

Kingston Christians and the Persecution of European Jews During the Nazi Era

MARY-ANN SHANTZ

An historical assessment of the response of Canadian churches to the treatment of the Jews in Nazi Germany is still in its beginning stages. This paper seeks to address the need for a local history approach to the question of the Canadian churches' response to the situation of the Jews in Europe between 1933 and 1945. Specifically, the paper makes use of archival sources to investigate the response of the Kingston Ministerial Association and the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston, Ontario, during this period. It argues that neither the Protestant nor Catholic churches mounted any significant effort on behalf of European Jews.

Robert W. Ross examines what was published in the American Protestant press year by year throughout the twelve years the Nazi regime held power in Germany, and he consistently finds that the press possessed and published information regarding the increasingly horrific fate of European Jews as it unfolded. He argues on this basis that ignorance is not a valid defence for inaction on the part of American Protestants, and accuses them of silence on several accounts, namely: "knowing but not being persuaded; the failure to act in concert; the failure of modest actions; the failure of World War II as 'containing' specific intervention for Jews; and the failure to speak in words of moral indignation, confession, or moral outrage in the face of the death camps."¹ Because of the proximity and close political ties between Canada and the United States, as well as the relationship between a number of Canadian and American Protestant denominations, Ross' work has a significant bearing on the question of what Canadians and Canadian Protestants knew about Nazi Germany's

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treatment of Jews. Ross reveals that American Protestants, and by extension, Canadian Protestants, cannot argue that they were unaware of the persecution and atrocities committed by the Nazi regime against the European Jews.

The context in which Canadian churches were located during this period includes a tough Canadian immigration policy which prevented Canada from acting as a haven for European Jews during the 1930s and 1940s.² Unyielding politicians were motivated by the desire to maintain national unity as well as the electoral vote, in a context in which anti-Semitism revealed itself all too frequently.

Davies and Nefsky are the only historians who have undertaken a comprehensive examination of the Canadian Protestant response.³ Drawing on official church documents, sermons, and church journals, they offer an assessment of the United Church of Canada, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist (and other Evangelical), Lutheran, Mennonite, and Quaker denominations. They locate varying degrees of outspokenness and action amongst Canadian denominations, identifying the United, Anglican and Baptist clergy and church members as most outspoken, and Lutherans and Salvationists as least outspoken, with regards to the treatment of the Jews in Germany.

The short work of Davies and Nefsky, however, represents just the beginning of a needed examination of the attitudes and actions of Canadian Protestants with regards to immigration, the “Jewish question,” and the Holocaust. Many of the primary sources used by Davies and Nefsky are national denominational publications such as *The Canadian Churchman* and *The New Outlook*. They also devote a great deal of attention to leaders of prominence on a national level such as Claris Silcox and T.T. Shields. While groundbreaking work, Davies’ and Nefsky’s study is very much a general survey, lacking nuance and attention to regional responses. A study of church activities in a local community would provide a valuable counter-balance to this perspective. Second, Davies and Nefsky specifically restricted their study to Protestantism noting that, together with Roman Catholic Quebec, this was the formative influence in Canada at the time.⁴ As a result of their experience as cultural outsiders, an examination of religious minority groups could potentially provide a different picture from that of Davies and Nefsky.

This paper undertakes an assessment of what was said and done in one local community through an examination of the minutes of the Kingston Ministerial Association and stories run in the *Canadian*

Freeman, a weekly Roman Catholic publication printed in Kingston, Ontario. The Protestant Kingston Ministerial Association minutes from 1933-1949 provide important information on Protestant-Jewish relations in Kingston, and indicate the level of concern Kingston Protestants expressed regarding the situation of the Jews in Europe and what action they did or did not take. The stories that appear in the *Canadian Freeman* provide the perspective of religious outsiders--English Catholics in a primarily Protestant society. For this reason, and because of the great divide on a local level between Protestants and Catholics during this period, the *Freeman* provides an important balance to the Protestant Kingston Ministerial Association minutes in an investigation of the local Kingston response to the treatment of the Jews in Germany throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

The Kingston Ministerial Association (KMA) was an inter-denominational association of local ministers. A membership list appearing at the front of the 1929-1937 minute book, dated January 1936, reveals that the United Church and Anglican denominations comprised the majority of the association each with ministers from seven congregations. Also represented were Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist and Salvation Army churches. Free Methodist and Pentecostal ministers joined the Association in 1938. Two other groups belonging to the association were professors from Queen's Theological College and retired ministers.

Significantly, Rabbi Kellerman appears on the 1936 list, and receives mention in several meetings from 1937 onwards. Rabbis Steindel, Klaperman, Renov and Pimonthel are also present at various meetings. These men were either rabbis at the local Beth Israel synagogue or chaplains for Hillel, the Jewish student association at Queen's University.⁵ Rabbi Kellerman was an active participant in the KMA--in 1939 he served on a five-member committee whose purpose was to bring recommendations for services that could be provided to soldiers in training at Kingston. He was asked to close meetings with prayer on occasion and as a long-standing member of the KMA made formal introductions of new rabbis to the association.

What is remarkable about the presence of these local Jewish leaders at the KMA is the fact that membership was otherwise restricted to Protestant ministers. Furthermore, starting in 1942, Rabbi Klaperman was included as a participant in the Morning Devotions broadcast, a daily devotional broadcast on CFRC radio conducted by members of the association.⁶ In contrast to the willingness of the KMA to include Rabbi

Klaperman in the broadcast is the opposition by these same ministers to an attempt by the Christian Science church to participate in the devotional broadcast. When the proposal by the Christian Scientists was brought to the executive, it agreed that participation should be confined to “those actively in touch with the Association”; they noted that membership in the association was restricted to ministers and the Secretary of the YMCA, and suggested that the Christian Science minister might present them with a statement of faith.⁷ Clearly, the Protestant clergy in the KMA had much greater regard for the local Jewish leaders than they had for leaders of the Christian Science church, a sect whose orthodoxy they found questionable.

The KMA met on a monthly basis from September to June. While more than forty men were listed as members, attendance at meetings was generally fifteen to twenty. Unfortunately the number, and not the names, of members in attendance was recorded, rendering difficult an assessment of the extent of participation by the Kingston rabbis. The association was led by an executive, which was nominated and approved at the end of each year for the following year. The executive held its own meetings in addition to the general meetings, where members addressed issues referred to them by the association, and set the agenda and selected speakers for upcoming KMA meetings. As a rule, a talk was presented at each KMA meeting. Topics included political and social issues, practical topics such as preaching, and theology. The speaker was often a guest--a Queen's professor or an out-of-town clergyman or intellectual. The dynamic Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath of Toronto's Holy Blossom synagogue was a guest speaker for the association on two occasions, in 1934 and 1939.⁸

In the early years of the Nazi regime a number of guest speakers to the KMA addressed related political issues. As early as May 1933, a professor from Queen's German Department spoke on the political and social developments in Germany since the Great War and offered a response to the question, “What is a National Socialist?”⁹ The following spring another professor spoke on the Austrian political situation, and the association invited Rabbi Eisendrath to give a public lecture on “Present Conditions in Germany.”¹⁰ In the early 1930s, the KMA took steps to inform its members of the political and social situation in Europe, and its invitation to Rabbi Eisendrath and his subsequent address suggest awareness of, and concern for, the deterioration of conditions for the Jews in Germany at this time.

Following early interest in the Nazi regime no further references to Germany or the treatment of German Jews appear in the minutes of the

KMA until 1938. *Kristallnacht*, which took place from 9-12 November 1938, set in motion a wave of protest rallies across Canada and around the world.¹¹ The violence unleashed in Germany against Jews and their property revealed the extent of Hitler's antisemitism. In Kingston, 1200 people attended a protest rally and passed a resolution to Prime Minister Mackenzie King condemning the events in Germany.¹² The KMA was involved in the organization of this public rally, which included speeches by the Catholic Archbishop of Kingston, Most Reverend M.J. O'Brien, and Queen's University principal, Dr. R.C. Wallace, as well as by the minister of St. James' Anglican Church and member of the KMA, the Rev. M. McNaughton.

As a result of *Kristallnacht* and the international attention it drew to the conditions for Jews in Germany, the KMA displayed renewed concern for the situation and again sought out speakers that would enable them to be better informed. At the KMA meeting following the rally Rabbi Kellerman thanked the association for the concern expressed on behalf of his people. At this meeting the decision was also made to invite a professor to speak at a special meeting on "The Jew, the Christian and the Future."¹³ In 1939, Rabbi Eisendrath again spoke to the KMA, this time on the subject of "The Fight Against Anti-Semitism."¹⁴

The interest of the KMA in the Jewish people and their plight in Europe was not ongoing, and receives no additional mention in the minutes until 1945. But in 1944, a discussion at a KMA meeting, though it involved no specific mention of European Jews, had bearing on their situation. Miss Hayward, Secretary of the National Committee of Refugees, had sent a request for the assistance of the KMA in holding a public gathering to address the refugee situation. Davies and Nefsky note that the fate of the *St. Louis* had drawn significant media attention in Canada and the United States to the refugee crisis.¹⁵ This ship carrying Jewish refugees was forced to return to Europe because it could find no haven elsewhere, meaning a death sentence for many of its passengers. Despite events such as this the KMA did not jump at the opportunity to assist Miss Hayward. The minutes record that the general feeling was that "the Association should hesitate to sponsor a public meeting as little additional help to the cause of the refugees could be expected."¹⁶ While the KMA nonetheless decided to speak with Miss Hayward at a subsequent meeting, it is evident that they did not collaborate with her on the refugee cause.

Along similar lines, in October 1945, Rabbi J. Renov made a request that the Association issue a statement in favour of unrestricted Jewish immigration to Israel as a solution to “Jewish problems of dispossession and persecution.”¹⁷ In response, a movement was passed expressing great sympathy for the Jewish people and referring Rabbi Renov’s request to the executive. The executive reiterated its sympathy for the situation facing the Jews, but “in view of the many factors involved, deemed itself incompetent to commit itself to any resolution on the matter of immigration into Palestine.”¹⁸ No further mention was made of this matter, nor of Rabbi Renov.

The hesitance of the KMA to speak out on the refugee crisis or the issue of Jewish immigration to Palestine cannot be attributed to a reluctance to involve itself in politics. Many of the concerns of the association were political, such as religious education in schools, stores opening on Sunday, and alcohol being served in pool halls. On several occasions letters on behalf of the KMA were written to the mayor, local government and newspaper, the *Whig Standard*, addressing such issues. Rather, it can be argued that the reluctance demonstrated by the KMA to be a voice for the European Jews and other victims of war arose out of the preoccupation of the KMA with local rather than international concerns. While the KMA was aware of the treatment of the Jews in Europe, and was informed through some noteworthy speakers, it perceived its mandate to relate to the local Kingston context and the direct concerns of the members of the local churches.

The *Canadian Freeman* became Kingston’s official Catholic diocesan paper in 1916 and was printed until 1942 when its name changed to the *Canadian Register*. This paper was continued until 1970.¹⁹ For the purpose of this study, the *Freeman* will be used to refer to the publication generally, but in the case of specific references the name of the paper in which the article appeared will be used. Both the *Freeman* and the *Register* were published in Kingston, and were weekly papers that included news stories, editorials, and spiritual instruction. International material as well as local news items were included.

Because of the volume of material printed during the 1930s and 1940s only specific periods were examined for this study.²⁰ The first period examined was March through July of 1933, the beginning of Hitler’s persecution of the Jews. The second period was September and October of 1935, the months immediately following the passing of the Nuremberg laws. Third, papers dated July through December of 1938 were

investigated, the period leading up to, and following, *Kristallnacht*. January through May of 1942, the weeks following the Final Solution conference at Wannsee, were examined. Finally, papers from July 1944 through September 1945 were studied, when concentration camps were freed by advancing Allied troops and the full extent of the Holocaust became known.

Four themes recur in the publication throughout these five periods. The Concordat between the Vatican and Nazi Germany received a great deal of attention. Second, significant concern was expressed over persecution of German Catholics, even before official relations between Rome and Nazi Germany began to deteriorate. Third, occasional reports on the persecution of European Jews appear in the paper, sometimes including a note of condemnation for this treatment. Finally, a number of editorial articles related to anti-semitism and rationalizations of the persecution of the Jews appeared from 1933 to 1945.

In April of 1933, the *Freeman* first mentioned talks of a Concordat between the Vatican and Germany. The paper reported that German Vice Chancellor von Papen, an “outstanding Catholic,” visited Rome to discuss an agreement with the Pope. It was stated that the Pope was willing to negotiate as long as the Nazi regime did not seek to overstep its bounds and exert control over the Catholic church in Germany.²¹ In June the paper reported that negotiations were nearly complete, and in July 1933 that an agreement had been reached.²² The article that followed wrote that the pact ensured the freedom of Catholic institutions in Germany and arranged for religious instruction in schools. But by 1938, stories in reference to the Concordat related to German violations of the agreement. One headline declared, “Expulsion of Prelate by Nazis Held Flagrant Violation of Concordat,”²³ and towards the end of the year the *Freeman* reported that the Nazis sought to wipe out the church.²⁴

Even as the *Freeman* wrote of the agreement between Germany and the Vatican, stories appeared containing reports of imprisonment and persecution of Catholic clergy and churches. In 1935, graves at a Catholic cemetery were desecrated by Nazis.²⁵ By 1938 there were several reports of religious restrictions imposed on German clergy.²⁶ By 1944, the world had received news of Nazi concentration camps, and the *Register* reported that Catholics had been among those imprisoned. An article entitled, “40 British Nuns in Nazi Prison” told of women held at the Liebenau Camp,²⁷ while in 1945, “Priests Knew Horrors of Dachau Camp” reported that

3,500 Catholic priests had been held in Dachau and subjected to hard labour,²⁸ and the paper also reported the deaths of Prague clergy.²⁹

While the concern of Kingston Catholics for their fellow European Catholics is understandable, what is startling is the lack of mention of the treatment of European Jews. In the publication following *Kristallnacht*, the internment of the German Cardinal made headlines while only one small article reporting the events of *Kristallnacht* was included.³⁰ An article entitled, "Catholic Sympathy for Jews in Plight Stirs Nazis' Wrath," outlined resulting persecution experienced by Roman Catholics and did not address persecution of the Jewish people.³¹ A reporter refuting Hitler's claim that no one in Germany had endured religious persecution did so on the grounds of Catholic persecution and made no mention of the persecution of German Jews.³² Most difficult to comprehend is that the press reported the internment of Roman Catholics, but failed to report the Holocaust and Jewish imprisonment in concentration camps. While the camps at Majdanek, Buchenwald, and Dachau were mentioned by name, the extermination of the Jews was not reported. The paper wrote that priests held at Dachau were imprisoned with Poles, Czechs, Dutchmen, Belgians, and Frenchman, but the Jewish people received no mention. In fact, no headlines from July 1944 through September 1945 pertained to the Holocaust or the condition of the Jews in Europe following the war.

Nevertheless, reports of sympathy expressed by Catholic clergy regarding the treatment of the Jews and condemnation of their persecution by the Nazis, though sometimes qualified, did appear in the pages of the *Freeman* between 1933 and 1945. As early as 1933, an article reported that Pope Pius XI expressed sympathy for the Jewish people, and stated that the Pope "has publicly offered Mass for the conversion of the Jews, and as the Pope of Peace he has constantly used his influence to protect them against injustice."³³ A call by a Quebec legislator for Canadian Catholics and Jews to join together in protest against treatment of German minorities was recorded in an article entitled "Quebec Legislator, Catholic, Condemns German Jew-Baiting."³⁴ A 1938 editorial associated Jews with communism, an anti-Semitic slur not uncommon in the *Freeman*, but nonetheless concluded with condemnation of the Nazi treatment of the Jews: "Admitting that the higher-ups in Jewry are a powerful anti-Christian influence, accepting even the oft-repeated charge that they are the inspiration of atheistic communism, there can be no justification for the outlawing of the rank and file of the race."³⁵ A brief article on *Kristallnacht* argued that such persecution must be opposed by Catholics who

believe that there is “no distinction of Jew and Gentile” before God.³⁶ This report was followed by the strongest words of condemnation of the Nazi treatment of the Jews to appear in the publication. The headline for a story on the local Kingston rally in protest of *Kristallnacht* declared: “Catholic and Non-Catholic America Deplore Outrages Perpetrated By Official Germany on Jew and Gentile.”³⁷ Soon after, the *Freeman* declared, “Bishop Cites Catholic Attitude In Opposition to Persecution of Jews,” and called for Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups to join together in overcoming any form of persecution.³⁸

A final theme running throughout the publications of the *Freeman* from 1933 to 1945 is anti-semitism and its source. From July to October of 1938, the *Freeman* ran a twelve-part series entitled, “Why Are the Jews Persecuted?”³⁹ This series identified anti-semitism as the cornerstone of Nazi policy and exposed the myth of Aryan superiority. It addressed the false blame placed on Jews for problems in Germany and their identification with radical/communist movements. The articles dismantled many such stereotypes held against Jews, describing Judaism as a conservative faith opposed to any kind of totalitarianism. Ultimately, the series argued that anti-semitism was not compatible with Catholicism and called on Catholics to oppose it.⁴⁰

In contrast, an editorial on “Italy and the Jews” expressed some of the exact sentiments refuted in the aforementioned series.⁴¹ The writer responded to an order in Italy that all Jews settled there since the Great War would be required to leave within six months. He stated: “It is noteworthy that while the Jews have been very vociferous in denunciation of Fascism, they have been strangely silent about Communism--a fact which may have influenced the Government of Italy.” The following week the same columnist noted that some took exception to his comments on the Jews. He then affirmed that there are many religious Jews who have no part in “atheistic communism,” but argued that these are not the Jews who “control so much of the world’s wealth and influence.” The more powerful Jews, he wrote, are associated with communism.⁴² Another column later that same year reported that after debate at the American Jewish Congress, condemnation of communism was removed from its declaration. The writer argued that this unwillingness to condemn communism served to further align the Jews with communism in the minds of many.⁴³

The headlines and stories that appeared in the pages of the *Canadian Freeman* and *Canadian Register* between 1933 and 1945 reveal some important features of the Kingston Catholic press. First, the highest Roman

Catholic leaders, particularly the Pope, were extremely influential in determining the issues that would receive attention, and those that would not, by the Kingston press. Some mention of the Pope is made in the headlines of a large percentage of the publications. What was deemed important by the Pope was of importance to the Catholic community in Kingston, and during the reign of the Nazi regime this was rarely the situation of the European Jews.

Second, the *Freeman* was internationally minded, but even on the international scene the Roman Catholic church and its members held the position of central importance. Much more attention was devoted in the press to the struggles of the German Catholic church than the persecution of the Jews.

Third, a great deal of ambiguity was expressed with regards to Catholic-Jewish relations and anti-semitism. At times, Catholic clergy called for Christians and Jews to join together in opposition to persecution, while on other occasions anti-semitism was rationalized by an association of Jews with communism. Some articles simultaneously condemned German treatment of the Jews and declared the need for Jewish conversion or the affinity of Jews to communism.

As the voice of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Kingston, the *Canadian Freeman* stands in contrast to the Protestant Kingston Ministerial Association. While the KMA was an inter-denominational association that shared concerns on a local level, the Kingston Roman Catholic press was part of the international Roman Catholic Church, with its centre in Rome. The KMA was largely occupied with events affecting the members of its local constituent churches, but the *Freeman* was interested in the concerns of Roman Catholics world-wide.

Furthermore, the KMA was an independent body, and did not fall under the authority of an umbrella organization. In contrast, the *Freeman* was under the local as well as the international Catholic hierarchy, and ultimately the Pope. The KMA experienced no influence comparable to that exerted by the Pope on the Roman Catholic world.

Finally, the ambiguity regarding anti-semitism and Christian-Jewish relations displayed in the *Canadian Freeman* was not present in the minutes of the KMA. Rabbi Eisendrath addressed the association on anti-semitism,⁴⁴ and Rabbi Pimonthel spoke on the failure of the Church in its relationship to the Jewish people.⁴⁵ Rabbi Steindel gave an informative lecture on Jewish holidays and customs.⁴⁶ All of these men were well received, and the association, though not always in agreement, embraced

their words and engaged in fruitful conversation. The columns in the pages of the *Freeman* during this time do not reveal the same degree of willingness to engage the challenges faced by the Jewish people.

Nevertheless, despite the differences observed in the minutes of the Kingston Ministerial Association and the pages of *Canadian Freeman*, they differ little in their response to the persecution of the Jews in Europe. In keeping with the findings of Davies and Nefsky, this paper suggests that the answer is both yes and no to the question, were the churches silent?⁴⁷ Through an examination of the minutes of the Protestant KMA and the newspaper for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Kingston this paper contributes a local history of the Canadian Protestant and English Catholic responses to the treatment of the European Jews during the Nazi era. The findings suggest that both the KMA and the *Freeman* at times condemned the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime against the European Jews, and at other times turned a blind eye. But what they never did, apart from the 1938 rally in protest of *Kristallnacht*, was take action. The KMA ministers appeared to enjoy amiable relations with the local Jewish rabbis, but nonetheless remained preoccupied with local concerns rather than the international concerns of their Jewish friends. That the English Roman Catholics in Kingston were religious outsiders like the Canadian and European Jewish people was not reason enough to draw the attention of the Kingston Catholic community away from its Catholic world to the atrocities committed against the Jews. Within the local Kingston community, the KMA and the *Canadian Freeman* presumably exercised a great deal of influence, the one comprised of the ministers of the majority of local Protestant churches, the other read by a significant number of English Catholics. For their own reasons, neither group demonstrated active concern for European Jews during the Nazi regime.

Endnotes

1. Robert W. Ross, *So It Was True: The American Protestant Press and the Nazi Persecution of the Jews* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 294.
2. For a detailed account of Canadian immigration policy see Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1991). Gerald Tulchinsky paints a similar picture in his work, *Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing, 1998).

3. Alan Davies and F. Nefsky, *How Silent Were the Churches? Canadian Protestantism and the Jewish Plight during the Nazi Era* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997).
4. Davies and Nefsky, *How Silent Were the Churches?* xi.
5. See M. Koven and G. Ross, *From Strength to Strength* (Kingston, ON: Beth Israel Congregation, 1986).
6. Minutes recorded 19 November 1942, Kingston Ministerial Association (KMA) Papers, Queen's University Archives (QUA).
7. Minutes recorded 27 January 1948, KMA Executive Papers, QUA.
8. For Eisendrath's role at Holy Blossom see Gerald Tulchinsky, "'Justice and Only Justice Thou Shalt Pursue': Considerations on the Social Voice of Canada's Reform Rabbis," in *Religion and Public Life in Canada*, ed. Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 313-328.
9. Minutes recorded 8 May 1933, KMA Papers, QUA.
10. Minutes recorded 19 March 1934, KMA Papers, QUA.
11. Davies and Nefsky, *How Silent Were the Churches?* 15.
12. Davies and Nefsky, *How Silent Were the Churches?* Appendix A.
13. Minutes recorded 21 November 1938, KMA Papers, QUA.
14. Minutes recorded 17 April 1939, KMA Papers, QUA.
15. Davies and Nefsky, *How Silent Were the Churches?* 15.
16. Minutes recorded 10 January 1944, KMA Papers, QUA.
17. Minutes recorded 2 October 1945, KMA Papers, QUA.
18. Minutes recorded 5 November 1945, KMA Papers, QUA.
19. L.J. Flynn, *Built on a Rock: The Story of the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston, 1826-1976* (Kingston, ON: Archdiocese of Kingston, 1976).
20. These periods correspond roughly to those designated by Ross, in *So It Was True*, who examines six periods: 1933, 1934-35, 1936-38, 1939-42, 1943-1944, and 1945.
21. "Hitler Regime Plans Concordat With Rome," *Canadian Freeman*, 13 April 1933, Archdiocese of Kingston Archives (AKA).

22. "Holy Father and Germany Agree on An Important Concordat," *Canadian Freeman*, 13 July 1933, AKA.
23. "Expulsion of Prelate by Nazis Held Flagrant Violation of Concordat," *Canadian Freeman*, 1 September 1938, AKA.
24. "Bares Cunning Nazi Strategy to Wipe Out the Church," *Canadian Freeman*, 17 November 1938, AKA.
25. "Nazis Desecrate Graves," *Canadian Freeman*, 19 September 1935, AKA.
26. "Nazi Effort To Gag Bishops Is Vain As Pastoral Is Read," *Canadian Freeman*, 15 September 1938; and "Cardinal Is Held In "Protective Custody" By Nazis," *Canadian Freeman*, 17 November 1938, AKA.
27. "40 British Nuns in Nazi Prison," *Canadian Register*, 12 August 1944, AKA.
28. "Priests Knew Horrors of Dachau Camp," *Canadian Register*, 5 May 1945, AKA.
29. "Many Prague Clergy Die In Prison Camps," *Canadian Register*, 1 September 1945, AKA.
30. "Civilizations Gangsters," *Canadian Freeman*, 17 November 1938, AKA.
31. "Catholic Sympathy for Jews in Plight Stirs Nazis' Wrath," *Canadian Freeman*, 8 December 1938, AKA.
32. "Proof of Religious Persecution In Germany," *Canadian Freeman*, 9 February 1939, AKA.
33. "The Holy Father and the Jews," *Canadian Freeman*, 13 April 1933, AKA.
34. "Quebec Legislator, Catholic, Condemns German Jew-Baiting," *Canadian Freeman*, 19 September 1935, AKA.
35. "Jews and Communism," *Canadian Freeman*, 14 July 1938, AKA.
36. "Civilizations Gangsters," *Canadian Freeman*, 17 November 1938, AKA.
37. "Catholic and Non-Catholic America Deplore Outrages Perpetrated By Official Germany on Jew and Gentile," *Canadian Freeman*, 24 November 1938, AKA.
38. "Bishop Cites Catholic Attitude In Opposition to Persecution of Jews," *Canadian Freeman*, 8 December 1938, AKA.
39. This series was re-printed in the *Canadian Freeman* from a pamphlet by Joseph Moody.

40. Article of 6 October 1938, "Why Are the Jews Persecuted?" *Canadian Freeman*, AKA.
41. "Italy and the Jews," *Canadian Freeman*, 8 September 1938, AKA.
42. "Italy and the Jews," *Canadian Freeman*, 15 September 1938, AKA.
43. "Jews and Communism," *Canadian Freeman*, 1 December 1938, AKA.
44. Minutes recorded 17 April 1939, KMA Papers, QUA.
45. Minutes recorded 5 December 1949, KMA Papers, QUA.
46. Minutes recorded 5 May 1941, KMA Papers, QUA.
47. Davies and Nefsky, *How Silent Were the Churches?* 128.