305.8924071
R7631c
1977
v.8

CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Anti-Semitism In Canada 1929 - 1939

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

By

David Rome

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Section 8

Montreal, 1980

CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Anti-Semitism In Canada 1929 - 1939

A Chapter in Canadian Jewish History

By

David Rome

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Section 6

Montreal, 1980

DS100-183

D8100489

CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Anti-Semitism In Canada 1929 - 1939

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

By

David Rome

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Section 8

Montreal, 1980

DS
146
C3R6
v.8 15

CONTENTS

Europe Threatened — Page 135

- Instinctive Despair — 135
- Flight from... — 137
- ...Peaceful Extirpation — 139

Refugees Keep Out — 141

- Varying Awareness — 142

Aping the U.S. — 144

- International Refugee Organization — 145
- Rosenberg on Belkin — 146
- Hon. W.A. Gordon — 148
- Eagan to Calgary — 150

Labor, Catholics... — 151

- Bourassa — 152
- Sir Arthur Currie — 154
- Labor — 155
- Revue des deux mondes — 158
- La Vérité — 159
- Action sociale — 161
- Devoir — 163
- Boulay in Commons — 166
- J.A. Foisy — 169

Slowly Shutting Gates — 176

- The Regulations — 177
- American Quotas — 179
- Bitter Liberals — 181
- Dirks — 182

Shams 187

"Keeping Families Together" 187
Travel Documents 188
"Canada a Stepping Stone" 189
"No Callouses" 190

The Villain Out Front 194

F.C. Blair 194
Nominee of the Government 195
Foiling London 196
"Makes my Blood Warm" 197
A Religious Man 198
"Most Difficult" 199
Jews Need a Day of Humiliation 200
Against Interned Refugees 202
The Other Face of Canada 204
Above the Courts 205
In Podolia, in Latvia 208
Harry Kahn's Eyes 210
Happy Endings 213
Advocates of the Helpless 215
Hypocrites re Sudeten 218

Deportation 221

"Interpret as They see Fit" 221
Jumping from Roof 224
Kaplansky at Ports 226
Crisis at Halifax 227
Shining Vision of Lillian Freeman 233

A Desperate Community 239

Government Opposing Them 241
The Graph of Barred Gates 243
Reflected in City Maps 247
The Canadian Record 249

EUROPE THREATENED

The Canadian program, which cut Jewish immigration during these crucial decades, is part of the world pattern of Jewish migration.

This becomes clear when we look at the annals of the Jewish people from 1800 to the present.

During the century from mid-century to mid-century, Jacob Lestchinsky shows, three quarters of the 4,000,000 Jews who migrated had come to North America. Except for a decade during this period, Palestine was the destination of but 5%.

The instinctive despair of East European Jewry of any future life in their centuries-old home was maturing into radical solutions such as mass flight or return to Zion; a maturation speeded up tremendously by the revolutionary ideas of post-Voltaire Haskalah. From the borders of Yiddishland and eastern Germany came the Germanized migrants of the mid 1800's. The Russian violence of the 1880's brought a larger flood. The beginning of the twentieth witnessed in addition a profound political anti-Semitism even in France, Germany and Austria, not to speak of Russia.

Some countries, such as Russia, barred the exit of emigrants, evoking the cry of "Let My People Go" when the century was two decades old.

During the first years it was flight from the Soviet Union and migration from Poland, of boycott (cheered in Montreal by l'Action paroissale) and attacks on Jews in the streets of Vilno and Warsaw. In 1933 Germany became the point of gravest and most shocking infection. After 1939 the German toxin was brought by the arms of conquest to the entire area of Jewish settlement in Europe.

Continuously Jews sought to escape to such countries as Canada. An impenetrable curtain of paper came to prevent rescue from the clutches of the European torturers. Today the grammar of the regulations which prevented rescue makes sickening reading.

Canada was becoming more vital in the world picture of Jewish rescue. In earlier decades the U.S. had absorbed some 90% of the Jewish migrants from Europe. In the post war decades it declined to 42%. Canada and Latin America were more desperately needed as havens. Our country's share of Jewish migration, restricted as it was, came to 5.5%.

Yet just when this had become so vital for Jews in Europe and for their kin who were already residing in the Canadian haven, the government moved with exclusionist legislation, with orders-in-council and with private instructions to its representatives overseas to keep Jewish immigrants away; the terminology was of nordics, farm laborers, and sometimes quite plainly, with Jews. The drama of the St. Louis was being set.

U.S. practice was not in marked contrast. Even during the years when the country was fighting Nazism, it allowed an average of 5,000 Jewish victims of Hitlerism -- about the population of an American high school -- to immigrate each year.

Hitlerism and the world wide refugee movement it brought about did not begin with his assumption of office by election in 1933, nor was it a phenomenon confined to, or even central in, Germany.

The United States not only limited immigration but introduced racial elements in its law a decade before.

Canada was even earlier in applying racism. In May 1919 the minister of immigration wrote to the Poale Zion of Montreal that it is desirable for the ministry to be able to "exclude immigrants on the gound of nationality or race," in order to make it "possible to exclude enemy aliens."

Migration had always been important in the annals of the Wandering Jew, but never more so than in this period.

But during the period 1926-39, North America received but a quarter of the migration and the following near decade but a half. The continent was overtaken in receptivity of Jewish migrants by tiny Palestine, not yet become the Jewish state of Israel. Even in the seven years before its restoration to Jewish independence the miniscule mandated territory did nearly as well as Canada and the U.S. combined by hard-pressed Jewry.

Grosso modo, Palestine assumed the place the U.S. had forfeited as a home for fleeing Jewry. This in the decades between the wars when the threat to Jewry was growing -- to climax with Hitler -- to such an extent that refugees formed the largest group of migrants. Immigrants now were refugees.

No wonder the Holy Land became holier than ever to the Jewish people, and the cynosure of Jewish energy and devotion during the years which saw the advent of Hitlerism and of war startlingly, brutally and tangibly.

The Jews of Europe -- most numerously in Poland and in the Russian empire -- had been threatened in their very physical existence by the successive nationalistic movements in the succession states whose boundary lines and even constitutional clauses were drawn up at Versailles. These nationalisms from the beginning increasingly identified their sovereign dignity with the whittling down of the Jewish position and of Jewish rights, including the minority rights which the Versailles conference sought to enshrine in their constitutions.

On the western side of the curtain of fire and iron the reconstituted peoples of central Europe sought fulfillment of their national missions by destroying their Jewish citizens. Economic boycott and whittling of constitutional and human rights were their expression of their civilizations, easily supplemented by violent pogrom, harassment and repression. These governments reorganized entire industries monopolistically, and legislated that Jews may not participate. Anti-shechitah laws were passed which rendered it difficult for Jews to procure meat they could eat or to engage in the meat business. In Lodz 40% of the Jewish population required relief to subsist the day; only a fifth earned an adequate income.

The restrictive immigration regulations imposed in 1931, to take the most dramatic example, were diabolical in their timing: they came when Polish antisemitism and Rumanian violence were being surpassed by the advent of the Nazis. As Rosenberg noted, "The drastic reduction in Jewish immigration to Canada, which occurred during the same period which saw the rise of Hitler and the persecution and exile of so many Jews from Germany and other central and eastern European countries, was not due to the economic depression but to the restrictive immigration regulations which bore down with particular hardship upon the Jews who were the first and most numerous of Hitler's victims desperately seeking refuge from the dangers which threatened them."

Their anxiety for their kin overseas and their passionate desire to help them reach Canadian freedom was the overwhelming personal and group concern of Canadian Jewry since Noah Friedman pioneered the tiny Lithuanian movement to eastern Ontario and Montreal in 1857.

No Jewish gathering or organization in Canada from that date for an entire century that was not active in one sense or another in immigrant reception.

Basically the story of this migration is the central history of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, the Baron de Hirsch Institute, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the agencies of the present Allied Jewish Community Services and of the Jewish Immigrant Services of Canada.

While he was still living in the southern United States, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath had believed that the greatest poverty that could be imagined was that of the negroes there. But when he visited Poland, and when he saw the misery in which Jews were living there, he came to experience the deepest despair. In comparison with what he saw there, the American negroes were living in luxury, he told the Polish envoy to Ottawa.

These were the processes in Lithuania, Hungary and Rumania; but above all in Poland, the nation which inherited the largest Jewish community in Europe, numbering some 3,000,000, and which pioneered in anti-Jewish hostility, violence and in "peaceful" extirpation -- a Hitlerland in apprenticeship.

The constant flow of news from Europe told not only of the scars of the past war, but of growing poverty caused by the intensifying anti-Jewish policies of the succession states. This was the more galling because the statesmen of Canada and of the world had foreseen this development, and had sought to forestall it by provisions in the new constitutions as agreed upon at the Versailles

peace conference. These restored nations, which Canada had helped to form, came to be identified with anti-Semitism in Poland, Lithuania, Rumania and Hungary. The group and minority rights of Jews were whittled away. The status of the community and Jewish schooling and language rights were ignored. Tax legislation and other economic policies were directed against the Jews in those countries. Violence was increasing. Coloured shirts were becoming a symbol of anti-Semitism. The long brown shadow which soon became Germany was rapidly becoming harder and more menacing over all of central Europe.

Increasingly the Jews in those countries -- Poland, Rumania, Lithuania, Hungary, Latvia -- sought to flee the continent as their awareness, desperation and hopelessness grew. The history of the two decades between the wars is the story of this awareness, this foreseeing of Hitlerism growing in acuteness, as the more sensitive became incoherent with horror, and the more obtuse remained dull to the warnings, conventional in their optimism, legalistic in their approaches, indifferent to the fate of the affected.

This gradation in attitude over the years ranged nearly as widely among Jews as among Christians and among governments.

Not everybody saw it at the same time. Some groups were more sensitive to it than others. Jews closer to their European origins were aware more quickly than others.

REFUGEES KEEP OUT

By far the most immediate and deadly form of antisemitism effective in Canada during the decade was the consistent barring of the country's gates to Jewish refugees fleeing for their lives from various European lands of persecution.

Those few European Jews who found their way into Canadian freedom before this decade survived. The overwhelming mass who were barred died in Europe in ways and numbers that the imagination refuses to portray. Various elements contributed to this phenomenon of shutting the gate of Canada to those in this peril; among others, the depression crushing Canadians; and the American example forced upon its northern neighbour.

The refugee problem of the 1930's must not be read solely as a function of Hitlerite accession to power, for Hitlerism did not begin in Germany in the '30's', nor was it a phenomenon confined to -- or even centred in -- Germany. That German catastrophe was but a continuum of the European new swelling of antisemitism dating from the first war and leading directly to the second war. Indeed, even this deluging tidal wave has an older origin in czarist antisemitism which physically pushed the wave of shtetel immigrants westward into Europe and America and, on the theoretical level, presented the west with the gift of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

Some offending governments saw the problem in this broad geographic scope. When the Evian Conference was being organized by the League of Nations, Rumania and Poland emphasized their view that the problem of refugees from Germany was part of the general problem of emigration. As H.H. Wrong of the Permanent Delegation of

Canada to the League of Nations at Geneva wrote to his Secretary for External Affairs on May 16, 1938, "These two countries at least seem likely to make use of the opportunity provided by the Conference at Evian to press their requests for international assistance in dealing with the question of Jewish emigration." (Public Archives of Canada - External Affairs, File 342-33c)

Seen in this wider perspective of the wave of refugee migration set afoot by the racist and genocidal policies of twentieth-century Europe, the Canadian record of compassion is quite frightening.

To understand the epic tragedy of Canada vs. the Jewish Refugee that climaxed in the thirties it is essential to know its first acts in the twenties and the fundamental facts of its setting.

Fundamentally Jewish history since 1880 is the story of flight ahead of catastrophe, and Jewish immigration of that time is the story of escape from Europe to Canada. The protagonists and the antagonists in the drama, in their tens of thousands, vary in their awareness of their roles, but that is unimportant for playwright or spectator.

The internal history is of hardening decision to uproot and to deport. The external history is of hurdles and barriers to security. The prologue ends with the First World War.

Jewish history of at least this century can be understood in terms of holocaust: the forefeeling that impelled migration from the land of the furnaces, that gave meaning and Jewish relevance to World War I, the Russian revolution and the battles for rights; all this added dimensions to America, to Palestine and to Canada, recognition to inter-bellum events, to the desperate struggle for migration, to the Zion dream and to the step by step building up of the sands of the Holy Land -- and the entire drama of Medinath Israel.

The heroes of this history are those whose eyes were opened earlier to this vision of current events, whose hands acted most directly and meaningfully in this context.

The history of the two decades between the wars is the story of this awareness, this foreseeing of Hitlerism growing in acuteness; the more sensitive became incoherent with horror, and the more obtuse remained dull to the warnings, conventional in their optimism, legalistic in their approaches, indifferent to the fate of the affected.

This gradation in attitude over the years ranged nearly as widely among Jews as among Christians and among governments.

Hitlerism and the world wide refugee movement it brought about did not begin with his assumption of office by election in 1933, nor was it a phenomenon confined to, or even central in, Germany.

The new governments which reigned in Europe's regions of Jewish residence were in the throes of readjustment and wars, assimilating their national minorities. The new rule, often nurtured on violent nationalism and on xenophobia, struck in particular at skilled workers and at tradesmen among their minorities and, of course, most harshly at the Jews. Their shining new constitutions had clauses which were intended to protect minorities. But these paragraphs, authored and imposed by outsiders at Versailles, were less than ineffective. Their very presence often exacerbated national sensibilities and provided fuel for agitators and for racist inciters.

The frustration and hopelessness of European Jewry grew from month to month. There was no present and no future for Jews in these steaming jungles of racist and religious hatred. When governments did make arrangements for the emigration of groups of their citizens, few Jews were able to benefit from them.

APING THE U.S.

In these developing world conditions Canada decided to follow the American lead and to shut its gates, particularly to Jews.

Overwhelming American influence on Canadian immigration is clear but tantalizingly difficult to document.

S.W. Jacobs, M.P., formulated it, "The United States makes a rule today and we follow it tomorrow; or, to put it differently, they take the snuff and we do the sneezing...

"During the war a great wave of sympathy went out from Canada and the United States to those people in Europe who were ground down under the heel of an autocracy and other forms of persecution. At that time we were ready to say to them: 'Come unto us all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and we will give you rest.' But so soon as the war is over we close our doors against them and say: 'For our own protection, we will not permit you to enter...'"

In areas where Canadians felt less compelled by shame -- as in their treatment of Orientals -- the mechanism of this influence was permitted to surface and Mackenzie King wrote of "a virtual endorsement of the Monroe Doctrine on the part of Canada so far as a silent invasion of the Oriental peoples is concerned." (R. MacGregor Dawson. William Lyon Mackenzie King, A Political Biography, 1874-1923. Toronto, University of Toronto, P. 157)

The Canadian Jewish Chronicle wrote on Feb. 7, 1919, "The restriction on immigration is a matter that interests us very intensely. Hardly any other people in Europe have suffered as severely as have our people. The beacon of light that has shone for them in that long period of darkness has been the hope of being able to come over here when the war was over... Such a law may be the means of rescuing those who are still oppressed like the Jews of Poland today... It is true that if we get our own homeland, the tide of immigration will be turned elsewhere. But until we are assured of this, it is most important that we strive to keep Canadian doors open to our brethren in Europe.

As the International Refugee Organization put it, "while victims of previous political upheavals in Europe had always found an almost open world in which to take refuge from their persecutors, Hitler's, Mussolini's and Stalin's victims found themselves surrounded by barriers which made escape almost impossible... During these tragic years the economic crisis made the world deaf to the pleas of hundreds of thousands of potential migrants whose urge to leave the countries in which they were persecuted was stronger than any economic or political push had ever been before." (Migration from Europe, P.8)

As Louis Rosenberg put it (in his review of Simon Belkin's Through Narrow Gates. Montreal, 1966; in American Jewish Historical Quarterly, vol. 57, no. 1, Sept. 1967, Pp. 119-23),

"Although there is no political bond between Canada and the United States of America, the effects of geographical proximity cannot be nullified entirely by a boundary line drawn upon a map. Just as infectious diseases can pass from one member of a household or a neighbour to another, so Canada has had a tendency to catch various phobias regarding immigration prevalent among its neighbour, regardless of the fact that Canada only has a tenth of the population of the United States, living in a country whose economic resources have barely been scratched.

"The first United States Immigration Quota Act, which was passed in 1921, set an annual immigration quota of three percent of the total foreign-born population of each nationality in the United States based upon the 1910 census. In May, 1924, the United States Congress passed the Johnson Act, which reduced the quota of immigrants who could be admitted to two percent based upon the 1890 census....

"The same purpose which motivated the Immigration Quota Acts in the United States was accomplished in Canada in the 1920's by amendments to the Immigration Act which, while they did not set up immigration quotas for various ethnic groups, in effect made it what can be justly described as an Act to Prohibit Immigration of all persons with the exception of British subjects, United States and French citizens, wives, minor children and fiancées of Canadian residents; and farmers, farm labourers and domestic servants. It empowered the Canadian Government's Department of Immigration to make regulations by what were termed Orders in Council, 'prohibiting or limiting admission of persons to Canada by reason of nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, occupation, class or geographical area of origin.'"

"In addition to the restrictive Orders in Council governing immigration to Canada, the Department of Immigration during the period from 1923 to 1946 made use of a number of restrictive departmental administrative regulations, which were treated by the Immigration Department as confidential. In accordance with their terms, non-British immigrants were divided into three groups, the first two of which were euphemistically termed Preferred and Non-Preferred. The third group consisted largely of Jews who were not British subjects or citizens of the United States or France; southern Europeans such as Italians, Greeks and Bulgarians; and Armenians, Syrians and Turks. These could gain admittance as immigrants to Canada only if their relatives or friends could first obtain from the Canadian Immigration Department individual 'Letters of Admission,' sometimes called permits, through the intervention of members of Parliament, lawyers, or some organization such as the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society and the Jewish Colonization Association. Such letters of admission were by no means easy to obtain.

"In 1923, the Canadian Government entered into an agreement with the two Canadian railway companies whereby they were allowed to choose and bring into Canada as many immigrants from the non-preferred countries as they believed could be absorbed by the country. Although these non-preferred immigrants were supposed to engage

solely in farming and domestic service upon arrival in Canada, no guarantees were enforced upon the railway companies. One restriction was imposed, however, upon the Canadian railway companies' immigration activities in the non-preferred countries, which was kept confidential. It obligated the railway companies not to accept and bring to Canada Jewish immigrants from non-preferred countries on the same basis as non-Jewish immigrants from those countries. They could accept only those Jewish immigrants from non-preferred countries who could produce a special permit or 'letter of admission' issued to them by the Department of Immigration, in addition to a valid passport visa of a Canadian consul or immigration official stationed in Europe.

"This confidential discriminatory and restrictive regulation against Jewish immigrants from non-preferred countries was never submitted to Parliament for approval, nor embodied in a published Order in Council of the Canadian Government. It was nevertheless enforced during the period from 1923 to 1939, and prevented tens of thousands of Jews suffering from political and economic persecution in those countries, and many of whom subsequently perished in gas chambers and concentration camps, from finding refuge and freedom in Canada."

Here is how the Hon. W.A. Gordon, Minister of Immigration, sought the sympathy of the members of the Canadian Club at Toronto for rejecting the joinder of hundreds of thousands of Canadians with their families,

As he told them on Feb. 16, 1931, "If those people progress in this country, their first desire is to try and bring out their immediate blood relatives. That is natural, right and proper.

"But each one of them, you can safely say, has an average of three, four or five of those unemployed relatives; and they very properly present to our government the problem of joining those families together and bringing people out. If at the present time we permitted that, then I am afraid we would be confronted with serious difficulties in Canada.

"It is difficult, it is not pleasant, for one to say: you cannot bring your brother to Canada. They can at times make a case that is difficult to meet. Some man succeeds in the locality in which he locates himself. He is able to pay his grocery bills and is a credit to that community, and we have many such. He wants to bring his own relatives to Canada. He gets up a petition and it is signed by everybody, as petitions always are. And he builds up a case, and he is backed by his grocer and then by the city council, the local member of the local Legislature, and vigorously supported by the Dominion member because that man is in his riding and he has some friends, and all that comes down to me.

"Now it would seem at first glance, no matter what conditions may be, that that person's relatives should be at once admitted. If you do it at a time like this -- and I am speaking now of the position which presently confronts us -- if you allow that person in, where will you draw the line with the poor fellow who hasn't just made as good in Canada but whose relatives are just as dear to him as the other fellow's. The moment you allow one in and keep the other out, away go people; 'One law for the rich and another for the poor.' And then I am afraid it draws down on my innocent head, and on what has been described as my broad shoulders, more than I can bear at times."

The Calgary Jewish Immigrant Aid Society submitted their concern to deputy minister W.J. Egan through their member G.D. Sterling (May 20, 1931), and those of Halifax through F.P. Quinn (May 1, 1931) asking for the admission of parents, prospective brides and children up to the age of 21.

"In most cases the parents are of an age that would not make them a factor in the labor market. It has also been reported that many wives of Canadian residents do not come forward because some of their children are older than 18 years. This situation makes many of our citizens unhappy, and our Federal Government should, on humanitarian grounds, raise the age limit of children eligible for entry to Canada from 18 to 21. Prospective brides are no factor in the labor market and should be allowed entry.

"Enormous sums of money go out of the country to Eastern Europe for the support of relatives, and it is felt that the country would be better served if these families were united and the millions of dollars going out to Eastern Europe remained in Canada."

The minister replied, "... the present regulations have been put into effect for the purpose of controlling immigration to meet existing conditions in Canada. I feel that there would be no justification for changing the provisions of the law. At the present time the wives and unmarried children under 18 years of age of legal residents of Canada are admissible. Raising the age to 21 years with regard to the children would simply mean increasing the number of persons in Canada seeking employment, and this is a situation which we desire to avoid. In the case of parents the question of employment would become a factor in a large percentage of the cases, which is of course objectionable at the present time.

"I am, therefore, unable to favourably consider the request of the organization." (P.A.C., Immigration file 541782)

LABOUR, CATHOLICS....

The story of Canadian antisemitism in both languages is replete with reflections on immigration. By and large those who did not like Jews also did not approve of this entry; though this was not a universal rule. Both Henri Bourassa and Armand Lavergne, virulent antisemites early in the century, argued that once admitted into the country, Jews should be treated with the broadest fairness.

The parliamentary debate of 1906 on the Lord's Day Act brought to the surface English language hostility towards the Jewish immigrants in surprising strength and in unexpected quarters.

A series of domestic, foreign and economic factors led Canadians to think of their country as adequately populated. French Canada felt that immigrants were only adding to the anglophone predominance. The shutting of the gates was a world-wide phenomenon, following an American pattern. The Congress of the United States declared the age of westward migration closed. As it enacted restrictions, these were followed by country after country, including Canada.

Unlike French Canada, anglophone Canada was deeply divided on the desirability of admitting refugees. While unanimous in seeking U.K. immigrants, many were aware that this was not always a successful project, and even more knew that such immigrants were not forthcoming in adequate numbers.

As for other European comers, opinion was mixed, with a strong xenophobia quite widespread no less narrow than that of French Canada.

Canadian-trained Jews assumed that Europeans were like Canadians in taking their own obligations seriously. Men of Canadian background had greater confidence in the ultimate decency of other peoples and in the final goodness of man. Their own experience was more distant from panic and from political horror. They also felt that quiet remedies at the proper point of contact and influence might bring humanitarian principles into existence in Europe. The community of Canadian civic concern could make other Canadians partners in aid.

One sensitive Canadian understood the menace which the "patriotism" of post-war Europe presented to the western world. He was Henri Bourassa who, a decade earlier had defended the pogrom-makers of Russia. Now, after some months in post-war Europe, he addressed the Cercle catholique des voyageurs de commerce -- who, as the record will show, did not absorb his full message -- at Collège Ste-Marie on November 13, 1923 on "Patriotism, Nationalism & Imperialism."

"Immoderate nationalism, so appropriately condemned by the Pope, is contrary to the premises of morals and of the social order and is no more desirable in Canada than it is elsewhere. In fact, the same circumstances which have hampered the development of patriotism here are making impossible the growth of an extreme nationalism such as that which is leading the countries of Europe to great loss. We have here a kind of compensation for the servility and irresponsibility from which we suffer in so many ways. But moderate nationalism, governed by the laws of social morality, controlled by good sense and patriotism, has its justification in Canada as elsewhere."

Unfortunately Bourassa was unable to convince even his closest followers with this important distinction which he was making on the Canadian and European condition. It was the rock on which his political career was wrecked. A decade later he was no longer editor of Le Devoir.

Jacobs had occasion to draw the attention of the Hon. J.-P.-B. Casgrain "to an article called 'The Jewish Invasion of Canada', which appeared in the April number of a publication known as The Listening Post, which I understand is published by the Montreal Herald. Furthermore, the publication in question is edited by a man called Brothers, who is also the Editor of the Montreal Herald.

"The article in question is outrageous and scurrilous, and the object is to inflame the community generally against people of my race and nationality, and naturally, I will not allow this to be done without a protest. The article appears anonymously, and the Editor who allowed it to be published is more responsible than the person who wrote it, -- if he himself is not the writer of it, which he probably is.

"As the President of the Montreal Herald, which has always been a Liberal journal, do you think that the Editor of such a respectable publication should be permitted to continue his functions as such, when at the same time, and in another paper published by the Herald Company, he allows no such scandalous libels to be disseminated, respecting the Jewish people who have so unstintingly given their support to the Liberal Party...

"Any man who will lend himself to a work of this kind ought not to be retained in the employ of any self-respecting journal.

"You have as one of the chief officials on the Herald a man who should be drummed out of the community, because he is a danger and menace to the harmony and good feeling which should exist between all members of society.

"I understand that the man is a stranger in this country, and he should be deported." (Public Archives of Canada. Jacobs Papers, p. 30, 1923)

This incident does not end here.

Sir Arthur Currie, leader of armies and principal of McGill, was a member of the editorial committee of the Listening Post. His reply to Jacobs, who drew his attention similarly to the article, is a monument to his insensitivity, if not to something more reprehensible.

"I am quite sure the Editor did not publish that article for the purpose of raising a race cry against Jews in this country. I have not discussed it with him particularly, but I did hear him say that he hoped to get a letter from you combatting the contentions of the writer of the article, and I, for one, had hoped to see a letter from your pen in the next issue of the Listening Post. Whether the Editor was wise or not in allowing the article to be published, I am quite sure you have misjudged his intentions and I do not think that the Listening Post belongs to that character of publication which wilfully indulges in what you term 'despicable work'...

"I do not think that any man in Canada has suffered more from 'monstrous accusation' than myself. I managed to survive and I have no fear for the Jewish race." (May 1, 1923)

Anglophone hostility expressed itself in a considerable literature, popular and often pseudo-scientific. All too often it was a racist distortion of British patriotism that is to this day painful to the lover of England and of the noble English tradition.

Yet it was, characteristically, usually very guarded in its language, with but few anti-Italian comments and fewer anti-Jewish. A dictionary of circumlocutions and allusions developed in the press and in academe. Not often did professors like H.F. Angus tell the Canadian Institute of International Affairs that,

"Canada has been attempting to 'assimilate' a large number of persons neither Anglo-Saxon nor French in racial origin. The Jews have for the most part settled down in three leading Canadian cities -- Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg. They have been essentially an urban people and their competition in the field of industry has on the whole led to no little tension, especially in Montreal. Approximately 1.6% of our Canadian population is Jewish... The Germans on the other hand have shown a disposition for rural life...

"The New World demands good stock. It resents the effort of European countries to dump its surplus population into our empty spaces. We refuse to take the dregs, and we are justified in excercising discrimination." (1937)

Labor tended to oppose immigration. Such resolutions were adopted by the Trades and Labor Congress of 1883. In 1894 the Congress voted to encourage the immigration of capitalists, but not of workers. (Belkin, Pp.8-9)

As S.W. Jacobs wrote to H.E. Lazarus of New York, July 11, 1921, "The difficulty here is that the unemployed problem has to be considered, and were large numbers of immigrants permitted to come here, it would mean that an agitation would be raised by the unemployed, many of whom are returned soldiers and the government is anxious to avoid this."

The Zionist Territorialists, soon to merge with the Poale Zion, attacked the Canadian Socialist Party sharply for lack of principle in opposing immigration. Their Vilna-born brilliant ideologist Schneur wrote in this vein in the Eagle, August, 1908.

At the all-American continental convention of the Poale Zion, which took place in Montreal in 1910, the host branch proposed that Canadian Zionist Socialists be not bound to support the "fraternal" Canadian Socialist Party. S. Schneur, now leader of the Montreal Poale Zion,

argued that Canadian radicals were anti-Semitic and opposed immigration. (S. Belkin, History of the Poale Zion in Canada. Yiddish, 1956. Pp.61-62, 102)

The racist and exclusionary element in the thinking of Canadian labor at its most progressive was preserved whole and early, circulated in a coy formula at least as old as 1906. Then the labor convention at Victoria declared that the welfare of the Canadian people and the betterment of our common country demanded "the exclusion of certain nationalities and classes of people, who, either by temperament, non-assimilative qualifications, habit, customs or want of any permanent good which their coming brings to us, are not a desirable acquisition to our citizenship."

A score of years later the Montreal convention of 1926 did not trouble to edit the text and adopted the identical wording.

After nearly another twenty years the Winnipeg convention (1942) was still worried that a large number of immigrants have not been assimilated in the population. (Trades and Labor Congress Journal, Aug. 1946, Pp. 12-16)

According to B.K. Sandwell, too, a concern "that the assimilation of a considerable part of the newcomers had been decidedly incomplete" had as early as 1921 led to an anti-immigrationist public opinion. ("Our Immigration Problem", in Queen's Quarterly, vol. 53, no. 4, Pp. 502-10)

Readers of Canadian history who are sensitive to the code words used in Canada all through the century to trigger anti-Semitism will recognize the concern in the myth of the racists that Jews in particular cannot assimilate. These labor resolutions are distinctly ominous.

Workers were led to believe that newcomers did nothing for them but take away their jobs. Incidentally, this labor pressure tended towards an undesirable consequence: unlike earlier days, the possession of a work skill was a disadvantage to a prospective immigrant. Consequently, the immigration statistics of the New World showed that many of the newcomers -- more than in pre-war years -- were economically inactive, dependent members of families. This fitted well into the stable family pattern of Jewish immigrant society, but indicated greater challenges and difficulties for the immigrants, now responsible for larger families on the average.

As late as 1953 the research department of the Canadian Congress of Labor reported,

"The power to prohibit or limit admission on grounds of nationality, citizenship, ethnic group, class, or geographical area of origin is wholly bad. It gives explicit legal sanction to the discrimination which the Labour movement has been attacking.

"The Government must have some power to keep out people we can't absorb or assimilate, or to let in only slowly people we can't absorb or assimilate except slowly. But these sub-paragraphs give it power to prohibit practically any immigrant. There was originally a further sub-paragraph giving the Government power to set quotas by nationality,citizenship, race, ethnic group, occupation or geographical area. This was dropped because of the protests. But the dropping really makes no difference, because the remaining powers allow the Government to do exactly the same thing under another name." (Labour Research, May 1953, P.4)

Without necessarily identifying exclusionist tendencies with anti-Semitism, certainly those who were anti-Semitic also opposed the entry of Jews to Canada.

Indeed, they proposed the disenfranchisement of the Jews already here and otherwise limiting their rights and freedoms. They saw the efforts of Jews in Canada to bring their kith into the country as a conspiracy against Christianity, and they saw the concern of Jews elsewhere in this dominion effort at rescue as proof of such a conspiracy.

Léon-Mercier Gouin notes that Bourassa protested "the massive importation of Jews; he wanted French and Belgian immigrants to be induced to come to Canada. From 1906 to 1908 Bourassa, Lavergne and Robitaille repeated the same arguments on the floor of Parliament and also at several large public meetings." ("French Canadian Views on Immigration" at McMaster University Symposium on Population Growth and Immigration into Canada, Apr. 21, 1949)

Quebec was impressed by an analysis of "Our Immigration Policy" in the Revue des deux mondes by Louis Arnauld.

"A veritable exodus," he wrote, "of Russian Jews has been launched towards the Dominion to the point where Jewish children outnumber the Protestants in the 'separate schools', and the Jewish problem will soon arise in the great English colony." (Reprinted in the Nationaliste, Apr. 12-26, 1906)

The reactions of the influential Jean-Paul Tardivel to the immigration of Jews into Canada in 1900 is important. No friend of the Jews -- his religion forbade him to hate them -- he wanted to leave Quebec out of the problem.

"If the federal government has undertaken to bring them to Canada, it is but strict justice that they do not fall into misery here; repatriate them or restore them to their position at their departure.

"But if the federal government wishes to establish these Jews in Canada, let them do it at their own cost, and not at the expense of the province of Quebec.

"The Ottawa government, we believe, still has extensive stretches of unoccupied land. Let them place the Jews there as a single isolated group.

"We do not want them ill-treated, particularly as they come on the beguiling promises of the federal agents. It is not asking too much that the province of Quebec be reserved for French Canadians. Some Jewish families scattered here and there will probably not do us much harm. But after these several hundred will come four hundred, then four thousand; within a few years our countryside will be Judaised.

"As long as the Jews are poor they are not dangerous. But it is well known that the Jew does not remain poor when he has the slightest chance of enriching himself.

"Undeniably the rich Jew is a danger to society. He is essentially an invader and a monopolist. The experience of other nations is there to prove this. Nearly everywhere the Jewish question agitates Christian peoples and leads them to excesses. Why deliberately create this problem in Quebec.

"Furthermore, the rich Jew constitutes a religious danger. He is always arrogant and spreads hatred of the religion of Him whom his ancestors have crucified. He seizes on the media to make of them an instrument of impious propaganda." (La Vérité, Sept. 1, 1900, reprinted July 23, 1910)

In a violent attack on the mass immigration policy of Ottawa La Vérité pointed also to"the rapacious Jews who come in serried ranks like vultures after a battle to suck the blood of our people and to force them to the yoke of the tyranny which they have established in various countries of the Old World." (Le Nationaliste, March 15, 1908)

The antisemitic press of the province counted with great alarm the coming of each Jewish immigrant and recorded each step in their adjustment and progress of this invasion. (e.g. La Vérité, Jan. 11 and March 15, 1913)

La Vérité blamed "this poor Sir Wilfrid Laurier" for inviting Russian Jews to Canada. "But these persecuted Jews were vulgar usurers who had aroused the Russian people against them by their power and oppression. It is important to assign blame and responsiblity in the historic sense for the Jewish question which is already menacing us."

For this Laurier can expect "the sincere congratulations of Rothschild who has sent us 30 - 40,000 Russian and German Jews on small ships to be implanted on French soil." (Apr. 24, 1909)

The virulent attitude of the French Catholics towards Jewish immigration into Canada is illustrated by a representative example. At the Vatican the Agence Internationale Roma released letter from Canada from its Quebec correspondent, which was reprinted on the rebound by the Quebec City Action sociale of March 18, 1914 under the title, "A Wave of Infection in Canada: Jews and Mormons." The letter based largely on La Vérité reports, begins,

"Everywhere one is aware of a powerful drive for infection, directed by the sect in Catholic countries, to speed up the diabolic program of perversion. Our Canada is not free of this devilish plan...

"Unfortunately, Canada seems destined to receive thousands and thousands of Russian Jews who cross the seas each year in search of their promised land. This is bound to have grave consequences in the future.

"If our statesmen do not take energetic and just measures without delay to stop, or at least to slow down this invasion, it will be too late within several years. For already the Jews are preparing to invade our political life where their influence can already be felt. Then our gates will be completely open to Russian Jewry."

The Quebec City Action sociale had its man in Montreal who fed it doses of anti-Jewish reportage nearly every day. The man, surprisingly was Léon Trepanier, who was later to become a friend of the Jewish community and an admirer of H.M. Caiserman and of Louis Rosenberg. But in 1910 "some telephone calls to the principal shipping agencies enable us to foresee that we shall be invaded by immigrants of all types, as soon as navigation opens up. Scandinavians and Jews in particular will be coming to us by the thousand. These latter parasites in particular are to be feared. It would be desirable if an ill wind kept them from our country." (March 9, 1910)

As it was to do again a quarter of a century later, Le Devoir in its first volume ominously carried an anti-Jewish article on its front page by Georges Pelletier, one of the founders who was to succeed Henri Bourassa as director and was to lead the daily among the most persistent enemies of the Jewish refugees during the fatal days and nights of the 1930's.

On Aug. 31, 1910 he reacted to a false report that an important financier passing through Winnipeg had issued details of a vast semi-philanthropic settlement project initiated by powerful Jewish bankers and Jewish businessmen in Britain and in Russia. The plan was to settle 200,000 persecuted Jews from Russia in Alberta.

"If this report is not mendacious, a Jewish invasion threatens Canada.

"We shall no longer be faced with small groups of families, of some Semites who wish to amass classic little business, but with the advent of an entire foreign population en bloc. And Canada is very familiar with this, having experienced the affair of the Doukhobors, the many inconveniences usually arising from such mass immigration.

"Will the federal government permit a new province in the west to be drowned by a wave from the most backward regions of Russia, by people who are an embarrassment even for the land where they have been living for many years?

"We have no intention of raising the anti-semitic question or the race cry. It is only a matter of knowing at what point this creation of a state within a state, in this case of a Palestine within Canada, is a veritable danger to the nation.

"What do these future immigrants know of British customs, laws and institutions? Do they speak one of the official languages of the country? What is their contact with us?

Russia is excluding them. Substantial numbers are seeking a new fatherland. That is to their honour. But of what benefit is it to Canada to be chosen by them?

Years later Mason Wade was to recall Pelletier as one who"dealt more realistically with 'Les Obstacles économiques à l'indépendance du Canada Français.' Foreigners of another language and race had taken over most of French Canada's patrimony of natural resources, leaving only agriculture to the natives, who were already deserting their fields to become rootless proletarians in the cities. The English, the Americans, and the Jews prospered in Quebec, while the French Canadians were reduced to serving them."

Even before the founding of Le Devoir, Pelletier (1880-1947) indroduced "the Jewish problem" into the first volume of Action sociale of Quebec City, later Action catholique, and then Action.

He discovered "The Jews of Canada" on Sept. 21, 1908 by reading the Jewish brief presented to the Commons Select Committee on Sunday Observance in 1906 and a statement issued at the time by Rabbi S. Jacobs of Toronto. Noting the coming of several tens of thousands of Jews from Russia, "the land of their preference," the advocate-turned-journalist of "the good press" remarked that the Baron de Hirsch Institute sought to help them all become established in this country.

He remembered that "Montreal has quite a considerable Jewish quarter, with its merchants, schools, doctors, lawyers, rabbis, synagogues, charity institutions and political clubs. The Jews even had their own candidates in the provincial election of 1904 and 1908. Some of its members are quite influential in high finance and in the more important industry of the province...

"One day we will appreciate the role of this element in Canada where, though less numerous than in the U.S., than Germany or France, they are not less ambitious or less active."

"Is it because for years the governors of our land have received people coming here from all corners of Europe, especially from the filthiest corners, even at times paying $5 for each immigrant, that the organizers of this exodus are directing them to the Canadian Promised Land?" (Le Devoir)

If a Hungarian colony in the west organized by a Magyar baron is seen by the Toronto Globe as a threat for this region, "we cannot see how 200,000 Jewish immigrants from Russia is not also a peril for all Canada.

"We hope that the federal government is aware of this. It would be sad if those charged with the security of Canada forget this to the point of introducing elements of weakness.

"And, just because they have already done this in the past, does this authorize them to follow such a shortsighted and wicked policy?"

Maurice Duplessis may have based his own similar canard for his own infamous Dorchester "revelations" on Pelletier's journalism.

There is an epilogue to this expression of national opinion on the less rational level of media analysis. It was customary at the time, in both the French and Yiddish press, to publish "billets du soir" in the Devoir and feuilletons in the Eagle that were humorous and not easily given to translation or to interpretation.

A fortnight after the column on the coming of Jews to Alberta Patrice Granville, who identifies himself as the author of the earlier article, wrote that an important Jewish lawyer of Montreal had written him at length suggesting that the journalist be sent to Russia, in the free exchange of migrants, to balance the 200,000 Jews from that country. (Sept. 10, 1910)

Within a fortnight the matter was clarified. S.W. Jacobs of "the Canadian Committee of the Jewish Colonization Association, the only organization for the encouragement of Jewish agriculture", stated that the Winnipeg despatch was without any foundation. (Sept.19,1910)

Pelletier accepted Mr. Jacobs' statement. "Anti-semitism does not enter here. We put aside all animosity and any consideration of religion. But as an English-language daily put it, such colonies -- whether Jewish, Russian or Hungarian -- are a peril for any country where they exist. They are too numerous to be assimilated into the rest of the population, and constitute a state within a state. There is where the major danger lies.

"This need be said. And cannot we say this without being charged with antisemitism?"

Pelletier might have been correct in his disclaimer of animosity, except that by his column he had planted toxicity that clarification does not neutralize.

And the press episode needs to be taken in the context Bourassa and Pelletier and Héroux created. During the same month the same front pages carried attacks by Jules Tremblay: Ticket scalpers for the Eucharistic Congress then in session in Montreal, scalpers who were Jewish; and another Billet du soir by Joseph Verviers, "Rabbi and Flag", attacking Clarence de Sola for not displaying the flag at the Congress honoring the Jewess woman of old Eretz Israel. (Aug. 23 and 26, Sept.22, 1910) Two weeks later the daily was fanning the campaign against Ernesto Nathan, Mayor of Rome and Jew. (Oct. 13, 15 and 17, 1910)

This anti-Jewish policy, milder than that of the Quebec periodicals, continued in the Devoir until another great Canadian, André Laurendeau reversed his anti-Jewish stand and became an ardent champion of fairness for the Jews. But that was not until the end of the second of the world wars. Before that the files of that daily, under the editorship of Georges Pelletier particularly, make most painful reading.

To anticipate, the reversal by Laurendeau came only when the Catholic Church in Montreal, under the bold leadership of Archbishop Charbonneau, took the initiative to counter the poison injected by antisemites into the body of French Canada for half a century.

French Canadians concerned with the survival of their group saw immigration into Canada early in the century as a threat, not least when it was directed to the distant west. And the large waves of Jewish immigration came as part of this flood.

R. Rumilly noted, "The Jews stopped at Montreal and Toronto." (Histoire de la Province de Québec, vol.12, p. 132)

Leading French Canadians indulged in a self-fulfilling prophecy about Jews only adding to the anglophone majority.

Olivar Asselin's Canadian National League agitated against the foreign-born.

M. Boulay of Rimouski told the Commons on Feb.24, 1916 that the most potent forces in the increase of the cost of living are,

"1. The excessive immigration of Jews and labourers from other countries;

"2. The lack of farmers and the exodus from country to city

"The Jewish immigration is a real plague. I am told that Montreal alone accounts for 50,000.

"Mr. LaPointe (Montreal): And they are good citizens.

"Mr. Boulay: No doubt; they likely are electors of my hon. friend; 76,681 of them in Canada, without taking into account those who are disseminated throughout the country. Out of all that number I should welcome any one who would name a single Jew who settled on the land with the intention of improving it. Not one came to Canada with that purpose in mind. On the contrary, every where they are found as dealers, pedlars, real estate agents, etc.; not one is of any benefit to Canada. The other day it was said in my hearing in this House that after the war a strong influx would set in. Should that be the case, I should impress upon the Government and upon the Immigration authorities the necessity of barring from Canada not only those who would come here to reside without a family, but also any man who would come without the avowed purpose of tilling the land.

"We have no place for a single foreign labourer; farmers are those we want. We have no further need of foreigners as real estate agents, dealers, shopkeepers, and what not. If it be intended to lower the cost of living, let us cut out idle people, who live on other people's labour, and let us increase the number of our farmers. The Government should pass some enactment empowering it to deport any person coming into this country who will not settle on a farm. Not only should it be required that an immigrant be the head of a family and undertake to become a farmer, but our agents should keep trace of him to see that he lives up to his obligations."

He received his response from his fellow Quebecker, Alphonse Verville of Maisonneuve:

When Mr. Boulay "was discussing the question of immigration, he condemned a certain element of our citizens, good, law-abiding people, declaring that they should be refused admission to Canada. He referred in this way to the Hebrews, the Jewish people, in this country. I do not believe it is fair for any member to criticise any citizen of Canada in this way; we have always said that we were a democratic country, that our doors were wide open for good, law-abiding citizens, and it is especially unfair to speak in this way of the Jews, because they are a class of people who will become naturalized as quickly as the laws of the land in which they settle will permit.

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier: Hear, hear.

"Mr. Verville: I belong to a class of people who do not believe in any line of either creed, colour or nationality, and if I am to take the words of the hon. member for North Simcoe (Mr. Currie) the other night when he was speaking with reference to conditions at the front, we must believe, in fact he has proved to us, that there were no questions of nationality, creed or colour among the men on the firing line. So I do not believe it becomes the hon. member for Rimouski to try to throw any slur upon these people as he did when he plainly stated in French that the Jews in this country were a plague. I take issue with this statement. I have no special mission to defend the Jewish people any more than any one else, but as the representative of a city where there are a number of Jewish inhabitants, I say it is unfair, unjust, and uncalled-for for any member of the House to use such language.

After an examination of the columns of Action catholique, for example, Richard Jones notes that this important periodical had never favored the admission of any European immigration into Canada. "Nevertheless, the antipathy appears much more pronounced against Jews than against any other group. In point of fact, no other group is accorded as much space in the pages of Action....

"Are they more dangerous because they are a threat to French Canadian business, because they engage in speculation, because, above all, they are in parasitic occupations? Are they feared because they are considered dishonest or monopolisers? Is it because they are not Christians, because they are ready to work Sundays, because they appear to have voted against prohibition in a referendum? Or is because of their excessive influence in the press, in politics, in finance or elsewhere?

"These are only some of the accusations the Action hails down upon the Jews, upon those of Quebec and upon those of other countries."

Back at the end of 1920 J.-Albert Foisy highlighted a long series of front page articles in Action catholique extending over many months attacking the Jewish people in all their interests and in all aspects of their life, and spreading forth at great lengths all possible antagonistic myths and distortions which could arouse hatred of every Jew in the world and opposition to every Jewish concern. These articles ranged from resentment of Jews entering Palestine to charges that Bolshevism was an instrument of Jewry, to blaming Jews for the execution of the Romanoff family, to labelling Jewish wealth as anti-social, to accusing Jews of enmity to Catholicism, to charging Jews with demoralizing the western world -- to Jewish masterminding the conspiracy elaborated in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a forgery imported into Canada months after it was mysteriously put to paper.

On December 15, 1920 the Foisy article was entitled "The Jewish Invasion." It derived from petitions submitted to the federal government that a number of Jewish immigrants detained in Canadian ports be admitted to land, guarantees being offered that they will not become charges upon the public, rather than be deported to the lands they had fled to save their lives.

Foisy saw these petitions as evidence of growing and excessive Jewish influence in Canada, as in other lands. "This emergence of the Jew is troubling many citizens in France, Britain and the U.S. because of growing Jewish immigration and of rising Jewish wealth and influence. They are confirmed by the discovery of Nilus' Protocols which outlines the masonic and the Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, to demolish the last vestiges of monarchism and to establish the universal republic dominated by Jews."

Significantly, it is in this 1920 article that Foisy first introduced the infamous Protocols of the Elders of Zion into Canada; this brochure claimed to expose the combined plans of Jewry and of freemasonry to dominate the world, to destroy the last vestiges of monarchism, and to establish a universal republic under Jewish influence." ("The Jewish Drive in Canada," Nov.18,1920)

The Foisy statement, rooted as it was in the theory of the Jewish conspiracy, anti-Bolshevism, anti-semitism, fear of menace to Catholicism, anti-freemasonry, and fed as it was by Drumont, the anti-Dreyfus campaign, Action française, and the whole diabolical anti-Jewish concoction developed at the time in France and in Germany, was to be endlessly repeated and spread in French Canada for at least two decades, at the cost of who knows how many Jewish lives trapped by Hitler.

"Rich and influential Jews in Canada and elsewhere do their best to welcome their menaced brethren. Many Polish, Ukrainian and other Jews infiltrate into the country to the point of "Canada rapidly becoming the depository and the refuge of European continental Jewry. In recent months it has become certain that within a few years our cities will be glutted with the sons of Israel who will have seized control of all trade with their skill, their greed and their unscrupulousness."

In the years that followed the anti-Jewish press was replete with news reports of international Jewish institutions conspiring to bring tens of thousands of Jews into Canada. (J.A. Foisy, "The Jewish Invasions" in Action catholique, Dec. 15, 1920; E.V. Lavergne, "Official Refrain" Dec. 15, 1922)

In this context the immigration of Jews into Canada was discussed in terms of the innumerable misdeeds of this people all over the world. Often a diatribe on the Jewish influence over the Soviet revolution in the most violent language led to a protest against the coming of Jews to Canada. So "Paul Henri" editorialized on the assassination of the Czar of Russia "by Jewish hangmen" and concluded that "the Jewish invasion threatens the future of our country." ("All Jews, All Hangmen." Dec. 21, 1920)

Foisy asked, "Are we not duty bound to take prudent measures against the many Jews who come to us from Central Europe, all of them apostles of the doctrine which had made them masters of Russia?... Unless we want to experience Soviet rule here, we need to beware, for in Russia, too, the Jews are not the majority; yet they lead it." ("Bolshevism: Jews" Feb. 2, 1921)

Jones notes that with every report of the arrival of Jewish immigrants the editors of Action became more radicalized and sometimes thrown into panic. They came to see Jews as the sworn enemies of the Catholic religion and of the French race.

On the irrational scale of viciousness to the point of vice, Abbé Edouard-Valmore Lavergne probably ranks with Poles and Germans. Speaking of Jews in Canada, newcomers and long-time residents alike, he claims, "In their hearts there blows the same hate of the Catholic Church and of its sons, the same contempt of all that is French. The Canadians can be sure that they will be united against them, as once they were united against Jesus -- the Herodians, Pharisees and the Saduccees, divided as they might have been in other ways... It is

easy to establish that the ascent of the Jews is proportionate to the decline and the weakening of Christian ways. The more numerous the Christian degenerates who no longer live by the Faith, the greater the Jewish power, the more rapid, the more insolent and the more dominating the position of the Jews." ("Superior Race," April 7, 1921; "The Jews," in Bonne nouvelle, reprinted in Action catholique, March 8, 1932)

He repeatedly maintained that"Jews are seeking to establish their universal empire by always fomenting revolutions. Once in Canada, too, they consecrate themselves to the propagation of the germs of revolution that every Jew imbued with the principles of the Talmud carries with him... Their coming in large numbers does not spell good. It increases masonic influence and the ferment of disorder." (Editorial in Action catholique, June 12, 1922, "When is our Turn?")

Thomas Poulin, whom Jones calls one of the more moderate of Action contributors and less susceptible to fears of secret conspiracies, nevertheless associated communism with Jewry. Communists in his world speak Yiddish, and immigration will bring to our shores these supporters of Bolshevism. ("Chez les ouvriers," Feb. 21, 1925)

In its opposition to Jewish immigration Action went beyond calling for changes in the law. These myth-ridden journalists saw "strange and mysterious protection" that enabled Jews to evade the regulations. Abbé Lavergne grew picturesque in his description of the Jewish flood, "In twos and threes they pass through the mesh of the law, a privilege open only to them. Everything conspires to enable these undesirables to remain in the country." (Editorial in Action catholique, Dec. 15, 1922. "An Official Refrain.")

In its rabid hatred of the Jews and in its anxiety to shut the doors of Canada to Jews La Croix asked that an autonomous Lower Canada be established so that the influx of strangers can be controlled. At the same time La Croix urged the boycott of Jews, forbidding them access to the liberal professions and to the civil service, and that their advertisements be refused by newspapers.

"To keep the Jews out and to assure the survival of the French Canadian race, we must break up Confederation." (Dec. 1, 1923; March 1, 1924; cited in Idéologies au Canada français, 1900-29, pp. 76-77)

This at a time when the Jewish member for Montreal Cartier was at the side of Onésiphore Turgeon fighting for the rights of the French language in Quebec and Manitoba and wherever in Canada French is current. (Hansard, May 11, 1920) and again,

"I represent a division which is largely French Canadian and I think I understand the mentality of these people. They were sufficiently tolerant and wide in their views to elect me to be their representative in this House -- an example which I have yet to see from other parts of the Dominion.

"When you find positions to which French-speaking Canadians are rightfully entitled taken from them and given to English-speaking Canadians, when you find them ignored in the filling of public appointments, do you think those people have for the rest of Canada, and particularly for the Government, those 'Christian' feelings which you would like to inculcate in their breasts?"

An unusual document which is testimony to social relationships appeared in Le Devoir of Jan. 14, 1930 as a commercial advertisement for an established dairy. It is not often that such agency-prepared advertisements dare to antagonize any sector of society -- unless the advertiser is certain he will thereby win the enthusiastic support of the overwhelming majority.

This advertisement headed, "Immigration and Our Children", reads,

"Instead of importing immigrants at great cost, immigrants whose habits and mentality are strange to us, would it not be better to save the lives of these thousands of our babies who die each year? Are not these babies the natural heirs of our soil and of our patrimony?

"But the element which contributes most to save our babies and to insure their growth is the quality of the milk we give them....."

SLOWLY SHUTTING GATES

An order-in-council dated Feb. 23, 1922 "inaugurated a closed door policy by prohibiting all immigration from eastern Europe except" for categories not particularly applicable to Jews.

As Louis Rosenberg tells it, in Canada's Jews (Pp.127-28),

"To discourage all immigration other than that of persons intending to engage in farming, an Order-in-Council (P.C.183) was passed, and came into effect in February 1923 whereby all immigration to Canada was prohibited except for the following classes:

"1) Bona fide farmers with sufficient means to begin farming in Canada.

"2) Bona fide farm labourers entering Canada with reasonable assurance of employment.

"3) Female domestic servants entering Canada with reasonable assurance of employment.

"4) The wife or child under 18 years of age of any person legally admitted to and resident in Canada, who is in position to receive and care for his dependents.

"British immigrants and United States citizens were exempted from these restrictions, and this exemption was subsequently extended by administrative order to include the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France and Switzerland.

"It is difficult to defend this Order-in-Council from a logical and scientific standpoint, for if carpenters, mechanics, clerks and merchants are undesirable immigrants whose entry must be restricted, they cannot become desirable merely because they happen to have been born in Great Britain or North Western Europe. Moreover the fact that an immigrant was a farmer in his country of origin does not necessarily mean that he will prove a successful farmer in Canada, nor that he will remain a farmer; and there are thousands of successful British and other immigrant farmers in Canada who never worked on a farm before landing in Canada.

"It is not so much the contents of the Order-in-Council or its phraseology which marked the introduction of a principle dangerous and damaging to all democratic and British traditions, as the terms of the administrative regulations issued to transportation companies and officials of the Department of Immigration which are not disclosed in the Act and Order-in-Council itself.

"These administrative regulations are based upon racial theories similar in many respects to those subsequently adopted by Hitler and his Nazi party.

"In accordance with the terms of these administrative regulations adopted by the Canadian Department of Immigration, Non-British European immigrants were divided into three groups:

"The first group called Preferred Immigrants included citizens of Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland. Men and women of the 'Preferred Group' were presumed to have similar 'racial characteristics' to the population of the British Isles and therefore to be more easily assimilable. For some obscure reason, it was assumed that Germans from Bavaria were Nordics and 'preferred', although Germans born just across the border line in Austria were non-preferred; and that the Finns,

who are no more Scandinavian than are the Lithuanians or Letts, are a preferred stock, although their Lithuanian and Lettish neighbours are considered non-preferred.

"The second group was termed euphemistically the Non-preferred Group and includes subjects of Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Poland, Roumania, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

"Immigration of men and women belonging to the 'Non-preferred Group' was restricted to those classes enumerated in the Order-in-Council known as P.C.183, namely, farmers, farm labourers, domestic servants and the wives and minor children of persons already resident in Canada.

"Jewish immigrants then came within this third, largest special category, even though they may have been born in a 'preferred country' such as Germany, Belgium or Switzerland, or are citizens of these countries. They did not qualify for inclusion even in the second or 'non-preferred' category, although they may have been born in Poland or Rumania, and were able to prove that they always have been farmers and are going to engage in farming in Canada.

"Although the above facts are well known, there was no valid proof in the Immigration Act or in any Orders-in-Council issued by the Dominion Government that such exclusion of immigrants to Canada was an official act of the Dominion Government. Government spokesmen when challenged during recent years have never accepted responsibility for the de facto situation regarding immigration, and have tended to leave the impression that in such racial classification Canadian rail and steamship companies acted upon their own interpretation of Canadian immigration policy."

This regulation was not equitably applied even among all those racial groups included within the third or "Special Permit" group, for while a person of Greek, Italian, Armenian or Bulgarian origin who was citizen of Poland or any other non-preferred country could be admitted under the Railway Agreement as a member of the second or "Non-preferred" group, a Polish, Roumanian, Russian or Lithuanian Jew was treated as a member of the third or "Special Permit" group regardless of country of birth.

The ostensible reason offered for this classification of European immigrants was that immigrants from "Non-preferred" and Mediterranean countries have some inherent disability which does not permit them to adapt themselves as readily to Canadian cultural, social and economic conditions as those from Northern and Western Europe; and that immigrants in the "Special Permit" group have racial characteristics which make them even less desirable than Eastern and Central European immigrants.

Apart from the fallacies underlying the theories of "racial superiority" there is not one shred of valid evidence to substantiate the charge that Jews or any other groups placed within the "Special Permit" class are inferior physically, mentally, socially or morally to any groups within the "Non-preferred" groups from Eastern or Central Europe, or even to the "Preferred" groups from North Western Europe.

The restrictions involved in the classification of immigrants within the "Special Permit" group were really aimed at the Jews, the one remaining group within that category, thus making Canada the first country within the British Empire in the 20th century to pass legislation and enforce "Administrative Regulations" which result in discrimination against persons of Jewish origin and religious belief.

The year 1923 was, indeed, a crucial year which marked a lasting decline in Jewish immigration into Canada. Among the prime reasons for this restrictive Canadian policy was the American act of 1922 which severely restricted immigration to that country. In 1924, the U.S. introduced its Quota law which further restricted the entry, particularly of Jews, from eastern Europe and which formalized the racial and "ethnic" character of immigration admission. Whether formally thus stated or not, it was clearly impossible for Canada, with its relatively open border with the U.S., to have open doors through which those intending to enter the U.S. would be able to enter freely. In this, as in so many other phases of policy, Canada had to be guided by American practice and interest.

As Rosenberg reported to the Canadian Jewish Congress, "There is considerable disparity between the principles allegedly governing immigration to Canada, as outlined in the Immigration Act, and the actual immigration policy of the Dominion Government as practiced since 1918.

"The phraseology of some of the clauses of the Act would give the impression that the main limiting factors, as applied to immigration to Canada, are physical and moral fitness, close relationship to persons already resident in Canada, and former and intended occupation of immigrant.

"With the exception of the regulations, concerning the immigration of Chinese and Japanese, there is nothing in the Immigration Act or in the Orders-in-Council concerning Canadian immigration which authorizes the introduction of the factors of racial origin or religion as influencing the admission or exclusion of immigrants to Canada..."

The tapering off of Jewish immigration from overseas during the years between the wars is a harsh history. In the decade before the war, the first years of Hitler, immigration was down to less than a thousand a year.

Efforts were continuous. In its annual survey of Jewish migration as late as 1933 the Jewish Colonization Association reported from Paris that during the year only 420 Jewish immigrants were admitted from overseas. "Special efforts were to be made, without great success, to facilitate access to the country for refugees from Germany. We still hope that certain facilities may be accorded there in due time."

The tragic graph of declining migration is the true crooked cross of the age. Against the upward line of the century -- a growing Canada, a growing Jewish community, rising production, a growing need of refuge from a degenerating Europe -- the true depression, the shutting off of admissions is the agony that doomed how many lives that might have been saved?

Jewish immigration into Canada was being cut off early. During the years of the first war it was closed off by world conditions. It was simply not re-opened to the earlier free condition with the end of combat. The 1919 session of the Canadian Jewish Congress already found this problem one of its major concerns. Probably under American pressure the Canadian government kept the doors ever less open, ever less opening. A Canadian order-in-council dated Feb. 23, 1922 "inaugurated a closed door policy by prohibiting all immigration from eastern Europe except" for categories not particularly applicable to Jews. "The act of 1923 was followed by more drastic regulations based on racial premises and confidentially communicated to immigration officials and shipping companies. These would have curtailed Jewish entries into Canada, had it not been for the untiring efforts of prominent Canadian Jews..." After 1930 Canada fell into the throes of a severe business depression. As a result drastic new restrictions were to be put into effect in 1931. (Wischnitzer)

Jewish bitterness at the government's restrictive policy was illustrated in 1926 when the Jewish Daily Eagle, consistently Liberal without review for decades, decided to support an unknown Conservative challenger for Jacobs' seat, "relying on the pledge of the Conservative leader that he would sponsor a more lenient immigration folicy." (Figler)

M.J. Finkelstein of Winnipeg was equally bitter about the "warped viewpoint of Black, Blair and Little of the Immigration Department who have ideas which are certainly anti-Semitic."

The statistics of Jewish immigration from overseas summarize the successes and count some of the effort. They do not describe the familial and intimate feelings of the thousands who found freedom and the agony of scores of thousands who did not.

It took but a short time to close off the flow of Jewish immigration. 8400 entered in post-war 1922 but by then restrictions were coming into effect.

In 1924 and 1925 the figures were down to 4,500, in 1926 to 3980. There was an increase in 1927 and 1928 to 4,800 which we shall discuss, and then again downward to 600 in 1937 and 890 in 1939. These complex figures of migration and of natural increase from the beginning of the century to 1940 were refined and published by Louis Rosenberg. (American Jewish Year Book, 1946-47)

The Standing Senate Committee on Immigration was shocked when Sen. A. Roebuck presented them these figures after the war.

The restrictive immigration regulations imposed in 1931, to take the most dramatic example, were diabolical in their timing; they came when Polish antisemitism and Roumanian violence were being surpassed by the advent of the Nazis to power. As Rosenberg noted, "The drastic reduction in Jewish immigration to Canada, which occurred during the same period which saw the rise of Hitler and the persecution and exile of so many Jews from Germany and other central and eastern European countries, was not due to the economic depression but to the restrictive immigration regulations which bore down with particular hardship upon the Jews who were the first and most numerous of Hitler's victims desperately seeking refuge from the dangers which threatened them."

In his Canada's Refugee Policy Dirks summarized:

"The political, social, and economic climate in Canada during the pre-war years was not conducive to permitting the entry of European refugees. The Canadian government reflected the mood of the public by terminating all immigration advertising overseas, and generally demonstrated an almost total disinclination to permit any inflow of people. The inimical attitude could be attributed to at least three broad factors: personal economic insecurity resulting from the depression, indifference to the world beyond Canada's borders, and the phenomenon of nativism which often took the form of anti-semitism.

"The impact of the world-wide depression upon Canada and Canadians profoundly influenced attitudes toward both economic and humanitarian immigration. Although the most serious aspects of the depression had passed by the late thirties, unemployment or the threat of unemployment still remained foremost in the minds of Canadians. In agricultural regions -- the only areas to which immigration could under the existing regulations be directed -- crop failures and record low prices often caused farmers to leave the land and join the ranks of the urban unemployed.

"The depression also caused discussion as to just how many people Canada could accommodate at a reasonable standard of living. The phrase 'absorptive capacity,' more popular in post-World War II years, began to appear in the context of newspaper and periodical articles, and in speeches dealing with the optimum size of Canada's population. Those who suggested that Canada's population had reached its optimum size based their argument upon the numbers already employed in agriculture, mining, and extractive industries generally. Capital, these people argued, had ceased to enter the country in the quantities required to initiate new industries, and climatically suitable regions, capable of supporting year-round populations, were nearly filled. No additional people could be introduced into the economy until all those in Canada at present were employed producing needed goods. Most Canadians believed an increased population would threaten the security of those who were employed. Few appear to have recognized the existence of an alternative point of view which suggested that, over the long run, an increased population would provide a larger market for goods and services and thus create more jobs.

"Leading members of both major political parties received numerous letters from constituents emphasizing the need to prohibit the entry of foreigners of any sort on economic grounds. The Canadian public feared a return to the still gloomier days of the early thirties and expressed its determination to prevent immigrants from taking jobs from Canadians.

"Organized labour fervently opposed immigration, particularly if those likely to migrate were unskilled industrial workers who would reside in urban areas already filled with unemployed. In a list of organizations opposing liberalization of immigration policy, prepared for Prime Minister King in 1938, urban labour councils were prominent. This anxiety was also shared by professional bodies which reflected the insecurity of their individual members. Differentiating between the usual economic migrants and the thousands fleeing from discrimination and persecution seemed unnecessary to most Canadians. These thousands, if admitted to this country, would simply compete for the already too few jobs, thus driving down wages further.

"The indifference of Canadians to the world beyond their borders manifested itself in a variety of forms. Canadians proved to be uninterested in, if not antagonistic to, the plight of the refugee. While the government since World War I had striven to show this country's autonomy and independence to the world by participating in international conferences and in the affairs of the League of Nations, politicians, sensing the mood of their electorate, were much more reluctant to take on any international responsibilities or commitments. The overwhelming predominance of the depression in the minds of Canadians undoubtedly restricted their vision. The solution of domestic problems remained the primary concern of Canadians throughout the thirties.

"Canadians were not entirely heartless, as a vague but conscious sympathy for the troubled refugees did exist. But this sentiment remained unarticulated because the refugees' problems were quite unrelated to the experience of Canadians while the insecurity within Canada resulting from the depression was a direct and seemingly more pressing problem. Indeed, few envisaged the horrors of the years to come. Canadian policy makers generally contended that action in any form from Canada was unnecessary. Many were motivated by a desire not to become involved in a situation which could have no possible benefit to Canada.

"In addition to personal economic insecurity and indifference to world affairs, nativism, defined for this study as a phenomenon combining xenophobia and chauvinism, influenced Canadian attitudes. In Canada nativism manifested itself in suspicion or outright hostility toward foreigners. At times, anti-semitism appeared as a corollary.

"If additional people were needed to build a greater Canada, many sectors of the Canadian society hoped they would be of British stock. For example, such patriotic associations as the Canadian Corps and the Native Sons of Canada held the view that the British character of Canada could only be maintained by excluding potential immigrants from countries other than Britain. The desire to maintain or increase the percentage of Canadian population arising from British stock was shared by individuals and groups other than those which one might classify simply as being conservative and reactionary. Members of Parliament, service clubs, and a number of newspapers articulated the hope that Canada's sparsely populated regions, usually agricultural, could be settled by encouraging the hardy Britisher. In the West, the region which during the depression years could be partially opened to immigration without incurring the wrath of eastern cities and labour unions, provincial governments and municipalities, desired settlers with an appreciation for British institutions and the Crown.

"During 1938 and 1939 the press suggested that alien peoples brought alien ideas. Specifically, the press claimed that communism, fascism, and nazism flourished in ethnic social clubs and in immigrant groups, and that the admission of more Europeans would just strengthen these undesirable ideologies. Reports announced that in excess of 1,500 active Communists were endeavouring to plant seeds of unrest in Toronto alone, while marxist concepts were being taught to immigrant children.

"The Canadian public failed to differentiate between the immigrant and the refugee. All foreigners were stereotyped as being central and eastern Europeans, probably Jewish, and undoubtedly unassimilable for at least several generations. The anti-semitism in the country was widespread. A lawyer writing to R.J. Manion, leader of the federal Conservative party, declared that 'this feeling in Canada is everywhere; but people, being respectful of law and order, will not raise up open antagonism; but, gentiles feel this anti-Semitism strongly.'

"While the Canadian scene reflected these nativistic and xenophobic characteristics, they also were in evidencewithin spheres of government policy as drafted by senior public servants and the politicians." (Pp.50-55)

The harsher the pressure of European anti-Semitism, the more obtuse the response of those who might have saved these human lives. When as late as 1938 some nations met at Evian to deal with the Jewish refugee problem, "Canada, with its vast unpopulated areas, did not even attend the conference," to quote W.L. Hull. (<u>The Fall and Rise of Israel</u>. P. 197)

SHAMS

This government emphasis on the crucial need of farmer immigrants was a sham. By this time, as Louis Rosenberg noted in Dec. 1938, "the provincial ministers of agriculture in the three prairie provinces and prominent agricultural economists have expressed strong opposition during the past few years to any farm immigration on the grounds that Canada's agricultural production already exceeds the domestic and export requirements." ("Notes on Mr. Warburg" - Memorandum to S. Belkin, Dec. 22, 1938)

There are other shams that shielded the murderous arbitrariness of the men in the departmental uniform. One of them: their strict adherence and enforcement of the legislated or pronounced enactment. How many times have the officials reminded the authorities in the 1930's that the enacted law -- a law less flexible than the Bible -- makes it impossible to institute a policy of life saving?

Another sham beloved of the department which loved to deny life to those fleeing the murderers was the most obscene use of "morality" for its exclusionist purposes. The department revered the institution of the family and often refused admission to an applicant if such admission separated him from his family.

The sheer obtuse affrontery of urging the importance of family upon the Jews, probably the group most intensely devoted to the family institution in the western world -- and this at the moment of their flight from concentration camps and from torture chambers -- and utilizing this religious ethic to deprive Jews of

victims from the flames and from the inquisitorial rooms. In Ottawa this discussion filled the files. As a deputy minister told Dr. Skelton on May 7, 1934,

"The problem of travel documents is troublesome because they cannot be deported to the state issuing them if they become deportable. Some years ago, when the problem first rose, Canada decided to accept such immigrants if the issuing country regarded the document like its own passport." (Public Archives of Canada, RG 76, vol. 391, P.541782)

"This is a subject that I understand has been raised many times since the war by those who have sought to find new homes for refugees. We have never been able to provide a solution since the difficulties lie with the documents themselves and their value in the eyes of the issuing authorities. Apart altogether from the question of Canada's ability to find employment for these refugees or to arrange their admission to attend technical schools or serve as apprentices in industrial undertakings, the fact that a refugee travels on a document seldom valid to return to the country which issued it, and almost never valid to return after the first few months, makes it impossible for these people to comply with the Canadian passport regulation which calls for the issue of a passport by the Government of the country to which a person belongs.

"You will observe that the High Commissioner for Refugees says, -- 'Every state is reluctant, for obvious reasons, to allow a stateless refugee to remain in its territory; and therefore there is a tendency to try to make a holder of a pass for stateless persons move on to another country before his passport expires.' If the foregoing quotation defines, as it undoubtedly does, the attitude of most Governments to keeping the refugee, it as clearly indicates that there would be no hope on the part of Canada or any other country receiving stateless immigrants to return those who got into trouble and became deportable from Canada.

"Some years ago when this question first arose, the attitude taken by Canada was that where the refugee passport was the only difficulty, we would accept refugees holding a special passport issued by some other country than the one to which the refugee belonged, providing the country of issue would regard the passport as of the same value as the national passport issued in the regular way."

One more application of "sound principle."

Canada must not be a stepping stone or a waiting room for immigrants proposing to settle in the United States (all the while doing nothing to keep in Canada the hundreds of thousands born and educated here from migrating to New England). Therefore, any applicant for immigration who has also applied for admission to the U.S. is automatically barred from admission to Canada.

Exactly what harm was caused Canada by a wandering immigrant who eventually found a home in the U.S. after passing through Canada has never been suggested.

Indeed, migration of large numbers of native Canadians, including French Canadians, to the U.S. has long been a vital problem for the nation to which its government has never given important consideration. Yet a Jewish immigrant crossing the border gave Mr. Blair sleepless nights and fed his antagonisms.

Assistant Superintendent of Immigration E.B. Robertson was even ready to advise on Jewish education in his desire to keep our applicants from the U.S. On May 11, 1916 he wrote,

"The reason for bringing these people in is that they may act as teachers of Hebrew or Yiddish in their spare time. I reported to you on this on the 27th

ultimo, and the only thing I can add to my memorandum of that date is the remark that according to the census of 1911, there were then 8,844 Jewish people in Winnipeg and if there are not enough educated Jews amongst these to impart to others what Jewish people may consider a necessary knowledge of their mother tongue, I think it is scarcely up to the department to help them out. We have before us at Montreal, the spectacle of Hebrew people controlling schools, and if each of the hundred nationalities in Canada are to be assisted in perpetuating their mother tongue, for which practice they hold no guarantee by treaty, law or promise, then I am afraid that our country in point of language will continue to resemble the noted Babel of biblical times. I think it is a good deal better that Jewish children go to our public schools and learn English." (P.A.C. 76, vol. 390)

Of course, the deviations from these laws are the history of the Chinese and Hungarian and others in Canada, sometimes on the side of hospitalitiy.

But even the application of the law and the definition of its words have been subject to arbitrariness. Many practiced farmers, Jews of the soil, were found insufficiently experienced for the department's examiners. Sometimes a glance at their hands -- "no callouses" -- was enough for a death sentence. (Try it on Canada's most successful farmers.)

Louis Rosenberg notes one aspect of the alleged problem.

"The restrictions on immigration into the United States in 1905 were very few and no stricter than those in force in Canada. There was a Canadian Government bonus on agricultural immigrants landing at Canadian ports. There was no bonus on immigrants going to United States ports. The only test as to whether an immigrant was an agricultural immigrant was the statement of the transportation company bringing him, and a perfunctory examination by the Canadian immigration official to see whether the immigrant had rough or smooth hands.

"There has been considerable comment in the past on the fact that a very large number of the immigrants of all origins who came to Canada prior to 1920 did not remain in the country but left almost immediately or within a few months for the United States.

"This has been attributed by some writers to some fault in Canada's resources and farm and industrial economy.

"I am of the opinion that the reason why a very large proportion of the immigrants who arrived at Canadian ports in the early years left almost immediately for the United States was the bonus agreement with the North Atlantic Trading Syndicate.

"This was a system whereby a bonus of $5.00 per immigrant landed in Canada was paid by the Dominion Government to the North Atlantic Trading Syndicate and was instrumental in bringing about a large influx of immigrants to Canadian ports.

"Very many of the immigrants, particularly those from Eastern or Central Europe, did not know that Canada was a different country. To them Canada and the United States were both America. It was therefore in the interest of steamship companies whose ships called at Canadian ports to bring the immigrants to Canada, and collect the Canadian bonus wherever possible. Many of the immigrants, as soon as they found out that the country in which they had landed was Canada and not the United States, then immediately crossed the border for the United States which was not far away. This would also account for a large number of immigrants to Canada who were recorded in the ships' manifests in the early years as farmers, although they never were farmers or had no intention of becoming farmers. Since the transportation companies could collect the Canadian Government bonus only if they were 'immigrants of the agricultural class', they were naturally listed in the manifests as such wherever possible.

"It must be borne in mind, however, that this bonus was paid only for 'immigrants of the agricultural class' with restrictions on those coming from certain countries.

"The reason for working through the North Atlantic Trading Syndicate was the fact that many European countries prohibited foreign countries from soliciting immigrants within their borders, so that the immigrants could not be legally contacted until they arrived at a European port of embarkation. The Canadian Government therefore had to deal with local immigrant 'runners' and ticket offices through the North Atlantic Trading Syndicate, which was an organization representing the various steamship companies operating trans-Atlantic services.

"Since the total cost of a steerage steamship ticket from European port to Canadian port at that time was only approximately $35.00, a bonus of $5.00 per immigrant meant a substantial proportionate income to the steamship companies." (Memorandum to Saul Hayes, Oct. 28, 1946)

In Germany the Konigsberg Jewish society on migration developed a plan for the sending of immigrants who desired to get to the U.S. through Canada. The Baron de Hirsch Society in Montreal would have no part of this, fearing the effect of undesirable immigrants upon the tide of migration to this country. Word to this effect went forthwith to Germany and to France. (Minutes, Feb. 24, 1906)

A peripheral action against the Jews seeking safety from more recent Polish persecution and the looming German annihilation centres on the American government.

In their desperation a number sought to reach Canada in order to enter the U.S. from this country. The 1927 American act permitted easier admission for applicants who had resided for a year in Canada, Newfoundland or other American countries. U.S. Consul in Antwerp, George S. Messersmith, had written to his colleague in Rotterdam that the regulation had been "deliberately inserted in the Act by certain interested parties...This provision has been seized upon by Jewish benevolent and immigrant societies."

In part because of their reports, the Congress on May 11, 1922 restricted this clause to extend such privileges to those who had resided in Canada and elsewhere in the Americas for five years.

THE VILLAIN OUT FRONT

So Mr. Blair, whose record as director of immigration on behalf of the Canadian people will long shame the nation, reported,

"Not one application has been granted by us for the temporary entry of persons whose interest in this country is to make it a waiting room for United States final entry..."

Of course he knew that the hundreds of thousands seeking new homes in new worlds were not relying on Canada's open doors and were beseeching rescue from many governments, the U.S. primarily. American response is another epic of terror and of horror which is to be told by some American historian.

In any case Blair knew that the list of those seeking entry to the United States is long enough to last between seven and ten years. "The Americans will not allow temporary entry of these people to wait for their quota numbers to come up and, thus, a great many applications come to us. The fact that one is on the United States waiting list is no assurance that entry to America will be granted, and once we open the doors for these people, there is no conceivable stopping place short of admitting thousands of them. No doubt, thousands would not be able to qualify for United States entry and, since they cannot return to Germany, or would not if they could, it would mean that we would have on our hands a considerable number of refugees in whom we have really no interest."

This fairly introduces the man selected, permitted and instructed to keep the Jews out: Frederick Charles Blair. An immigration man since 1901, he was a power in the ministry which had the power of death over the candidates for Poland's pogroms and Hitler's annihilation program long before he was named assistant deputy minister in 1924 and director-deputy minister in 1934.

The figure of Frederick Charles Blair has been introduced into Canadian history in the villainous role of the official barrier to the rescue of fleeing Jews. But as we note his acts and their consequences we must always remember that, regardless of his enthusiasm and pleasure in this torture role, he was nominated for this function by the political authorities of the nation; he was consistently renominated for his function by successive governments who were aware of his harshness in following and drafting orders, and wished and authorized him to continue until the day of the Final Solution.

Blair was always concerned lest Canada perform a humanitarian function. It was an active counter-idealistic concern with him.

When the Union of Ukrainian Jews in Canada, inspired by S. Belkin, proposed on Oct 12, 1919, a government-sponsored group to investigate the best means of facilitating the migration of Ukrainian Jews, Blair commented, "Unless the government is prepared to make Canada a haven of refuge for the war stricken of central Europe, great care will have to be exercised in dealing with the four requests made by the Ukrainian Jews of Montreal." (Oct. 24, 1919, P.A.C., RG 76, vol. 199)

Any number of brutal statements from Ottawa officials clearly state their determination to keep Jewish refugees out. On Dec. 21, 1921, the notorious Blair wrote to Mr. Larkin, "It appears that Mr. Thomas" of the Dominion Office in London "is trying to find a haven of refuge for Russians who are living outside of their own country; the vast majority are no doubt Jews;... nothing is more certain than that Canada is not in a position to offer any home to these refugees at the present time."

On Oct. 10, 1922 he wrote to the secretary to the High Commissioner for Canada in London, "Representations have been made from various quarters as to a movement of Jewish immigrants, being Russian refugees, to Canada, but owing to the fact that these people, almost wholly, belong to the industrial classes, and seek work in Canadian cities where work is not plentiful, it has not been found possible to take any steps." (P.A.C., R.G.76, vol. 51)

On Nov. 11, 1921 he gave clear instructions to the Hamburg American Line, "Jews are treated in Canada as undesirable immigrants. Jewish passengers must not be booked as passengers on any steamers to Halifax." (P.A.C., R.G.25, vol. 183)

He was quite well aware of the hopeless plight of Poland, but clearly felt that Canada need do nothing to relieve it. He wrote to Edmund Bristol, M.P. on Dec. 17, 1921, "I don't know quite what immigration regulations might be adopted which would meet with every person's approval, and it is even more of a mystery just what regulations would be approved by Jewish residents in Canada. The main idea in the letter which accompanied yours, is that on account of the reported hardships and difficulties of Jewish people in Poland.... Canada should become a haven of refuge for these distressed persons.

"Is the Canadian government to recognize a right on the part of the refugees for admission to Canada which is not recognized on the part of the Britishers, French, Belgians, Scandinavians, Swiss, Americans or persons of any other nationality or race?" (P.A.C., R.G.76, vol.628)

Blair let off more steam in a memorandum to his colleague Black on Dec. 15,

"The enclosure to Mr. Bristol's letter is one of the documents which makes my blood warm, even in cold weather. It is the old story of the Jewish attempts to maintain their position that they must have special treatment on the ground of 'terrible atrocities', etc. If the Jewish mind could be convinced that Canada is, at least, more important to Canadians than is the problem of the Jewish immigrant, we might get somewhere in explaining matters. It is quite evident from this letter that the writers feel that Canada is to be made a haven of refuge for the several hundred thousand Jewish refugees in and about Poland."

He wrote Winnipeg's member, Mr. Black on Sept.24, 1921,

"These Jewish people with industrial or business training are not going to farm in Canada unless as a penalty, and our investigation covering the whole Dominion indicates that very few of them live up to their agreements in this regard... The fact of the matter is Canada

does not want this type of immigrant. When we advise people from the old country to remain at home, they do so; but these people, owing no doubt to the pull from this end and to the pressure from the other, or unwilling to do this, either are determined to get in by some means."

Born in Carlisle, Ontario, in 1874, of Scottish parents, Blair joined the Department of Agriculture in 1901, and two years later became an immigration officer. In 1924 he was appointed the assistant deputy minister of immigration, and in 1936 he became director of the branch with full deputy-minister status.

He was a religious man, an elder of his church, and a dedicated civil servant. Indeed, so devoted was he to his job that when he finally retired in 1944, four years beyond normal retirement age, he had acculuated about two years worth of sick leave.

Among his other personal qualifications for this task, this church elder disliked Jews. To quote Abella and Troper,

"Jews were city people, according to Blair. To almost every request to admit Jewish farmers or agricultural workers, Blair had the same response: it was impossible to keep them on the farm or in the bush. Every attempt to do so had failed. Jewish workers he claimed could not 'eat Gentile food' and so took the 'earliest opportunity' to leave for the city 'which is about the only place (they) can find (their) fellow countrymen'.

"As the man responsible for Canadian immigration policy, Blair had some seemingly peculiar ideas. According to one observer he 'took the stand that people should be kept out of Canada instead of being let in'. Yet these notions hardly seemed to bother the Canadian government which kept him in his sensitive position as long as it could. He was, as James Gibson, an external affairs official, recalls, 'the single most difficult individual I had to deal with the whole time I was a public servant. He was a holy terror!' Perhaps this was why he stayed in his job for so long; he was precisely the man the government wanted in this position. His inflexibility, fetish for regulations, and unchallenged control over immigration matters were a convenience to an administration which had no intention of allowing in Jewish refugees but wished to avoid the calumny of not doing so. Though ostensibly Thomas Crerar was the minister responsible for immigration, in fact Blair made policy and implemented it. Crerar knew little of the workings of the immigration branch, and cared even less. He relied almost totally on its director for advice.

"To Blair the term refugee was a code word for Jew. Unless 'safeguards' were adopted, he warned Crerar, Canada was in danger of being 'flooded with Jewish people'. His task as he saw it, was to make sure that the 'safeguards' did not fail. Indeed he was inordinately proud of his success in keeping out Jews. As he put it: 'Pressure on the part of the Jewish people to get into Canada has never been greater than it is now and, I am glad to be able to add, after 35 years experience here, that it was never so well controlled'. Blair expressed a strong personal distaste for Jews and especially for 'certain of their habits'. He saw them as unassimilable, as people apart 'who can organize (their) affairs better than other people' and therefore accomplish more. He complained

bitterly that Jews were 'utterly selfish in their attempts to force through a permit for the admission of relatives or friends'. 'They do not believe,' he added, that 'No' means more than 'Perhaps...' 'Furthermore, Jews, he lamented, 'make any kind of promise to get the door open but....never cease their agitation until they get in the whole lot.' Behind these Jewish attempts to somehow get their co-religionists into the country, Blair saw a conspiracy 'to bring immigration regulations into disrepute and create an atmosphere favourable to those who cannot comply with the law.' As he commiserated to the Traffic Manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway: 'If there is any surer way to close the door in their own face, I do not know of it.'

"It seems that Blair's contempt for the Jews was boundless. Only a short time after the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1939, Blair confided to his immigration commissioner in London: 'Someone has facetiously said that numbers of our Jewish refugees lustfully sing 'Onward Christian Soldiers' but are very content to stay here and grab up all opportunities.' In a revealing letter to a strong opponent of Jewish immigration Blair wrote:

"'I suggested recently to three Jewish gentlemen with whom I am well acquainted, that it might be a very good thing if they would call a conference and have a day of humiliation and prayer which might profitably be extended for a week or more where they would honestly try to answer the question of why they are so unpopular almost everywhere... I often think that instead of persecution it would be far better if we more often told them frankly why many of them are unpopular. If they would divest themselves of certain of their habits I am sure they could be just as popular in Canada as our Scandinavians...

"'Just because Jewish people would not understand the frank kind of statements I have made in this letter to you, I have marked it confidential.'

"During the war years, when Saul Hayes proved such an effective advocate for Jewish refugees on the Government's refugee board, Blair complained: 'to prevent the more generous scale of assistance to Jewish cases... I think the best way to do this would be to get rid of Sol (sic) Hayes... '

"From the point of view of European Jewry this was most unfortunate. Just when they most needed a friend at the gate, they had an enemy; instead of the philo-semite they required, they had an anti-semite; instead of the humanitarian, they got a narrowminded bureaucrat. According to those who knew him, Blair was a tough administrator who 'stuck to the rules' -- which is not so surprising since he drafted most of them himself.

"Yet to blame Blair alone for Canada's response to the refugee crisis would be both overly simplistic and incorrect; he was only a civil servant, albeit a powerful one. As a functionary he simply reflected the wishes of his superiors; it was they who were ultimately responsible for government policy. Not to accept refugees was a political decision, not a bureaucratic one. It was Mackenzie King and his Cabinet which, in the final analysis, must shoulder the responsibility.

As late as 1942 Blair stood in the way of any Jew who might enjoy the freedom of Canada -- even of Jewish refugees who were brought to Canada against their will, whose reluctant entry to Canada came about as an act of assistance to Britain at war.

As Paula Jean Draper tells the story of these "Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Internal Refugees," Ms Draper records the difficulties he raised at every step for the relief of these German Jewish refugees, interned in Britain after Dunkirk because (naturally) they were German citizens.

Ann Cowan, secretary of the Toronto committee acting on their behalf was eventually admitted into Camp I but was not permitted access to them since "the camp officials were nervous because the internees had not seen a woman in two years. She told Blair that if she was not allowed to see the men she would communicate with every newspaper in the country. They finally agreed,'and as we entered we walked down an aisle with bayoneted guards on either side.' When Cowan reached the designated meeting place she was amazed to find her chair perched on top of two tables 'which meant that I would be out of reach. I was indignant and refused to have the men looking up at me.' Finally able to intelligently interview the internees, Cowan found herself showered with an abundance of information and artistic gifts."

The Commissioner of Refugee Camps, Col. Fordham "wrote some memoranda discussing the possibility of making this refugee labour available to the war industry. The only obstacle he could see was the director of immigration..."

She notes, "In a time of economic recovery and rapid industrialization, two thousand educated and skilled men could only be a boon to Canada." Members of the Commons saw it the same way. Following an old pattern, Crerar proposed admission of at least some; Lapointe and C.D. Howe opposed. Blair formulated his vigorous and constant opposition "to the idea of two thousand more immigrants, especially Jewish ones" He wrote on Dec. 20, 1940 to like-minded Col. Stethem,

"I may say that pressure is being brought to bear on our Minister to take favourable action in a few cases of the interned Jewish boys, the object being their release in Canada...A couple of days ago, Mr. Crerar said he thought we should take some steps to deal with a few of the more pressing cases. The moment this is done there will be figuratively, a rush to the door and a determined effort to get the release of the whole lot, including those destined to the U.S. Some people profess not to be able to understand why there should be any objection to admitting any number of Jewish people to Canada to wait here until they can get into the U.S. We take a determined stand against anything of that sort because in no case would we have any assurance of their admission to the U.S., and none of them could be sent back to where they came from. Government, as we are both aware, does not want any wholesale delivery of these internees to Canada."

Blair was not to have his way. But the fight was going to be a long one. "Every delay, every complication, every refusal of release, and every mixup was due to Blair. The internees' files abound with such problems. One boy was refused release because Blair did not believe he was telling the truth about his job experience since he had been eighteen when interned. He had claimed to be a Rabbinical student with one and a half years plumbing experience. The plumbing had been learned in camp. Blair wrote a prospective employer that, although he knew nothing about the requested internee's qualifications, he found it incredible that such a young man could have had such work experience. The employer refused to have any further correspondence with him. People who had caused any difficulty for camp authorities or had written letters criticizing the camps were refused release. Files that were put aside for unknown reasons delayed releases for months. In one case Blair feared that the release of a mathematician, who was to be sponsored by a colleague of Einstein, would cause him to bring over his whole family from Cuba. This was not desirable." (Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal, vol. 2, no. 1, fall 1978, Pp. 90-99, citing P.A.C. Dept. of National Defence, RG 24, C4, 6576, 1-2-3, and RG 24, C4, 11262, 5-2-12)

Canadians who have been enjoying decades of constantly appreciated freedom and have been generally served by a polite and humane civil service recall with disbelief their own first experiences at the gates of this country.

One face of Canada that not all citizens are conscious of presenting to the world: the society of the Canadian immigration service. Generations of officials vested with great authority and effective life and death powers had for decades represented Canada abroad and had implemented policies which either had or had not been issued to them, explicitly, implicitly or not at all.

Although ultimately responsible by hierarchic chain to their ministers, to the cabinet, to the Commons and to the nation, they were protected from their masters by the links of command and by the indifference and satisfied ignorance of the decision-making public. The citizens in Canada -- separated by ocean, channel and continent from the operations of their officials -- were not aware of the cold face of cruelty, harshness, inhumanity and anti-Semitism presented to their clients by men who wore the cockade of Canada on their civil service uniform. For millions of Europeans, now living or since deceased, these were the plenipotentiaries of Canada, as of the U.S. and of other happy but cruel lands. It is the image of these men that has burned the name of Canada into memory and psyche. It is written in semantics, in the press, in literature and in history.

The image is a definition that has separated those who know it from others, and constituted a challenge to Canadian sincerity, humanity and religious honesty. Decades of bankruptcy, costly in Jewish life and Canadian honour, entered the record of the century.

The immigration offices in European cities where Jewish emigrants to Canada would apply were quite different from the Canadian citizens' image of their country's external representation. They were probably also quite different from other Canadian offices abroad, for the Jews who had occasion to seek salvation from the Halerchiki of Poland, from gangster students in Rumania, from present violence in Hungary and from looming Hitlerism everywhere felt no little of the same anti-Jewish prejudice from Canadian officials -- or from American, for that matter.

Jews disembarking at Halifax together with other immigrants suddenly found themselves singled out from the others and held for grilling and possible deportation. S.W. Jacobs accused the immigration department of sending officials overseas who were biased against Jews. Prospective immigrants who were not Jewish had no need of a Christian Lillian Freiman, or of a Herschel Wolofsky straining every effort, friendship and contact to bring one of them into Canada.

Those fate-making teams of immigration officials, a sub-culture within the civil service society of Canada, were protected even from Canadian law. In 1927 Canada legislated that no court and no judge could revise, quash, reverse, restrain or otherwise interfere with any proceeding, decision or order of the minister, of any comptroller relating to the status, condition, origin, descent, detention or deportation of any immigrant. (R.S.C. 95, chap.95, sec.38, 1927)

Such a sweeping law of dubious legality and no morality could have gone through a legislature only as a racist tantrum, allegedly directed against the Chinese. But it hit out insanely at all others in its wording and in its effect.

Like so much wickedness, its evil struck others besides its intended victims. Not only was the growth of the Canadian economy and its cultural life slowed, but thousands of Canadian residents, the kin of would-be-immigrants, were agonized by the deprivation of their kin and of the countless benefits of a united family, with ineffable pain and incalculable social cost.

This existential reality of force majeur, sheer violence, was etched into the souls of millions trapped on a continent poisoned long before atomic pollution.

As far back as the end of World War I, S.W. Jacobs, M.P., was "satisfied that everyone in the Department is strongly and bitterly opposed to our people, and that the intention of the Meighen Government is practically to prevent immigration of our people from the Ukraine, and generally from Eastern Europe, without regard to the eligibility of individual immigrants." (Letter to H.J. Samuel of Winnipeg, Oct. 20, 1921)

The desperation overseas was matched by a ruthlessness in Ottawa. Its harshness turned the ethical concept of law and order from a virtue to a viciousness. An absence of compassionate imagination for many decades made it difficult for Canadians to understand that refugees will resort to untruths to enter Canada. The alternative before them had a number: six million.

The situation was classic: Saul Hayes had occasion to explain the moral situation to Ottawa officials in the 1940's. British royal commissions on pre-Israel Palestine had to learn the morality of "illegal immigration" from Weizmann.

In Ottawa the commissioner for immigration set out several cases for Mr. Cullen on Aug. 15, 1933,

"This man secured admission by misrepresentation as a single man in 1927, and is one of the numerous cases which have developed since that time. I understand the admission of the family has been considered by the Minister on the basis of the fact that the man is naturalized. I find that a number of these aliens are applying for naturalization, no doubt in order to get their families to Canada.

"There are two questions to be considered as follows:-

"(1) Whether the Department should oppose naturalization on the basis of the fact that these men entered Canada illegally.

"It is my opinion that they are anxious to get naturalized in order to have their families join them. What should have been the course was to have started deportation proceedings in each case when we established that they were illegally in the country. At least, I think that they should not be permitted to acquire citizenship.

"(2) Whether in the case where naturalization has been secured we should permit the entry of the families.

"It is my opinion that the men are not entitled to any consideration, as the entry of these aliens was secured by the most deliberate misrepresentation. Every officer of the Department who had any dealings with this movement knew full well that the aliens in Europe and their relatives in Canada were lying in the most barefaced manner with regard to their conjugal status, but, of course, we could not prove it. On this basis alone, I feel that they are entitled to no consideration, and if they want to join their families they should do so in Europe.

"As there must be at least 200 of these cases, we should have some definite line of policy laid down." (P.A.C., Immigration file 541782)

The victims of ill-intentioned bureaucracy were too harassed to will us a heritage of documented proof of their agony. The paper evidence of the age was the product of better-fed men in the offices. But terrible documents of suffering did find their way, after confirmation, in the Yiddish periodical Yiddishe Emigratzie in 1929, and were then published in Berlin that year by the very responsible institution, the Emigdirect, under the title, People Without the Protection of the Law, Some Facts about Emigrants' Troubles, edited by the distinguished scholar A. Cherikower. Its 32 pages bring us into the circles of the Jewish inferno, with Canadian officials playing a role which puts to shame the Canadian citizens whose agents and employees they were. It is a stain incarnadine upon a generation which many waters will not wash out since so many of its victims have died.

The Canadian agent in Latvia refuses a couple admission because they have told him that they have two children whereas in reality they have three. But only two of the children were sponsoring their application. Hence a fatal misunderstanding.

The Montreal records of the Jewish Colonization Association record the incredible voyages across the Atlantic to Canadian ports. It was not the refugee immigrants who complained. After hardening experiences on the continent they were so crushed that they learned to experience horror as normal.

One native of Balta in the Podolia governate of Russia wrote to the J.C.A. office,

"For years I lived happily, and with me twenty families of workmen who were employed in my cabinet making shop. The pogroms and terrific slaughters which we passed thru', and during which I lost my father of 80 years of age and my sister, 35 years of age, forced my wife and three children to leave for Roumania where she earned her living as a scrub woman. For that year's time I did not know what became of her. For 9 months I lived with my two children

and with my married son. My daughter-in-law had one child and was pregnant with the second when we were nearly devoured by the insects, owing to our not having clean linen to change. After a year I received a letter from my wife. She was living with her children and saved up 7000 lei, enough to take over one person to Roumania, either myself or a child. If I should come to Roumania, perhaps I would be able to arrange to take over the other children shortly.

"My children advised me that I should cross the boundary. You can imagine my feelings when I had to leave a girl, 13 years of age and a boy, 15 years old, without a father and mother, and only with a brother who is himself suffering privation.

"I crossed the boundary, and three months later I took over the girl, leaving the boy with my son and wife and their two children there to suffer from hunger. I was not able to get my son and his family across. They remained in Russia for two years and suffered terribly, as a result of which my oldest grandchild took sick, and she began to develop a hunchback.

"About 11 months ago we succeeded to bring over that family to Roumania. They were clothed in rags, bare and hungry. We immediately placed the sick child in a hospital. By that time the Roumanian Government began to deport immigrants and arrested refugees on the streets. My wife and I were arrested for five days. The townspeople took out 90 of the arrested people over Yom Kippur and guaranteed that they will be returned after Yom Kippur, but the refugees ran away to Bucharest. At Bucharest we suffered enough until the J.C.A. sent out several transports to the United States and to Uruguay. With the second transport that left for Canada, we were sent there by the J.C.A. For the second time we had to part with our son and his family, on account of his child not being in a position to leave. We left for Canada, a family of seven persons with $1.00 in cash and 27¢ when we reached Canada.

When we got to Winnipeg we found out that we had a distant friend, B. Sheps, who took an interest in us and provided us with work."

Such passengers were resigned to envy the well-treated passengers in the luxurious third-class of the ship. But disinterested witnesses recorded the wormy food, the filth and the heartlessness of officers, doctors, of ship's crew towards the famished immigrants. The ship's doctor struck an infant brought to him with an ear ache and left a long lasting mark on the child's face. Later he confessed and pleaded his excuse: He was drunk.

Harry Kahn of Montreal remembers being examined by an immigration doctor in Halifax in 1926. "I cannot understand the roughness with which he tore at my eyes as he checked my eyesight. That a doctor should be so violent!"

A macabre Jewish folklore developed about these consulates with its own humour. S. Ary recalled episodes of immigrant life in JIAS News issued by the Jewish Immigrant Services of Canada.

"We were to receive our visas from the consul before leaving Warsaw. The immigrants became sombre. All walked about with great concern -- Jews, women, girls, young men, city Poles, country youngsters. As one they were all in fear of one man -- the consul. What if he becomes stubborn and won't let us travel on? What do we do then?

"Everybody wanted to be called last; possibly one could learn how to act from those who had gone before. So they stood about the hall watching the men come out.

"A Pole came out all flustered and confused. The countryside candidates for migration surrounded him questioning, 'What did he ask you? What did he say? Did you make it?' 'The devil he knows,' was the response.

"We had all heard strange stories about his crazy questions, so we could not tell whether we were dealing with a clever man or an idiot. 'What kind of questions does the Canadian consul ask?' 'What is the difference? A consul is a consul. Don't ask silly questions.'

"One reported the consul had asked him why the cock shuts his eyes as he crows. Failing an answer the Jew was refused because 'we do not need such fools.' What should he have answered? The story goes, 'It is simple. The cock can shut his eyes because he knows his melody off by heart.'

"Another told, 'The consul asked me if I can read the language of the land. I told him, of course, I can read. So he opened up some Polish grammar text and asked me to read. So I looked at it and at him and considered. I wanted to ask him what he calls literacy. I can read the Bible books. But then I thought, you fool, where will I get with him? If I told him, would he understand? You can't make a silk purse this way. But at least I told him, I cannot read this.

"Before I went in the JIAS man drilled me. 'Say of Jewish nationality, not just a Jew. Say in Poland, sir, not just in Poland. Don't say you were born on Shabbos Hagodol. He doesn't know anything about Shabbos Hagodol. Tell him you were born on the 7th of March, 1911.' He wrote it out. 'Memorize this well.' 'Why are hands dirty?' I told him I had not washed them because I was coming as a farmer. 'Wash them,' he told me; 'take the dirt out from your fingernails. Otherwise he will think you are a dirty idiot. And forget Shabbos Hagodol.'"

Probably on the other side, in the government records this fatal process passes for intelligence testing.

A woman seeking entry as a domestic is refused admission because she has a brother in Canada. Why is she sponsored by an employer who is not a relative?

An examining doctor stood on the stomach of a prostrate applicant for immigration and then ruled that the candidate is not strong enough. The doctor was subsequently removed and 60% of those he rejected were later admitted, but Emigdirect asks, what about the other 40%?

The Canadian Pacific offices in Vienna told Jewish applicants that by government order Jews were not admissible unless they converted to Christianity. "So civilized antisemites become missionaries."

A Russian girl eventually joined her parents in Winnipeg after an odyssey through infernos. She had been detained in Danzig suffering from what appeared to be tuberculosis of the bone. Endless loneliness and anxiety and disappointment led her to several suicide attempts. When she presented herself again to the Canadian officials for medical examination with the rope marks about her throat, the doctor found further ground for rejection: mental instability. Social workers convinced her to face life and its bleak future. She waited another month for another doctor and another ship, all this time in the Danzig migration sheds. The story ended with a happy reunion in the prairie capital with her parents who had been torn with guilt for having been separated from her years earlier by war.

Another family which had reached Antwerp had each member in turn diagnosed as unhealthy. As each diagnosis was found to be faulty, another was found.

In some cases the battle of the papers for the survival of the migrants took place on the medical arena as specialist, oculists, medical deans across Europe fought it out; all the while the Canadian authorities

had written assurance that the immigrants would not become public charges if they were admitted. All this time the migrants were harried from office to office, from doctor to doctor, from consulate to consulate, from agency to agency, while their Canadian relatives were waiting for a favorable decision. There was no appeal, for the persecutor was the judge. At the limits of this harassment were iron curtains with shootings at the wall, prisons with beatings for stateless Jews with no work permits. Hovering everywhere were unscrupulous travel agents being paid for two tickets where one would suffice, overcharging for visas, directing the inexperienced along circuitous routes at ruinous cost or, more simply, absconding with the migrants' assets. In the background, white slavers. Everywhere separation from families, women travelling with children, detention at the not inexpensive charge of the detained, influential connections completely unconnected, contradictory rumours about more generous officials in one ocean port or sadists in another.

Many stories ended happily. J. Fogelman's report in the Daily Hebrew Journal of Toronto is typical.

"I happened to meet a Jewish family just from Kishinev which had endured the seven circles of hell. Their narrative makes your hair stand on end. Now they are comfortably settled as any on D'Arcy Street. They have friends and family and are more or less reasonably set up; they are slowly recovering from their journey. The family consists of parents no longer young, a son and a daughter, as well as of other children who had come here earlier. They are working. Even the father, well over sixty, earns two dollars a day. Their son-in-law who lives not far from Toronto is quite well to do. It was his help that enabled them to reach this country, for he needed to place $2,000 with the government for a period of five years as a guarantee that they would not become a charge upon the public. Otherwise they could not have joined their children."

The agony of migration was reflected in the communal history of Canadian ports.

Few European Jews had occasion to enter through Vancouver. Nevertheless, the long-time rabbi-factotum of the community, Rev. N. Pastinsky, spent a good part of his time snatching trans-Siberian and trans-Pacific refugees from the hands of at least half-reluctant immigration inspectors. Melech Ravitch, poet and community servant who was to enrich Canada so greatly in the decades since, had his first glimpse of Canada from the local immigration sheds and managed to pass their gates only through such intervention.

On the Atlantic the founding of the Hebrew Benevolent Society of St. John and the incorporation of the Baron de Hirsch Hebrew Benevolent Society the same year of 1893 had been a response to the needs of the immigrants at these winter ports, according to Jan Goeb. "While Halifax was relatively free of antisemitism, the opposite was true of Saint John, where the government agent even refused to allow the Jews to celebrate Passover in the immigration sheds." ("The Maritimes," in Viewpoints, vol.7, no.3-4, winter-spring 1973, pp.9-23) In fact, the Saint John society had been "founded primarily to fight antisemitism at local immigration headquarters. New Brunswick had a ninety percent higher turn-back rate for Jewish immigrants in the period before the First World War than Nova Scotia. The Hebrew Benevolent Society succeeded in getting rid of the port's antisemitic immigration agent, and provided all assistance to prevent turn-backs of Jewish immigrants, including loans to meet the entrance requirements, kosher food and clothing."

The Saint John tradition continued, as evidenced by a sworn affidavit from A.L. Kaplansky of Montreal who spent a fortnight in the New Brunswick port in 1921. His detailed report as agent for the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies documents inhumanity of officials, often bolstered by whisky, towards survivors of wars and pogroms. It is a story which brings shame to Canadians whose empowered agents they were.

If such heartlessness could find open expression on the shores of Canada, under the eyes of Canadian social welfare agents, it is easy to believe that in distant offices, in the ambient antisemitic climates which the emigrants were seeking to flee, these plenipotentiary officials did indeed wreak tragic hardship upon them. These resulted in their being detained in the lands which were candidates for Hitler's conquest and which became the sites of his death factories to consume them.

In Halifax "Charles Zwerling was for over thirty years practically a full-time unpaid representative on behalf of Jewish immigrants." The immigration here "was very considerate and the Jewish turn-back rate was the lowest in Canada.

"During the years before the First World War, when immigration legislation was quite liberal, these slimly-funded, personalized efforts were very effective, and the turn-back number from the Maritime ports was quite low. There is evidence to suggest that these volunteers did much to obtain re-assessments on individual cases and that the agents grew to depend on the fact that aid for Jews was available from their own people -- resulting at times in greater leniency than regulations may have actually allowed....

"The end of open immigration and the initiation of selective immigration in 1927 put a new strain on the Jewish immigrant aid groups in the Maritimes. With the growing awareness of the Hitler threat, their efforts became more urgent. Individuals began to enter prominently into the picture in the 1930's.

"In Nova Scotia, Noah Heinish of Halifax spent much time in aiding Jewish farm settlers who had been brought in under the land-settlement scheme sponsored by the Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific railway companies. These prospective farmers had many personal problems, as well as the immediate ones of settling on often neglected farms and making them sufficiently productive to provide a livelihood.

"He still recalls with great sadness one particular case in which he worked up to the very day of the invasion of Poland, with success within reach, to get a German-Jewish family of nine free from a tie-up with Canadian officials in Hamburg. In fact, some of the severest problems for Jewish immigrants came not from Germany, but from Canadian officials who seem to have been infected with the political insanity of the country in which they were stationed. In Halifax and Saint John, also, some immigration officials made matters more difficult than was necessary."

A very friendly exchange of letters between A.J. Freiman of Ottawa and S.W. Jacobs, M.P., conveys the mood of the day. "I am obliged to ask you to discontinue sending Mrs. Freiman any more immigration cases. As it stands, life isn't worth living -- my office and my home have been turned into immigration offices....it is practically killing Mrs. Freiman." Mr. Jacobs apologized "for directing two women to her in an effort to obtain some consideration from the Immigration Department. Things have got so bad in my office that I am almost unable to attend to my regular business, and I suppose that these women were sent to Ottawa in order to relieve the congestion to that extent, as we had no further room in our outer office to accommodate them....The treatment which our people are receiving is simply outrageous....The order has been given that practically no one is to be admitted into the country from our people. Mr. Blair told me the other day that they do not intend to be swamped by these people."

Remarkably, this attitude was probably the only anti-Jewish bias in the annals of the federal government. It is tragic that it was evinced in the costly form of lives not saved.

Like later false alarms, Messersmith's successor as Antwerp U.S. consul James E. McKenna reported to his superiors that the Jewish migration agencies "decided to set aside $30,000,000 for the special use of Jewish immigrants now in Poland and perhaps in Russia, to enable them to emigrate to France to the number of 6,000 or 9,000, and possibly to Canada to the number of 2,500.

What is remarkable about this story, which is unfortunately false, is that it allegedly came to Mr. McKenna from Ezra, the Jewish relief organization. (National Archives, RG 59, 860C 56/147, cited by Szaikowski, "The Consul", p.11)

Of course, the deviations from these laws are the history of the Chinese and Hungarian and others in Canada, sometimes on the side of hospitality.

But even the application of the law and the definition of its words have been subject to arbitrariness. Many practiced farmers, Jews of the soil, were found insufficiently experienced for the department's examiners. Sometimes a glance at their hands -- "no callouses" -- was enough for a death sentence. (Try it on Canada's most successful farmers.)

Dirk tells the story of the Sudeten settlements, still in the 1930's, in his Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism? (Montreal, McGill-Queens University Press. Pp. 84-85)

"As the initial report of the Investigatory Committee had made clear in November 1938, the refugees were not 'agriculturalists' in the usual Canadian sense of the word. Many, it turned out, had no acquaintance with farming at all, claiming to be agriculturalists only so as to gain entry to Canada. Those who had farmed in the Sudeten district had possessed very small holdings and were thus not well equipped to enter the large-scale farming industry in western Canada where climatic, soil, and general growing conditions were much different. Both railroads spent a good deal of the funds, which had been allocated for settlement programs, on instructing the refugees in Canadian farm methods, and in supplying clothing and fuel to enable the settlers to survive their first Canadian winter. As one seniour railway supervisor pointed out, 'Our officials were greatly disappointed with the total inexperience of the families. While the refugees

were reported to be all of a good type, and apparently were willing to work hard, very few had even knowledge of gardening, and had to be taught all the basic rudiments of farming. Had it not been for the fact that our Western officials did not want to discourage the movement of additional people, they would have reported this lack of experience much earlier.'

"Even after learning these details, the directors of the railroads continued to express a desire to the Canadian government to be permitted to bring additional refugees to Canada in the spring of 1940, if the war allowed."

Another sham that blocked rescue was the resignation from the duty of government in the form of, "We would like to, but public opinion is not ready."

It was a gambit also used against Canadian Jews when they sought legislation to protect them against racist poison propaganda. When the authorities really wanted to admit the Sudeten they called it a railways' project.

To what extent was it or was it not ready? What public opinion? Why was it not ready? Was it not ready because government said so?

As the University of Calgary's analysts Roger Gibbins and J.R. Painting wrote in their study of "Public Perception of Native Land Claims" (at the Quebec City meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association on May 29, 1976),

"The possibility remains that governmental policy makers will design and implement policy which is not based upon any accurate measurement of public opinion, but rather upon their even personal perception of it....on the basis of perceived public opinion constraints, constraints which do not in fact exist in any appreciable extent among members of the public."

Of course, the policy of excluding refugees on the ground of public opposition was applied without sincerity. When the government decided, humanely, to admit Sudeten Germans, it found it possible to do so without consulting public opinion; indeed, half secretly.

The community wished "to believe that the Canadian authorities are not trying to be unjust to the Jew. It is simply that there is no Jewish consulate, no representative body to intervene on behalf of these unfortunates, so that justice may be meted out to them. It is a lack that must be attended to without delay. The case of the Jew must be presented fairly and clearly by those who understand him and who also understand the workings of the law in this country." (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Oct. 8, 1919)

DEPORTATION

Reaching a Canadian port did not always mean rescue for the fleeing migrant. A rigorous and sometimes unreasonable scrutiny could result in a deportation order. The passport he carried might have been issued not by the government he fled but by a government that gave him asylum. It might have come from a government in power not recognized by Ottawa.

In 1920 the American Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society delegated its Max Myerson and Dr. B. Berkowitz to inquire into Jewish immigration in Canada.

They reported,

"Canadian immigration officials interpret these regulations as they think fit. They have become so rigorous that even immigrants who have made a continuous journey, possess the necessary sum of money, and in every way have complied with the regulations, are held up on the ground that they are likely to become public charges, the reason being given that there is a surplus of labor in their particular trade. Not even farmers and servants are permitted to enter freely. A further reason for holding up immigrants is due to the fact that in their passports it is stated that they are going to America. The word 'America' has been crossed out, and 'Canada' substituted. The officials consider such passports invalid and false, and many immigrants have been deported on account of having such passports in their possession. Immigrants should obtain passports for Canada and they should state 'From Poland to Canada'.

"250 immigrants who arrived on the SS Canada are now excluded by reason of non-continuous journey, false passports and because it is claimed that the $250 in the possession of each immigrant really does not belong to that immigrant. We have been informed that there is operating in Poland a bank which issues to immigrants checks for $250.00, at a charge of $25.00 for each check so issued. Upon arrival in Canada, the immigrant shows this check, which subsequently is taken away by an agent of the company. So large a number of these checks have been issued that the Canadian Government grew suspicious. In one or two instances immigrants were detained, the government cashed these checks giving the money to the immigrants. Naturally the company lost money by such a procedure. The government learned of these transactions and is now very suspicious of immigrants having such checks in their possession.

"During the summer months, immigrants are landed at Montreal and Quebec. First and second class passengers at the former port, third class passengers are sent to Quebec where they are examined. In winter, St. Johns and Halifax are the only ports at which steamships dock." (YIVO Archives)

Deportation of arrivals at Canadian ports is an old immigration tradition. By 1908 its Jewish aspect came to the attention of the Baron de Hirsch Institute. A letter from Immigration Officer W.D. Scott to J. Obediah Smith (July 23, 1908) records an agreement between the Allan Lines and the Institute whereby "they should be responsible for all that society's passengers that are brought to Canada in good health and allowed to land, that the question of deportation should be taken up with the Baron de Hirsch Society at Montreal before the passengers are rejected or deported, as in most instances the Society is in position to place in hospital, maintain, and provide employment for these passengers."

Not surprisingly a 1908 government document notes that in 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907 only 3 Russian Hebrews, among the 18064 who arrived, were deported.

"It is probable too that the remarkable interest and care taken by the Russian Hebrews for their own people is an explanation in part of the few deported; but it is probable that the fear of a forced return to Russia is an impelling force."

The immigrant might not have come by direct passage from the land of his birth. On May 9, 1910 P.C. 920 had been promulgated as an anti-Hindu measure banning interrupted voyage to Canada, and in 1914 its application became general.

This came to apply to a stopover awaiting a ship, or letters from relatives.

The threats of deportation to the lands of Denikin, Pilsudsky and young Hitler became a terror. S.B. Haltrecht, of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada, just set up by the Canadian Jewish Congress, wrote to the Hebrew Sheltering Aid and Immigrant Aid Society in New York on Sept.9, 1920.

"Numerous detentions have taken place since Friday morning. In fact the numbers run into hundreds. Most of them are detained for the reason of non-continuous journey by which anyone entering this country must travel by a direct route, otherwise he is liable to detention and deportation.

"Two of our representatives have been permitted on Sunday afternoon to interview those detained in Montreal. In spite of our assurances that the presence of their relatives from the States will do them no good, some of them nevertheless pleaded that we wire for their friends to come. Hence our telegrams to those who inquire of you. We do not think that it is essential for any of the friends to come. Money is the most important thing.

"I regret exceedingly that we have not been able to attend to all the inquiries and telegrams as perfectly as we should like to during the last week or so. The present rush of immigrants is unprecedented and we were not prepared for the task that we were called upon to perform unexpectedly. Our staff is working day and night to straighten things out,and you can assure all those who are inquiring of you about their relatives in Canada that everything in our power will be done to have them released as soon as possible."

Haltrecht records that "from 10% to 12% of the arrivals were generally detained by the immigration authorities on account of some technicality...The irony of it was that the detained, although held for no fault of their own (they all innocently boarded the steamer and paid their regular fare, being informed that the gates of Canada were open to them) had to suffer not only the inconvenience and unpleasantness of involuntary detention, but were forced to pay for their board and room. The government held the steamship companies responsible for the payment of such maintenance...The companies demanded satisfactory guarantees; otherwise they insisted on having the immigrants deported immediately...

"In the majority of cases, after appeal was made to the minister, their entry was secured."

In the fall of 1920 the residents of Quebec City read in their newspaper,

"On Thursday evening at 7 o'clock, a Jewish immigrant, under detention at the Louise Docks Immigration Buildings, took desperate chances by jumping from the roof garden of the building to the ground. He first climbed up over the high steel railing and on reaching the eaves of the roof let himself drop to the ground where he was picked up in an unconscious condition and carried to the infirmary in the building, where he was examined by Dr. Nadeau. It was found that, with the exception of a severe shaking up, he was not injured.

"During the past season of navigation, a larger number of Jews than ever before from every part of Russia, Poland, and Continental Europe, have arrived by ocean steamers at Quebec, many of whom have been detained for special re-examination by the immigration officials for various causes in connection with the immigration laws.

"Like all immigrants, their cases are impartially looked into and dealt with accordingly. If eligible for entrance into the Country, they are given their freedom to proceed to their declared destination, but, if they are not eligible, they are subject to deportation. They are however well protected by the Jewish Immigration Association, which has an agent with special office accommodation in the building.

"The Jewish arrivals have many friends who go to the immigration buildings to look after them, and are said to become impatient in some instances when their compatriots from the old world are detained; endeavouring by every means to secure their release. Some weeks ago one of the Canadian immigration guards is alleged to have been bribed. This employee came up from St. John, N.B., to assist the Quebec officials during the past season. He is said to have been detected and promptly dismissed from the service. A close watch is now kept over all immigrants under detention."

The new Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada, of course, took an interest in the case. Its Montreal manager Louis Lewis wrote from Montreal to New York on Nov. 1, 1920,

"This immigrant instead of having patience and waiting until the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society could affect his release, was caught trying to escape from the immigration sheds and is accordingly detained in the immigration jail. The representative of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society who is now in Quebec phoned me that he expected to have Melamed transferred to Montreal within a few days. We are making additional efforts to have the Government accept the cash bond which you forwarded to Mr. Wolofsky in order that he may remain free in Montreal until his application to the United States Government in Washington, to allow the American Consul here to vise his passport is accepted which will permit him to enter the United States." (Archives of YIVO)

In the post-war, atomized world, with irregular communication and transport, many a Jewish immigrant was ordered back to the land of pogroms, even while his kin were at the dock in Canada awaiting him, virtually within sight of their relative. Wails of refugees arose in Canada.

That fall A.L. Kaplansky was delegated by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in Montreal to Quebec City where he kept close watch over conditions there until navigation closed for the winter. "He was in communication with Mr. S.W. Jacobs, K.C. M.P., who in turn is in phone communication with some Members of the Cabinet at Ottawa in order to influence the Government to allow a cash bond to be accepted. Mr. Kaplansky regrets that so far the Immigration Officials have not been officially instructed to accept it. He also writes that a high official at Ottawa passed through Quebec yesterday before sailing for Europe appertaining to immigration, and visited the immigration detention camp. Mr. Kaplansky had an interview with him and says that he seems to be very favorably impressed with the idea of accepting cash bonds as explained to you in my previous letter. We will therefore, have to wait patiently until this question will be taken up at a Cabinet meeting at Ottawa.

"Mr. Kaplansky informs me that there was a tremendous influx of immigrants of all races and creeds in Quebec lately from recent incoming steamers among which were a great many Italians. For that reason some of our people are detained for examination much against the wish of the Immigration Officials. Mr. Kaplansky is doing his best to have the United States immigrants examined. I must not omit to inform you that Jewish immigrants destined for the United States must be examined twice; first by the Canadian Authorities before being allowed entry into Canada, then when applications for visaes are made to Washington, they must be examined again by the United States Agents stationed at Quebec." (L. Lewis of Jewish Colonization Association, Montreal, to Hebrew Sheltering Society, N.Y. Nov. 3, 1920)

Add to the uncounted who might have been saved and who might still be among us, with their children, the hundreds of Jews who had reached the shores of Canada's security but were deported back to the Europe they fled -- 232 of them in 1921 alone.

To relate the 1921 Halifax deportation story with the horror of the St. Louis of 1939 might appear as an attempt at the wisdom of hindsight.

But the words of the 1921 victims establish identity with the 1939 tragedy.

Some 650 Jewish lives caught in the python coils of tape. As further restrictive orders-in-council were signed in July of 1921, they came into effect in September, before all the seekers of refuge and the industry of officials, ticket agents and migrant tenders got to know all the new clauses. The result: these hundreds of refugees from Petlura and Balachovitch and Trotsky boarded ships -- "Saxonia," "Megantic," "Canada," "Corsican" -- in full belief that they were entitled to admission into Canada, a belief shared by the experienced and sophisticated shipping companies that carried them to Halifax and Saint John and Quebec City. Add to the villains of history, to the torturers of Sachsenhausen, the men who confined these refugees into detention warehouses, separated the men from their wives and the children from their mothers, fed them rotten food on Canadian soil, kept them incommunicado for weeks, holding them for deportation. This was done by graduates of Canadian schools, men of decent family, who were qualified for the civil service of a great western nation.

We have the recorded cry of hundreds of victims immured incommunicado in a warehouse-turned-into-detention sheds in the Halifax harbour, addressed to the only friend who might possibly save them from deportation back to eastern Europe where for antisemites and governments rehearsing Hitler the lives of Jews were becoming unworthy of protection.

Of these we find in government documents the following,

"We are creditably informed that if these immigrants are to be deported, thy will not only have to undergo the immense hardships of enforced return, but that if they are repatriated to the city of their origin they would be subject to arrest and military court-martial for evasion of their military services duties."

At this moment in the event a more vigorous and athletic man from among the passengers of the "Saxonia" shinnied up a pipe and threw out a bottle into the waters of the harbour of the ancient Canadian port, with a paper, that thus his family in Quebec City might learn of his whereabouts and his danger.

The message read,

"Brothers, remember the issue is a question of life and death for men, women and children who, in coming to this country, hoped to establish for themselves quiet and restful homes. If we are sent back, we have nothing left to do but to throw ourselves into the ocean. Remember that Petlura, Denikin, Balachovitch and others have already thrown into the sea enough of our brothers and sisters, mothers, fathers and little children. Do not be a party to such a tragedy, for on you lies the duty to help us."

S.B. Haltrecht has told the story of this tragedy in which some 600 Jews were put in peril of being returned to the vast hell hole of Russia and Rumania. ("History of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada," in The Jew in Canada, edited by D.A. Hart. 1926. Pp.490-95)

S.W. Jacobs appealed to his friend C.C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine and Fisheries,

"Seriously, the situation is getting to be almost unbearable. I took the matter up with Mr. Ballantyne last week, and sent him a memorandum on the entire situation, pointing out to him that unless some relief comes, and that shortly, his chance of election in St. Lawrence-St. George Division, where there are twenty-five hundred voters among our people, are slim, and this applies to every other Division in Canada where Jews are to be found." (Letter to A.J. Freiman, dated Oct. 19, 1921)

His conversation with the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne was followed by a letter on Oct. 18,

"You asked me to remind you about the subject of our talk today, respecting the obnoxious Orders-in-Council which are holding up immigrants at Halifax and Quebec. P.C.2669 has recently been put into effect. As you know, it affects more than three-quarters of the immigrants, who are Ukrainians. It is impossible for these people to obtain passports in their own country, as the Bolshevist Government will not issue passports, and in many cases these people are fleeing for their lives. They reach Poland or some other country, and secure some kind of an order permitting them to pass through the country. The Department insists that that is not a passport, and of course the immigrants are held up, to the great annoyance of their relatives, all of whom are perfectly able to look after them in this country.

"Another obnoxious Order-in-Council is P.C. 23, which declares that the parties must come by continuous journey, otherwise they are not eligible. This Order is too silly to discuss on its merits, but from the point of view of keeping out the immigrants, both Orders are quite effective. You can understand that the immigrants know nothing of these orders when they leave the old country, and only ascertain that they are in force when they reach

Antwerp on their way to their destination. The inhumanity of holding these people back under these circumstances must be patent to you, and my suggestion is that both Orders-in-Council be suspended, or at least interpreted with some humanity until, say, the first of the year, when due notice could be given to the people on the other side of the existence of these Orders, and if there is a general insistence that they should be enforced, they can of course be considered again after the New Year.

"When you consider that the immigrants who are coming forward all have relatives throughout this country, and are prepared to give the necessary bonds that they will not become a public charge, and if necessary, will not become factors in the labor market, I cannot see who will suffer.

"In any event, for the reasons given here, and these already explained to you in our interview, it is essential that something be done."

On Dec. 20 he wrote to M.N. Grossman of New York,

"The Cabinet is expected to be sworn in this week, and I intend at once to go up to Ottawa, for the purpose of obtaining the release of a number of people detained on Habeas Corpus proceedings. These writs were taken to hold the immigrants here, pending the advent to power of the new Government.

"I am hopeful that something may be done in the direction desired."

We have the testimony of a man who experienced this chapter of Jewish history as an 11-year-old.

"Our family had already been uprooted by war and antisemitism from old Lithuania, had been refugees in the Russian interior, had undergone revolution, counter-revolution, famine, air raids and pogrom, had been fortunately repatriated to free Lithuania through a shaky treaty with the Soviet Union, witnessed the raping of the small new nation of Poland's General Zheligowsky, had undergone the Polish pogrom at Vilno, the separation of members of the family, poverty and undernourishment.

"Suddenly life, not new life, but the unfamiliar gleam of free life, seemed to appear. We made contact with my uncle in Vancouver and he immediately sent us Cunard Line tickets and entry permits. Unbelievingly we proceeded to Warsaw -- where we met up with the capital version of Polish antisemitism -- and got ready to proceed to Rotterdam where we were to quit the European continent for a week in free, human, civilized England, and then on to Canada. Everything was routine, even the medical examinations and the processing at Canadian immigration.

"But as we were with other Jewish immigrants we sensed a certain anxiety among them; not a new experience in the not new society of the uprooted. Unlike our family they had had tickets on other shipping lines to Canada. For some reasons immigrants could never understand out of the shifting, negative rules, these companies refused to accept these immigrants and actually refunded the moneys. But Cunard accepted their money and them, and here we were, all together on the high seas, sailing for Halifax.

"At that part came the shock for the Jewish migrants. From here on we saw no Christians. We were passed from one cubicle to another, past a series of examiners. In one of these little rooms holding some thirty persons we read Yiddish graffiti: 'This is the beginning of your hell. You can give up hope now.'

"We were soon told we could not enter Canada. Each immigrant was given a different reason. None was given the reason which was of record in the later and formal proceedings.

"One immigrant was told that since the $250 he had in his possession, according to law, was in the form of a money order from his sponsor, it did not really belong to him, and therefore, he did not really have it.

"Another immigrant destined for Saint John had a ticket only for Halifax. Of course, he had $250 in his possession, but if he bought a ticket, he would not have $250 on his arrival. He promised to walk it. No go.

"In our case, coming as we did from Vilno, we had passports from the Central Lithuanian government set up by the marauding Poles, a condition that continued for nearly twenty years. But the map in the immigration office showed that Vilno was the capital of Lithuania, not in Central Lithuania. My father tried to teach the man with the brass buttons something of modern European geography. No go.

"Of course, all this was a series of shams. Eventually, after taking away our money for detention food and lunch boxes -- a loaf of bread, pork and beans, sardines -- the $250 in possession was forgotten; so were the lessons in outdated geography. But not until a circle of hell.

"Within minutes we found ourselves in a huge detention shed, separated from our wives and mothers and sisters, with beds in an adjoining hall, fed black potatoes and cockroaches in the prunes. Above all incommunicado with our mothers, with our relatives and with the outside world -- our fate completely unknown to us, except that it could not be good.

"Each one of us had an odyssey of his own; Homer would have enjoyed all of them. Many of them had had more recent Soviet experience, had smuggled their way from that paradise, had wandered through antisemitic countries across Europe and had no country of legal domicile, unless Russia could be called one. Deportation to them meant -- where?

"Separated from our womenfolk, little boys crying for their mothers, Jewish families who had done the herculean during war and flight to remain together were broken up in Nova Scotia by a pious shamming government which had refused permission to eligible immigrants on the ground that this might separate them from their families. We were wild with anxiety. One of the men with us, destined for Quebec I seem to remember, went berserk.

"We lived in this veritable limbo on Canadian soil, not mapped on the human geography of the nation, for weeks while, unknown to us, companies squabbled about responsibility for our return.

"Also unbeknown to us, the sponsors of some of our group were also anxious about us. What happened to the parents and kin of these Canadians who were expected to land at Quebec and Saint John and Halifax? Silence. Long after, I remember seeing by chance a social note in the Halifax Herald that Mr. McGeer, lawyer of Vancouver, had come to Halifax on an immigration case.

"How many Jewish tragedies have played out silently with millions of nameless victims when no bottles were thrown into no waters, or were seen only by whales and octopuses?

"But our bottle reached the great heart of Lillian Freiman of Ottawa of whom, in our oblivion, we had never heard.

"One morning there was much sweeping and scrubbing and washing of floors in our warehouse and much scurrying all day. After the usual supper with the black potatoes -- we were told, within sight of Prince Edward Island, that that was how potatoes came in Canada -- the door at the end of the huge hall opened and in flowed all our women!

"Even now, some fifty-seven years later, my heart wells up as I recall the weeping, the crying, the kissing, the fainting, the comforting, the hugging, the inarticulation of these hundreds of Jewish men and girls and mothers and boys and fathers and husbands and women as they searched out their folks. The tender and the screeching and the silent and the violent scene long continued in the shed without a chair or bench, endlessly

"I do not remember how long until, suddenly, there was a loud clap, a call for order.

"On this day of wonders all stopped in silence as, from the same door there entered a solemn parade of single file of marshalls and policemen and officials and civilians marching in step towards a rather large platform at the other end of the hall. In the centre of the file came a man obviously Jewish, well to do, and the most beautiful matronly Jewish woman, beaming goodness, that you could ever dream for, obviously the important person in the file -- Mrs.Freiman.

"They all marched up the platform (no chairs) as we all gathered in a dream within a dream within a nightmare.

"The proceedings began in confusion. Some official made a speech in English which we did not understand. He finished off with a question; we could not respond. There was no interpreter. Hasty consultation on the platform. Then someone asked if there was anybody among us who could speak English.

"Suddenly from the crowd a young man and his wife with a baby in her arms came up the platform. He spoke to us.

"'This goy has just said that each of us has been told before embarking that we would not be permitted to land in Canada, and that we all came at our own risk. Now I swear before you all here and before him by my life, by the life of my wife and by the life of my baby, that this is a lie. None of us have ever been told a word.'

"His wife burst out in tears. So did he. So did many in the hall. These were no tears of the agony of their own condition. It was a universal lamentation for all Jewish suffering, of all the suffering, of all the driven, of all the rejected of the people. Their weeping was a gathering of all of them about the young family with Lillian Freiman, in the face of the Canadians with brass buttons and keys in their hands.

"Mrs. Freiman wept too; opening her arms wide she clasped the entire family to her bosom and, not having much Yiddish, sobbed out, 'Nisht vein' (Do not cry), the comforting words on the escutcheon of a lady in the Jewish aristocracy of mercy. The legendary Sarah Bath Tovim became a beautiful Jewish queen in Canada.

"After a few minutes of confusion and pale blond faces, she turned on the officials and spoke to them words we did not understand but which they probably understood even though they probably heard them for the first time.

"Out of the confusion, embarrassment, indignation, she began to speak, in part through the interpreter; some of what she said came through directly to the crowd beneath, being said in the language of immediacy and communion.

"She was now talking to us, a private Jewish idiom that disregarded the officials more offensively than all the indignant charges she had levelled at them. She was imperious, with the force of justice.

"'I promise you, none of you will go back to Europe. If necessary I will get you all first into Cuba. I will give the Cuban consul in Ottawa a bottle in his Christmas turkey. I will go with you to Cuba and stay with you until the last one of you is settled.'

"That was only the beginning. She aroused the country -- and the U.S.; Joseph Barondess and the labor movement became involved. Partisan politics entered into it. I do not know how many the Freimans sponsored as employers.

"To my father's last day the Cuban visa appeared on his passport.

"I recall most vividly that on the six-day railway trip from Halifax to Vancouver, eating the lunch cartons they sold us after charging us for the food served during the six weeks in detention, we kept looking back to see whether anybody was chasing us. Halifax is still not my favorite Canadian city."

We have already noted how the Jewish efforts to save these people from deportation had aroused Action catholique and its Albert Foisy.

The release of the Halifax-detained evoked an attack on these Jews and on all Jews by Abbé E.-V. Lavergne in Action catholique of July 19, 1922 in which the entire arsenal of Jew hatred at his disposal was utilized from the Tharauds to Documentation catholique, and the Nouveau mercure.

It took the combined efforts and sacrifices of the philanthropists of Canadian Jewry, of the American Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Colonization Association to secure the release of the 300 who were still detained in March, 1922, just before the election.

An epilogue on a minor key, "After the liberation Canada offered recompense in beauty and natural glory for false arrest. Days of the reunited family in a colonial coach rolling across a December continent; lakes like seas only more numerous; variety to make you regret a moment of gazing lost; forests to make a Lithuanian timber merchant incredulous; mountains that challenge wakefulness; endless, tired fields whose fertility is loquacious even under snowy stubbles; the conductor, though in a uniform with brass buttons, is polite and generous with hot water; when the strange canned beans are gone and cheese and bread are resupplied at box stations -- life in a small community of sheltered peddlers and storekeepers, and the Canadian native.

"One day we are told there will be a gathering in the synagogue on Zion, and we shall actually see and hear Lillian Freiman. No other people in the world are able to receive messengers from another world: Mrs. Freiman in life.

"There was no particular anticipation of the unreal. But on a Sunday evening the synagogue was hot and full. J.L. Kostman, leading citizen, made a speech as did others, one after another, about Palestine and Chalutzim and other subjects not of Canadian reality.

"But at the East wall, near the president's or rabbi's chair -- did sit Mrs. Freiman and her husband, and a Montreal Dr. Shayne who had accompanied them.

"Compelled rather easily, but with no choice and no clear intention, the young lad, in the midst of the proceedings walked up the aisle, not particularly noticed by the audience, straight to the Freimans and, failing other expression, mumbled to them, 'I was in Halifax.' He could feel Mrs. Freiman shudder. Several scenes were in the making. She whispered something to her husband. Concerned for the evening, he put his hand very firmly on hers. She turned to the lad, beckoned to him, and kissed him. Mr. Freiman said very kindly, 'Thank you very much. Now you can go back and sit down.'

"It was no dismissal. The event had been accomplished."

A DESPERATE COMMUNITY

The most practical and immediate form of aid to the kin in Europe who survived Czar and Denikin and Lenin was to bring them to Canada. But a few years earlier the world had been open for Europeans. Tragically, just when the knives of red pogroms and ukases of the white pogrom became less restrained, the bars came down at Canadian ports. A series of domestic and economic factors led Canadians to think of their country as adequately populated. French Canada felt that immigrants were only adding to the Anglophone population.

Canadian Jews, substantially all from eastern Europe, were frustrated in their helplessness as they were witness to the looming catastrophe. The more so as they had no forum for uniting expression or action after the Canadian Jewish Congress was dissolved soon after its convening in 1919.

As Dr. Joseph Kage put it, the Jewish people in the modern age are subject to "the universal migration current and its impelling forces: overpopulation; search for economic opportunity; quest for freedom; escape from racial, religious, or political oppression; desire to join kinship groups are among the main causes of immigration. The 'push'and'pull' forces were more intense and assumed, proportionately, larger dimensions. Economic and social discrimination, social and political inequality, racial and religious persecution made the position of the Jews more precarious. Hence the search for freedom was stronger; the tendency towards migration was greater; and the immigration process was characterized by a sense of urgency which often was transformed into Pikuach Nefesh -- rescue.

"Migration has long been a crucial factor in Jewish survival, resettlement and rehabilitation. The Jewish communities of the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, and other overseas countries, including the modern state of Israel, as well as the present day community of England and France, are the direct results of Jewish migrations during the recent past. Beginning with Russian pogroms in 1881, Jews kept seeking havens from political oppression, social persecution, hardships and difficulties.

"Jewish immigration work represented a weapon of survival in the face of calamities which Jews faced everywhere. Jewish immigration work represented a strong and vital expression of sympathy, mutual obligation, help, as well as unity, by assisting in the rescue and giving of a new lease on life to those who were in need of such help.

"Immigration to Canada, prior to W.W.I, was guided by a relatively free, permissive, 'open-door' immigration policy. From 1918 on, the situation not only changed but, in a sense, was completely reversed. Immigration restrictions were introduced and, in contrast with pre-war procedure, instead of permitting the admission of all persons with the exception of certain stipulated, excludable categories, the new policy prohibited the admission of all persons with the exception of certain admissible categories.

"These restrictions primarily affected the immigration from Eastern Europe, which meant that it had a telling effect on Jewish immigration, especially in view of the extensive and tragic dislocations of the Jewish people. As a minority, the Jews were subject to all kinds of discrimination. The need for emigration was urgent, but immigration opportunities decreased; the U.S.A. introduced the quota system; Canada restricted admission, etc. Immigration became a rescue task." (Jewish Immigration and Integration in Canada.)

Kurt Grossman notes that Canada adopted restrictive measures analogous to the American which admitted, he cites, 11,000 Jews in 1930; 5700 in 1931, and 2755 in 1932. ("Refugees, D.P.'s and Migrants," in Institute Anniversary Volume, 1941-61. New York, Institute of Jewish Affairs 1962, P. 118)

The Jewish community met up with a structure of officialdom which was hostile to Jewish immigrants -- possibly antagonistic beyond the demands and policies of the government. Half a century later, faced with the single tragic case of a Polish Christian immigrant, the minister in charge exploded in parliament with indignation at this hostility of his civil service. But in the 1920's only Jews felt it, on their backs, Jewish applicants in overseas offices, Jews in the sheds of Halifax, Jewish relatives on Adelaide St. or on Colonial St., Jewish dignitaries knocking on oak door under stone gargoyles.

The enacted regulations, too, were for the first time heartlessly directed at Jewish kin, Jewish lives. The emotional impact on the members of the community was deep and lasting.

For the first time in Canadian history Jews felt that their government was opposing them on a vital issue.

The frustration and hopelessness of European Jewry grew from month to month. There was no present and no future for Jews in these steaming jungles of racist and religious hatred. The war that was to destroy their world was as clearly before them as if they had already the press reports of the conflict. It was in everyman's assumptions.

When governments did make arrangements for the emigration of groups of their citizens, few Jews were able to benefit from them.

From the Jewish community point of view, as from that of the Canadian nation, immigration was the key to growth and even to continuity. In fact, with the slow but gathering damning of the stream, the census showed a significant trend.

The concentrate of Jewish history in Canada is encoded in a single set of figures extracted from a table prepared by the Department of Manpower and Immigration on the ethnic origin of immigrants to Canada.

The number of Jews entering the country during this century:

1900 - 2765	1901 - 1015
1902 - 2066	1903 - 3727
1904 - 7715	1905 - 7127
1906 - 6584	1907 - 7712
1908 - 2504	1909 - 2779
1910 - 5060	1911 - 5044
1912 - 6885	1913 -11,574
1914 - 4279	1915 - 73
1916 - 137	1917 - 38
1918 - 25	1919 - 74
1920 - 1335	1921 - 8731
1922 - 3385	1923 - 9494
1924 - 5428	1925 - 2637
1926 - 4441	1927 - 4744
1928 - 3532	1929 - 3353
1930 - 3702	1931 - 214
1932 - 313	1933 - 420
1934 - 577	1935 - 560
1936 - 449	1937 - 317
1938 - 456	1939 - 1467
1940 - 329	1941 - 132
1942 - 41	1943 - 44
1944 - 74	1945 - 347

Other statistical immigration reports give figures totally at variance with these (e.g. Canada Year Book, 1934-35 and 1937.) But the graphs of the period's immigration that each presents is identical.

Although the Jewish community had been growing steadily, the Jewish portion of Canada's population reached a peak (at 1.5%) in 1931 and has been declining since.

As Louis Rosenberg put it at the time in his memorandum of "Suggestions for the Settlement of Jewish Refugees in Canada," there was no occasion for fear lest the coming of a reasonable number of Jews would distort the population balance.

The comparative growths of the respective groups within the Canadian population during the century are eloquent.

The first decade saw the Jewish community multiply 3.75 times (like the Belgian, Finnish, Hungarian, Italian and Polish); the second decade, 1911-21 recorded an increase of only 65% (much less than three other groups); in the 1921-31 decade the decline was down to 24% (nearly the lowest of all groups). In the 1931-41 decade the growth was down to 8.6%, one of the lowest in Canada.

Detailed facts on Canada's admission of Jewish refugees are difficult to procure since no statistics were kept on refugees as a defined group. For not all who fled from Germany or from its threat were Jews, and not all Jewish immigrants into Canada were fleeing German Hitlerism. But there seems to be agreement that in the six years before the war -- while Palestine became the haven for 60,000 Jewish refugees, the U.S. for 90,0000 and Great Britain for 48,000 -- Canada admitted 382.

The result of this Canadian attitude is the negligible number of Jewish immigrants admitted to Canada. In the years when the necessity and pressure of Jewish emigration from Europe to lands overseas surpassed that of many other European population groups, their numbers admitted to Canada -- as measured by absolute and relative figures -- were very low.

In his statistical study of immigration and the Canadian Jewish community, Rosenberg wrote,

"The numerical and percentage increase of the Jewish population in Canada due to immigration showed a drastic reduction in the decade from 1911 to 1921, due to the World War of 1914-1919, which more than counterbalanced the large increase due to immigration during the pre-war years from 1911 to 1914.

"The decrease of Jewish immigration in the decades from 1921 to 1931 and 1931 to 1941 was even more marked; the total net Jewish immigration during the period of 30 years from 1921 to 1951 was less than the net Jewish immigration to Canada in the decade from 1911 to 1921.

"The stream of Jewish immigrants fleeing from persecution and the aftermath of the World War of 1914-19, which caused Jewish immigration to Canada to jump from 2,763 in 1921 to 8,404 in 1922, was choked off by restrictive immigration regulations in 1923.

"Jewish immigration to Canada decreased by 16 percent in the decade from 1911-21 below the previous decade, decreased again by 39% in the decade from 1921 to 1931, and again by 56 percent in the crucial decade from 1931 to 1941.

"The drastic reduction in Jewish immigration to Canada which occurred during the decade from 1931 to 1941, the same period which saw the rise of Hitler and the persecution and exile of so many Jews from Germany and other Central and Eastern European countries, was not due to the economic depression which may have discouraged many prospective non-Jewish immigrants, but to the restrictive immigration regulations imposed in 1931, which bore down with particular hardship upon the Jews.

"The crude birth rate of Jews in Canada is the lowest of any ethnic group in the country, averaging 14.3 per 1,000 over a period of 10 years, as compared with 22.3 per 1,000 among the population of all origins. The natural rate of increase, being the excess of births over deaths, has averaged 8.8 per 1,000 among the total population for the 10 year period from 1926 to 1935.

"Although the Jewish population of Canada forms 1.5 percent of the total population, the average number of Jewish births in Canada forms only 1.03 percent of all births in the country. It is therefore evident that the natural rate of increase among Jews in Canada has been, and is likely to continue to be, lower than that of the total population.

"The total population of Canada for 1937, as estimated by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, was 11,120,000. A careful estimate of the total Jewish population of Canada in 1937, based upon the annual natural increase and immigration, shows that there were 164,000 Jews in Canada at that time, so that Jews formed only 1.47 percent of the total population of Canada in 1937, as compared with 1.51 percent of the total population in 1931. If 5,000 Jewish refugees were allowed to enter Canada in 1939, this would only increase the percentage of Jews among the total population to 1.52 percent, which is very slightly in excess of what it was in 1931. The admission of 10,000 Jewish refugees would only add 0.09 percent or approximately 9 out of every 10,000 of the total population. It is therefore evident that purely from the statistical point of view, Canada can absorb from five to ten thousand Jews per annum among its population, without appreciably increasing the proportion of Jews to the total population."

A reflection of this failure of growth is to be found in Bain's study of residence in Toronto:

"The locus of Jewish residential location within Wards Four and Five remained constant in the interim period before 1941, as 77% of Toronto Jewry resided therein at that date. The period from 1928 to 1941 appears as a static era in which the regions of Jewish residency apparent in 1928 merely became more intensely settled by Toronto Jewry. Quite possibly the relative lack of real expansion of the Jewish district springs from the low rate of Jewish population growth in this era.

"The segregation of Jews in the core 'ghetto' of 1928 remains unabated in 1941, and has intensified in the northern appendage. Of greater significance is the transition of Ward Five 'mixed area' of 1928 to become a district predominantly occupied by Jews. Movement into the Ward Five Jewish district necessitated the purchase of a home -- a process impeded and slowed considerably by the economic depression early in the period. Nonetheless, by 1941 practically every block-face within the Bathurst-Ossington-Dundas-Harbord rectangle contained a majority of Jewish residents.

"Not even the considerable immigration following the second war altered the direction. The 1971 census shows the percentage down to less than 1.3%, and the rate of decrease was highest during the last census decade."

Miss Constance Hayward of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees told the Senate Committee on Immigration, when the blood bath was all over, in 1946,

"In 1931 the Jewish proportion of our population was 1.5. In 1941 it was 1.48. The difference is not great, but in the ten years of Hitler's persecution we did not save the lives of enough Jewish refugees to maintain constant the Jewish proportion of our population."

The proportion of Jews in the total population, and even among foreign-born Canadians, kept on declining since 1921, continuously to 1961 and probably later. This was true in spite of the considerable number admitted during the post-war decade. In fact the Jewish was the only ethnic group among the foreign-born that declined, steadily during those forty years. (W.E. Kalbach. The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population. Ottawa, D.B.S., 1970, Pp.36-37)

This failure of development is also reflected in the statistics on increases in the principal religious denominations, particularly in the tragic decade 1931-41. Adherents of the Hebrew faith grew 8.2% while the others grew 10.9%. This trend continued during the following two decades, to 1961, when the synagogue grew by 21.5% and 24.2%, while the total for all faiths grew 21.8% and 30.2%. Which means, of course, that the percentage of foreign-born in the synagogue declined from 56.4% to 41.1% during the four-decade period. (Kalbach, Pp.67-69)

The percentage of Jews on the Island of Montreal fell from a high of 6.3 in 1921 to 5.7 in 1941 and did not rise for many years. (Norbert Lacoste. Les Caracteristiques sociales de la population du Grand Montréal. Montreal, Université de Montréal, 1958. P.230)

Figures brought by Rosaire Miron place the 1931-40 decade of Jewish immigration in perspective.

Whereas the three preceding decades, from 1901 to 1931, show Jewish entry at 46,300, 29,500 and 49,500, the crucial decade of 1921-31 shows only 8,200; to be followed in the next decades by 24,400 and 38,300.
In that trough 40,000 failed of rescue by Canada -- special compassion under the circumstances not taken into consideration.

Abella and Troper add it up,

"Of the approximately 800,000 Jewish refugees from the Third Reich in the years from 1933 to 1939, Canada found room within her borders for only 4,000. In a world which was decidedly inhospitable to refugees, Canada was no exception. Yet even by the standard of the time, Canada stood virtually alone in the niggardliness of her contribution. Argentina, for example, admitted 22,000; Australia, 10,000 and was preparing to receive 15,000 more when war broke out; Brazil, 20,000; China, 15,000; Great Britain, 85,000; Palestine, 100,000; the United States, 140,000; and even penurious Mexico and Columbia had each accepted about 20,000."

Leslie Johnston later put it (in Reconciliation, vol. 2, no.1, Nov. 1944, P.13):

"The general policy of restricted immigration which began with the thirties was a great obstacle when men and women of good will in Canada became concerned over the refugee problem. This was a problem which had not been foreseen, which obviously was outside the realm of normal immigration policy; but the immigration laws had no provisions dealing with the reasons why an immigrant had left his own land. And so, in order to admit certain individuals and groups of individuals, special orders-in-council were passed. But the highest level that Canadian policy reached with regard to the refugee was one which has been described as merely 'cautious generosity.'"

Tartakower and Grossman succinctly summarize the attitude towards Jewish immigration into Canada,

"This dominion has always had the internal problem of relations between the British and the French populations, and it has also had a strong antisemitic movement. But the general reluctance of that country to admit refugees is certainly due more to economic than to psychological reasons. Canada is primarily an agricultural country and apparently will remain such for a long time to come. As an essentially agricultural country with a vast area, it is capable of absorbing hundreds of thousands and even millions of farm settlers, but its absorptive capacity for industrial workers is much smaller, and it is insignificant as regards merchants and professional men. This is the reason why Canada's doorshave been virtually closed to immigration since the last great depression. Very few exceptions have been made for refugees, although in the not so distant past there were many cases where refugees were not only admitted but assisted after their arrival in the country (among others, several thousand Russian Jewish refugees were admitted).

"A very small number of German refugees were admitted into Canada until the start of the war, despite the vigorous campaign waged by the progressive elements of the country. The refugees admitted belonged mostly to the wealthier classes among German Jewry, and they invested considerable sums in Canadian industry. A Canadian writer has estimated at twenty million dollars the amount of capital which refugees invested in their own manufacturing enterprises up to the end of 1940.

"The total number of German refugees admitted to Canada is estimated at 6,000."

BNQ
000 323 784 .