yid in Canada, P. 210) report that two years after Harkavi's effort another Jewish intellectual who had migrated from Europe, Getzel Zelicovitch (1855-1928), settled in Montreal as correspondent of the Yiddishe Gazetten and of the Tageblatt of New York, and issued four numbers of a Yiddish periodical in 1891 (Die Zeit) during his two-year stay in the city in 200 copies. It included articles and poems by Zelicovitch. (Jacob Shatzky. "History of the Jewish Press" in the Yiddish General Encyclopaedia. Volumes on Jews, no. 3, P. 272; Abraham Rhinewine. Der Yid in Canada. Yiddish. Pp. 210) But Zelicovitch firmly denied this in a letter to B.G. Sack. (B.G. Sack. "The Yiddishe press in Canada", in Yiddisher Kemfer, Passover 1956 issue, P. 146)

Harkavi was only slightly premature. In 1893 his friend, A.L. Kaplansky -- a highly respected worker for the Baron de Hirsch Institute, probation officer, quasi-chaplain to Jewish prisoners, and head of the legal aid service -- established the first Yiddish printery in the country, producing work in Yiddish, Hebrew and English from his shop on Notre Dame Street, west of McGill.

Mr. Kaplansky had been "a resident of Montreal since 1893. He was the first to establish a Hebrew printing office in Canada which is now known as the Kaplansky Printing Company, (Limited). He is an active member of every Jewish benevolent and charitable organization in Montreal, he was for three years president of the Chevra Kadisha congregation." (Jewish Times, Mar. 24, 1905)

Byalostock-born Abraham Leib Kaplansky (1861-1941), printer and familiar figure in the cultural and community life of Montreal Jewry, according to C.L. Fox in 1897, issued a small periodical Licht of which three issues appeared. The contents included advertising, local news and poems. (100 Years of Yiddish and Hebrew Literature in Canada. Montreal, 1980. P.232) Abraham Rhinewine writes that no issue of Licht ever appeared in spite of Kaplansky's efforts. (Der Yid in Canada, Toronto, 1925, Pp. 210-11)

By 1896 A.L. Kaplansky (1861-1941), resident of Montreal since 1888, had a Hebrew print shop in Montreal. He had brought Hebrew type in 1895 from New York to print election posters for the federal election campaign, notably in the two pages of the Jewish Times in 1900. (Israel Rabinovitch. "Yiddish Literary Activity in Canada," in 1932 Souvenir Edition of Jewish Eagle, Pp. 56-57)

Biographer of Canadian Yiddish and Hebrew authors, H.L. Fox describes the three issues of Kaplansky's Yiddish periodical Die Licht, but Toronto historian Abraham Rhinewine denies that this paper ever appeared even though one issue was set in type in 1897. (A. Rhinewine. In Der Yid in Canada, Pp. 210-11)

Kaplansky was born in Byalostock and had learned the craft before coming to Montreal in 1888. He brought Jewish type to Canada to use it first for printing Yiddish political pamphlets during the 1895 election.

Kaplansky was for long on the staff of the Baron de Hirsch Institute and in due course helped to establish the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada.

In 1911, during the movement to organize a Kehillah or other central organization of Montreal Jewry, Kaplansky promoted a federation of the twelve Hebrew Sick Benefit Societies in Montreal. He had devoted twenty years to the advancement of these groups. His Hebrew Sick Benefit Society "had a membership of 720. It is the oldest society of its kind in Montreal, having been established in 1892. The dues are \$6.00 a year, and the sick benefits are \$5.00 a week for 13 weeks. There are special relief funds, invalid funds, mortuary funds, and the amount of \$225.00 is paid on the death of a member, and \$125.00 on the death of a member's wife.

"Canada is now ripe for the founding of a Canadian Order of the Hebrew Sick Benefit Societies, established under the provincial plan of insurance, and to have branches in all cities, with one central organization, say, in Montreal, this being the largest Jewish centre in Canada," he said. (Canadian Jewish Times, Feb. 14, 1911)

Community leader and historian S. Belkin reconstructed the life of activists in the immigrant society early in the century when the Jewish press was born. He cited the recollections of Toronto Poale Zionist A.Z. Silverman on the appearance of the party weekly the Kemfer in March 1906 in the United States.

"I shall never forget the Saturday evening when the first issue was scheduled to arrive. We stayed up till four in the morning, awaiting the last train from New York. When we received the package of newspapers we rejoiced as if it were the Reception of the Torah."

"In Montreal," Belkin records, "we did not go to work until we had distributed the Kemfer, some 300-400 copies each week. Our opponents (Bundists) made a point of covering up the titles on the labels so that they would not be visible, but B. Lachowitzky attended to this.

"Lachowitzky remembered that the anarchist bookseller Hershman would not permit him to display the Kemfer at his stand. The Poale Zionist remained outside distributing his papers, often giving them

away on credit. One rainy day the gentle Hershman permitted him to enter. Thus ended the street sale of the Kemfer."

"Another feature of the city which impressed me was my meeting a group of Maskilim who would read newspapers and would argue in the synagogue passageway during the Sabbath reading of the Portion of the Law. I was too young to be admitted to their company. I met some of them later -- even in Canada."

"When I came to Montreal in 1902 I did not find a congenial setting; no club, no library, no simple store where I could buy a book or even a newspaper. The nearest place was the home of Mr. Wilansky on Cadieux near Dorchester, the agent of the New York Tageblatt who had a bundle of 'Sanctities' which Montreal Jews badly needed: calendars, blessings with grace after meals, Yiddish prayers for women, festival prayer books, etc. He also had novels in Yiddish for women; as he once explained to me, 'It is for them because men would not spend their time on such nonsense as story books.'"

The Kemfer tradition is continuing to this day, though not unbroken; under the inspiration of David Pinsky and Hayim Greenberg it carries the twin message of Elie Wiesel, of the ancient tradition of Torah study, of consecrated childhood bearing the responsible memory of the holocaust, of Massadah Israel and of moral civilization threatened by reaction -- again through the person of a secular prophet; in the present through the Yiddish pen of Mordecai Strigler.

In the annals of the Jewish press this voice of Labor Zion is not unique. The volumes of the Jewish Daily Forward for even more decades reechoed another idealistic voice, the voice of many activists who identified personally with the newspaper bought it, distributed, led their lives by its counsel.

The remarkable role of the press was also reflected in the private lives of the citizenry; if for no other reason than that they were printed in Yiddish, the saintly alphabet in which God had indited Holy Writ. It was not without conscience that even the militantly secular Jew saw an old Jewish paper used to wrap a herring, just as the pious Jew was horrified to see a scrap of Yiddish or Hebrew printing -- possibly bearing the name of the Lord -- rolling in the gutter.

Montreal led the continent in its loyalty to the impoverished weekly Kemfer in the form of donations, advertisements and subscriptions. Devotees would bring their wages from the shops on pay day. The Montreal committee paid the printing costs of several issues of the Kemfer. The year 1912 was particularly difficult; Montreal offered to defray costs of at least twelve monthly bulletins of the party to substitute for the official weekly as well as two convention issues. (S. Belkin. Die Poale Zion Bavegung in Canada, 1904-20. Montreal, Labour Zionist Movement in Canada, 1956. Pp.63-65)

Unlike the United States, the early Yiddish press in Canada was not confined to the metropolis.

The Toronto bilingual Jewish Weekly of 1906 lasted three months. Its Yiddish Press of 1907 for four months. The durable Hebrew Journal began as a weekly in 1912 (Abraham Rhinewine. Der Yid in Canada. P.216-18)

Though a much smaller community, Winnipeg was early and advanced in Yiddish cultural and press development for at least half a century than the larger immigration settlements for many reasons. The farm experience and the Rumanian Barefoot history contributed greatly to personality enrichment in Western Canada.

Arthur A. Chiel notes that Winnipeg had a weekly Yiddish publication, Der Viderklang which appeared from March 11 to July 16, 1906. (The Jews in Manitoba. P. 124)

Zusman edited the Winnipeg Courier in 1919.

The following year the durable Canader Yid was established as a weekly, soon to become a semi-weekly. (Mordecai Ginsburg. "The History of the Yiddish Press" in Adler, 1932 Souvenir Edition, Pp. 116-17)

B. Sheps recalled the founding of the Canadian Jew, later the Israelite Press, by a group of six which included A. Osovsky, H.E. Wilder and A. Cherniak as well as himself. In the absence of a press in Winnipeg, it was printed in Montreal until a printer, Mr. Firestone, bought additional type and was enabled to issue it locally.

Since there was no money to pay the editor, B.J. Goldstein, he came to live with the Shepses for a time; until F. Simkin took over the management and assured it decades of stability. The great journalistic name of Mark Selchen adorned the paper and the community for many years.

There are constant indications that women read the novels which appeared serially in this Yiddish press. This is evocative of women's connections with the much earlier beginnings of Yiddish literature; there, too, the knightly romances were feminine fare, but in the later, more secular times, the Tzena Ur'enah was fully replaced by the novels, often from the pens of capable journalists.

For the men the Yiddish pages of the periodicals were the sole gate to the open world and to the difficult role of the Jew in this shifting universe. The readers found an intelligent guide who interpreted the moment-by-moment events in the light of their concern with Jewish welfare and survival. The names of the editors and journalists were household terms, respected and trusted as familiar celebrities.

Subscription agents A.W. Tolzes and Israel Osman, who were long engaged in maintaining subscription contacts with the widespread readers of the Yiddish press in Canada, broke their way into Jewish print. (Canadian Jewish Times, Nov. 25, 1910)

This was particularly true in Jewish homes outside the large centres or where family problems highlighted this affection.

In such homes the newspapers delivered by mail, often a week late, became an image in a religion that avoided relics. In a world where four-colour printing was not constantly being discarded on delivery, press photos of Herzl, Sholem Aleichem, Sir Moses Montefiore, Maimonides and Advocate Gruzenberg who defended Mendel Beilis decorated the walls more commonly than the Mizrachs which marked the east wall as reminders of prayers.

The subscription agent had endless stories to tell of deceased readers whose Christian widows maintained the subscriptions in memory of their husbands.

A Canadian on the Pacific coast who went so far as to subscribe to a Palestinian daily -- clearly a man of great Jewish commitment -- never threw out an earlier issue. When he passed away his widow had to dispose of many sacks of these papers.

In a distant home far from a suburb outside a Newfoundland outport a Jewish merchant many decades ago gladly received a visitor from Montreal on a Sunday afternoon. His wife was following her family traditions of centuries ago; on the banks of a fish-laden river she was leading neighbours in a baptismal ceremony -- full immersion. His young blonde sons were playing under the hammock in which their father was relaxing on this day of rest; they were somewhat puzzled by the unusual visitor.

The father wordlessly explained his entire life to his visitor by waving towards his progeny. But he turned to other generations by pointing to the paper he was reading -- the Montreal Adler. This was his rare opportunity to ask about his Jewish reading matter, about the editor, about Rabinovitch, Sack, Ginsburg, Wolofsky, about the organizations and synagogues they had in Montreal, about Zuker, Caiserman, Rabbi Hirsch Cohen, Rabbi Judl Rosenberg.

After the first world war another Yiddish political press institution resounding a totally opposed message, with its own clientele, was also nourished in the same social tradition of the immigrant society: the communists. In Canada, as in the United States, these communicants of another creed for decades cherished their papers which were an element in their network for education, and for their own personal socialization and called up their own mobilization which enabled their press to exist and which, in addition, focussed and created loyalties all its own.

H. HERSHMAN

The high mission and regard essential to the *littérateurs* of this world extended even to the printers and bookbinders of that Jewish society.

Binding, dealing as it did with books, was a very highly regarded profession; not -- as in the western world -- because it was often an art form, but because the binder handled books, *Sephorim* at all times, and these were at the least minor sanctities.

The printers, they "who engaged in sacred work," as the Hebrew locution names them, and the proofreaders, were held in as high regard as rabbis and scholars ever since the days of Soncino.

"Even as a very young child I already greatly respected the printed word. My measure of the greatness and importance of a city was the fame it has attained in the world with the word it had printed. Naturally, for me the world was my village Storozinetz.

"I was jealous of the boys from the near-by large town, Shatz where there was a printery which produced wedding invitations for the entire region. When such an invitation reached us, the most important line for me was the last line, with the tiny lettering, 'Book printery Herman Beiner, Suchaw,' with the same version in Hebrew on the reverse side.

"So when the family later removed there, my first call was to see with my own eyes what a printery really looks like."

By then the colourful personality of Hirsch Hershman (1876-1955) was beginning to emerge. The energetic young anarchist was a typical activist of the immigrant society where each of thousands of ill-prepared new citizens felt in their blood, ill-prepared as they were, the personal responsibility to shape their community along the lines of their dreams, and in doing so to shape Judaism, Canada and the world. It is in their biographies, their family histories and the traditions of their progeny that later years can find the annals of the Jewish history of the century and the spirit that impels the Jewish citizenry of contemporary Canada -- and indeed of the world.

A native of Bukovina he had early been inspired by the libertarian anarchist movement and was active in the garment worker syndicalism in New York before coming to Montreal. Like with so many of the radical unionists of the epoch, ethical refinement and humanism formed an integral element of their social and political program.

When he arrived in Montreal early in the century he found a store selling prayer books and phylacteries and a few of the Yiddish books popular among women.

"He had all 'the gems' of this line of stock: Catherine the Great, The Iron Lady or the Child that was Sold. They could be borrowed at two cents a section. But there was no sign of the new literature which was already beginning to develop in New York or was imported from Europe. When I asked him about the works of Mendele Moicher Seforim or Sholem Aleichem, it turned out that he had never heard their names.

"It occurred to me to interest a few friends to subscribe to books and papers from New York together. At about this time I found several supporters of the different varieties of socialism; that was how we came to form a group to subscribe to this literature... I only remember that in 1903 they delegated me to New York to buy \$20 worth of such literature for our group, the first Jewish library in Montreal. The suggestion that we include some Hebrew books was rejected outright, but some fiction might be considered.

"In New York I went immediately to the office of the monthly Tzukunft where several socialists present advised me on my purchases.

"Soon after we opened the first Jewish library in Montreal, in my home on Hermione St., near Craig St., one of our three rooms was set aside for the library. It did not take too much space, consisting as it did of several thin works of social political literature, some shorter works of J.L. Peretz, Sholem Aleichem and A. Reisen, plays by Jacob Gordin, some old magazines.

"The library was open only evenings, for the librarian, my wife, had to help her breadwinner and worked in a shop together with me. But after work, we all became busy. None of our dozen members failed to come each evening after work -- to change books, look at the Forward, hear of new materials, or engage in a discussion." (H. Hershman. "Di Erste Yiddishe Bibliotek in Montreal," in Jewish Public Library Bibliotek Buch. Pp. 68-72)

Israel Medres recalls that in 1902 H. Hershman went into the business of distributing Jewish newspapers.

"As a worker in a factory he was dissatisfied with the sweat-shop conditions of those days. Some leaders resorted to speeches as a means of rousing the workingman to fight for a higher standard of living. Mr. Hershman, however, felt that if the workingman had a chance to read Jewish newspapers regularly, the effect would be more continuous than listening to the occasional speech.

"On his first day in 'business' he received two copies of the Forward. He kept one for his own use, and sold the other for one cent cash to a Jewish family on St. Felix Street (between Windsor and Mountain Streets) -- at that time the heart of a Jewish district with its own Shochet and Jewish milkman; today it is the centre of the negro community. This first sale was so encouraging that Mr. Hershman

decided that newspaper distribution need no longer be only a hobby -- but a real business, deserving all his evenings and week-ends."

Hershman's was one of several political-cultural browsing centres in the city's immigrant society.

At the end of the first year Mr. Hershman moved into his first store on the Main Street, at a rental of \$5.00 per month. Fearing that too few customers would walk in to buy papers and books, he sublet part of the store for shoe repairs, so that people would have more reason to come in.

This activity had a particular, almost political Yiddish concern. Value inherent in the Yiddish language was seen by some as distinct and total.

This process of revolutionary adult education had other institutions besides the stage press, and the literature. There were the bookstores. These became gathering places for newcomers where one could browse through new journals, drink soda water, meet friends, argue one's views. The bookseller was not just working for a living. He was propagating his philosophy by distributing pamphlets and papers close to his own views.

A few years later the Yiddish cultural scene was reflected in advertisements in S. Shneur's Maccabaen: J. Lazarus' bookstore at 480 Main St., claiming to be the largest in Montreal, stocked Yiddish books from Russia and the United States, dictionaries, music, art postcards, tobacco. C. Belkin had taken over Hershman's bookstore at 406 Main St., the oldest in the city, and offered papers from Russia and Budushcheye issued in Paris by Burtzev.

Elstein's Book Store was the centre for the Hebrew Workingmen Debating Club which was organized to dispel ignorance through lectures and discussions on literature, science and political and social economy. (Adler, May, 1910)

In spite of his open-door policy, Mr. Hershman still had to go out looking for readers -- and he found them among the workers and the peddlers. Unfortunately the working day of twelve or more hours left little time and less energy for reading. The peddler, on the other hand, was out-of-town from Monday to Friday -- 'out-of-town' being represented by the present area of Ville St. Laurent and Cartierville. St. Jerome was in a different world; further north there wasn't even a road for horse-and-buggy travel.

After 1905, when mass immigration from Russia started, Mr. Hershman was no longer short of customers. Every boatload of immigrants who fled Czarist persecution and army rule, every ship of Jews seeking their livelihood in a democratic country, every such vessel brought its quota of new readers. Soon after 1905 Mr. Hershman moved to

larger quarters, and increased his sale of newspapers and socialist literature; he even handled prayer books and other religious articles.

Hershman's beloved ally in this Yiddish society was the Christian-born German Rocker who became popular among the Jews of England and the New World. For more than half a century their comradeship flowered. As they reached an advanced age, they met by appointment to bid farewell in the fall of 1953 at Plattsburg. (Revolutionary Rocker still could not enter Canada.)

"The period from 1905 to 1914 was one of the most influential for the Jewish press. The immigrants could not read English and the Yiddish newspaper and periodical was his only source of information." ("The Influence of the Jewish Press on Life in the U.S.A. and Canada," in Canadian Jewish Chronicle. Sept. 19, 1952)

Again, after the First War he joined Mrs. Lillian Freiman of Ottawa, Dr. Joseph Leavitt and several others to rescue some 150 orphans in Poland and to place them in Canadian homes. To this day Dr. Leavitt is still in familial contact with the grateful "children" he introduced into the New World more than sixty years ago.

Hershman was one of the Canadian delegates to the Jewish International Conference in Prague to organize aid for the war-stricken.

This activist devoted his years to the dissemination of the Yiddish press in Canada, ensuring that every packet reaching this city fell into the hands of faithful readers. The hundreds of such devotees of these newspapers formed the particular culture which enveloped the immigrant society of the Jews in the New World and in the other countries where the exodus from Eastern Europe had swept them.

Hershman recalled the odd story of a waist factory that had to reorganize as a cooperative after a fire had bankrupted the owners. Two anarchistic idealists led the project and soon found themselves ahead of their colleagues. Most girls refused to join the sharing group and asked only for regular payment. The cooperation leaders, Goldberg and Cars, were forced to engage a well known labour agitator, Industrial Workers of the World leader Carrigan, to organize the workers and to lead them unwillingly into a strike for better working conditions, better wages and shorter hours. Those unwilling to picket were forced to do so.

The Mutual Aid group, a Jewish labour debating society named in honour of Kropotkin, was the centre for radical intellectuals where not only Carrigan but his colleagues Jack Dorman and Tom Griffiths also found a platform and a home. It was there that Montreal's first May 1 parade was organized in 1905.

Hershman records that on the eve of that parade the Jewish workers, who had taken most of the initiative, proposed not to join in the

march as they feared that their Christian comrades would absent themselves, leaving the Jews to march alone. Jack Dorman, poet, intellectual and orator, appeared at the night meeting of the Jewish workers and persuaded them that there would be no betrayal.

It worked. Some 1,800 men of all national origins -- most of them Jews, but also Irishmen and French Canadians -- marched to the Champs de Mars to the tune of the Marseillaise. The twenty Italian musicians knew no other music.

When Leon Chazanovitch began his Folkszeitung Hershman was his labour editor.

Hershman was one of the founders of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1919 and was one of the first of its activists to recognize the importance of the Congress archives of Canadian Jewry. In 1936 he issued a pamphlet proposing the conversion of the 1838 building of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue into an archives and museum for the community.

Again, after the Second World War he initiated the entry of a number of holocaust survivors into Canada, several of them literary figures of great distinction.

During the first decade of the century he published a Yiddish weekly, Der Telegraph in Montreal towards the end of 1905. (B.G. Sack. "Der Yiddishe presse in Canada" in Yiddisher Kemfer, Passover, 5757. P. 146)

Der Telegraph, consisted largely of advertisements. Only three issues appeared in 1905. (Bibliography of Alexander Harkavi. N.Y., 1933. Pp. 5-15; I. Medres. "The Influence of the Jewish Press," in Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Sept. 19, 1952; La Presse québécoise, vol. 4, P. 221; Chaim Leib Fox. Hundert Yor Yiddishe un Hebraische Literatur in Canada; 100 Years of Yiddish and Hebrew literature in Canada. Yiddish. Montreal, 1980; S. Belkin. Di Poale Zion bavegung in Canada; The Labour Zionist Movement in Canada. Montreal, 1956)

The Canadian bibliographer Narcisse-Eutrope Dionne lists The Canadian Hebrews as having been founded by Joseph Simiens in 1906. La Presse québécoise conjectures that the periodical mentioned by Dionne by its English title had appeared in Yiddish only.

M. Hyman is on the record as publishing a weekly Der Yiddisher Shtern in Montreal in 1907.

THE MORALS OF THE TIME

Hershman came to represent an ethical model of the lifestyle of an anarchist in the context of the agnostic culture of his social justice.

Solomon Ary recalls the famine of the 1933 depression in Montreal. Walking one hungry dawn on Main near Rachel St. he saw several men "arguing about a sign in a large window. A skinny man with a hooked nose was shouting at a Jew who had a patch over one eye.

"'What're you pointing at? Can't you read what's written there? It says «Jewish People's Kitchen.» That's plain enough!'

"'What's plain is that this is some trick to bring in customers. I can see there's something not Kosher here. First of all, it's too small for a People's Kitchen.'

"'It's only for hungry Jews,' protested a dark-skinned, unshaven man. 'If you're hungry...'

"'Ha! What else is new?' snapped the other. 'I don't know anyone who gets enough to eat. Tell me, is your belly full?'

"'What's in my belly is none of your business! The sign says «Jewish People's Kitchen.» It means that a hungry Jew can get a meal here, cheap!'

"At this point, I, and the Deutsch beside me, went up to the door and looked in. There were tables and chairs, just like a restaurant. A man came over to us and said, 'Are you unemployed?'

"'Yes,' I replied.

"'Come right in.'

"I felt a warmth and friendliness that made me like him right off. His features were refined, even delicate, with dark eyes and a neat short beard. He wore eyeglasses attached to a black ribbon around his neck.

"'You may know me, if you read the Yiddish newspapers. My name is Hershman. People call me «Hershman, from The Day.» I represent that newspaper. And you -- what do you do?'

"I shrugged. 'At the moment, I'm looking for something to do.'

"'Ah, yes -- you're both out of work,' he said, nodding at the Deutsch. 'Well, sit down and relax.'

"The Deutsch and I sat down and were served a glass of tea.

"At mid-day, lunch was served. We were given soup with bread, and then the waiter brought out a huge roast of beef on a wooden board. He cut me such a generous portion that I protested.

"'Please -- that is more than I can eat.'

"The cook, who was nearby, came over. 'What are you saying? This is excellent meat.'

"'Sir, I see that it is the best -- but I'm not used to it. It will take me too long to finish.'

"The cook laughed. 'That's a problem? You must be in a great hurry! Your ship will leave port, I suppose!'

"What could I do? I slowly ate all the meat on my plate. Then my head felt so heavy that I fell asleep at the table. When I awoke, a while later, Mr. Hershman was sitting next to me.

"'Do you have a place to stay?' he asked.

"'Well, for the time being, I live on Villeneuve Street.'

"'Why do you say «for the time being»?

"'Because, in the end, they will throw me out. I owe my landlady three months rent.'

"'If she has let you stay so long, she must be a good woman.'

"'Yes -- but she never manages to see me. I always sneak out the window before dawn and go back the same way after she's asleep.'

"'My friend, you can't go on like that. How much is your rent?'

"'A dollar a month.'

"'A bargain!'

"'I know. In the beginning, she would serve me a glass of tea, besides.'

"'A woman with a heart of gold! Here, take this five dollars. When you get a job you can pay me back.'

"'Mr. Hershman -- this is very kind. Thank you! Thank you very much!'

When I paid my landlady the three months rent all at once, she could hardly speak. At once she gave me a glass of tea with lemon, and bustled about the house.

"As time went on, more and more jobless people came to eat at The People's Kitchen. Finally Mr. Hershman had to ask for charitable contributions. Many of the neighborhood shopkeepers and food vendors would come to drink tea, and paid a dollar a glass, out of goodwill. Jewish farmers sent sacks of food, and sometimes money too.

"Soon, the unemployed men from the West got wind of it, and came to Montreal, where they could get a free meal, no questions asked. To us Easterners, they looked different -- broad-boned and ruddy, with thick necks. The word went round that there were many Slavs among them, but Mr. Hershman would not allow such talk in the People's Kitchen. He said, 'I go by the teaching, «If a man holds out his hand for charity, do not deny him.»'

"One day, Mr. Hershman brought a man over to the table where I was sitting.

"'Ary,' he said, 'this is Mr. Beloff. He's a roofing contractor and he needs a man to work.'

"'I need two,' said Mr. Beloff, with a smile.

"'If you need fifty, I've got them,' laughed Mr. Hershman.

"'For now, two will do.'

"Mr. Hershman put his hand on my shoulder. 'Here is one.'" ("The Deutsch")

When the holocaust struck Jewry in the 1930's and 1940's his hand pulled from the fires a number of survivors and reestablished them in Montreal.

A scarred veteran of the depression recalls begging on Fletcher's Field to subsist was stopped by a stranger who remembered him from Byalostock. "We were bakers at home and you used to come with your mother on Fridays to put the cholent in our oven over the Sabbath night." He gave him \$10 to rent a room, buy some clothing. Next morning he brought him to 62 Rachel St.

"This is your place," he told him. "There are many papers in the next room. Sit here and read and you will find out what is happening in the world."

"I had never read a paper in my life. At home we only had few prayer books and Bibles. There was only one portrait on the wall, that of the Gaon of Vilno. The children learned some Sabbath hymns

and Holy Day prayers but I never heard the names of any poets, writers, painters until I entered that room. I once heard from someone in the street gang of a Yiddish novelist Fishel Bimko who wrote a book about our underground which I was able to find in the Bialostock library. It was the first and only book or paper I had read.

"In this reading room I began to read the stacks of papers. It is true I did not understand everything about the marching armies of the Soviet Union, about the comrades of Toronto who will join those of all Canada into one invincible force..."

THE COHENS

At a period in Canadian Jewish annals when the community was dealing decisively with fundamental problems of immigrant reception and with institutional and educational developments, two members of its leading families saw the need of establishing a periodical which would help mould the community and react to external threats. For these motivations they entered into the universe of the anglophone Jewish press.

In 1897 Lyon Cohen and S.W. Jacobs acted on their personal initiative to give the community a voice to respond to the flood of lies so dangerous that no one dared limit the possible consequences.

Each of them at the beginning of his career, acted on his own, without group authority or support, to establish the Jewish Times and to maintain it in dignity, at their own expense and risk, for more than a decade until it was taken over by H.P. Nervich, eventually to become the Canadian Jewish Chronicle. (J. Hamelin and A. Beaulieu. La Presse québécoise, vol. 4, Pp. 46-48)

The two men were sons of the pioneers of the 1860's and the 1870's, the small group of immigrants from Lithuania who strengthened the veritable sub-society which centred on the Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue for a century and shaped Canadian Jewry during a formative period. They were themselves the harbingers of the flood of migrants which followed a decade or two later.

The role of the two sons of these pioneering Canadian Jews can be understood not only from their biographies or even their family escutcheons but from the place of this tiny group in the history of the community and even of the nation's history.

They were among the first of the mass migrants from Eastern Europe; they pioneered this migration. But they also set themselves up quickly in Montreal Jewish society and became the leaders of the welcoming society which became the establishment that welcomed the larger movement. But this was carried out by them with a sympathy, an understanding and a sense of identification which came long to distinguish the Montreal community from many other North American Jewries.

The Cohen family in Budowitz in the governate of Suvalk were of the solid type traditional in Lithuania, Poland and Russia marked by adherence to Talmudic scholarship, piety, practical wisdom, business sense, charity and community service.

The family was bereaved in February 1899 by the loss of their mother Sarah Cohen who passed away at the age of 75 at Verbalen, leaving

her husband Chaim, a son and daughter in Poland, her sons Lazarus (Leiser, 1844-1914) and Hirsch in Montreal together with Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Coviensky, also in Montreal. (Jewish Times, March 3, 1897)

Lyon Cohen recorded that in his native Lithuania "his father had tried his hand at many different things. At one time he solicited subscriptions for the Bible, chumoshim, sidurim, on the theory that being a Biblical student he was best qualified for that occupation. "When my father arrived in Canada he called upon Noah Friedman who was one of the outstanding personalities of his day and to whom newcomers came for advice. Mr. Friedman in the course of time set him up in a general store at Maberly, Ontario.

"With few exceptions new arrivals of the 60's and 70's settled in the rural districts before taking up residence in Montreal. Many of these, who later became prominent in the community, lived in such places as Lancaster, Cornwall, Sherbrooke, Maberly, Lanark, Kingston, Sudbury, etc. The occupation of the first East European immigrants on their arrival was selling wares among the farmers. When in the course of time their positions improved they became general store-keepers in the towns referred to.

"Those who were more successful later came to Montreal and entered the retail, wholesale and manufacturing trades. Outstanding among these were Louis Kellert and Noah Friedman, wholesale drygoods merchants; Moses Vineberg, wholesale furrier; Jacob Hirsch, cigar manufacturer; Isaac and Mark Workman, Charles and David Friedman, Jacob Cohen, Solomon Levinson, Harris Vineberg and H. Kellert, wholesale clothiers; Abraham Jacobs, wholesale woollens; William Jacobs, horse emporium; Boruch Bloomfield, L. Aronson and Hyman Rutenberg, pawnbrokers.

"But my father was desirous of carving an individual place for himself in an industry not cultivated by our people. Following an apprenticeship as storekeeper he went into the lumber business at Sharbot Lake, Ontario.

"They made their annual pilgrimage to Montreal for the Jewish festivals, particularly the New Year and Yom Kippur.

"My father would take me with him to Montreal. I was then about ten years old and the sight of large numbers of our people arriving from all parts of the country deeply impressed me. The preparations for ushering in the Holy Days, the Services in the Synagogue and the gatherings in the homes, stirred the religious and national spirit and was a great inspiration." (B. Figler. Rabbi Dr. Herman Abramowitz, Lazarus Cohen, and Lyon Cohen. Montreal, 1968)

In the meantime his brother Lazarus married Freda Garmaise in 1867 and, with other brothers, came to Canada and settled in the

Maberley, Ont. area where they established an extensive business, centering on the Sharbot Lake area.

After fourteen years in business there Lazarus Cohen was attracted to the Jewish communal life in Montreal and removed to the Quebec capital where his service to Judaism in Canada and outside the national boundaries became widely recognized. As he recalled later in life, his parents had taught him personal and direct responsibility for the resolution of community problems.

Having discovered Zionism, he travelled to Europe and to the Holy Land to work with Lord Rothschild in acquiring land in Palestine. When it became clear that Canada could welcome Jewish immigrants he met with Baron de Hirsch to ensure substantial aid to this end from major European philanthropists and he travelled to the Canadian Prairies to seek out land in Western Canada for such settlement.

At the same time he devoted himself to the house of worship of the German, Polish and English Jews and opened the great chapter in its history when the synagogue became the communal and religious centre of Canadian Jewry for half a century. (Jewish Times, Sept. 1, 1899)

Not surprisingly this active Zionist and community leader came to be accepted by the élitist, international Zionist Bnai Moshe Society. (M. Brown, P. 378)

His brother Jacob remembered that Hirsch, then twelve years old living with his family in Verbalen, covered himself with a tablecloth one late afternoon and delivered a fine sermon. At fourteen he began studying at the Yeshivah at Vilkovisk, as did his brother Lazarus.

"One day he was playing noisily with the other youngsters in the yeshivah. One of the elders who was thus disturbed asked the teacher why he did not quiet Reb Chaim's son. 'You do not know the quality of this boy?' the teacher replied. He called young Hirsch and asked him to recite the difficult Tosefat commentaries on a page in the Talmud the rabbi chose. Hirsch recited the page from memory in all its details, reasonings and super commentaries. His teacher dismissed him. 'Go play all you want.'

"At sixteen he studied in Vilno under Rabbi Ben Zion Charif (Sharp), the head of Romailes Yeshivah. From Vilno he proceeded to Volozhin and before he became eighteen he had his ordination from the greatest sages of the time, including Rabbi Isaac David Slutzky, the Ridbaz." (Souvenir Dedicated to Rabbi Hirsch Cohen on the Occasion of his Seventieth Anniversary Jubilee, edited by Dr. Svi Kahn, P. 36)

Young Cohen studied Russian law at Kiev even as he headed the rabbinical court there.

Rabbi Cohen came to Montreal in 1889 at the age of 27 and, even as he continued his life of study and dedication in the tradition of Eastern Europe, he found himself at the centre of action of the legendary Canadian Cohen family which numbered A.Z. Cohen, Lyon Cohen, Horace Cohen and Leonard Cohen together with Lazarus Cohen.

With the directness which always marked the Cohens he proceeded to the erections of the pillars of modern Jewish life: Zionism, Mizrachi, Talmudic study and free loan. Hebrew education in the city was centralized in 1917 by the formation of the United Talmud Torahs.

Rabbi Cohen led the establishment of the Central People's War Relief program during the first world war, the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, and the movement for Jewish schools before the second world war. These involvements delineate an unparalleled ideology of an orthodox rabbi whose leadership won him recognition from all sectors of Canadian Jewish society and helped him bridge the abysses in that splintered age 1880-1940.

His piercing eyes remained unforgettably like beacons even to his last agonizing hours as he was bidding farewell to colleague in the Talmud Torah leadership, B.M. Weiner and to Rabbi J.L. Zlotnik, his peer in Jewish education and scholarship from Johannesburg.

LYON COHEN

Lyon Cohen (1868-1937) was the eldest son of Reb Lazarus Cohen who had been a Yeshiva bochur at the Volozhin Yeshiva.

Lyon Cohen graduated the Montreal school system, including McGill Model School and the Catholic Commercial Academy. (Jewish Times, Dec. 2, 1909)

Lyon Cohen was instructed by his parents in Jewish community activities on the highest level of service in immigrant reception and settlement, the Talmud Torah, Zionism, the Shaar Hashomayim and the Adath Israel Congregation. He married Rachel Friedman, daughter of Noah Friedman.

His years as president of the Shaar Hashomayim followed those of his father and were followed by his son Horace.

Lyon Cohen was secretary of the Anglo-Jewish Association under the presidency of the late Clarence I. de Sola. He was president of the Benevolent Literary and Social Club, which was afterwards merged with the Montefiore Club. In 1892 he was elected president of the Montefiore Club.

In 1891 Mr. Cohen was co-opted as secretary of the Montreal Hebrew Benevolent Society under the presidency of Harris Vineberg. He was president of the Baron de Hirsch Institute. He was secretary of the Jewish Educational Rights Committee in 1903 under the chairmanship of Mr. Maxwell Goldstein. He was treasurer of the Canadian Committee of the Jewish Colonization Association of Paris. In 1923 he became the chairman of the committee. He was president and later honorary president of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

He was chairman of the Canadian Jewish Committee and of the Associated Jewish War Relief Societies of Canada.

As early as April 24, 1913 Reuven Brainin, editor of the Eagle wrote on Lyon Cohen,

"We are accustomed to hear the leaders of Jewish public opinion, such as Jacob Schiff, Oscar Strauss and others, constantly sprout, 'Americanize! You are of the Mosaic faith, but your nationalism is American.' The language of the leaders of that generation has remained assimilatory to this day with echoes that are conciliatory.

"Lyon Cohen, born in Canada, speaks to his brethren here in another language. His tongue and feelings are thoroughly Jewish. He urges us to study the influence of the new environment upon the Jews who have made Canada their home.

"The Jewish settlement in Canada is an experiment by world history: either to become here a significant Judaism, a political or moral force, a haven for Jews from oppressed countries; or else to erase the distinctive Jewish individuality by agonizing disappearance among the other nationalities, by denying our past and to become a zero in mathematical terms; even a zero that enlarges to that measure the numbers of other peoples.

"In brief, we can grow in this country or sink to the bottom.

"So it is important to hear a man like Lyon Cohen, who acts in the very centre of practical life in this land, assert that we can unite true Judaism and fidelity to our tradition with true patriotism. On the contrary, the more loyal we are to our people and persistent in its activities and our customs, the more we will gain the respect of our neighbours.

"For Lyon Cohen it is self-evident that the Jews who have arrived here from the areas of constant persecution, where step by step they were deprived of human rights, will become the finest patriots here and will appreciate the liberty, the justice, the humanity of this country. They do not have to be taught patriotism. He does not doubt the equality and freedom of life under British institutions which guarantee the free exercise of the natural, free and justified ambitions of the people and its complete fulfillment; that we shall attain our place in trade and political affairs in the light of responsibilities and duties."

Caiserman, for nearly a quarter of a century an intimate colleague in community work, referred to him "as the only member of his class who considered the masses of the Jewish people as his brethren, even even while the favoured class viewed the populist movements with condescension..."

"It is not yet possible to relate his infinite patient devotion to ideas which he was not always able to have his fellow workers accept -- such as the battle for the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1917-1919, the most dramatic in the annals of Canadian Jewry. The issue which divided the community was the convening of the democratic representatives. It required an influential, tolerant leader, connected with the so-called up-town. It befell to me and Hersch Wolofsky finally to convince him that the Congress idea with its national demands was the call of the hour..."

"Characteristically his perception of the needs of the community required a high standard of expression in the formal presentation of documents and petitions to government. His blue pencilling as he called it is a mark of the Jewish archives of his age." (Eagle, Aug. 23, 1937)

The Canadian Jewish Chronicle described a day in Mr. Cohen's office where there may be seen "Rabbi and priest; the man of means, the

workingman and the stray derelict. They will all eventually see him, pour their tale into his ear. As a result, he may leave his office and his home and travel to Ottawa to see a Cabinet Minister, and Mr. Cohen in turn will sit in his outer office and waste the time that other men would devote to their personal interests, in order to plead for some poor wretch who's been sent to prison, or for some pogrom-hounded Jew who wants to escape from the horror surrounding him, or to obtain rights for his fellow-Jews in Canada.

"And the Minister listening may suddenly realize that here is a man to whom the far-off sufferer for whom he was pleading is no more closely related than to himself, yet he is giving up his time and spending his money to save an unknown from whom he may not -- and in most cases does not -- even receive a word of appreciation. And the Minister may go home to ponder on this strange people Israel in whom the sense of unity is greater than the oceans that divide its scattered members."

H.M. Caiserman remembers that "One of the most outstanding contributions to Canadian Jewish history was made by Mr. Lyon Cohen when during the war years he assumed the leadership of war relief work and more particularly when in 1919, he accepted the presidency of the Canadian Jewish Congress." (Dec. 6, 1935)

In the judgment of Israel Rabinovitch, Cohen's "failure to serve the nation's diplomacy was a loss to Canada, what with his native talents, tact, sharp perception and refined manners." (Eagle, Aug. 16, 1937)

As the Eagle recalled in its obituary, "his role in the Canadian Jewish Congress of 1919 tested his diplomatic tact and his personal magnetism." H.M. Caiserman recalled that the final meeting with his president Cohen was devoted to a plan of the intensification of the National Archives of Congress.

As he welcomed delegates to the 1936 reorganized Congress Lyon Cohen recognized "Many who were delegates to that, now historic Congress, which took place in this City some seventeen years ago, in 1919. You will remember that this First Canadian Jewish Congress, co-operated with world Jewry and urged the Peace Tribunals of Paris to appoint Great Britain, as the mandatory of Erez Israel, and presented through the Jewish delegations Committee at Paris the Articles which were later incorporated into the treaties respecting the rights of minorities.

"You will recall too, that we sent a commission to the Ukraine with clothing and medical supplies for our unfortunate co-religionists."

Cohen presided over the reception in Montreal of the illustrious Chief Rabbi of Palestine, Abraham I. Kook, together with the Chief Rabbi of Lithuania, Abraham B. Shapiro, and the head of the Slobodka Yeshivah on April 29, 1924.

They came, in the terms of Lyon Cohen, "to deliver a message concerning the imminent danger in which thousands of Talmud Torahs, Yeshivas and Schools in Eastern Europe and Palestine find themselves.

"As a result of the War, the economic condition of Eastern European Countries and Palestine is in a state of despair, and over a quarter of a million Jewish children, of whom 30,000 are war orphans, are practically without any religious education, due to lack of means for their support.

"A Fund has been started for the purpose of furthering the cause."

He had expressed his prayer to see the establishment of a Jewish state even if it involved the partition plan.

Young Lyon Cohen and Samuel W. Jacobs worked very closely over the years and assumed the leadership of the community for some four decades.

Cohen became an intimate of men in government and in business, was the president of the Canadian Jewish Congress when it was organized in 1919; for many years he headed the Baron de Hirsch Institute and the Canadian program of the Jewish Colonization Association.

Lyon Cohen passed away at the age of seventy in August, 1937 at Old Orchard, Maine a month after his brother A.Z. Cohen in the same summer resort.

The distinguished editor Ida Bension Wynne paid tribute to him on his anniversary in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, "Speaking of Lyon Cohen's Fifty Years of Service". (Oct. 18, 1935)

S. W. JACOBS

Samuel Jacobs "began his secular studies at the St. Telesphore de Montjoy School, Dalhousie Station, where he mingled with children of many nationalities and quickly learned their various dialects, including Celtic.

"Every year, on the occasion of the High Holy Days father William Jacobs brought his family to Montreal to attend religious services in one of the Synagogues. In 1881, when Samuel was ten years old, his father moved to Montreal where he established his business at 16 Hanover Street, now known as University Street, as a 'horse dealer, exporter and livestock shipper'.

"Jacobs became a member of Shaar Hashomayim Congregation, which conducted its services on St. Constant Street. Here young Samuel was called to the Torah for his Bar Mitzvah in 1884.

"He entered the Law Faculty of McGill University from which he graduated in 1893. (B. Figler. Sam Jacobs, Member of Parliament. Montreal, 1970. P.2)

After graduating from McGill as a B.C.L. with first honours in 1893, Jacobs took a post-graduate course at Laval where he was awarded the degree of Master of Laws, cum laude, the first Jewish student to secure a degree from a Catholic college in Canada. He was called to the bar in 1894. (Jewish Times, Aug. 21, 1908)

As a young lawyer Jacobs collaborated with L. Garneau in their Code of Civil Procedure in Quebec and wrote The Railway Law of Canada. (Montreal, Lovell, 1900. lvii, 1001 p.) Rabbi H. Abramowitz recalls that Jacobs had also written "A Canadian Bankruptcy Act -- Is it Necessary?" and a biographical article on Robert Cooper Smith.

He early became the advocate for Jewish citizens and for the organized institutions of the community. Quite aside from individual concerns, the social conditions which brought immigrants into courts constituted an important phase of the life of new arrivals. Jacobs entered into these situations with great legal learning and much fraternal sympathy as he learned to deal with Kashrut problems, labour strikes, etc.

The difficulties which Jewish traders suffered in connection with Sunday observance were ironic. Even while intending to advance merchandizing in the province, a large portion of Quebec municipal government was impeding small Jewish businessmen by licensing, Sunday observance, early closing and other regulations.

Bourassa had carried through parliament the measure permitting Sabbath observing Jews to work on Sundays. It was a remarkable tour de force in defence of profound Catholic and French Canadian interests. Nevertheless Jewish small merchants were constantly being harrassed, and Jacobs spent much of his time defending them. (Canadian Jewish Archives, New Series no. 14; Clouds in the Thirties, section 6, Pp. 83-85; B. Figler, S.W. Jacobs, M.P.)

Peter Bercovitch recalled this in April, 1917 at the banquet which the United Hebrew Political Association sponsored to mark Jacobs' wedding anniversary. A roll of the signatures of 3,000 supporters was presented him by Lyon Cohen who presided. (Eagle, Apr., 17, 1917)

Among Jacobs' several initiatives in those early years in defence of the good name of the Jews was his appearance on behalf of A.H. Vineberg against the notorious Robillard in 1902. ("Jules Helbronner" in Canadian Jewish Archives, New Series, no. 11)

From his early years Jacobs became the spokesman and leader of Canadian Jewry and his biography constitutes the veritable record of Canadian Jewish history during a third of a century. (Clouds in the Thirties, sections 6-13, passim, esp. section 9, Pp. 330-63; Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26, 27)

Jacobs' chosen arena of public service came to be the Canadian parliament which he entered in 1917 as the first Jew following Henry Nathan Jr., who had been elected for Victoria, B.C. in 1871.

He became an outstanding and noticeable federal legislator on government or opposition benches in turn. An articulate debater, he also helped write the laws of the land. Between sessions he participated actively in the personal relationships which is the texture of partisan politics. In the biography of Mackenzie King he played a crucial role which biographers have not yet fully analyzed.

In parliament, too, he championed the identical causes of Jews and other Canadians which often sought to advance freer immigration, especially of Jewish refugees.

Early in the century the Times wrote, "Jewish representation in the legislature of this province has become a necessity. Numerically our people now form a large and important element in the population and are as much entitled to consideration in this respect as any other nationality, seeing that sectional representation is an established system in this province.

"At every session of legislature bills affecting Jewish rights and institutions are up for discussion and passage, it would be only proper that we should have one or more representatives to look after

them. It does not matter to what political party such Jewish members may belong. We do not approach this subject from a party viewpoint. We simply desire to obtain recognition by the public, or by either party, if so disposed, of the claim of the Jews of Montreal to a share in the representation of the city.

"This subject cannot be allowed to rest, for events are consistently occurring which prove its necessity as a matter of justice. If those who take the initiative in these affairs do not see their way to act in the way suggested now, the time will soon come when they will have to give heed to our demand, for the Jewish population of Montreal is growing at the rate of over a thousand a year, and is sure to make itself felt at the polls."

Of course the highest moments in his combat against anti-Semitism was his epic legal pursuit of notary Edouard Plamondon, one of the great legal cases in Canadian Jewish history. (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26, 27) The case was the most dramatic event in the history of the society which the Jewish Times represented.

A similar case occurred in 1907 in the Saguenay where Le Travailleur attacked Jews and named a Jewish resident of Montreal in their comments. An action against the proprietor was entered in the District Superior Court by S.W. Jacobs. But when the day of trial came the defendant settled by agreeing to pay not inconsiderable damages.

ITS PAGES

As La Presse québécoise notes, "the fortnightly was the voice of Quebec Jews -- particularly of the more comfortably established class rather than of the new immigrants who had just come from Eastern Europe and who had not yet acquired either English or French.

"It appeared only in English, except for the election campaign of 1900. Two pages in Yiddish were then inserted, prepared by A.L. Kaplansky.

"Even as the Jewish Times quickly gained the confidence of the entire community, it contributed greatly to the development of Montreal Jewry: it became its voice and the inspiration of ancient Jewish ideas on a new historical theatre.

"It encouraged and inspired all forms of religion, of philanthropy, of Zionism and of the cultural integration with Canadians, especially anglophone.

"The tradition of high inspiration and of public interest which this periodical established has since marked the Quebec Jewish press, both in English and in Yiddish, and won a place of honour in Jewish history on the continent."

It performed a particularly complex function as the voice of a section of the Jewish community. That group, which was more integrated into Canadian life than were the more numerous recent arrivals, constituted a sub-society within the Canadian Jewry of its day. But the Montreal group was different from its parallels in other Jewish centres on the continent. This particular character helped make Canadian and Montreal Jewry distinctive from other centres for a variety of sociological and political reasons.

When the founders of the Jewish Times announced the transfer of the 13-year-old weekly to Hyman P. Nervich on January 28, 1910, they recalled that "they were frequently called upon to put their hands in their pockets and make good any deficiency which from time to time arose, in a spirit which only those filled with a high sense of public duty are capable of."

The early issues of the Jewish Times were printed by John Lovell & Sons and later by A.L. Kaplansky, the first Jewish printer in Canada. Later the periodical acquired its own printery well before its sale to Nervich.

Publication was announced in the Montreal Herald of December 3, 1897.

The Jewish group being so tiny, not to be compared with the population of the Canadian nation of which they formed barely two percent, a nation with an economy, a government, a church, an educational system, etc., it is not surprising that Canadian Jewry had not had a voice for its group or for its collective institution earlier. From its first days there survive precious administrative documentation, but its individual writings are limited to Moses Hart's expositions on religion, the poetry of Ascher and of Lumley, several anonymous essays in the American Jewish Messenger. (D. Rome. Jews in Canadian Literature, 2 vols.) An exceptional body of scholarly work derived from the pens of Rev. Abraham de Sola and his son's sermons were predecessors to a succession of preachments by anglophone rabbis.

In the review of its articulation, it need not surprise us that its origin bears the characteristics of myth and beginnings -- uncertainty, fragmentation; yet the marks of prophetic personality and greatness, related to later movements that could shape the world.

The score of Lithuanian immigrants of the 1860's and the flood of the 1880's were for long too absorbed and devoid of instruments to leave us a heritage of periodic print.

However, the silence of this generation may be misleading: when in 1897, they found a voice in the Jewish press of the continent, and in 1907 in their own Yiddish newspaper, they spoke with a sophistication and a style which were clearly not of newcomers to journalism or to social affairs.

The weekly established a valuable tradition of Jewish journalism in Canada which has been followed, but possibly not surpassed, by the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, the Jewish Daily Eagle of Montreal, by the Canadian Jewish News, and by the Jewish Standard of Toronto. Few communities on the continent outside New York can match these periodicals.

On its fifteenth anniversary the Canadian Jewish Times requested one of its founders, Lyon Cohen, to recall the circumstances of its establishment. He wrote on December 13, 1912,

"It was not as a business venture that my associates and I decided to go into the newspaper business. We felt the need for some vehicle of expression to defend our people from malignant and calumniating statements which were being circulated by unfriendly newspapers in this country, at the time of the Dreyfus case. The True Witness, a publication of those early days, soon learned that the Jew had reared up a champion, nor were the anti-semitic outpourings of a Goldwin Smith to remain unchallenged. We now feel certain our defence and explanation had the effect of silencing many of our detractors. Our strong and uncompromising attitude towards the despicable practice of certain renegades from our faith, in their attempt to proselytise our children, did much at the time to stamp out the evil.

"Through an exchange with non-Jewish organizations it in no small degree contributed to a better understanding with our people, their industry and their interest in and loyalty to the country of their adoption.

"It has endeavored by exhortation, through its columns, to educate our people to the necessity of keeping abreast with the social and other needs of the community.

"Believing in the desirability of fostering a national sentiment among our people, Zionism always found in it a strong advocate and supporter. The strides which that great movement has made in Canada is due, in no small measure, to the consistent and persistent publicity this journal has given to its work.

"The Jewish Times always manifested the keenest interest in the cause of charity and public instruction, and its back numbers will be useful to the future historian to obtain data concerning Jewish events and Jewish people in Canada during the years of its publication.

"A special number was issued on December 11th, 1899, in which was given a short history of the Jewish communal bodies of Montreal at that time. No movement for the welfare of the Jewish community was denied its assistance, while many a noble cause received its inspiration from the editorials of the Jewish Times. Its appeals in aid of the victims of the massacre of Kishinev, Odessa and the Roumanian outrages, brought contributions from far and wide.

"It was, indeed, a costly luxury, but the hope that it was performing a good work made the undertaking a labor of love."

On the same anniversary occasion Jacobs remembered,

"It was during the agitation for Revision of the Dreyfus trial in 1897, and when the press teemed with the 'affaire', that some of us felt that in the Province of Quebec means ought to be devised to counteract, if only in a small degree, the anti-Jewish feeling which was being stirred up by a certain section of the French-Canadian press, never very friendly to our people, but at this particular time worked up into a frenzy by the boulevard and gutter press of Paris, whose matter found itself reflected in every issue of these local papers.

"We felt that the publication of a Jewish paper, placing before the public some of the real facts of the case, would be useful. Of course, the English-speaking papers throughout the country were all 'Dreyfusards', but even these were in the habit of publishing anything spicy about the case, without examining too closely as to its source. They were merely conduit pipes for the large European newspapers, many controlled by secret influences and 'Diplomacy' centres; for the Dreyfus case, as everyone knows, was one in which the whole of Europe was concerned, involving many European chancelleries and persons high in public places.

"The first page of the first issue of the Times plunged into the Dreyfus case, and gave its readers a synopsis of what had taken place up to that time, animadverting severely on the conduct of some of the participants, and in a week or two afterwards our opponents were busy with their answer. We had thrown a brick-bat and knew by the yelp the kind of animal that had been struck. Le Signal of Three Rivers, La Croix of Montreal, Le Pionnier of Sherbrooke, and a number of other fourth-rate publications came in for sound castigation at our hands in due course.

"Not satisfied with merely answering attack by attack, in the press, the owners of the Times proceeded to the arrest of the editor of Le Pionnier for defamatory libel. The information upon which the

warrant was issued was laid by a Jewish law student, who charged a man called Robillard with the offence of libel, because Robillard had published in his paper, Le Pionnier, certain gross and outrageous remarks about the Jewish people.

This was the first time that a case of the kind had come before the Courts. Robillard's defence was that inasmuch as no statement concerning a particular Jew had been made, the right was not given to any individual to apply for his arrest; besides which, he claimed that his article concerning Jews was merely a philosophical study and theory, which did not render the writer liable to prosecution.

"Judge Choquet, before whom the case came up, decided that any member of the race maligned could prosecute, seeing that the statements published were calculated to bring each individual Jew into hatred and contempt. Robillard immediately upon being committed for trial gave 'leg bail'. He fled the country, and has never been heard of since.

"The Times always kept a watchful eye upon offenders of this kind, and it is gratifying to state that the small country sheets, which always showed animus towards the Jews, behaved better thereafter...

"Looking over the early issues of the paper, I note with interest the campaign in favor of equal rights for our people in educational matters. The agitation for the recognition of Jewish children in the public schools was kept up week in and week out, and if some measure of justice to Jews was granted in 1903, it was largely due to the agitation which brought before the Jewish community the anomalies existing in the law, which up to that time, declared that although Jews were obliged to pay taxes for the maintenance of the public schools, their children had no legal right to be educated in such schools...

"On one occasion, I remember an amusing mistake which was only noticed after the paper was mailed. It was shortly before the Passover festival, and the writer of the editorial on the Festival expressed the hope that the Baron de Hirsch Institute would see to it

that no Jewish poor family should be without 'Matzoth'. At the time, the paper was printed by John Lovell & Son, and as we had no Hebrew type, a Jewish printer was asked to set up the word for us, and send it to Lovell's. This he did, but imagine our consternation when the editorial appeared in which we were made to say that we hoped every Jewish poor family would have 'Matzevoth' for the Festival!! We asked for bread and received a stone..." (Dec. 13, 1912)

The issue of June 3rd 1901 contained the Hebrew text of a prayer offered by Rabbi A.M. Ashinsky at the laying of the cornerstone of Baron de Hirsch Institute on Bleury Street. On February 12th, 1904 a poem by the Hebrew poet M.M. Dolitzky was published in the original.

The introductory paragraphs to the first issue state,

"The Jewish population of Montreal now numbers 7,000 souls, and for the whole Dominion of Canada it probably exceeds 15,000. It has, therefore, been thought that a community so large and having many interests in common should possess an organ of their own for the dissemination of Jewish news, interchange of ideas and the advocacy as well as the defence of Jewish rights as free citizens of a free country.

"Recognizing the power and influence of the press, there is no class or section of the people of Canada but has its organ for the purposes similar to those stated, and, when the position of the Jews is considered in relation to other sections of this mixed community, the necessity of their having a journal at their command that will faithfully, fearlessly and with all due regard to the rights and duties of citizenship, explain their views and defend their interests becomes at once apparent...

"At the present juncture of affairs it is doubly important that the Jews of Canada should have a reliable vehicle for the expression of their sentiments. The anti-Semitic movement in Europe is not without an echo in this country. It is to be found daily in those newspapers which take their old-world inspiration largely from those organs of opinion which are inimical to the Jewish people. It is desirable that this unjust and dangerous influence should be fairly, squarely met and counteracted by showing honestly the Jewish side of the question, and thereby prevent, as far as possible, the spread of a moral poison which is not only dangerous to Jews but disastrous, as all experience shows, to those who unhappily spread and imbibe it."

"Hitherto the Jewish people of Canada, with a few notable exceptions, have been too content to live among themselves and keep apart from general affairs and movements which affect them as much as other members of the community. This has probably arisen from the necessity they have been under of making their livelihood and establishing themselves in a new land. But the time has come for a

change in this respect. There are now many wealthy and well-to-do Jews in Montreal, but even the poorest among us have leisure enough to give some attention to questions which touch them as citizens or affect them through their co-religionists in other parts of the world.

"It is therefore fitting and proper that they should assume an attitude in relation to public affairs as well as towards science, literature and art, to which their numbers, their intelligence, their wealth, their industry and their genius entitle them.

"In this way they can make their influence for good felt by other classes and appreciated by all." (Dec. 10, 1897)

Lyon Cohen later recorded "the motives which prompted my good friend, S.W. Jacobs, and myself to start an Anglo-Jewish journal.

"We were spurred to action by the Dreyfus affair. Ugly anti-Semitic articles appeared in certain papers here in commenting upon the matter and had created a certain animosity toward local Jews. We could no longer remain silent. We felt that these articles must be answered. The truth must be presented and, although not being journalists nor having any thought of making it a business venture, we decided to embark on the enterprise.

"The 10th of December, 1897, which saw the first appearance of the Jewish Times, was a milestone in the affairs of Canadian Jewry. From that date up to 1914 Canadian Jewish history was recorded in the columns of this publication.

"I feel that the paper achieved its purpose. It stimulated communal endeavour and brought our community to the fore as an important world Jewish centre. We also had an educational reason, to bring news of the outer world to our youth as an inspiration to them. We felt the need of creating some method of recording the growth and development of Canadian Jewry, which was entirely absent up to that time." (B. Figler. Rabbi Dr. Herman Abramowitz, Lazarus Cohen, Lyon Cohen. Montreal, 1967. P. 100; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33)

"When the Jewish Times was started it was with the hope of giving the Jews of this Dominion an organ of their own, by and through which they could come into closer communion of sentiment and be able to make known their attitude on all public matters to their fellow citizens of other races and creeds...

"When we began our career the Dreyfus excitement was at its height, and the importation into the columns of a section of the Canadian press of the anti-Semitic prejudices rampant among the reactionaries of France required that a voice should be raised in Montreal to counteract a tendency so subversive of the good will which had hitherto prevailed...

"This alone would have justified our appearance in the newspaper field. But events were moving fast, and murmurs were heard of renewed persecutions in Russia and of oppressions in Roumania which were likely to lead to a wholesale exodus of the Jews to those countries where they might hope for better treatment. Meantime the Dreyfus affair was growing in intensity and threatening to become the source of international complications. The press of all countries was disputing the Jewish question, and it behoved us in this corner of the world to keep the true nature of the case clearly before the public eye. In this work we had many difficulties to encounter, many obstacles to overcome, many discouragements to obviate...

"Their recent occurrence and the success with which our organizations has grappled with the responsibilities thrust upon them through the sudden influx of immigration has proved to the entire satisfaction of the government and people of this country that the Jews are not an undesirable class of settlers," the editors recalled on December 7, 1900.

As the Jewish Times entered its tenth year the editors glanced over its volumes to "realize how important it was, how many events of great moment were crowded into those years and how much there was to give cause for sorrow and lamentation, as well as for hope and encouragement for the future.

"When we started on our career in Jewish journalism the Dreyfus excitement was at its height and threatened both the welfare of our people in France and the stability of the French Republic. But we never lost faith in the cause of truth and justice. We watched with deep and painful attention the rising of the storm of anti-Semitic fanaticism, bigotry and intolerance. We saw its fury wreaked on the head of an innocent, cruelly maligned and persecuted man. Then we saw the whole abominable conspiracy laid bare, its victim exonerated, restored to his rank, and the vile gang of his accusers along with the subversive political party which supported them, driven into exile amid the contempt and execration of all decent people. From the vindication of Major Dreyfus, the execrable monster of anti-Semitism received a blow in France and in Europe which has left it weak and powerless. It has proved that racial hatred as a cult is confined to people who are naturally and essentially bad and wicked. They did not shrink from perjury, forgery and fraud and in the estimation of the world made these crimes synonymous with anti-Semitism. We could desire no greater example or warning, and we took good care that the lesson would not be lost on the party in Canada, whose organs initiated the villainous libels of the Nationalist journals of Paris.

"During this decade we have also seen the Zionist movement grow from a timid, tentative effort into a powerful, world-wide organization, and, though called upon to mourn the untimely death of its founder, we have the glad satisfaction of knowing it is marching steadily on towards the goal of its aspirations. Palestine has been

opened to Jewish immigration and settlement and the prospect of the deliverance of our people from Russian bondage grows brighter day by day.

"This is all the more gratifying in view of the anti-alien legislation adopted in Great Britain and the United States.

"We are happy to be able to add that Jewish immigration to this Dominion has been very large and has been absorbed into the commercial and industrial life of the country without causing the slightest disturbance, but on the contrary vastly advancing the interest of all classes of producers and distributors." (Nov. 30, 1906)

With November 30, 1908 the Jewish Times "completed the eleventh year of its existence, and closed another volume in the history of Canadian Jewry. We may also truly say that these eleven volumes contain a compendious record of all noteworthy occurrences among our people in all parts of the world. Scanning these pages the reader will observe the many trials Israel has borne for this comparatively short period in his long and wonderful journey through the centuries. There has been much suffering and sorrow, dark days of persecution, bloodshed and horrors that language would fail to describe; scenes of murder, rapine and outrage illuminated by the ghastly flames of burning homes. Such has been the picture presented to the world in the sight of heaven thousand years after the time when, as the Christian legend tells, angels over the hills of Judea proclaimed the evangel of 'Peace on earth and good will to men.' Though the horrors to which we refer were confined to Russia, the spirit which prompted them found, and still finds, expression in nations which boast of a purer faith and more enlightened civilization.

"But combating the Castors was only a small part of our journalistic and legal labours. That, indeed, was only incidental to our higher purpose of supplying our people with an independent organ through which Jewish thought could find utterances, Jewish interests be protected and Jewish rights defended. For evidence of the faithfulness and constant devotion with which we have performed this duty we refer to these eleven volumes. Evidence they also contain of our adherence to the carefully matured policy of removing all misconceptions concerning our people from the minds of our fellow citizens of other races and religions, of avoiding all polemical disputes and promoting peace, harmony and good will among all classes."

DOMESTIC CONCERNS

In its very clear and selfless perception of its function, the early Jewish Times belonged to the North American anglophone sector of the nineteenth century and not to the Yiddish. Indeed, when occasion presented itself during its first decade it showed contempt for the Jewish vernacular language and for its publications. It indicated no awareness of the Canadian efforts for periodical Yiddish publication or special interest in the ideologies of the Yiddish migrant society.

But it was very distinctive in its definition of Judaism. It promoted integration into anglophone Canada, the rejection of the specific Slavic-based form of orthodox religion and the secular forms of Judaism developing over the century.

From its first issues the Jewish periodical acted as an important link between the growing number of communities across the dominion. The personal reporting on family and social life helps the reader to reconstruct the life of Jewry at the time.

Although the current problems of anti-Semitism overseas and in Canada were prominent in the perception of the Jewish Times, the fortnightly was as important for its influence within the community, largely on the educational level.

The Montreal newspaper was an element in the anglophone press on the continent which is a little appreciated cultural phenomenon in the history of the century. Its American prototypes still make impressive reading, easily comparable in scholarship, devotion and in communal inspiration with the best Jewish press of today, particularly when we remember that it sought to reach the mass of the Jewish public, at least those active in communal management. Canadians have reason for pride in the role of Montreal minister Abraham de Sola in the American pages a score of years before the Jewish Times appeared.

In its own way the Canadian paper sought to perform as well on its own territory, often with instruments used in the United States. Among these traditions was the extensive "exchange" system of copying from such periodicals as the London Jewish Chronicle, thus initiating the presentation of the details of current Jewish life -- its sufferings and its proud record in civics and in fraternal relief -- to the entire Jewish public. In the absence of sophisticated Jewish press and information agencies, the Jewish Chronicle set in motion the vast educational and mobilizing apparatus of Jewish democracy which has since transformed the Jewish people.

The pages of the Jewish Times were a faithful reflection of the publishers' own Canadian Jewish idealism, an idealism which they shared largely with the established community. Concretely this meant

an identity with the Baron de Hirsch Institute; indeed the fortnightly was the organ institute and its complete protocol.

In the same sense it was the faithful record of Canadian Zionism. Since this movement from pre-Herzl times had the active support of every Canadian Jewish resident from British Columbia to Cape Breton, the pages of the Jewish Times recording the life of the first national institution in the country provide a further complete image of those decades of Canadian Jewry.

Among the traditions which the Jewish Times followed was the highlighting in every issue of some citizen, sometimes a Canadian, who has distinguished himself in some area of service. The variety of these men was a demonstration of the integration of their Jewish communities in western society and the affirmation of Jewish claims to equality, to justice and to respect.

The paper was militant in its Jewish idealism, religion, Zionism, its promotion of the new Canadian Jewish institutions, and even early in its appreciation of Yiddish culture.

In regard to religious life, the Jewish Times gave strong preference to the Shaar Hashomayim Congregation and to its affiliated institutions such as its young people's groups. Its rabbis had their sermons reprinted frequently and the educational programs, very often of substantial value, were reflected at length in its columns.

For a time Rabbi A. Ashinsky of the immigrant synagogue world was reported in the establishment's news magazine, and when Rabbi Hirsch Cohen appeared on the Montreal scene he, too, was noticed.

The Reform Temple Emanuel received little coverage of its activities and the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation were not duly favoured except that Notary L.A. Hart's articles on the Christian missionaries and sermons by Rev. Meldola de Sola were placed before the readers of the Jewish Times

THE WETZLAR CASE

In the Wetzlar case the Jewish fortnightly was outright hostile to the ancient congregation.

A conflict of jurisdiction between the Jewish religious and the civil arose in 1899 involved the disinterment of those who had passed away long ago.

That summer a very painful event occurred which, by all accounts, reflected the restless condition of the Jewish cemeteries of the ancient Canadian congregation.

D.N. Wetzlar and his wife, Sarah, members of the synagogue, had passed away on July 25, 1891 and on January 4, 1892, respectively. Their daughter, Dame A. Wetzlar, married a Protestant, R.P. McLea and adopted her husband's faith.

Dissatisfied with the condition of her parents' graves, she had several times during the course of five years made representations to the congregation without receiving adequate response. At this point she petitioned the Superior Court as "the only relative of the said D.N. Wetzlar and his wife, resident in Canada, and that on her naturally the duty and privilege of caring for the graves of her deceased parents devolves; that the petitioner is desirous of having the bodies of her father and mother transferred from their present resting place in the cemetery of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, to the Mount Royal cemetery, to be there interred in the family lot of R.P. McLea, husband of the petitioner, in order that the petitioner and her family may be able to care for the graves of their deceased relatives, and that they may be brought within the family burying ground."

Justice Mathieu granted her request on June 26, 1899. (Gazette law reports, Superior Court Judgments)

The trustees of the synagogue "received legal advice to the effect that Mrs. McLea, as the legal representative of her deceased parents, had an absolute (civil) right to remove their remains if she so desired; that as there was no clause in our By-Laws prohibiting such removal, we were powerless to prevent it; that we had no possible chance of success in the courts; and that we should only incur heavy costs in a hopeless suit if we went to law. In the view of this advice the Board considered that it would not be justified in plunging the congregation into a hopeless and costly lawsuit. To prevent the recurrence of such a case, it was decided to have a clause inserted in the By-Laws prohibiting the removal of bodies in the future, and to compel all purchasers of graves and family lots to sign a contract so as to give the clause legal force.

"But the matter was not allowed to rest there, or to go without vigorous protest. The Rev. Mr. de Sola immediately interviewed Mrs. McLea and solemnly protested against her action. He employed every possible argument, but without effect. It had been alleged in the petition that the cemetery had not been kept in satisfactory order. Mr. de Sola pointed out to Mrs. McLea that a contract had recently been made with a new man who was obliged to keep the cemetery in a thoroughly satisfactory condition. He asked Mrs. McLea to suspend action for a few weeks so that there might be an opportunity to prove this. This request was so eminently reasonable that Mrs. McLea could not refuse it outright. She promised to think it over; but nevertheless she had the bodies removed without delay," to quote J.L. Samuel, secretary of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. (Jewish Times, July 21, 1899)

The conflict between the two orthodox congregations stemmed from the time of the building of the Chenneville St. synagogue and lasted the entire century, even though the 1846 charter of the newer congregation was passed virtually on the initiative of the older. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 28)

The newer synagogue quickly surpassed the Portuguese in community leadership, especially after 1863 when the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society then formed became the vital platform for philanthropic action and for the reception of the thousands of immigrants. The German congregation quickly became influential there. The Jewish Times, which was organized by S.W. Jacobs and Lyon Cohen in 1897 and became the voice of the community, was an instrument of the Congregation of German and Polish Jews, and its editorials were doubtless coloured from time to time.

It is therefore not surprising that the explanations of the synagogue were found insufficient by the Jewish Times.

"Mr. Samuel generously throws out the suggestion to other congregations that some amendment to their by-laws be made to meet questions of this kind. A sister congregation apprehended no danger; that if such a case did occur, nothing short of an order from the highest tribunal of the country would compel the congregation to surrender the sacred charge entrusted to them."

The editor of the Jewish Times was horrified as he wrote further,

"The late Daniel Noe Wetzlar and his wife Sarah were members of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. It is probable that they, or one of them, made a will directing, as usual, their place of burial. But if not, the facts that they lived, died and were buried as members of the Shearith Israel Congregation are proofs of their will, whether expressed in writing or not, that they should be buried as Jews, among Jews in the Jewish cemetery....

"Such a thing as the removal of Jewish dead to a Christian cemetery was never contemplated by the rabbis who laid down the law concerning the disposal of the dead. Orthodox Jews were bound by the most sacred obligations to defend and protect the graves from desecration. But now, when it is seen with what indifference so solemn an obligation can be disregarded, what guarantee has any member that his last will may not be treated in the same manner?

"According to Jewish law (Talmud Jerusalem, Tract Moed Koton, also Yore Deyeh Hilchoth Abeiloth, article 368, sec. 1.) it is strictly prohibited to disturb the dead or to remove a body from one graveyard to another, except under extraordinary circumstances.

"The above interdiction is based upon the rebuke of the prophet Samuel to king Saul:- 'Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?' (I Samuel xxviii, 15)...

"The members of his congregation must now have a painful consciousness that, when they are no longer able to defend themselves, their last resting place among their own people may be liable to invasion and desecration. Modern conditions may force upon us many departures from ancient customs, but in the circumstances of the case here presented we can find no excuse or palliation for the failure on the part of the proper authorities to act for the preservation of laws and rules which every Jew must consider obligatory." (Ibid., July 7, 1899)

"They lived, died and were buried as members of the Shearith Israel congregation; proof of their will, whether expressed in writing or not, that they should be buried as Jews, among Jews, in the Jewish cemetery. The Rabbi, the officers and the congregation thus became the custodians of the remains of these two persons who evidently believed that the sacred charge thus assumed would be faithfully observed, and that any attempt to disturb them would be repelled with all possible energy.

"We can imagine what a storm would be raised if the daughter of Protestant parents sought an order from a judge to remove their bodies from a Protestant to a Roman Catholic cemetery. Hebrew law forbids removal even from one part of the same burial ground to another....

A fortnight later, on July 21, the Jewish periodical wrote,

"Taking up our suggestion the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society has appointed a committee to look into the questions involved and, if necessary, secure such legislation as will in future prevent the recurrence of what every Jew must consider a desecration of the dead and an outrage on religious feelings of the living. Unfortunately the facts came to our knowledge too late....

"As might have been expected the incident has created an impression as profound as it is painful. From all sections of the community in Montreal and from other places we have had inquiries concerning the matter with offers of pecuniary contributions to test the legality of the removal, if it should be deemed advisable to take further action." (Ibid., July 21, 1899, P. 265)

The problem seemed beyond the capacity of the synagogue to deal with.

This is clearly the beginning of community-wide action by a representative body in the general interests of Canadian Jewry, beyond the religious and the philanthropic, presaging the legislative committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, reflecting the broadest range of the Institute, and anticipating the Canadian Jewish Congress by a third of a century.

ANTI-SEMITISM

The Jewish Times recognized the profoundly dangerous hatred of Jews inherent in the ideological school of La Semaine religieuse de Québec and its identification with the oppressive forces in Europe whence so many immigrants were fleeing at this very moment. It declared its defiance of the anti-Semites even as it affirmed its confidence and trust in the promise of British traditions and libertarian institutions. (Jan. 19, 1900)

Sarah Bernhardt's experience in Quebec and the anti-Semitism which found expression in these incidents were thus reflected in the editorials of the Jewish fortnightly. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, P.76)

To appreciate the seriousness of the anti-Jewish attack to which the Jewish Times sought to respond, we need only refer to the ugly perception being disseminated widely in the province of this premier Jewish institution, the Alliance israélite universelle based in Paris.

In the inextricable insane mélange of ignorance and hatred concocted by the religious leaders of century-end and century-beginning Quebec, the new French organization of the Alliance israélite universelle plays a particular role, the more readily as this early Jewish organization of general interests was formed about the time when the Syllabus of Errors was compiled and enshrined as an instrument to uproot the equality and the freedom of non-Catholic citizens and their institutions of worship. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 31)

The creation of the Alliance was an organizational event of great importance, one of the major steps in the mobilization of Jewish resources in Western Europe in the light of the threats facing Jewry from the ultramontane movement, from racism, from the anti-Dreyfusards, from the revival of ritual murder accusations, from Russian pogrom-makers and, in a straight line from Hitlerism.

With this sensitivity to radical dangers there was a deep subliminal Jewish awareness of the need of unprecedented instruments beyond medieval haphazard personal charity. Sir Moses Montefiore went much further, often on the political level. The Alliance centred profoundly on the ideology of the modern French state, its historic glory, the ideals of the revolution. It acted on the international level, in vocational and educational programs. Its creators thought deeply on Jewish spiritual and religious matters, innovatively, far from the orthodoxy of Eastern Europe. It came to exert a profound influence upon the Jewries of all Western Europe and of the United States. But for the decline of French influence in the world during the next

century, and the rise of America, the Alliance might have become dominant in world Jewry.

Indeed the Alliance was convened in 1860 partly as an instrument to protect Jewish children from being systematically kidnapped from their cradles, as happened in the Mortara case two years earlier. (Paul Goodman. Moses Montefiore. Pp. 104-10; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, Pp. 97-101)

This new Jewish element frightened the enemies of the Jews and provoked attacks in Quebec as elsewhere. As so often the Catholic agitators confused the contents of Alliance thinking and mixed it within the brew of anti-Semitic mythology together with racism, freemasonry, world plots and deicide with their own plans of genocide. The Catholic war upon the French state and the consequent upheaval of the French Kulturkampf placed the Parisian Alliance in the centre of hostilities.

When the Jewish Times appeared in Montreal, the Semaine religieuse de Quebec was attacking the Alliance consistently. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 33, Pp. 2, 91)

Even while the Semaine religieuse de Québec was formulating its version of the thinking of the Alliance on March 21, 1898 it was clear that the Jewish group was almost chauvinist in its orientation upon French language and culture, and upon French nationhood and philosophy. Yet this Jewish patriotism, which made of it virtually an instrument of the French state, was seen by the francophone ultramontane as an instrument of the devil. As the Quebec weekly formulated it on March 12, 1898,

"On June 29, 1869, the very year of the Vatican council, an Israélite synod at Leipzig unanimously adopted the statement of the Grand Rabbi of Belgium,

"'The synod recognizes that the development and the fulfillment of modern principles are the surest guarantees of the present and future of Judaism and of its adherents. They are the most energetic, vital conditions for the existence, expansion and the highest development of Judaism.'

"What are these modern principles upon which the Jews rely? They are those which were proclaimed the first day of the French Revolution!

"What is its fundamental idea? That we must abolish the differences between men. Equality, these famous principles tell us, is the supreme law and the only one which intelligent beings can accept honourably. All men are of equal value and therefore, there should be no talk of nationality or religion, no preference of compatriot or coreligionnaire, for are they not all members of the same human family? In conformity with these principles any man truly worthy of

the name should cease to see his fatherland in a limited strip of land; all countries, all people claim the same right upon his heart, and the only name for glory is that of citizens of the entire world.

"The Revolution has spread these ideas everywhere, ideas that freemasonry propagates tirelessly; ideas of which radical liberalism is proud.

"The realization of these ideas, which Judaism pursues, should conclude with a single universal republic, including all the peoples of the world, which will infallibly be governed by the Jewish people. Its cosmopolitan nature and its piles of gold naturally designate this people for this domination.

"But to reach there it is not sufficient to destroy the sparks of patriotism from the hearts of the peoples. The religious sentiment must also be extinguished. The Jew works at this also. Wherever Jews begin to count, we feel the breeze of persecution, the laicization of men and of classes in all its forms. Always we find the Jew inspiring laws and measures of laicization. We need only cite several examples from a religious magazine.

"There has been a law passed in 1814 to protect Sunday rest. Already in 1866 the Archives israélites said,

"'There is no possible conciliation. If this remains in force, it may be said that the immortal principles which shine upon the head of our revolution will suffer greatly both in regard to freedom of conscience as in regard to the principle of equality.' The law of 1814 was abrogated as soon as freemasonry came to power...

"Crémieux wrote to Napoleon III, 'We live at a time and in a place where religion and worship are confined to the conscience and appear in the temple.' That is what the Jews demand from Catholics, what Crémieux dared say publicly to the emperor of all Frenchmen in regard to one word he uttered, in the face of two hundred million Catholics: confine their faith within the limits of their conscience, to laicize public life absolutely and entirely...

"Liberalism prepares the ground for the Jewish program; the secret societies and the masonic governments will complete the task. We need only examine what is happening to recognize this." (Semaine religieuse de Québec, Mar. 12, 1898)

This is how La Semaine religieuse presented the the state of "The Jewish Plot" (the Dreyfus case) at the time of the appearance of the Jewish Times (Feb. 12, 1898),

"On the morrow of the condemnation of the traitor Dreyfus, the chiefs of the Jewish nation decided that he must be liberated, rehabilitated and reintegrated at any cost.

"Towards this end much money was needed. But this nation does not lack money. They taxed themselves wherever they were.

"To prove his innocence, information was required from within the office of the War Ministry, the support of many newspapers, of influential men; all this was found.

"The essential element was needed. A victim to replace the traitor, to be condemned. The chosen victim was Commander Esterhazy.

"At this point the campaign was set on foot and, with the help of Scheurer-Kestner, the Protestant vice-president of the Senate, of the Protestant Leblois, lawyer without clients, and of others, the secret compartments of the war ministry could be searched to enable them to attribute to Esterhazy the responsibility for the documents written by Dreyfus.

"Accused of treason by the traitor's brother, the French commander asked to be tried by a Council of War. This was accorded him, and he was unanimously acquitted.

"The brother of the traitor, Scheurer-Kestner and other accomplices in the denunciation were covered with shame, unable as they were to offer the least semblance of evidence.

"The Jewish-Protestant accusers formed themselves into a syndicate: it is impossible to know the amount they spent; it is estimated at several million.

"The anti-French syndicate had wanted the entire case to be aired in public. They had hoped that the secret methods employed to uncover the spies and the traitors would be revealed in the discussions.

"This culpable manoeuvre was foiled by the vigilant council of war.

"The depositions of the accusers were heard only enough to cover them with shame.

"As to the French officer who had been entrusted with secrets of state and who had given to the syndicate, he was heard in camera as were the witnesses of his errors.

"All peoples who forget the laws traced by the church in this matter are certain to expiate their imprudence cruelly sooner or later.

"One fact must not be lost to sight: the socialist leaders are making common cause with the Jews in this anti-national campaign."

June, 1899 was a time of triumph for the Jewish Times. It wrote editorially,

"The long agony of the Dreyfus agitation is drawing to a close. The Court of Cassation has decided in favour of revision, and Dreyfus has been ordered home to France to be tried again by a court martial where it is presumed there will be no forged documents or false swearing. Paty de Clam is in prison awaiting trial for his share in the infamy of which Dreyfus was the victim, and Esterhazy, who is a fugitive in England, has confessed that he wrote the Bordereau by order of Colonel Sandherr. As a matter of fact the innocence of Dreyfus has been made clear as noonday, and his acquittal is regarded as a foregone conclusion after what has taken place in the court.

"One of the reasons which led to the establishment of the Jewish Times was that a certain section of the Canadian press, taking its cue from the anti-Semitic journals of Paris, was doing much in the way of misrepresentation. In our first number we took up the Dreyfus case and gave what we believed were good reasons for holding him innocent of the charges for which he was made to suffer so bitterly. In every issue since that time we have followed the progress of the affair. The conspirators thought they had crushed their victim irrevocably. But the spirit of truth and justice could not be suppressed. It would not down; and now we have the intense gratification of beholding all our arguments sustained, all our beliefs justified. At the same time we have effectually put a stop to the budding anti-Semitism of that section of the Canadian press to which we have alluded. We, therefore, have reason to feel satisfied with what this journal has accomplished since its establishment." (June 9, 1899)

La Semaine religieuse de Québec dared situate the Dreyfus case as a parallel to the Mortara case. In its view, "both evoked the same scandal in the entire world, both aroused passions, both grouped the same enemies of the church: Jews, freemasons and Protestants. Please God they do not bring about similar results. The Mortara case was one of the most powerful machines to prepare for the destruction of the temporal power of the sovereign pontiff; the Dreyfus case seems ever more clearly an affair set on foot to place France in the least favourable condition for self-defence."

The victim of the Mortara kidnapping recalled that he did not see his parents again until 1870, when his father died.

"When the temporal power of the pope was overthrown that year, the Italian government forced me to return to my family. In order to escape the persecutions which threatened me, I left Italy for Austria where I completed my studies in theology. My mother died in 1878.

"The same spirit which abolished ecclesiastical courts in France after the revolution now proposes to abolish the military courts which we see in action in the Dreyfus case. M. Ambroise Rendu prepared a most interesting and most complete historical exposé of military justice

in France, some six centuries old and consecrated to our national traditions. Can this institution be touched?"

Of course the anti-Semitic movement in Quebec continued as a major concern to the Jewish Times and to Montreal Jews although not all shared the same view of the phenomenon.

So Montefiore Joseph in Quebec City dismissed Plamondon's agitation against the Jews, even as S.W. Jacobs spent endless energies in silencing the anti-Semite.

But close as the Jewish Times was always to the Baron de Hirsch Institute and to its legislative committee, there came moments when it spoke with a different voice.

One such instance occurred in March, 1910 in connection with the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal. When the municipal authorities proposed a grant for this Catholic assembly, the editors of the Jewish weekly protested against the allocation of city funds to religious purposes.

Maxwell Goldstein, leader of the legislative committee, dissociated "the sentiments of the Jewish community" from this position of the Jewish weekly, and the Jewish Times agreed that public funds might be applied to the entertainment of visiting members of the Congress. (March 11, 1910)

The editor of the Canadian Jewish Times knew Tardivel's La Vérité. His perception of this weekly is important for it reflects the Jewish and the anglophone view of the media of their francophone fellow Canadians.

On May 21, 1909 the Jewish newspaper wrote on "Opera Bouffe Anti-Semitism."

"There is a journal published in the city of Quebec which persists in calling itself La Vérité. This sheet circulates among some of the clericals and reactionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, but the vast body of the Roman Catholic community never see the paper, and have but a hazy idea of what it stands for. Even those into whose hands it falls by chance, have some difficulty in making out what purpose La Vérité serves, for nothing of an affirmative or informative character ever appears in its columns. The last number to hand contains... a diatribe against Jews, in which the virulence and spleen of the writer is only equalled by his ignorance."

"La Vérité had written, 'Among the motions to be presented to the Central Committee of the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne, at the next meeting of the Federation in June are the following:

"'«The St. Michel Council of Joliette, proposes that -- the Federation of the A.C.J.C. authorize the Central Committee to adopt such means

as may seem most practical to prevent further invasion of Jews into Canada.»'

"'It goes without saying that we approve of these motions. It is high time that some movement be organized to prevent further invasion of Jews into Canada, in any event, into the Province of Quebec. London seems to have made a vow to drown our population under the advancing Jewish wave. Montreal is already Judaized. After Montreal, Quebec and other cities will be in their turn submerged. Most of our villages already have their Jewish shop.

"'The Jews are perfectly organized. Those in Canada form but a link with their brethren in the United States, who have, in the latter country, become a veritable power. There are in Canada to-day a large number of Jewish congregations, societies and clubs, all of which are particularly militant. Montreal has, among other societies and clubs, the Congregation Bais David, the Hebrew Sick Benefit Association, the King Edward Benefit Association, the Baron de Hirsch Institute and Hebrew Benevolent Society. Quebec has its Beth Israel Synagogue, and Toronto, the Bnot Zion Kadimah.

"'If we would but study Jewish organization, we would very soon see that we have much to learn from that body. Thus, the Jewish Consumptives' Relief Society has at Denver, Colorado, a model sanatorium, perfectly organized, where all the tubercular Jews of North America are received and cared for.

"'Whenever we speak of the Jew, we must also mention Freemasonry. In fact, we have already pointed out how the invasion of the English lodges in Montreal and principally of St. George's No. 10, had been achieved by the Jews. Most of the principal officers of this Lodge, which holds its meetings in the Masonic temple, 345 Dorchester Street West, bear Jewish names.

"'The Jewish movement in Canada is a most interesting one to study. What a great service the A.C.J.C. could render to our Province if they would but put into execution the project of organizing an Anti-Semitic League. We may rest assured that if the scheme to anglicize us by means of English immigration has been abandoned, another plan has been conceived, that is, to Judaize us.

"'It is worthy of note that in the entire Dominion the Province of Quebec is the one where Jewish invasion is considerable, yet most of the Jews are English-speaking. Why do they not establish themselves in the English provinces?

"'The word of command has evidently been given to invade the Province of Quebec, the only one in which there is a French or Catholic majority, which must be destroyed.

"'This Jewish peril which threatens us seems more formidable than the attempt at anglicization. The Englishman and the Scotchman have

been quietly assimilable, but the Jew is not assimilable; the Christian is a prey to the Jew, and the Jew never lets his prey go.

"It ought to be the work of an Anti-Semitic League to expose the Jewish conspiracy in Canada."

Later La Vérité wrote,

"Among the larger number of these immigrants imported from London, by the efforts of the English Jewish Committee directed by Lord Rothschild, a desire is shown to adopt false family names, anglicised as much as possible, while non-Jewish immigrants are bound to use their real names.

"In Europe the use of a false name constitutes an offence, because it is a false act. In Canada, the Government permits it. Why, if it is not to favour the entry into this country of Jews? Does not this fact corroborate what we said last week on the subject of the scheme devised in high places to judaize us? We now have our Jews who are going to take English names, the better to hide their origin. It is by this trick they hope to ingratiate themselves among us, the more skillfully to accomplish their work.

"Now that we are warned, we must not be deceived by the fraudulent names which the Jew assumes." (Canadian Jewish Times, June 11, 1909)

The Montreal Jewish weekly noted that the Catholic youth society "is recruited largely from among the young people resident in the rural districts of the Province of Quebec, educated and trained by the peasant curés, and officered by these gentry. Many of them have never seen a Jew, much less spoken to one, but take their views from La Libre Parole, and La Croix of Paris, which are reproduced in newspapers here of the calibre of La Vérité."

The Jewish editor may not have been aware how precisely prophetic he was when he was writing a year before the eruption of the Plamondon case. (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 26 and 27) The Jewish Times reminded Tardivel that it had been "instrumental in causing the arrest of one of his confrères, Gaspard Robillard, the editor of Le Pionnier, because of the Anti-Semitic crusade which he began in his paper several years ago. Judge Choquet, before whom the case was heard, declared that the publication of Anti-Semitic matter in a newspaper, although not directed at any particular person but calculated to bring a member of the Jewish race into hatred and contempt, was a defamatory libel.

"It will be remembered that after Robillard was committed for trial on the offence as charged, he disappeared from Quebec, much to the chagrin of his bondsmen, and has remained ever since a fugitive from justice.

"If, therefore, a new campaign is to be undertaken, Mr. Tardivel owes it to his readers to warn those who contemplate anything of the kind, what is likely to happen. 'Alas, my poor brother' is the thought at this juncture with which La Vérité must contemplate the fate of Le Pionnier, and the whereabouts of Robillard."

THE KINGSTON CAPTAIN

In the meantime cases in point arose on which the Jewish Times had to react. Among them that of Capt. Chartrand of the Military College at Kingston who succeeded in having the Ottawa Free Press publish in July, 1904 his attack on Russian Jews who, he notes, have shown little loyalty to the Russian régime during the Russo-Japanese war -- this at the very time when many Canadians were cool towards Canadian participation in the Boer War. Indeed the issue created a strong bond between Henri Bourassa and Goldwin Smith, as the Quebec nationalist leader recalled in his "Goldwin Smith, Souvenirs," Le Devoir, June 11, 1910.

The Captain insinuated that Russian Jewish usurers were deserting the armies of their native land.

The Jewish Times protested on August 12, 1904,

"The pages of a Canadian Liberal newspaper is the last place we should look for a repetition of the false and malignant slanders which are to be found only in the ignorant, bigotted, fanatical anti-Semitic press of France and Austria. But much to our surprise the Free Press of Ottawa recently admitted to its columns a tirade of abuse of Russian Jews, holding them up to Jews for refusing to fight against Japan, charging them with being extortioners, usurers and deserters from their country in time of danger, and winding up with the insinuation that the Jews of Canada would act as traitors were we unfortunately involved in war. But the name of the writer attached to this precious effusion of un-British, pro-Russian, anti-Jewish rancor 'accounts for the milk in the cocoanut.' Captain Chartrand is not an unfamiliar name, but this is the first time we have seen it in print as that of an aspirant to fame such as Drumont, Robillard and others, who left their country for their country's good."

"But in order that there should be no doubt as to the beauty of his sentiments and the brilliancy of his style, we reproduce his references to the Jews.

"'A great number of Russians are leaving their country to escape military service; mostly Jews, naturally. They are really a remarkably fine lot and anybody with the slightest experience of Jewish immigrants, would have put down a high percentage as butchers. He would have been right too; but these butchers have refused to butcher the Japanese. They have come away from Russia instead, and that not in single files, but in battalions. Here, with the breath of freedom fresh in their nostrils, they are quite willing to talk about it all.'

"So goes on this correspondent, gloating in dithyrambic style, over the doings of these very interesting Jews who flew from their motherland, from the land of their birth, when that land wants her sons. They did not want to butcher the Japanese, but they were very happy and very eager to drain the miserable purses of careless Russian peasants, through usury and extortions. Jews are very useful everywhere. If you want a few dollars you can get them at the pawnshop, in exchange for your watch. The Jews also buy your rags and scrap-iron. The Jews are undoubtedly very useful citizens, but when the country is in danger they make themselves scarce. Jews don't like the rifle.

"What confidence can we place with men who abandon their country in time of war? Suppose England or Canada at war, would we be happy to see some of our countrymen deserting our flags and go away boasting of their doings? What would we think of other people opening their arms to such renegades? To put these questions is to answer them.'

"None but an atrabilious bigot, qualified for the situation of Familiar to the Spanish Inquisition, and with heart steeled against the sufferings and sorrows of the sorely persecuted, could coldly pen a diatribe like this and put his name to it as something to be proud of.

"The editor of the Free Press we know to be a broad-minded, kindly gentleman who, we are sure, would not allow his paper to be disgraced by Chartrand's libellous frothings had they been submitted to him before publication. Indeed no editor with ordinary journalistic judgment would print such stuff.

"If there is any people in the world who deserve a kindly welcome in British territory they are Russian Jews.

"Why do they refuse to fight for the hereditary enemy of Great Britain?

"Because, as everydody knows, they are denied the most elementary rights of citizenship by Russia and are oppressed, persecuted and massacred directly and by connivance of the Czar's government.

"Chartrand repeats the old exploded charge of usury and extortion, as if the Jews of Russia, reduced to the lowest extremity or poverty, bled white by taxation and the necessity of bribing officials for permission to live, could have any money to lend. Even if, by a miracle, they had, Russian laws do not permit collection of debts by Jews, whose testimony in the courts is not admitted in contradiction to the evidence given by orthodox Russian Christians.

"At the present moment there are between twenty and thirty thousand Jews serving in the army in the war with Japan, while their mothers, wives and little ones are herded in the Pale and compelled to toil as never human beings toiled for an existence but one degree above

starvation. The small favours granted by government to the families of other soldiers are denied to them. They can only work in a few, restricted and most laborious occupations, while constantly haunted by the horrible fear of outrage and massacre.

"Such is the manner Russia treats her Jews, her Jewish soldiers and their wives and families. Yet this Chartrand maligns, traduces them, bears false witness against them in a Canadian newspaper with the viperous malice that can only be found among the worst, meanest, most ignorant, stupid and fanatical degenerates of France, who, if they could, would overthrow the Republic, and whose animosity to Great Britain is only equalled by their hatred of religious freedom.

"But Chartrand will get his due. Such men always do. We would remind the Free Press, however, in all kindness, that it is sheltering a dangerous reptile, and that just such writings as it has published from him led to the indictment of the infamous Robillard in Montreal, the suppression of his incendiary, libellous Pionnier and his present condition as a fugitive from justice."

The Brockville Times supported the Montreal Jewish fortnightly,

"Elsewhere in this issue is republished from the Jewish Times, of Montreal, a vigorous editorial protest against an offensive diatribe printed in the Ottawa Free Press, against the Jews, from the pen of Captain Chartrand. Presumably this is the pro-Boer and pro-Russian Captain Chartrand, of the staff of the Royal Military College, Kingston, whose writings in the past have given such offense to Canadians.

"We feel sure that the people of Canada, as a whole, will resent this contemptible attack of Captain Chartrand's upon the Jews of Canada, especially coming from one of the staff of a Government institution. The British Empire stretched out a protecting arm to the Jews when in distress, and they never forgot it. The empire is proud of her Jewish citizens, who have risen to the highest places in the gift of the Crown, and who have distinguished themselves in every walk of life. Canada, too, has good cause to take pride in her Jewish citizens, who have not only been foremost in the peaceful arts and sciences but who have promptly stepped to the front when the country of the empire was menaced by foreign foes. When the Boer war broke out a few years ago Rabbi de Sola, of Montreal, in a truly eloquent patriotic utterance which will long be remembered by those who heard and read it, referred to this devotion of the British Hebrews to the Empire.

"It is considered 'smart' in some quarters to exercise cheap wit and depreciation at the expense of the Jews, but it seems to us that the laugh is a little on the wrong side. There are a good many Gentiles in Canada we could exchange for Jews with great advantage to Canada from a moral, intellectual, and industrial point of view. It is the height of presumption for Captain Chartrand to attack and

misrepresent the Jews whose record is an ample answer to the false and objectionable vaporings of anti-Semites." (Jewish Times, Aug. 26, 1904)

This response was supported in a letter to the Free Press from an Ottawa businessman who was destined to become one of the leaders of the community.

"I have read Capt. Chartrand's article in your issue of Saturday, the 9th, inst., about the Jews, in which he attacked our national courage so unmercifully. It appears to me that Capt. Chartrand has never met any Jews, with the exception perhaps of the few who live in Kingston, some of whom happen to be ragmen or pawnbrokers. Had the gallant captain read the history of any country on the face of the earth, he would no doubt have learned that the Jew can serve his country, and serve her loyally and with credit and courage."

After listing the record of Jewish men in the armed forces of Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and Hungary, he concluded,

"The Russian Army at the present time has thousands of Jewish soldiers, yet it is true that some are leaving who do not want to serve in the army; and who can blame them?"

"How can the Jewish sons of Kishinev and its vicinity fight for Russia when the cries of their innocent brothers, who were massacred last year, are yet ringing in their ears, when their ruined sisters are yet beside them with hearts forlorn? How can the Jews fight for Russia when we know that the very ground we try to conquer, that upon the very spot we will shed our blood, we create more ground for persecuting our brethren, and perhaps more massacres?"

"If we were as ignorant as the captain claims us to be, we might do as some of the poor unfortunate colored men did in the Civil war, that is, fight against their own salvation. I can assure the captain that wherever a country showed any friendship and fairness towards the Jew she has found a true friend in the Jew." (Jewish Times, Aug. 12, 1904)

The letter was the first act of Jewish public service by Ottawa communal worker Archibald J. Freiman who eventually became one of the distinguished spokesmen for Judaism and Zionism in this country. (B. Figler, Sam Jacobs, Member of Parliament. Montreal, 1970. Pp. 11-12)

CONFLICT IN TROIS-RIVIERES

The Jewish Times was appreciative of friendly neighbours as it was alert to the attitudes of enemies. On June 24, 1898 it devoted its editorial page to a rencontre of the two.

The Three Rivers Le Trifluvien warned its readers, "Is it an indication that we are to be inflicted with the Jewish plague that the Rothschilds find it profitable to open a bank in Toronto, which will no doubt be a very hotbed of Judaism?" (June 9, 1898)

To which Le Signal responded at length, proof that "the better class of French Canadian journalists are wisely opposed to the introduction of the evil spirit of anti-Semitism in this country," as the Jewish Times saw it.

Le Signal was published briefly (Nov. 1896-June 1898) by the Liberal Party under the direction of T. Dubreuil as a political instrument largely to promote the reforms which the party proposed to introduce after winning the 1896 election. (A. Beaulieu and J. Hamelin. La Presse québécoise, vol. 4, P. 21) It commented on the prejudice of Le Trifluvien,

"And this is the way in which a Catholic paper expresses itself! He must, indeed, be a Christian editor who thus strives to persecute a people whom the God of his church so highly regarded.

"Christ forgave, but his disciples refuse to do so and even go so far as to seek the destruction of a people whose sacred book they have adopted as their supreme guide in spiritual matters.

"It is safe to say that the Jewish people are the most remarkable in all the world. Just glance at their history and see whether it does not justify their appellation of 'God's chosen people.' After ten thousand years of persecution, of pillage, of repression and general maltreatment, this race has as much vitality as in the palmy days of the Temple of Jerusalem.

"Indeed, it would appear to be this very persecution to which it has been subjected that accounts for the marvellous persistency of the race. The Jewish people have had to depend upon their own individual resources to maintain them in their struggle for existence; and this has had the effect of giving them self-reliance; their metal has been tempered by the fire through which they have had to pass.

"In the name of that religion which the staff of the Trifluvien are so ready to evoke in season and out of season in the matter of civilization or even humanity, we protest against this transplanting among us of the seedling of anti-Semitism. Is the Jew so contemptible as

they would make out? As a matter of fact he is just what the Christians have wished him to be. By the acts of men and the force of circumstances, deprived of a country, the Jews have sought to do that which all nomadic Turks have attempted; they have established themselves where prosperity least favoured them.

"When they have desired to exercise those employments which are necessary to all social communities, society has refused them the privilege; endowed as they are with every talent, they have not been permitted to put them to any use except in the art of acquiring money; an art which the Christians as well as others pretend to despise, but which at the same time they worship. Could anything be more convenient to the cavalier of the middle ages who was nothing more than a highway robber, than to have a class of people always affording a sure prey for a successful raid upon their exchequers?

"All this has lasted for fifteen or twenty centuries, and the Jews, instead of being as might be expected of them, after such treatment, a debased and inferior people, constitute today a race which is producing more eminent men in proportion to numbers than any other race.

"When a Jew becomes celebrated, his adopted country doesn't receive him with open arms and lavish him with praise. Is a country justified in so acting? Persecuted in exile as he is, even in the country of his birth, the Jew has necessarily associated only with those of his own race; he is a Jew by blood and ancestry, and no country can deprive him of that honour so acquired.

"Some time ago in Montreal an English paper claimed that all Jews were engaged in trade. But one of the rabbis who took a census of the Jewish population showed clearly that nearly 80% of the Jewish population gained a livelihood otherwise than by trade and pawnshops. The English paper had to back down.

"The Jews are reproached with being Jews in business matters, and the strongest expression that can be used towards a person whom one accuses of cupidity is to call him a Jew. And as a matter of fact, do we not meet with more 'Jews' among ourselves than among the Semitic people, even comparatively?

"The Jew as a citizen strictly conforms to the laws of the country he adopts; he only asks one thing, a thing which all self-respecting nations exact from everyone; respect for his religious belief and liberty to honour the God of his religion.

"We have already said that the Jew is what others have made him. If we want him to change his customs, habits and ideas then let him share equally with us the blessings of liberty. Let him share our joys and our sorrows; he is flesh and blood like ourselves; sympathy is precious to him and he is subject to the same evolutionary process

which transforms all of us; and in a few generations his distinctive features will be assimilated with those of the people who incorporated him in their society. We beg the Trifluvien and all those of the same ilk to stifle in the germ the seeds of the discord which anti-Semitism has caused in the old countries." (Reprinted in Jewish Times, June 24, 1898)

RESPONSE TO TORONTO

The attack on Jews in 1901 by the Rev. Dr. Teefy, principal of St. Michael's College in Toronto, was an extension of what was happening in Quebec. As reported by the Jewish Times,

In the course of a lecture on the relations of France and the Church of Rome, he made a vigorous attack on the Jews, on whose shoulders he laid much of the blame for the recent attitude of France towards religion, and especially for the position taken by the chiefs of the state who, he alleged, are under Jewish influence.

"To the Jew, Dr. Teefy said, 'France was a land of promise, a land more nearly approaching the country that once was his than any other in the world. The Jew, with his covetousness, his anti-Christian spirit, his fondness for pleasure, found his desires fulfilled in France with its theatres, its gaieties, its arts and its science. He had no love for Christianity because it was not his religion; nor for France, because it was not his country. He desired to uproot the faith of Christ, to mock and ridicule it, because he had not the courage to draw his sword. This was the whole aim of modern Judaism, and fair France was the courtyard in which the battle was being fought.'"

He received a response from the Montreal Witness,

"For the Toronto clergyman, who has done his best to turn the easily-reached prejudices of his hearers against the Jews, a motive is not hard to find. Probably the best hated people in Europe are the Jesuits. These people set themselves deliberately to work some twenty years ago to ingratiate themselves with the people by turning their spite against the Jews. They well knew that there is no key to human passions as easily played on as that one.

"In France they had, through their disciples in positions of power in the army and elsewhere, the completest facilities for this unholy mission, and the infamous Dreyfus case stands of record as a historical monument to their success. The French as a people have pretty well found them out, but it is of interest to them not to be found out elsewhere

"We do not know whether Dr. Teefy is a Jesuit or not, and we presume he is as entirely honest as are Dr. Watts and Dr. Parkhurst in all he says to the discredit of the Jews. Nevertheless he is, probably unconsciously, playing into the hands of those engaged in his most unchristian mission. Supposing the things Dr. Teefy says about the Jews were true, yet taken all together, they would not absolve the Christian from the obligation of loving all men, and

particularly the race which gave him his religion and his Saviour." (Reprinted in Jewish Times, May 10, 1901)

Jewish Times responded with great learning and dignity to other anti-Semites which appeared on the Canadian scene, usually the anglophone.

One of them, Dr. Bryce, was in a position to do much harm to Jews, for he was chief of the government system of medical inspection of immigrants. In an interview with anglophone journalists in Montreal he showed himself a great solicitous humanitarian, sorry for the Jewish immigrants who must work under miserable conditions because of their poverty. They arrive with three dollars or less in their pockets and must work day and night to live in an environment that produces degeneration, nervous diseases and even insanity. He has therefore instructed his inspectors to discourage this sort of immigration as much as possible. (Oct. 7, 1904)

The Jewish Times responded on October 7, 1904, "A drunken Jew has never been seen on our streets. The hospital records show few Jewish patients compared to their number, and there have been only four Jewish inmates of Verdun hospital for the insane, we are informed, since it was established. Jews never go to Longue Pointe.

"We would be quite willing that an examination should be made into the condition of the Jews in Montreal, if only to prove how utterly unfounded are Dr. Bryce's charges. But as citizens of this country, free, respectable and entitled to the same rights that he, or any other subjects of His Majesty, enjoy, we protest against the implied insult. Let him go among the Jews of the poorer class, then let him visit the slums and haunts of vice where his own countrymen and coreligionists congregate, and he will learn how mistaken he is and how false and unworthy a man in his position are the statements he has made to the press concerning the Jews and Jewish immigration.

"It was necessary for us to enter into this matter fully, since the interview has been widely copied by the press throughout the country, while Dr. Bryce's subsequent explanatory letter has not received any attention. A wrong has been perpetrated, and it may be long before the truth can overtake the falsehood. This should be a warning to Dr. Bryce and all like him, who talk too much without knowing what they are talking about."

The Jewish Times responded to Mr. Whates who reported in a book on Canada that the influx of Jewish immigrants into the country had deteriorated the labour market and had lowered wages. This had developed a Jewish question which was exercising the minds of wage earners.

"There are more Jewish mechanics and wage earners of all sorts in this city than in all the rest of the Dominion. Yet we never heard

any complaint concerning them. They receive the same rates of wages as non-Jewish workers, belong to unions, and are just as energetic in asserting their trade rights as any other class in the country." (Oct. 5, 1906)

THE TORONTO "SAGE"

It is in this context that the decades of controversy between Prof. Goldwin Smith and Jewish spokesmen -- among them the editor of the Jewish Times -- is to be read. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32)

Smith was an extraordinary figure in the history of North American Judaism.

Canadian Jews knew anti-Semitism in French preached by groups of churchmen, economists, nationalists, journalists; from pulpits, press, caricaturists, by grandparents, unionists. In English Canada the anti-Jewish communication was subtler.

Only one name comes to mind, an Oxford professor come to Toronto to become a Canadian patriot cool to his native empire, a moralist, historian of his new world -- and an expert on Jewish history.

Toronto was impressed by his British prestige and its intellectuals travelled on pilgrimages to his "Grange" whence the Bystander dispensed anti-Jewish wisdom to francophone Henri Bourassa as well as to generations of anglophone Mackenzies and Kings. American and Canadian theologians consulted him on the meaning of Judaism.

He interpreted anti-Semitism as a justified response to Jews' economic function; it was a racial reaction to Jewish economic and social conduct, and the Christian counter-response to the Hebrews' reaction to universal religion. "They have become an abhorrent tribe, anti-social and immoral." He understood and explained the burgeoning anti-Semitism of Germany and Russia.

His hatred of Jews went so far as to back the accusation that Jews committed ritual murder -- probably the only anglophone Canadian to utter one word in that sense.

Although such fables are, in their most odious features, fanatical slanders," he wrote in his Bystander of February 1, 1881, "it is not unlikely that they had a partial foundation in cases of kidnapping."

Smith wrote regularly on Judaism in the press and for half a century he disseminated in the academic periodicals a caricature which prepared the anti-Jewish explosion of World War II.

When Smith urged in his Weekly Sun that Jews discard their traditional religion and cease their constant exploitation of the peoples among whom they live, the Jewish Times in November and on December 23, 1898 went back to the sources of his anti-Jewish hostility in his conflicts with Disraeli. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32, P. 138)

The Jewish Times recalled an anglophone voice more eloquent than Smith's,

"Mr. Gladstone goes out of his way to pay the following remarkable tribute to Jewish qualities. 'Some time back Mr. Goldwin Smith, I think, made against the Jews what may be called a charge of incivism, and called forth an effective defence. It is certain that that people, as known amongst us, have marked virtues; and I am not aware that they have corresponding faults.

"'One thing I think may be said which is no matter of reproach, they do not so entirely amalgamate with other Englishmen as to lose all notes of difference. The Jew remains a Jew, and carries a peculiar stamp which cannot with any presumption of truth be referred either to intellectual or moral inferiority.

"'Is it not probable that that stamp is monumental; that it is the surviving record of the persistent medieval persecution which went far below the surface, and cut deep lines in character? Such experiences sharpen self-consciousness and give fresh tension to whatever in the human being is destructive. There seems here to be a wise provision of nature, which in some measure redresses inequality of strength as between more powerful and less powerful nations. If an influence has been at work, drawing closer and closer the ties that bind one Jew to another, and thus making one Jew become more to another, giving to each Jew a larger share in the being of every other Jew, has it not recorded a significant though silent protest against cruel and inveterate injury?

"'For thus it is that the being of one, human creature can be imparted to brothers and theirs to him.'" (Nov. 25, 1898)

Several years later, Jacob G. Ascher, an early voice in Canadian literature, wrote from New York on April 29, 1907 that "it may not be generally known, that Goldwin Smith's antagonism to the Jew may doubtless be attributed to the word lashing he received at the hands of Benjamin Disraeli in Lothair. In that superb novel, while no name is mentioned, the 'Professor' is held up to ridicule and he is called a literary charlatan. Everyone knew whom Disraeli meant. England evidently became too hot for the learned doctor and he left his country, for his country's good, to reside thousands of miles away from an atmosphere not congenial to that charlatanism and sophistry which the master mind of Disraeli had exposed; evidently ever since that time, Mr. Smith 'nursing his wrath to keep it warm' has never failed to cast aspersion on our race.

"The fact of his being politically opposed to Disraeli did not, I am sure, weigh with the author of Lothair in administering the well deserved castigation, as doubtless even at so early a period he detected in the utterance of Smith that veiled animosity to the Jewish race, characteristic of the Doctor's writings ever since. But what boots this veiled antipathy or outspoken prejudice? The ipso dixit of

Goldwin Smith carries little weight and is of no importance. Even today thinkers take him and his writings for what they were worth thirty years ago, and for what the verdict is now -- valuable in his own eyes, worthless in the world's estimation." (Jewish Times, May 3, 1907)

MONTREAL IS NOT DELUDED

The case of Smith is particularly revealing of perception in contemporaneity. In his time and in his Toronto-space even the literate Canadian Jewish readers, when they knew of his existence, were overwhelmed by his reputation as a liberal.

The Toronto Protestant anti-Semite spread his hatred of the Jews very widely in the anglophone world and evoked responses from far afield.

So a writer in 1882 on "Hebrew in our Colleges" notes "The Old Testament ignorance of the great mass of ministers of all denominations is appalling, when we consider that they are supposed to instruct public sentiments in reference to that book. Prof. Goldwin Smith calls on Christians to drop the Old Testament from their Bible, and I am not altogether disinclined to think that that would be a safer course for the Christian Church in this country than the method of treatment of that book which we have adopted. There is something pathetic in the embarrassing attitude at the present moment of many an earnest and thoughtful clergyman toward the Old Testament." (Jewish Messenger, July 27, 1882)

For whatever reason the Jewish Messenger of New York included Torontonians Smith among leading American historical scholars to be consulted on a "subject of direct importance to four millions of Jews in Russia and indirectly to the countries to which a vast majority may ultimately be compelled to emigrate. The weekly asked in the name of that larger humanity which is not bound by race or creed, what measures the Jews of Russia should adopt to secure civil and religious liberty.

"The subject proposed is naturally new to many and outside the range of general study and reflection. The problem, too, is one of very great difficulty and delicacy, the sources of information are limited, and one is liable to be led astray by his prejudices and his judgment.

"Yet the student of history dare not be silent in such a crisis when the fate of millions is in the Russian balance. His verdict must be given, his opinion expressed. If God be in history, it is the duty of the scholar to assert the right of religious freedom, with a force and persistence that shall penetrate to the very recesses of Czardom and express utter abhorrence of bigotry in every form."

Smith responded politely on October 4, 1890 in a manner consistent with his views many times reiterated, calling upon Jews to alter their creed, to assimilate with their neighbours and to void the differences between themselves and others,

"You do me too much honor in thinking that I have any special means of solving for you the momentous questions which your letter submits. Even the one thing which I have to say is not likely, I fear, to commend itself to your mind.

"It has long been my conviction that the unhappy antagonism -- the conflicts arising from which we all deplore, and whereby the Jews, especially in Russia, are debarred from attaining a political and intellectual position which they would otherwise reach -- is traceable not to a religious so much as to a social and economical cause. Even in the Middle Ages I believe the same to have been the case to a much larger extent than is commonly supposed. But in this enlightened and tolerant age it is seldom that we find people suffering any disparagement or disability on the account of their religion. Even the Russians, though bigoted, seem not addicted to religious persecution.

"Let the Jews, without compromising any part of their religious belief or worship, only cease to be a separate nationality or tribe, identify themselves thoroughly with the people among whom they dwell, give up tribal marks and observances, eat, drink, and intermarry with their fellow-citizens, pursue the same avocations, and be in all respects politically, socially, and economically as other men -- let them only do this, I say, and, depend upon it, their religion will not prevent their advancement to any height which their intellectual gifts and personal virtues deserve.

"If you reply that your separate nationality is your religion and cannot be resigned, I can only say that in that case, I fear the question which you propound to me must remain unsolved. It seems impossible, at least, that it should be solved by the return of the Jews to their own land. An intrusive race, preserving its tribal exclusiveness and treating other men as Gentiles, will, it is to be feared, always provoke the antipathy and jealousy of the races upon whose patrimony it intrudes.

"If this opinion is unpalatable, I can only say that it would have been useless to offer you one that was not sincere." (Ibid., Nov. 14, 1890)

To quote B.G. Kayfetz, "Jews locally were utterly unaffected by Goldwin Smith, being totally unaware, apparently, of this side of him (or behaving as if they were). They then had other distractions and concerns, and Smith's polemics were carried on at a different level and in a different milieu than the one they lived in." (Letter to S. Hayes, Jan. 30, 1975)

Jews in Toronto were even honoured when he joined the citizenry in the erection of the Holy Blossom Synagogue.

Possibly the perspective of distance enabled the Montreal Jewish Times to recognize in the Toronto "sage" Goldwin Smith, the prime

anti-Semite of Canada whose evil influence ranged across frontiers and seas.

But the immigrants in Montreal recognized the racist menace of the Toronto gentleman.

His one-man anti-Jewish crusade found a hearing largely on the dignity of his English heritage.

The Montreal editor followed the Jew-hating propaganda of Oxonian-become-Torontonian Goldwin Smith and held him up to ridicule time and again. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32, P. 134)

As early as 1884 the great Hebrew weekly Hamelitz of St. Petersburg, carried a lengthy notice about the Toronto anti-Semite from the pen of "Joseph Elijah Bernstein, Man of Poland" now a resident of Montreal.

This new arrival in Canada, a fine Hebraist and a Zionist long before Herzl, was one of the militants who fought for the establishment of the Bnai Jacob Congregation in 1886 in spite of the legal opposition of the established synagogues.

For this Hebraic scholar imbued with a heritage of history, whose own biography of migration related to past centuries, finding in distant Canada a Christian theologian spewing out the Jew-hatred which he had fled was cause for despair. Not even British Canada in libertarian America was a trustworthy haven. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32, Pp. 186-87)

Yiddish scholar Samuel Talpis, native of Neustadt, Lithuania and student at the Telz Yeshivah early became a journalist in the European Hebrew press and later in United States Yiddish newspapers. His Letters from Canada (1895-1907) constitute part of the documentation on century-end Jewry in the dominion. A report of a 1901 meeting vividly portrays aspirations in early Montreal Zionism and Talpis' position in the community as founder of the Ivriyah Society in 1900.

"Rev. A.M. Ashinsky set forth the many arguments in favor of Zionism, and strongly urged all present to support it by active work as well as by their contributions. He drew a lesson from the approaching Feast of Purim, which they could not better celebrate than by aiding the Zionist Movement.

"J.S. Leo referred first to 'The Land', secondly to 'The People', and thirdly to 'The Movement.' He showed that the land in Palestine was perfectly well able to sustain all the colonists that they intended sending there, particularly as they could, if overcrowded, spread into the neighboring provinces. Referring to the Jewish people he showed that they had proved by the colonies which they had already established in Palestine, that they were capable of making a success

of the cultivation of the land, and that in any case it was not to be supposed that all settlers will be farmers; many would be engaged in manufactures and commerce. Finally he showed that the Zionist movement offered the only panacea for all Israel's ills. Its programme solved all the difficulties now facing the Jewish people.

"The Rev. B.M. Kaplan declared that the aims of Zionism were identical with the aims which had inspired the Hebrew people from the earliest dawn of their history. The patriarch Abraham, he said, was the first Zionist, for Abraham had given up the comfort and luxury of his home in Chaldea in order to go and settle in Palestine. Ever since then his descendants had never abated in their love for that land. All the great Jewish intellects in ancient days, as well as in modern ages, had looked forward to a time when the Jewish people would be restored to their rights in Palestine. Drs. Herzl and Max Nordau, and the other leaders of the movement to-day, were but reviving interest in a sentiment which was as old as their history.

"A splendid address in Hebrew by Mr. S. Talpis was a revelation to the audience as he spoke most fluently in the ancient language for nearly half an hour. His strong arguments in favour of the movement were delivered with a volubility which showed great familiarity with Hebrew, and it was evident from the deep interest depicted on the faces of his auditors that there were many present who were well acquainted with their ancestral tongue." (Jewish Times, Mar. 15, 1901)

Talpis' journalistic writings are an important documentation on the Jewry of the dominion. He published translations of Hebrew novels such as Revenge in the Montreal Adler in April 1910. Rabbi H. Abramowitz and publisher H. Wolofsky wrote introductions to his collection of Yiddish essays on Jewish history, Geklibene Shriften (1937. 303 P.)

In the spring of 1906 one of his Hebrew Letters from Canada published in the New York Hal'om told of Goldwin Smith as basis of the anti-Semitic discourse by French Canadian parliamentarian Henri Bourassa who defended the Russian pogromists.

"Bourassa cited Smith as saying that the Russians hate the Jews because these Hebrews refuse to assimilate with them; and when at times they do mingle with the Russians, it is only to deceive them. They do not participate in developing the country, only to exploit it...

"It is beyond our belief that anyone -- particularly one of the leaders of the French people -- should utter such coarse lies, and that not one among all the elected members of the parliament should arise to respond; that at this time our people be known only through the image of Shylock; and that Goldwin Smith be the sole authority for the members of parliament in matters Jewish. We can only recognize the facts in pain and despair.

"It is some fifty years that this persecutor of the Jews has been attacking us. Prof. Smith has been a guide for English writers in Canada and, to a degree, in all anglophone countries. Such persecutors, we know, have always been present, will always be among us.

"The Disraeli Club, consisting of politically minded young people, have convened a meeting in protest against the French Canadian deputy, and powerful addresses were delivered in response to Mr. Bourassa, but the newspapers generally gave very little space for these denials, while they reprinted the French Canadian's accusations at length. Clearly the readers will remember the falsehoods, and the defence will have left but the weakest impression." (Apr. 5, 1906)

Several years later, on March 21, 1913, Talpis recorded his surprise that S.J. Birnbaum, author of The History of the Jews in Toronto considered it "a source of much gratification that contributions to the building fund of the Holy Blossom Synagogue included a considerable number of Christians, amongst whom is to be found the name of Prof. Goldwin Smith.

"I do not know how to consider the above statement, whether as a joke or as irony of fate? Why, the idea of Goldwin Smith, the modern Balaam, having contributed towards the erection of a synagogue, sounds so strange as to be almost beyond one's conception.

"Goldwin Smith, the late father of all modern academic anti-Semites and who, during his lifetime was the most outspoken enemy of the Jewish race, for him to help build a synagogue, and for Jews to accept the same, is something so very extraordinary. How a man of Goldwin Smith's calibre could allow himself to act so sympathetically towards Jews, at a time when he was so bitterly attacking them in all his writings; and self-respecting Jews to have accepted a gift for their house of worship, when they well knew him to be the greatest Jew-baiter, is a psychological problem that I cannot solve.

"We all knew the harmful influence of the Bystander's pen during the last fifty years. Suffice it to say, that at a time when the whole civilized world condemned the massacre of Jews by the Russian Government, Goldwin Smith defended the Czar's Government and said that the Jews received at the hands of the Russians exactly what they deserved.

"It is also still fresh in our memory how Henri Bourassa spoke in Parliament against the resolution of sympathy introduced by the Conservative member, Mr. McDonald of Toronto, expressing the sympathy of the Canadian people for our suffering brethren of Russia, after the Kishinev massacre, and Bourassa, in speaking against the resolution, was quoted as saying that he had it on the authority of no less a personality than Goldwin Smith that whatever the Russians did to the Jews it was only in retaliation, i.e., that the

Jews exploited the Russians too long, etc., and it was only a merited reward that Jews received, etc.

"It may also be of interest and, perhaps, coincident with the festival of Purim, which we are to celebrate on Sunday, to mention the fact that Goldwin Smith was but a modern Haman, who, in the first place, when sharply rebuked and sneered at by Benjamin Disraeli, by whom he was styled a 'literary charlatan,' this Goldwin Smith, to use the exact words of the Bible: 'Was full of wrath and he thought scorn to lay hands on Mordecai alone (Benjamin Disraeli) for they had showed him the people of Mordecai, wherefore Haman sought to destroy all the Jews,' etc. And, as Haman of yore, he, too, used no diplomatic language as to his intentions, but in no uncertain terms said: 'There is a people scattered abroad, etc. Their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the king's laws; therefore, it is not for the king's profit to suffer them.'

"Such, in brief, is the doctrine advocated by Goldwin Smith, and for self-respecting Jews to have accepted from him a contribution for their House of Worship is beyond one's understanding."

Smith enjoyed the admiration of Henri Bourassa (Canadian Jewish Archives, nos. 32-34), probably because of the anti-imperialist views of the master of the Toronto Grange. But ultramontane Pierre Lemoine of La Croix, vigilant for Protestant anti-French Canadian opinion was not seduced by the refined English gentleman. He had another perception of the naked King. He wrote of "Goldwin Smith et ses adulateurs" on Christian grounds. (June 18, 1910):

"Such a dithyrambic concert has arisen about this sort of Tolstoy that we suspect his membership in the mysterious and universal confrerie whose many voices excell in the apotheosis of the brethren and their friends, living or dead. We cannot resist the temptation of deflating his glory a little.

"He passes in some French circles, including those reputed to be Catholic, as a profound and original thinker, an exceptional journalist and a conscientious historian... In his writings Smith betrays crass ignorance, but he is at the level of the most advanced free thought...

"The youngest child who studied the simplest catechism of the Christian doctrine knows more of religion than the Oxford professor.

"We would advise those who hold a French Canadian pen in hand to evaluate public men not by some natural quality which can charm them, but by the real good they do as they pass on earth. All else is truly vain. If such a man preached grave errors to the point of blasphemy in the face of Christ -- as did Goldwin Smith -- instead of singing his praises, good Christian sense demands that you avenge the divine memory of the great offence before public opinion."

CHIEF RABBI ADLER

One of Smith's respondents was Rabbi Hermann Adler of London.

The work of Rabbi Adler is a fine example of a genre of Jewish literature in the Western world imposed upon Jewish scholars by the anti-Semites: apologetics where the best Jews found themselves justifying their existence and the very air they breathed by proving the quality and quantity of their people's contributions to mankind and by the consistency and value of their faith -- on pain of holocaust.

There are no books by Amerindians about their contributions to civilization, none by Frenchmen about the admissibility of their religion. No one decides the right of Japanese to exist on the merits of their theology. But Jews felt it necessary to enter willingly into medieval-style disputes about the merits of the Bible, of the Joshua policies regarding the Canaanites or antique Jewish or Roman state policies. Only the Jews are thus privileged, courtesy of the anti-Semitic attack. The persistence of this theme in "public relations" work to this day is remarkable.

Adler's work was reprinted serially in the New York Jewish Messenger, 1881-1883 under the heading "Recent Phases of Judeophobia"; the rabbi showed how inconsistent it is for a Christian to view the Old Testament so contemptuously.

Christian opinion was not, of course, all on the Toronto side. The Churchman called the response of Rabbi Adler,

"Free from all bitterness of expression, it presents a marked contrast to the arrogant intolerance of the assailant of the Jews, and calmly demolishes all of Professor Smith's reckless assertions. This discussion is another illustration of the truth that for intolerance and unreasoning bigotry one can always look to the professors of modern 'liberalism'. It is also worth noting that about the best answer to Dr. Smith's cool demand that the Christian Church should abandon the Jewish Scriptures has come from a Jewish rabbi, and that the Jewish apologist has set a good example of calmness and moderation in argument that Christians may well follow." (Jewish Messenger, Jan. 13, 1882)

"To him the records of the Hebrew Scriptures are not more hallowed than any other boulder of a primeval world. To us it is something different.

"To us, Jews and Christians alike, it has been a guide, a solace, and a friend during long centuries of darkness; to our philosophers a never failing well of profound thought; to our poets a rich mine of

beauteous imagery; to our moralists, a source of purity, love, mercy, and justice.

"When, then, our opponent attacks the Bible, the genius of which he fails to appreciate because it is a 'plain, unvarnished tale,' without that excrescent padding that disfigures the productions of modern historians, he attacks Jews and Christians alike. With a well-assumed horror, he reviles the Bible because he finds in it the command to exterminate the Canaanites. Surely it is sufficiently clear from the narrative that they were doomed on account of those abominable crimes which 'caused the land to spew them out.' He makes the Bible responsible for the cruel murder of half-witted women reputed to be witches. Yet it is an undoubted fact that its command was directed not against the half-witted, but against those criminals who praised witchcraft in its most mischievous forms, and often with fatal results by playing upon the superstitious fears of the ignorant, and arrogating to themselves a divine power"...

"Mr. Smith makes the assertion that in the early Middle Ages Jews were the great slaveholders. I do not know the slightest warrant for this statement. It may not be out of place to mention here that since, according to the Mosaic Law, it was an act punishable by death to steal a human being, slavery such as we understand it, such as existed until lately in some parts of America and such as still exists in certain Spanish possessions and in parts of Asia and Africa, never could have existed in Palestine..."

"Amid all this criticism, we fail to see one word of generous acknowledgment of the sublime truth of monotheism which our Bible proclaims, the lofty morality which it preaches, the tenderness which it enjoins to the slave, the emphasis with which it insists on the rights of the poor, the intensity with which it admonishes us to love God and to love our neighbours, the fervor with which it commends the duty of purity and forgiveness, honesty and truth, not forgetful even of the right of the brute to our compassion and help. Again and again he holds up his gargoyle, the massacre of the Canaanites as the justifying cause of every medieval act of bigotry and intolerance..."

"But the Bible is certainly in no sense responsible for religious intolerance. It presents to us the beautiful picture of Abraham interceding for the sinners of Sodom. It teaches again and again, 'And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him. The stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shall love him as thyself.'

"To all these liberal features in our Bible the Professor is blind. He sees there nothing but the failings of the 'base Judaism.' How can it be otherwise, he asks, than that the Jew should follow mean and hateful trades when he adopts as a typical hero the man who buys his brother out of his birthright with a mess of pottage? It has been remarked that the Bible is more read, but that it is also more

misread, than any other book, and this charge aptly illustrates the statement...

"The narrative in Genesis is as a grand epic, which moves majestically along in its even, steady flow of fact, stating the events, as they happen, with the faithfulness of the true historian. For the writer of the sacred narrative had not, like the modern history-maker, to fill so many pages with wordy retrospects, or moral reflections, or clever theories, or imaginative pictures of the may be or might be. He had to tell a tale and told it, leaving the reader to form his own estimate of character and fact. The Bible conceals nothing, extenuates no fault, writes for us no history of saints and angels unapproachable by men; but tells of human beings like ourselves with faults like our own...."

The professor "maintains that it is inherent in the character of the Hebrew to shirk honorable labor, to prefer to live by the work of his head rather than by that of his hand. I will not now stay to discuss the question whether it be not at least as honorable to eat one's bread earned by the sweat of the brain as to eat that earned by the sweat of the brow, but will at once show that is entirely at variance with fact to make Rabbinism responsible for the transformation of the Jewish agriculturist and handicraftsman into a money-lender and hawker. For while Aristotle declared that mechanics should not be admitted to the rights of citizenship in his ideal Republic, and, indeed, maintained that only slaves should practise handicraft, the text book of Rabbinism speaks enthusiastically of the dignity of manual labor. 'Great is work; it honored him who is engaged in it.' 'Love work. Though a famine last seven years it will not enter the house of a mechanic.' The Jewish sages declared it a duty incumbent upon every father to teach his son a mechanical trade...

"Such admonitions had the desired effect; for there is hardly one art or handicraft practised in those days, of which we do not find able representatives among our people. It would seem, also, as though these different trades associated themselves in guilds; for there existed in Jerusalem a Synagogue of the Coppersmiths, a Street of the Bakers, the Gate of the Carpenters, a quarter of the city exclusively inhabited by Potters. In the grand basilica Synagogue of Alexandria, separate portions of the building were assigned to the Silversmiths, Weavers, and other trades; and when a foreign operative came to that city, he seated himself next the members of his craft, and was supported by them until he had obtained employment. The Rabbins, the authorized expounders of the law, deemed it derogatory to receive any reward for the exercise of their spiritual, doctrinal, and judicial functions, and maintained themselves by the labor of their hands. And thus in the Talmud we meet in curious juxtaposition the Rabbi and his trade in such phrases as these: 'It was taught by Rabbi Jochanan, the shoemaker.' 'This tradition was handed down by Jose ben Chalafta, the tanner.' Everyone admires the simple character of Cincinnatus, who, when offered the dictatorship of Rome, was found driving the plough. Yet we meet with

no less striking, though, perhaps less famous, counterparts in the records of Rabbinism. When the treasurer of the temple went to announce to Phineas that he had been chosen High Priest, he found him polishing stones. When Gamaliel, the president of the Sanhedrin, went to Rabbi Joshua to crave his pardon for some slight that had been offered him, he found him amid the grimy surroundings of his smithy.

"Hence Josephus in his treatise against Apion was able to say truly of his contemporaries, that they applied themselves exclusively to mechanical occupations, and to tilling the soil of their fruitful country. Nor is there any trace in Roman literature and in the decrees of the emperors to show that the Jews in those days followed commerce or devoted themselves to money-lending." (Dec. 30, 1881)

Rabbi Adler continues to rebut the Toronto Jew-baiter,

"Our opponent taunts us with being a vagrant race, with leading a wandering life, a homeless existence. Was ever more heartless jibe flung at a defenceless race? What is our medieval history other than a mournful record of our banishment and expatriation -- measures which the Professor seeks to justify? And yet he reproaches us -- driven to wander -- with being wanderers. Should, then all our ancestors have thrust the dagger into their breast, or plunged themselves into the foaming waves? Or should they have betrayed their holiest trust and hypocritically avowed their acquiescence in a faith to which their heart and intellect refused credence? The fact remains that the Jew, where he is degraded, owes his degradation to the acts of his oppressors." (Ibid., Jan. 6, 1882)

ON RUSSIA

Smith proclaimed and explained his anti-Semitism in the Weekly Sun in the fall of 1898 as he blamed the Jews for isolating themselves and removing themselves from contact with their neighbours. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32, Pp. 149-50)

He received a lengthy response which accounted for the social separation between Jews and Christians from the editor of the Jewish Times. (Dec. 23, 1898)

Not for the first -- or last -- time the Jewish fortnightly took Bystander apart on June 9, 1899 when Smith alluded to Jewish usurers in Russia and Algiers.

"He strikes the same dismal refrain he has been repeating the last forty years, with never a variation. Renounce your Judaism, he says, and all will be well. But he is not only inflexibly fixed in his opinion but sealed within the iron hills of his ignorance...

"The 'Jewish usurer' cannot sell the peasant out, has never done so, and could not do so, for the all sufficient reason that the peasant has nothing and never had anything that could be sold. The Russian peasant belongs to his Mir, and has no individual ownership that he could mortgage. Jewish money-lenders deal with the nobles, just as Christians do, and anyone who knows anything about Russia could inform Bystander that of the two the Jew is greatly preferred.

"In fact the famine now raging in parts of Russia has been intensified by the removal of the Jews within the Pale. They were the merchants who equalized distribution throughout the provinces and enabled the peasants to make the most of what they had to sell. But when the Christian usurers were relieved of Jewish competition they at once put the screws on the village communities and, not having the knowledge or the capacity for distribution, wide-spread want and misery resulted. But let us look a little closer.

"The places where the anti-Semitic riots took place are notorious for the abject poverty of their Jewish residents. These unfortunate people driven into narrow bounds by a cruel government where they cannot follow their accustomed industries are forced by actual starvation to work for any pittance they can get. The usual, inevitable result is that those with whom they are thus brought into competition attack them, just as here in Canada workingmen attack foreigners or others whose cheaper labor lowers their wages. How wrong it is for a man, pretending to speak with authority, to charge Jews with being usurers when, as a matter of fact, they are starving workers who have been herded into Ghettos by the knout of a

tyrannical government under the zealous direction of an implacable proselytising church."

The pogrom of Biyalistok in Russia, which resulted in 82 Jewish deaths, was reported on June 15, 1906. To quote the Cincinnati Jewish scholar Gotthard Deutsch,

"It seems that Prof. Goldwin Smith, who lives in Toronto, must have at once sat down to write an article which amounts to as much as saying 'Serves them right,' for this article appeared already, June 21, in the New York Independent."

"I first learned of the appearance of this article while I was attending the rabbinical convention held at Indianapolis in the first week of July, and as it requires more time to refute a falsehood than to utter it, for the one who makes the false statement does not go to the trouble of proving it, while the argument for the defense has to be -- that is at least my habit -- supported by facts, an earlier reply was impossible."

"I wrote the argument from the Jewish point of view, as the reader may judge, without any animosity or personal abuse and expected that the Independent would be glad to publish it in order to prove that the paper is not identified with the ideas expressed by Goldwin Smith, but my expectation was too optimistic. One who reviles the Jews will always find a readier publisher than one who attempts to defend them against calumny, as will be seen from the letter of the Independent. I therefore have to publish my reply to Goldwin Smith in the Jewish press and hope that at least the readers will do their best to make this modest attempt of mine circulate in the non-Jewish world." (Letter to Jewish Times Sept. 7, 1906)

William Hayes Ward, editor of the Independent, returned Deutsch' response to the Toronto anti-Semite.

"It is an admirable one, but in the first place that was a good while ago, and in the second place it is not our habit to publish articles attacking other contributors; and again it is very long, and finally the record of The Independent editorially, does not make it really needy, for we criticised his article, when it appeared, and we have always in every way attacked the anti-Semites. It is not likely that one who like myself has read the Hebrew Bible through before I was nine years old, would be likely to have much anti-Semitic feeling. It is a very valuable article, and if it would have been shorter and had not been in the form of a reply to Professor Smith, I should have been glad to use it."

The Jewish Times carried the Deutsch response on September 7 and 12, 1906. ("The Real Cause of Anti-Semitic Perspection" Sept. 7, 1906, Pp. 340-42, Sept. 12, 1906, Pp. 347-51; Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32 Pp. 168-76)

ON U.S. JEWS

On August 19, 1899 Goldwin Smith again attacked the Jews,

"There was not long ago a conference of the orthodox Jews in the United States and in Canada for the purpose of rekindling Hebrew sentiment and proclaiming anew the articles of Jewish faith. It declared that the ceremonial law was obligatory; that the Talmud contained the true interpretation of the Scriptures; that the rite of circumcision was indispensable; that intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles could not be permitted; and that the Jews were still a nation, though without a national home. These articles, of course, cut off the Jews from the rest of mankind, and from any community on the soil of which, as stranger and sojourners, they may happen to be encamped.

"The revival of strict Judaism is called Zionism, and apparently heralds a return to Zion. If the Jews are still a separate nation, a return to their own land is obviously their proper course. They perpetually argue that the prejudice against them is religious, and in these enlightened days it can hardly be said that such a thing as religious prejudice, at all events of the persecuting kind, exists. Even the Russian peasant's indignation to the Jew is not religious. The Russian peasant thinks each nation has a religion of its own and is content to choose, and Mohammedism should have theirs.

"It is not against Jewish misbelief but against Jewish subjection and domination that he revolts. As long as the Jews choose to remain a nation apart, cut off from their neighbours by a tribal rite, refusing intermarriage, generally shrinking from social union, clinging to a Talmudic law which usually estranges them from the Gentile, yet thrusting themselves upon all the nations, sucking up the national wealth and plying the most unpopular, sometimes the most sinister trades -- so long will the prejudice against them continue and violent outbreaks of it occasionally take place. Thus it has been at all times and countries, in ancient as well as modern, heathen as well as Christian. Thus, in the nature of things it must continue to be till the Jews see fit to give up their legendary pretensions and mingle with humanity." (Aug. 19, 1899)

The Jewish Times responded to the "sage of Toronto" who "cannot be allowed to draw on his imagination for his facts, as he is in the habit of doing regarding the Jews, and palm them off on the public without protest.

"It will be apparent to anyone who knows anything about the Jews, or of Jewish thought of the present day, that the foregoing could only be written by a person extremely prejudiced against the one and totally ignorant of the other. Of the discussions among Jews of

certain of the principles laid down by the Orthodox Conference, he shows that he knows absolutely nothing. But we may remind him that there is nothing in these principles to 'cut the Jews off from the rest of mankind' more than there is in the doctrines of the Roman Catholics or of Protestants or of the sects of Protestants, to cut them off from the rest of mankind. It is not necessary to enter into details of argument on this head. He must possess but a poor mental equipment or cannot see and apply our meaning.

"But where the professor shows his utter lack of information and total misapprehension of the subject he presumes to write about is where he says that the revival of ancient Judaism is called Zionism, and apparently heralds a return to Zion.

"We must confess that this is something we never knew before, do not know now, and must refuse to believe even at the dictation of so renowned a teacher as Mr. Goldwin Smith.

"Zionism a revival of strict Judaism! Could anything be more absurd, more at variance with truth, more utterly mistaken as to the nature and objects of the Zionist movement! No one but a man having an infinite faith in his own infallible right to speak without knowing what he is talking about would or could make such a deliverance. Mr. Smith is evidently not aware that there are many among the most learned and respected Orthodox rabbis and Jews who are opposed to Zionism. Has he ever heard of Rev. Dr. Adler, Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, who is a leader of the Orthodox and noted for his determined opposition to Zionism? Has he ever read the Orthodox Jewish Chronicle of London? Or does he know how Zionism is regarded by the Jewish press generally? Is he conversant with the views of such leading thinkers as the Rev. Dr. G. Gottheil and Prof. Richard Gottheil of New York and Rev. Dr. Felsenthal of Chicago who are pronounced Zionists although Reformers? Professor Goldwin Smith knows nothing about Zionism. We are sorry to be compelled to say it. But when a writer attempts to bolster up his prejudices with a display of his ignorance, it is our duty to expose and rebuke him.

"As regards to charges he brings against the Jews, they are nearly all the old story, which he never fails to repeat whenever he is in the Jew-baiting humor. He makes a new point, however, in accusing the Jews of clinging to a Talmudic law which morally estranges them from the Gentile. Here again he forces us to the conclusion that he knows no more about the Talmud than he does about Zionism. Talmudic law! What does he mean? Something terrible, no doubt. The charge has an awful sound and reminds us of Daniel O'Connell's accusation against the Dublin virago, that she kept a hypotenuse under her bed. Really, the Professor has grown too solemnly ridiculous for serious consideration. We hope that he will forgive us, however, for recommending him to a course of study in the Talmud. It would do him good, and if he should follow its expositions and rise to an understanding of its pure, lofty morality, he would not again display his ignorance nor make such a fool of himself as he has in the

article we have quoted. Were it not for the arrogance, the assumption of superiority, the apparently invincible prejudice and more than all the crass ignorance of the professor, we would not be so severe with him. But he has exhausted our patience."

When Bystander turned his hostile attention to Zionism in 1899 the Jewish Times again responded with its usual vigour on September 29, 1899. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 32 Pp. 150-52)

In the summer of 1900, the Jewish Times noted,

"'A Bystander,' in the Weekly Sun, takes a gloomy view of Johannesburg because, as he alleges, there are more Cohens than Joneses in the city directory. If we should take a like view of Toronto we would have to sympathize with its people because there are more Smiths than Browns in the city directory. And the Smiths, as everybody knows, are a far more dangerous clan than the Cohens, which fact is proved by prison statistics, there being numerous criminals of the name of Smith, but no criminals called Cohen.

"Discussing matters relating to immigration the Toronto Weekly Sun observes:- 'We freely admit the Polish Jews, a number of whom are said now to be on their way to us. The Chinaman, though he may be vicious himself, is not a corrupter of the community; the Polish Jew unhappily is. No invasion could be worse.' Here we have a slanderous falsehood stated off-hand, as if it were a matter of course. There are several thousand Polish Jews living in Montreal, many of whom have been here for nearly thirty years, yet it is a fact which cannot be questioned that they are among the most industrious, inoffensive, law-abiding of our citizens. Some of them have risen to high positions in the learned professions, as merchants, manufacturers, and in every walk of life they will compare favorably with people of any other nationality who have made their homes in Canada." (Aug. 3, 1900)

A few weeks later, again, the Jewish Times noted,

"'A Bystander' takes another fling at the Jews in his comments on South African affairs. He says 'the winnings from the war will go to Cecil Rhodes, the chartered company and the Jews who, as usual, have sat quiet and let others fight for them, while they swept in the fruits of the combat.' As we cannot attribute a statement like this to ignorance in a writer usually so well informed as the Toronto Sage, and as it would be impossible to accuse him of a baser reason for his misrepresentation, we are compelled to suppose that he has been misled by his prejudices. In this war, he should know, the Jews have taken an active and highly honourable as well as important part. About a thousand Jews of all ranks, from field officers to privates have fought at the front, many were killed in action and many died of wounds and disease contracted in the service. Some of the victims belonged to leading Anglo-Jewish families. So honourable, indeed, has been the record of Jewish service that Lord Roberts, as shown in

the last issue of this paper, took occasion, in the midst of his many pressing duties as Commander in chief of the Army in South Africa, to write a letter giving special praise to Jewish officers and men for their valor and endurance. It is pitiable to find a writer like 'Bystander' displaying so mean a spirit and descending to the unworthiness of bearing false witness against men who have been true to their allegiance as British subjects, even to the extent of laying down their lives, while his disloyalty as an annexationist is notorious."

Smith's hatred of the Jews continued to spread over the Anglo-Saxon world, and the Jewish Times felt it necessary to reply to him on April 19, 1907,

"Time cannot wither nor custom stale the infinite animosity cherished by the philosopher of three generations against the Jews. A curious psychological study is offered by Dr. Goldwin Smith's attitude towards the Jews, for it is more than surprising that a man of his learning, wide acquaintance with history and presumed liberalism, should show himself swayed by prejudices and animosities only found among the vulgar and the uneducated.

"In the current North American Review, Dr. Smith has an article under the title, 'Perils of the Republic.' There is nothing in it original or hopeful to an understanding of the political or economical situation in the United States. He takes occasion, however, to show his ingrained anti-Semitism when he writes:- 'The moral recoil, so manifest of late, and so hopeful, has shown itself partly in the exposure of commercial fraud, partly in insurrection against the reign of corruption in great cities, which has no doubt been aggravated by the influx of aliens, instruments ready to the hand of municipal intrigue, as at San Francisco, where it now appears there was a frightful reign of corruption bossed by a French Jew.'

"In his anxiety to have a slap at his pet aversion, Dr. Smith fails to observe that the grafters, bribers, boodlers, corporation swindlers, bosses, et hoc genus omne in a dozen other cities were all Christians, most of them, like Rockefeller, pillars of their respective churches. Dr. Smith ignores this most striking fact and pounces upon the one Jew in one city as an example to be held up to universal reprobation. In doing so he seems to have been unconscious that he was paying a high compliment to the people he honors with his hatred. In the mad carnival of political and corporate corruption and rascality, which has made the United States an astonishment to the world, Goldwin Smith, the arch Jew-baiter, who never misses an opportunity for villifying our people, can find only one Jew! If he were honest and sincere, desirous of being just to all men, Dr. Smith, when he alluded to Ruel's religion, would have mentioned that Harriman is a Lutheran, Rockefeller a Baptist, Morgan an Episcopalian. These are the names of men, stigmatised by other writers as much deserving of respect as Dr. Smith, for being arch-corrupters and financial grafters on the largest scale.

"If a Jew is to be found occasionally among public sinners, let him suffer for his sins, but do not hold him up to special reprobation because he is the only Jew among a multitude of Christian offenders."

When Smith passed away in 1910 the Jewish Times reprinted an editorial from the Jewish Exponent on "The Late Goldwin Smith."

"The late Goldwin Smith has been eulogized in a number of newspapers to an extent that is scarcely justified by the facts of his career. In his treatment of English politics he was an academic Liberal, who nevertheless frequently forgot his liberal principles. His knowledge of the history and the constitutional and the economic development of the British Empire was extensive, but his conclusions and deductions were frequently illogical and far-fetched. He was the possessor of a trenchant and picturesque style that lent a certain glamor to his writings; but there is no one of his books that is likely to hold a permanent place in English literature. He was more of a publicist than a careful and searching scholar. He deserves credit for his support of the Union cause in England during our civil war, and for his interest in the cause of international peace. His declaration in an essay published in one of the English reviews nearly thirty years ago, to the effect that a Jew cannot be a patriot in any of the lands of his present habitation fixed his status as a bitter anti-Semite. His justification of the inhuman anti-Jewish pogrom in Russia, published in the Independent shortly after the occurrences in the autumn of 1905, accentuated this attitude and rendered it impossible for any person acquainted with the facts to thereafter respect the judgment of Goldwin Smith on any subject of human interest." (reprinted in Canadian Jewish Times July 1, 1910)

CARROLL RYAN

It is not clear from the record who it was who directed, edited and wrote the materials for the paper, especially during its first years.

After March 18, 1898 an articulate columnist signed his personal writings: Esmond Isaacs. These were often rather sophomoric, arrogant, sarcastic, verbose and dissident; not the first needs of the early Canadian Jewish fortnightly.

Soon a spiritual poet, a military figure, the Irish William Thomas Carroll Ryan (1839-1910) came to edit the Jewish Times for many years. Shulamis Yelin portrays him "as a freedom fighter, Irish Catholic freemason, Zionist, Hebrew scholar, the Christian editor who spoke for Canadian Jewry in its infancy." ("The Growth of a Man," in Canadian Zionist, Dec. 1985. P.9)

He may be said to have a part, by extension, in the Canadian expression of Judaism.

The editor of the Jewish Times records that Ryan "had been editor from the start," in 1897, but the files of the fortnightly show his clearest contributions, with his distinctive Jewish sentiment from December 1899 until shortly before his death in 1910. (Jan. 15, 1909)

Ryan was preceded, as journalist of the Jewish press, in Canada by A. Harkavi. He was followed by Ida Sigler, (Ben-Zion Wynne), A.B. Bennett, A.A. Roback, A.M. Klein, M. Weisgall and in Yiddish by B.G. Sack, I. Medres, Reuben Brainin, H. Wolofsky, I. Rabinovitch, A. Rhinewine and M. Selchen.

Ryan's arrival as editor of the Jewish Times coincided with the first of the occasional contributions of an important and early figure in Canadian Jewish literature, Isidore G. Ascher.

Ascher was born in Glasgow in 1837, graduated from McGill in 1862 and published a collection of poems, Voices from the Hearth, in Montreal the following year. In 1864 he removed to England to follow a literary career there for very many years. (D. Rome. Jews in Canadian Literature, a Bibliography. Revised edition, 1964. Pp. 4-8)

His "Friday Night" in the issue of August 3, 1900 marked his return to the Canadian press after an absence of a third of a century.

When he died a year later, at the age of 71, on March 25, 1910 after a brief illness (Action sociale, March 26, 1910; Canadian Jewish Times, April 1, 1910) the editors wrote,

"His extensive knowledge of the Jewish people and their history, made the task a comparatively easy one for him, and during the period he was connected with it, betrayed a deep and abiding interest in all matters which concerned the people he catered to. His facile pen was always ready to refute any and every misstatement which was from time to time made against us, and his zeal and energy in guarding our honor and defending our rights could only have emanated from one imbued with sincere convictions and honesty of purpose. Not only did the deceased champion the rights of Canadian Jewry in our columns, but those of the local Daily Witness bear the impress of his handiwork. For thirty-eight years he was editorial writer on that paper and the many articles which have appeared therein on the various Jewish topics dealt with, have been written by, our late lamented friend." (Apr. 1, 1910)

Yelin has traced the family tradition of a lineage evoking "the early kingly O'Raians of Ondrona, Leinster, Ireland... His parents Thomas and Honor Ryan, had come to Canada as part of a mass migration from Ireland in 1818, and had settled in Toronto, then named York, in Upper Canada. At 17 and with one year at St. Michael's College, he had already finished with any formal education he would have.

"He saw active fighting as a volunteer in the Crimean War, and was working at his first newspaper job on the Hamilton Times...

"He enlisted in the 3rd Jagers British-German Legion, to fight in the latter days of the Crimean War. Of this incident we read in the Obituary Column of The Montreal Daily Star, March 23, 1910: 'Most of the 500 men who composed the regiment were, like the officers, revolutionary refugees, and a more desperate body of men could hardly have been collected together... Mr. Ryan was transferred to the Turkish contingent, and proceeded to Scutari.'

"Unfortunately, there was no great adventure for the Canadian 100's. For eight numbing years they lingered on the Island of Malta. For Ryan, the high point was a brief meeting with the Italian patriot Garibaldi, who led him to Freemasonry and revived his dreams."

The obituaries in the Montreal Star and Gazette told of his having lived an adventurous life as a soldier.

Ryan was senior warden of the Lodge of Antiquity, A.F. and A.M., and active in the Mount Horeb Chapter of Royal Arch Masons as Grand Superintendent.

Carroll Ryan was the father of Percy C. Ryan, law partner of S.W. Jacobs, lecturer in Evidence and Civil Procedure at the McGill Law School from 1893 until his resignation in 1906 to enter the political arena. (D. Rome, Jews in Canadian Literature. Montreal, Jewish Public Library, 1962)

"After his return to Canada, Ryan remained with the army for 12 years, retiring in 1878 with the rank of Captain."

A literary product of the campaigns was his Oscar and Other Poems which was published in 1857 at Hamilton, Canada West (printed by the Franklin Lightning Press). The first part of the 120-page book consists of "Oscar; a Poem of the Russian War" in three cantos (65 p.) The rest of the book is made up of "Fugitive Pieces," many of them love lines.

He returned to Canada in 1867 and at Ottawa he commanded a volunteer battery of artillery; he was named extra ADC to Gen. Sir E. Selby Smyth, C.O. of the Canadian militia. At this time he established the Volunteer Review, one of the original Canadian military journals. In 1870 he gave up his editorial work to establish the Ottawa Evening Mail. In 1871 he became city editor of the Ottawa Citizen and later was parliamentary correspondent of the Toronto Globe and Mail and of other Canadian newspapers. In 1882 he was elected president of the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

That year he moved to Montreal and began contributing to the Witness.

Among his other works are Songs of a Wanderer (1867), Picture Poems (1884), and a host of brochures and articles.

"The Briton" was published in the Witness and was reprinted the same year in the Jewish Times of December 16, 1904. P.21)

The Gazette writes of him as "founder and proprietor of the Ottawa Sun, now the Journal, editor of the Free Press, Montreal Post, Montreal Herald, and Journal of Commerce."

La Presse recalled its controversies with Ryan while he was with the Ottawa Free Press and later the Journal.

He is the author of Poems, Songs and Ballads (Montreal, Lovell, 1903), largely devoted to Jewish themes and expressing religious emotions that might almost be called Jewish.

It was natural that he be invited to address the Montefiore Club on the "Influence of the Jewish Tradition on Christian Thinking." (B.G. Sack in Jewish Daily Eagle, April 26, 1936)

His 1903 collection was reviewed in the Baltimore Jewish Comment, in the Ottawa Free Press and in the Montreal La Presse, Witness, Star and Herald, the Ottawa Journal, the Sarnia Observer, the Ottawa Citizen, the St. John Sun. These reviews were reprinted in his Jewish Times of February 12, 1904, Pp. 92-99; April 8, Pp. 164-65; and March 25, P. 143.

The Star says that "It is noticeable that some of his best work has been done in recent years and in sympathy with the cause of Jewish freedom."

His "Song of Zion," dedicated to the Zionist Society of Montreal, came early in Zionist history, since political Zionism was but two years old when the poem appeared in the Jewish Times of December 8, 1899, P. 10. (Reprinted in Poems for Young Judeans, rev. ed., N.Y., Young Judaea, 1917. Pp. 39-40)

Carroll Ryan's poem "In Exile" appeared in the Jewish Times on December 9, 1898.

"The Jewish New Year 5660" (Sept. 1, 1899) is replete with abstruse references to the Hebrew liturgy of the day.

"En Sof," with a sub-title in Hebrew "I have filled him with the spirit of wisdom" (August 17, 1900, P. 291) is a poem based on the Cab-bala. We cannot at this point indicate to what extent the poem is inspired by the so-called "Christian Cabbalah," by his study of freemasonry to which he also devotes several poems, or by his investigations of Jewish mysticism.

"The Ninth of Ab," a poem on the fast which marks the anniversary of the destruction of the Temples of Jerusalem, is preceded by the Hebrew text of Lamentations 1.12. It appeared earlier in the Jewish Times of August 1, 1902.

"My Song," a lyric of grief and loneliness which opens the collection, had been published in the Jewish Times of June 8, P. 215.

"The Devil and Death Defeated," adapted from the Midrash, was published in the Jewish Times on April 27, P. 163. In the collection it appears with a drawing by his son Alonzo Ryan.

"Vera," prefaced with a passage from the Bible in Hebrew, appeared in the weekly on May 11, P.183; "The Rainbow" on May 25, P. 196.

His poem "Thy Days are Numbered" in the Jewish Times of July 5, 1901 is not included in any of his collections. Nor is his poem "Your Birth Month" in twelve stanzas, foretelling the future for those born in each of the Hebrew months. (Jewish Times, Jan. 29, 1904)

Even as Ryan discovered his Jewish concern, probably through his journalistic interests, into poetry, he also gave it prose voice in a series of articles in the Baltimore Jewish Comment (Aug. 2 and Nov. 15, 1901).

His first article was a sketch of the history and of the institutions of the Jews in Canada in the issue of Dec. 7, 1900, based on the historic survey in the Montreal Star of 1893 by Clarence I. De Sola.

His second communication to the Baltimore periodical deals with anti-Semitism in Canada. (Feb. 1, 1901) Ryan's views on this theme are of particular interest since they reflect those of his Jewish associates.

"Canada is the freest country in the world from racial prejudice, in spite of the fact that its federal institutions are bilingual -- English and French -- and the additional fact that it contains people representing all races, creeds and colors.

"Anti-Semitism is unknown, so far as my observation goes. A few years ago some obscure French-Canadian sheets ventured to echo the sentiments of the Paris Croix and Libre Parole, but they quickly came under correction, and have not since repeated the offence. Even if they did, it would not amount to much, for they have no influence outside the small section of ultramontanes, mostly composed of ecclesiastical hangers-on not long out from France.

"Another thing that brought these papers and the section they represent into popular disfavor was their absurdly anti-British virulence. Here, as in Europe, anti-Semitism went hand in hand with Anglophobia.

"To rightly understand the position of the Jews in Canada it is necessary to explain that the Roman Catholic Church, having been conceded the same rights that it enjoyed under French sovereignty by the British at the capitulation; it possesses and enjoys privileges which were long ago taken from it in France, and which are permitted nowhere else on either continent of America, or, for the matter of that, in Europe, except in Austria and Spain. Those rights and privileges only extend, however, to those professing the Roman Catholic faith living in the Province of Quebec. Nevertheless, there have been frequent conflicts between the Church and the civil power, which have been decided in the the more important instances by appeal to the Privy Council in England, the court of last resort for all subjects of the British Empire. It must be acknowledged, however, that the bishops have usually acted with moderation and loyalty to the crown. Their loyalty is founded on a wise appreciation of their position, for were this country to be annexed to the United States, for instance, all their special privileges would be abolished."

If it is possible to relate Ryan's brief report on the state of anti-Semitism in Quebec to the perception of this phenomenon which was held by the society of the Jewish Times, some significant facts arise.

The Jewish group was bound to minimize the danger of this racism by their social ideology. They believed in the positive values of anglophone Canada with its optimistic promise of stability based on tolerance and equality with their British democracy and separation of church from state. Ultramontanism and Goldwin Smith's ideas could be dismissed and ignored, as long as the Union Jack was waving in

Canadian skies. At the same time the Jewish group knew that racism was a menace; particularly since Russian pogroms, the Dreyfus experience and the Beilis accusation of ritual murder were the daily subjects of their own Jewish Times. When the challenges of Plamondon became serious, those Montrealers of the Legislative Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute acted with great vigour.

He edited the Jewish Times until early in 1909, "primed, of course, occasionally by its proprietors."

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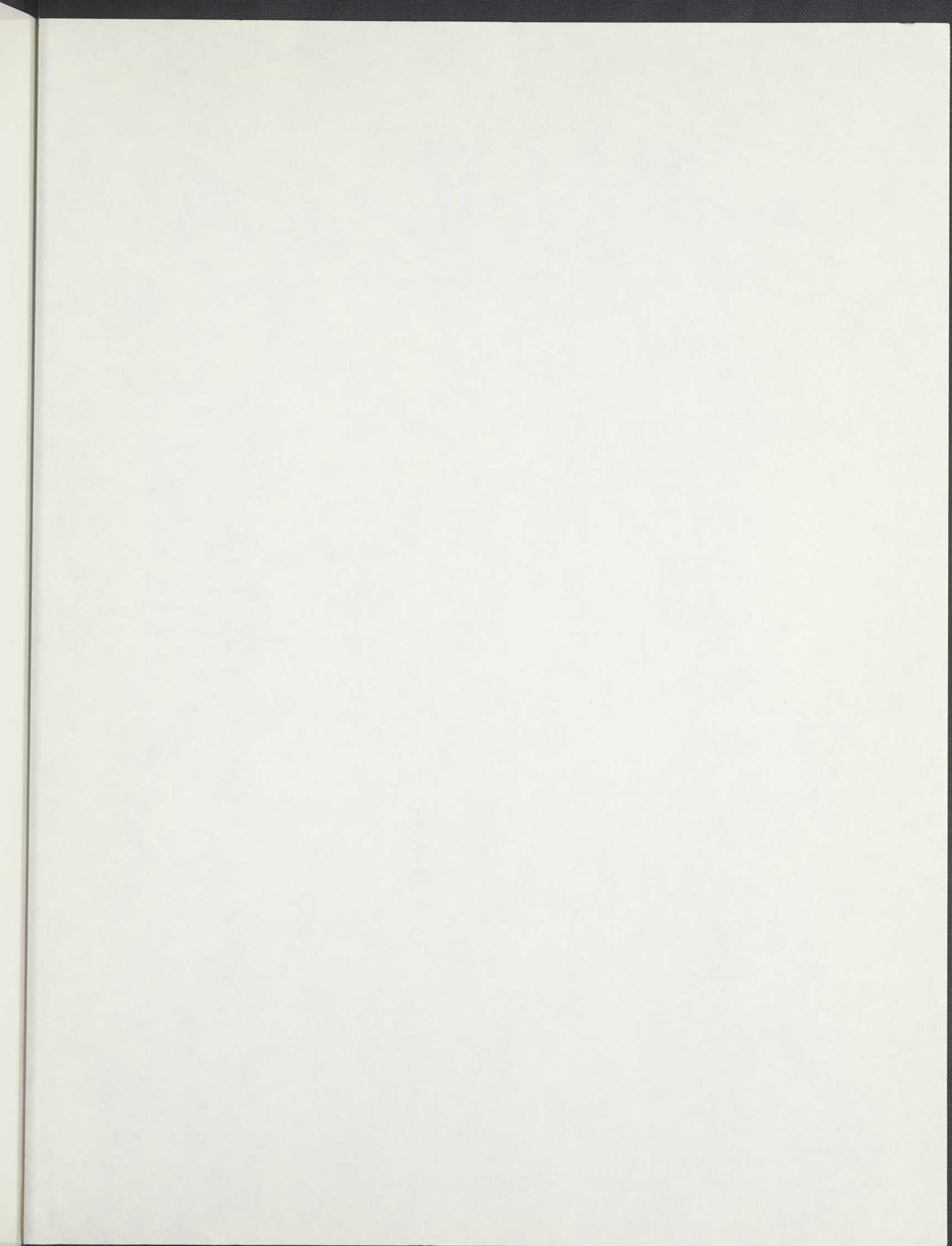
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