

CANADIAN JEWISH

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1974

ARCHIVES

NEW SERIES NO. 1

EARLY DOCUMENTS
ON
THE CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS
1914 - 1921

Listed by
DAVID ROME

With a foreword by
SAUL HAYES, LL.D., O.C., O.C.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS
MONTREAL • CANADA

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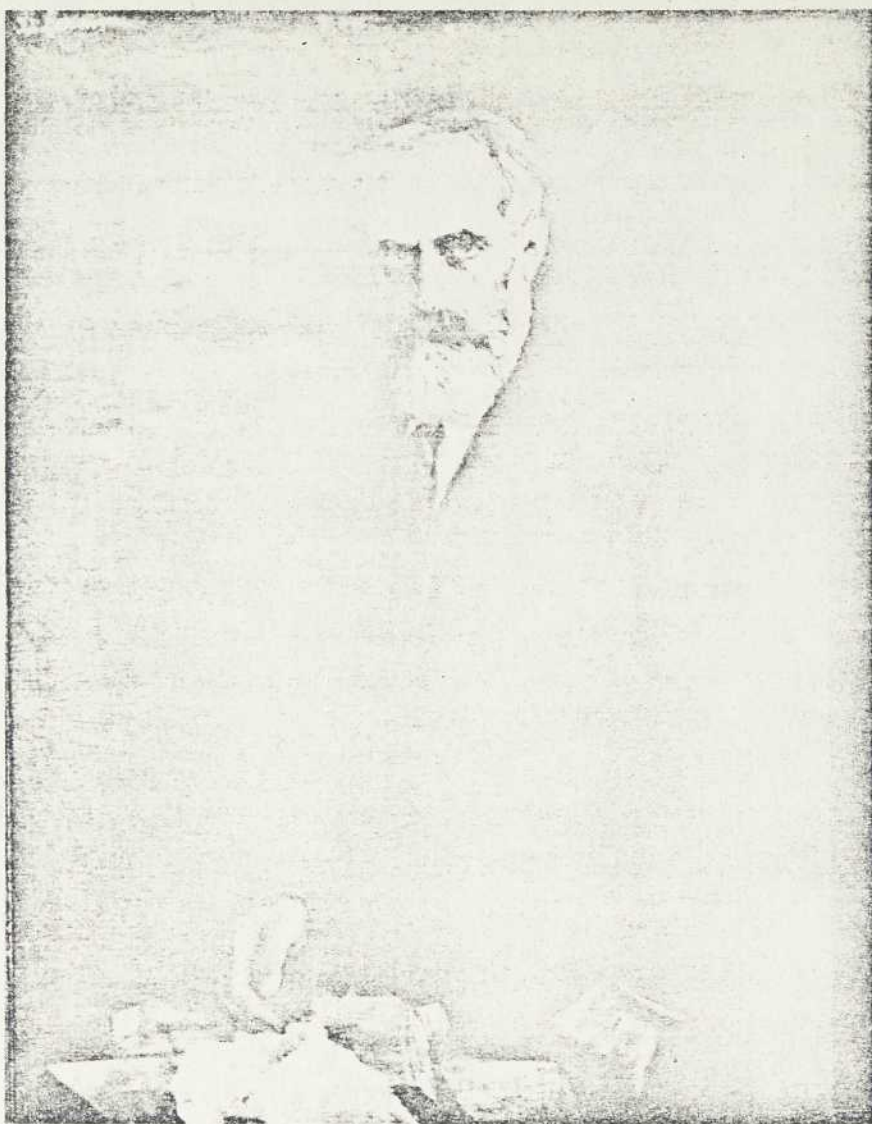
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— Portrait in Jewish Public Library

REUBEN BRAININ was a world-renowned editor, Zionist and Hebrew stylist when he came from Russia and Vienna to Canada in 1912 to become editor of the *Jewish Daily Eagle* and then of his own *Der Veg*. It was during his few years in Canada that his associations — if not his sympathies — turned from the middle class community towards the more dynamic labor circles. It was a process not without pain, as reflected in his diary, since published or still in manuscript.

With all his passion for the Hebrew language, Brainin came to write more Yiddish and less Hebrew as time went on, and few of his Hebrew books appeared after he crossed the Atlantic in 1910.

Brainin was revered by hundreds of workers in the community. In this personal manner he profoundly influenced the Canadian Jewish society, fol-

lowing in the tradition of Dr. de Sola, and Harkavi, and followed by Dr. Kaufman, Rabbi J. L. Zlotnik, J. I. Segal, Rabbi H. Cohen and A. M. Klein.

He shaped the Jewish People's Schools, the Jewish Public Library, the People's Relief, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the press and other institutions in Canadian Jewry. He was proud to welcome to his Montreal home such men of Yiddish letters as Sholem Aleichem.

Even after he left Canada he came to regard Montreal as his dearest home. He visited his family here frequently and willed to the Jewish Public Library many of his papers and books and his household memorabilia. These are among the treasured possessions of the Montreal Jewish community.

His mortal remains rest in the House of Life of the Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue on Mount Royal.

JUDAH KAUFMAN left London for Montreal after Shabuoth, 1913 to join relatives here. He received his B.A. at McGill in 1915 and prepared an M.A. thesis on the development of the Mishneh, but this was rejected by a local rabbi who was lecturing on Jewish studies at the time.

Kaufman left Montreal to continue his studies at Dropsie College where he obtained his doctorate and went on to become the outstanding authority on Maimonides, Yehuda Halevi, the medieval philosophers and later rabbinics.

On his departure from London he had promised his father to devote time to writing, particularly for the Jewish press. "This will bring good in many directions: it will ensure you with a more profound Torah and with the means of subsistence, and will be of benefit to our society," his father had said.

Kaufman began writing in Montreal for Brainin's *Jewish Daily Eagle* and later for *Der Veg* on Zionism and on Torah themes.

"These articles gave my father much pleasure. It was his triumph. He had been urging that the time had arrived for me to publish my studies. His ideal for me had been community leadership through public addresses, guidance of youth and the liberation of the sparks of sanctity that lie in the soul of the people," he later remembered.

Some of these writings were signed Hodelson (son of Hodel) as a tribute to his mother. When he assumed the pen name of Yehudah Ibn Samuel his father accounted it as the greatest reward fate can give a Jewish father.

On the other hand, Kaufman encouraged his father to begin to commit his interesting memoirs to paper,

(over)



— Courtesy Jewish People's Schools

CORRECTION

The front cover should read:

With a foreword by
SAUL HAYES, O.C., LL.D., Q.C.

and the first chapters of these writings were sent to his son in Montreal. In the course of time these flowered into *Memories, the Story of My Life*, by Samuel Kaufman, Tel Aviv. 480 p. (Hebrew).

Even after settling in the U.S. Dr. Kaufman visited Canada frequently. In 1917 he spent his summer in Montreal and Toronto, editing the weekly *Dos Folk*, largely to strengthen the ideal of the Congress. In the decades since he has continued to inspire friends in Canada with his remarkable correspondence.

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FOREWORD

BY SAUL HAYES, Q.C., O.C.

Canadian Jewish Congress has always recognized the fundamental importance of preserving and identifying the Archives of Canadian Jewry.

The years of the Congress have been decades of pressing concerns when a constant series of emergencies of the moment have allowed little leisure for the historic perspective. Nevertheless, amid these kaleidoscopic pressures of life-saving, resettlement, threats, readjustment, wars, the prophesied Return of Israel, constitutional revolutions and a myriad others, Congress has not neglected its cultural interests, its duties to the heart of Canadian Jewry, its deepening of identity of the individual citizen and of the growing and complex community.

The classic studies and publications of its sociology by Louis Rosenberg, now being continued by J. Yam, H. Freedman and others, are an example of this self-analysis and self-respect.

Similarly, Congress has accumulated a very extensive and precious archive of the concerns and activities of the community and of its citizenry which is an important asset of the country's past.

These archives are fundamental to an understanding of Canadian civics and of Canada's spiritual life, education, culture and pluralism. They reflect the biographies, the contributions and the deep feelings of two centuries of Canadian developments.

III

Some years ago Mr. Rosenberg prepared six issues of Canadian Jewish Archives, containing documents on the early decades of the community. They have since been recognized as a basic resource for those interested in the history of this period.

Mr. Rome has been invited to prepare an overall report on the documentation of the early years of the Canadian Jewish Congress. It was intended to be a working office paper.

But this archival inventory has turned out to be a document of historic vibrancy. It recalls a pregnant period in the annals of Jewry and of mankind.

The first of the world wars, the uprooting and the scattering of scores of thousands of refugees, revolutions, the "perfected racism" and genocide of our century, the destruction of old worlds, the closing of epochs, the emergence to the forefront of the New World and the reemergence from antiquity of the nascent State of Israel -- all this is reflected in these documents.

It takes the form of budding loyalties of seemingly ordinary Jewish men and women in Ontario towns, in Montreal sweat shops, in Jewish newspapers, on prairie cattle yards. In these papers there meet Hebraist philosophers, melamdim, distinguished advocates, immigrant revolutionaries, Reform rabbis. They speak English and Hebrew and all the accents of Yiddish. In this inventory Lord Curzon rubs shoulder with Yehudah Kaufman and with Israel Zangwill and Reuben Brainin and Louis Marshall and with such moulders of Canadian Jewry as L. Zuker and M. Goldstick and M.J. Finkelstein and S. Belkin and H.M. Caiserman and Louis Fitch and the many hundreds of near-anonymous activists of Jewish organizational life.

IV

Each with his limitations, they react to their times with prophetic urgency and even foresight.

We have felt that this office inventory will be useful to a broader, serious constituency, and have therefore decided to present it in its present form.

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THE EARLIEST DOCUMENTS
IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
OF THE CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS
IN THE SAMUEL BRONFMAN HOUSE, MONTREAL,
RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS.

The development of Canadian Jewish Congress Archives has been one of Congress's major objectives since its inception in 1919.

The growing CJC Archives of Canadian Jewry in the Samuel Bronfman House Museum also document the birth of Congress itself. The beginnings of the Congress and the concretization of its interests are so general and, in their beginnings, so undefined, that the starting point of our report must needs be arbitrary.

We begin with several documents that concern Jewish immigration into Canada during the fateful year of 1914.

1914

1. Early that year a number of Winnipeg Jewish community workers became concerned with reports of restrictions planned at Ottawa. Congress has documents that reflect this interest.

On Jan. 20, 1914 Mr. J. Finkelstein wrote a four-page letter on the matter to the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal on the letterhead of his law firm. The letter was also signed by M. Abrahamson, B.I. Goldstein, H. Salzman, president of the Hebrew Immigration Society, E. Cherniack and H. Weidman. It reads,

"Under Order-in-Council (P.C. 918), dated the 9th day of May 1910, it is provided,

"That no immigrant shall be permitted to enter Canada if he or she, being a subject or citizen of any country which issues a passport and penal certificate or both to persons emigrating therefrom, fails to produce such passport or penal certificate or both upon demand by the Immigration Officer in charge and whether coming to Canada directly or indirectly from any such country."

We understand that this Order-in-Council has not been strictly enforced up to the present, except in the case of Italians, but we are now advised that the Superintendent of Immigration intends to apply the above regulations to immigrants from Russia.

This simply means that hereafter entry to Canada will be refused to Russian immigrants who cannot produce what is known as a "Governor's Passport", that is, a document issued by a Russian Governor authorizing the holder to emigrate from that country.

You can readily understand that this will affect the Jewish immigrants far more, perhaps, than any others for the following reasons:-

- (a). Owing to the numerous restrictions under which the Jews live in Russia, they are constantly compelled to transgress and break some minor police or government regulations affecting the Jews in particular, and upon such transgression being made the transgressor has committed a misdemeanor under the Russian law and is therefore unable to obtain a passport.
- (b). Many of our co-religionists are constantly escaping from the Russian army and also leaving the country on account of complicity in radical propaganda. In each of such cases the passport would be refused.
- (c). It is a well known fact that when the Russian Government is aware that a Jew wishes to leave his home for the purpose of settling in Canada or elsewhere, a passport will be refused, because the emigrant intends to leave Russia for good.

Many other reasons can be cited why this regulation on the part of our Dominion Government will result in excluding about ninety per cent of the Jewish immigrants who leave Russia for the purpose of seeking a new home where they can live under a flag of freedom. It seems to us that prompt, energetic and united action should be taken by our brethren in Canada for the purpose of pointing out to our Dominion Government the injustice of this regulation as it concerns our co-religionists.

With this purpose in view the undersigned Jewish citizens of Winnipeg have met together last Sunday afternoon to discuss this most important question, and, after a thorough discussion, it was decided that communication should be made with Montreal, Toronto and other large cities in Canada, in order to find out if possible what concerted action shall be taken. As far as we are concerned we are anxious not only to do what we can but we are also ready and willing to accept advice from any source.

May we ask you to take this matter into immediate consideration and let us hear from you by return mail if possible? Please address your reply to M.J. Finkelstein, Barrister, Winnipeg, and you will greatly oblige."

2. The Baron de Hirsch Institute acted on this matter immediately, for Congress has the reply of W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, Ottawa, dated Feb. 4, 1914:

"There has been no recent change in our application of the Order."

3. In the meantime, H. Horrsfolt, manager of the Canadian Committee of the Jewish Colonization Association had sent a telegram to L. Gurofsky in Toronto, presumably on this matter. The telegram was sent care of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society of Toronto in the Associated Hebrew Charities building at 218 Simcoe St.; H.S. Dworkin, president.

Mr. Gurofsky, a broker in steamship insurance who has had an interesting association with W.L. Mackenzie King, replied on Feb. 9,

"Received your telegram, but regret to say I was out of the city last Sunday, and could not attend the meeting.

"I called up Mr. H. Dworkin, 64 Elizabeth St. who was chairman of the meeting and told him your wishes as outlined in the telegram. He informed there will be a committee meeting to-night, when he will bring the matter before them. I understand it was a very successful meeting, at which was present the local representatives, rabbis, etc."

4. The following day, on Feb. 10, Mr. Dworkin wrote to Mr. Horrsfolt,

"Your telegram addressed to Mr. L. Gurofsky reached us too late. We have had our mass meeting and carried a resolution which has been sent to Ottawa, and Mr. Edmund Bristol, member for center Toronto in the Dominion House, had promised to do everything he can for us. If there is anything we can assist you in the future, we are pleased to do so. Kindly let us hear from you."

5. The Congress holds a letter from Israel Zangwill dated Oct. 12, 1914 from Far End, East Preston, Sussex, addressed to E. Guilaroff of the staff of the Jewish Colonization Association in Winnipeg. It reflects a number of problems facing Jewry at this time.

"Many thanks for the cutting you have sent me from your Winnipeg Jewish daily. The article called "Because Zangwill will have it so" seems to me as foolish as it is eloquent. The writer seems to speak as if Russia were all that was in question, and that I had suddenly called upon the Jews to forgive what Russia has done to them, whereas as a British subject he should be the first to understand that the fate of Britain and Canada itself is now involved with the fate of Russia, and all that I have said is that it is better for civilization that the Allies should be victorious than that Germany should be. It so happens that I read the Yiddish article on my way to Birmingham to witness a performance of "The Melting Pot", which, with its denunciation of the Kishineff horrors, is still touring in England, and which reminds me how peculiarly unjust is the writer's accusation that I had not imagination enough to understand Kishineff, but was gadding about in gilded salons while my people suffered.

Hysterical eloquence and cries for vengeance are however silly, if there is a chance of securing what is better than vengeance, viz. the emancipation of the Jews of Russia. Should Russia emancipate her Jews it is she that is wiping off the insult she has spat at us, not we. Seven million people cannot emigrate from Russia, and therefore we ought to be glad of a chance of securing for them a happier existence there, and if Russia undergoes a change of heart we should certainly take the hand she offers us and let the dead past bury its dead.

Unless your writer can formulate another policy or make good his words of vengeance he is merely foaming at the mouth, and, although his hysteria may lead his readers to admire him and despise me, the Jewish question will not be in the least advanced.

You are at liberty to publish this letter."

1915

(A portion of this report has appeared in the Congress Bulletin, November 1973, p. 12, with several facsimiles).

1. An undated Yiddish manuscript letter on plain lined paper, addressed to "Dear Organization", is an invitation to a conference convened by Branch 8 of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance (Yiddisher Natzionaler Arbeter Farband, now Farband Labor Zionist Order) in Montreal, for the afternoon of Sunday, February 21 (no year is given), at 37 Prince Arthur Street, to deal with the problem of stricken Jews in the war zone.

This invitation refers to a dispute within the Montreal Jewish community which S. Belkin deals with in his The Labor

Zionist Movement in Canada, 1904-20 (Yiddish - Montreal, 1956, pp. 131-32). According to this history, a difference in emphasis developed as early as 1914 between the "Up-Town Jews" and the "Down-Town Jews" as to the relative importance of aiding, on the one hand, Canadians who were suffering from the effects of war-caused dislocation and, on the other hand, sending relief to Jews in the war zones stricken by the conflict.

Early in 1915 a united effort by the entire community, conducted by a committee representative of both sections, raised \$24,000. Of this amount \$1,000 was sent to Palestine, \$6,000 to Lord Rothschild as president of the War Victims Committee in London to aid Jewish war sufferers in allied countries, and the balance to charitable organizations in Montreal. (S.K.B. in D.A. Hart, ed., The Jew in Canada. Toronto, 1926. p. 524).

This division deeply disappointed the Down-Town Jews, particularly the men and women of the Poale Zion Organization and its affiliate, the Alliance. It was this that led Branch 8 to issue the invitation to the conference of February 21, 1915.

The invitation reads,

"As you doubtless know, we were absolutely ignored in the distribution of the Assistance Fund to which each of us has contributed his share. Thus the voice of those who are suffering was mercilessly suppressed. But the situation is too terrible for us to cease our efforts, as have our Up-Town benefactors. Something must be done. It is our obligation to ensure that the cry of the hungry and of the suffering shall not be a voice calling in the desert. Send your delegates so that together we may develop plans to help those who seek help."

As was customary at the time, the letter bears the clear rubber stamp of the branch, with the symbol of the Alliance in the centre. The letter is signed by A. Mann; his address is given as 1160 St. Dominique St.

2. It is out of this conference that the Canadian Jewish Congress was born, and the documents of this meeting are of fundamental concern to the historians of the Congress and of the Jewish community.

The Congress Archives hold the clear manuscript minutes of this assembly in ink, on two sheets of plain lined paper.

According to this Yiddish document, L. Zuker presided over the gathering of thirteen organizations which was convened, as he formulated it in his opening remarks, to secure the means of aiding our suffering brethren immediately, to unite all Jewish organizations into a single alliance which would make it possible to send delegates to the Jewish Congress so that individual persons will not be able to claim to represent the Jewish masses, and to take a position in regard to immigration problems.

The delegates to the conference protested against the unjust distribution of the funds of the earlier relief committee. It was proposed that a tax be imposed on all organizations in aid of the suffering, that a one-cent stamp be printed for the same purpose, and that women in particular be organized for collection of relief funds.

Welicovitch proposed that the conference declare itself a permanent body. M. Dickstein emphasized the importance of political activity by the conference. Judah Kaufman proposed that the gathering, acting as a pre-conference, should issue an appeal to all the organizations in the community. W. Sirota and Kaufman urged the body to concern itself with all local interests and all the economic and political problems created by the events of the times. The Canadian Jewish Alliance (Folks Farband fun Canader Yidn) was the title accepted by the conference. It was to meet again on March 7.

The Congress also holds the smudged notes made with an indelible pencil on both sides of a lined sheet of paper, continued on another sheet, a draft version of the minutes.

2a. In connection with this conference of March 7, the Provisory Committee of the Preparatory Conference issued a lengthy "Call to All Jewish Organizations" which was printed in the press; a clipping survives in the Archives Congress:

"A grave period in the history of the Jewish people has come, serious and difficult.

"The largest and most important section of our people has been seized by the great fire of war.

"Over a million of our young best are in the fighting armies.

"Some three or four million Jews are scattered and spread over all the warring camps, on the battle lines of Austria, Russia and Germany. The destruction is aggravating every day and is assuming the most horrible forms that humanity had ever heard of. Hundreds of Jewish communities are being wiped out. Hundreds of settlements have been scattered and exiled.

"Tens of thousands of young lives have been despoiled. Tens of thousands of new orphans are crying out to their helpless, young newly-widowed mothers. The survivors fall from hunger.

"There is no protection for the living and hatred is constantly being preached against Jewish lives. The newly dead who had given their lives for their motherlands cannot rest for the horrors that have befallen their people, perhaps the most violent of all the major catastrophes that have befallen our people in our long history.

"Only the young, 3,000,000-strong Jewish settlement in America has remained free of the Great Destruction, and a weighty triple obligation has fallen upon its shoulders.

"First, to respond to the great need that has been created in the lands of war, to still its hunger pangs, to heal its wounds, and to provide for the old, the aged parents and for the orphans and the widowed.

"This aid must come now, this moment. We must also prepare for the post-war years.

"Our help must reach there, in the front line areas, and it will need to bring its assuaging healing wherever the Jewish migration will bring them.

"Secondly, we must be ready to speak in the name of the entire Jewish people. We must announce to the entire world that the time has come for our voice to be heard. We must ensure that at the Peace Conference to be convoked after the hostilities are ended, the entire Jewish people will be represented as one. We must mobilize fully so that this conclave will hear the true Jewish protest against the crime that all mankind has sinned against us. We must demand assurances of civil, political and national rights for the Jews in the warring countries, especially in eastern Europe and in Palestine.

"Thirdly, now that the cultural influence of our European centres has ceased to nurture us and when the reconstructed communities there will have to depend so heavily upon us, we will of necessity need to make ourselves culturally strong by organizing our communities into firm institutions and build our national and social life here on healthier foundations.

"These are great tasks before us: economic, political, cultural.

"What have we done to realize these objectives thus far? Nothing.

"The little aid we have sent is but a drop in the ocean; it will remain as a blot upon us unless we add to it daily and generously, until it becomes a sacrifice from our own comfort.

"In other areas of action we have proven very weak. We have done nothing at all thus far.

"Friends, time is too brief and our responsibilities are epic. We in Canada are privileged to be able to work with both our brothers in the United States and in England. At this juncture we can accomplish much, and we must do no less in the months ahead of us.

"At this great moment, let none of us prove small!

"We, a number of organizations who met in conference recently to consider the present situation, address ourselves to all Jewish groups:

"Join with us in the People's Alliance of Canadian Jews which will address itself proudly and courageously to the obligations of this present grave and difficult time. Join us in this effort which can tolerate not the slightest delay. What we do now can have serious import for generations to come, for all time.

"No organization which bears the Jewish name will fail to respond to our invitation to the enlarged conference on Sunday afternoon, March 7, in the Prince Albert Hall, where we intend to found a great people's institution.

"We will address ourselves to all centres and cities in Canada, so that the People's Alliance of Canadian Jews will be truly formed.

"Suffering Jewry looks to us.

"The full history of our people asks us: what will you do?

"Our own fate awaits our response.

"It is our trust that we shall act courageously and nobly."

3. The Congress Archives possesses an unclear draft of minutes

of the conference accordingly convened on March 7, 1915. The sheet of plain lined paper in pencil and in ink gives February 7 as the date, but Belkin (p. 165) basing himself on other sources, reports on a conference in March at which a committee of 12 was elected; this is confirmed by our draft. One of those present at this conference was the world-renowned Hebraist littérateur Reuben Brainin, who had come to Canada just before the war began and fatefully associated his name with Canadian Jewry in a most creative and effective manner. During his three or four years in this country he edited the Eagle and, later, the Veg, inspired the development of the Jewish Public Library and the Jewish People's Schools, nurtured the Congress ideal and profoundly influenced scores of the most promising young men of Canada. At the March 7 conference, he emphasized that the "American Jewish Congress must represent the entire people."

4. A Yiddish address "To All Jewish Organizations in Canada" on a sheet 8½" x 14½" proves most illuminating.

It is an eloquent document at the base of Congress history.

1. Kivenko and A. Elanov.

The vice-chairman is given a wrong initial; he was L. Zuker who became one of the distinguished leaders of Zionism, Congress, labour and education in Montreal. (Vide the Leiser Zuker Gedonik

1908, edited by Jacob Zipper, Montreal, 1908, p. 104).

It is remarkably prophetic when we bear in mind that it was written early in 1915, less than a year after the outbreak of the war.

The major Jewish dislocation apparent at the time was the deportation of Jews from the immediate front. It was before the anti-Czarist and the red revolutions, before the pogroms, before American entry into the war, long before post-war planning became a general concern, before peace conferences and international negotiations for the post-war world and the mobilization of public opinion towards just frontiers and minority rights, long before the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations, and it was decades before cold pogroms and holocaust and the proclamation of Israel Restored.

Yet the document reads as if Reuben Brainin had written it with mid-century newspapers before him.

It is printed on the letterhead of the Canadian Jewish Alliance, Folks Farband fun Canader Yidn (Organizing Committee), dated in Montreal, March 23, 1915. It lists Brainin as president; A. Zuker as vice-president; J. Kaufman as secretary; N. Cheifetz and S. Selinger, assistant secretaries; M. Solomon as treasurer; M. Figler, financial secretary, and an agitation committee headed by F. Aronof and including J. Welicovitch, S. Yeglin, I. Figler, I. Kivenko and A. Eisner.

The vice-chairman is given a wrong initial; he was L. Zuker who became one of the distinguished leaders of Zionism, Congress, labour and education in Montreal. (Vide the Leiser Zuker Gedenk Buch, edited by Jacob Zipper, Montreal, 1968, p. 104).

The secretary is Dr. Judah Kaufman, Hebrew scholar and close associate of Brainin, at present living in Jerusalem. Cheifetz was a union man, at one time secretary of the Poale Zion. Welicovitch was a Labour Zionist, long active in the Montreal Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. S. Selinger was among the founders of the Jewish Public Library established earlier, also under the inspiration of Brainin and Kaufman. F. Aronof was one of the founders of the Farband in Montreal. Kivenko was a member of the Dorshai Zion in Montreal as early as 1906 and was among those who transferred their allegiance to the Poale Zion to organize that movement in Canada.

The printed appeal signed by Brainin read:

"Brethren,

"Great days have come for the Jewish people, days when our people suffer most bitterly and hope most stoutly, days when we are perhaps passing through the final, the most horrible chapter in the history of our exile, in which our ancient nation must fight like a young lion its final and most important battle for liberation.

"We have ourselves become great with these great days. Wherever the pulse of Jewish community life beats, the Jewish masses are penetrated as by an electric current by one sentiment - the sense of responsibility for the great historic moment.

"In an instant the young American Jewish community has sensed the historic role that it must assume in Jewish life. From within there have arisen deep, broad and far-reaching popular movements; all across American Jewry there comes the call for organization and for unity.

"The Jewish Congress has become the slogan of the Jewish society - a Congress to be convened by the people itself, where those chosen will express the powerful, iron will of the people to struggle for its freedom.

"At this Congress there shall be heard the cry of a people long robbed of its human rights. At this Congress the nation will declare openly to the entire world that, in spite of all persecu-

tions and humiliations of centuries and of millenia, it has not ceased to exist as a people and still believes in its right to such an existence.

"At this Congress we shall clearly and specifically state what we wish and what we expect from the Great Powers at the moment when the fate of nations is being determined for centuries to come.

"A Congress of all the Jews of America has become the slogan of courage for us. To it we bind our best hopes for a better future for our people and for a better Jewry in America.

"We are more than convinced that the Congress will define objectives which are not as yet clear to us; that it will seek to resolve questions we have not yet dared to raise, that new horizons will open for us, and that the new age will begin in Jewish history with its convening.

"Therefore the pulse of Jewry beats so. Therefore the Jewish masses move so. Therefore so much is being done so enthusiastically in Jewish communities in cities large and in towns small.

"In Canada, too, various strata of our people have begun to feel the need to unite. In Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Quebec, Winnipeg and elsewhere there have been set up - or are being set up - committees that seek, that strive to do all that is possible to participate in this great, sacred task.

"We have therefore come to feel that we must unite all these single trends into one mighty stream which will bear all classes, all parties, all movements in Canadian Jewry to one great political-national act.

"Thus there came into being the idea of The Canadian Jewish Alliance with the following platform:

The Alliance seeks to unite Canadian Jewry in the interests of the communal, political and economic responsibilities of the present moment so historic for the Jewish people.

"We appeal to you:

"Brethren, convene in each city, in each town, a great popular conference at which every organization shall be equally represented. Consider the responsibilities which the present moment impose and join the Canadian Jewish Alliance. Take advantage of the Festival of Liberation for meetings and conferences where the question of the current war of liberation shall be studied from every point of view, and prepare for the Convention of all Canadian Jews which we shall convene very soon with the aid of our united forces.

"Brethren, we call you to courageous, determined and responsible action!

"On behalf of the Organizing Committee of the Canadian Alliance,
Reuben Brainin,
Chairman.

"N.B. Here in Montreal we are convening on Sunday, March 28 (13 Nissan) a conference of all Jewish organizations in the city. We shall be the prouder and the more encouraged in our work if those among you who can communicate with us will be able to inform us that you, joining our ranks, will send us your proposals and recommendations and will ensure that you will work with us hand in hand.

"The address for mail and telegrams is:

C.J.A.,
J. Kaufman, Secretary,
1020 St. Urbain St."

5. The Canadian Jewish Alliance printed a long explanatory invitation to this conference of March 28. The copy in the Congress Archives is addressed to the Beth Yehudah Congregation and is signed by Brainin.

6. The Congress has the file of credentials to this conference. These letters are of great historic interest, not least from the graphic point of view.

The Independent Citizens League headed by M. M. Sperber sent Sam Shulemson as one of its delegates. His rubber stamp as financial secretary appears on the letterhead.

The United Garment Workers of America had a beautiful engraved letterhead which is still artistically impressive.

The Mohilever Progressive Association Branch 204 of the Workmen's Circle had a rubber stamp with the symbol of their order.

Chevrah Thilim Linath Hatzedeck Congregation, already 12 years old in 1915, had no letterhead but used a rubber stamp on a small

sheet of white paper, as did the Poale Tzedek Congregation of Mile End, the Papineau Gemiluth Chassodum Cooperative Syndicate, the Mile End Hebrew Loan Association, the Russian Polish Congregation Hadrath Kodesh, the Papineau Hebrew Sick Benefit Association, and Congregation Tiferes Jerusalem of Rossland. The Beth David and the Kerem Israel Talmud Torah wrote notes on sheets of paper.

The Chevrah Shass (Talmud class) of the Shaar Hashomayim Congregation did not even use a rubber stamp. Their credential was signed by Samuel Talpis.

Naturally, the Montreal Hebrew Teachers Circle credential was in Hebrew.

The Journeymen Barbers' Union No. 658 affixed their impressive seal to their credential as did the Raincoat Makers Union.

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners had the square and compasses as their symbol on their letterhead and on their rubber stamp.

The Hebrew Ladies Immigrant Protective Association of Montreal letterhead was in Yiddish, but their letter was in English.

Hands clasped in friendship illustrate the letterhead of the Canadian Hebrew Sick Benefit Society, founded, the rubber stamp tells us, in 1907. The same symbol appears on the stamp of the Independent Hebrew Sick Benefit Association (founded in 1901 and rechartered in 1906).

The Pinsker Loan Syndicate of Montreal sent their credential on the back of their application form.

A portrait of His Majesty appears on the rubber stamp of the King George Loan Syndicate.

The file also includes a 10-page typewritten list of the organizations and their delegates.

7. A manuscript letter from Joseph (Brainin), son of Reuben Brainin, dated June 30, 1915, to Kaufman on the letterhead of Der Weg Publishing Co. Ltd., publishers of the Yiddish daily "Der Weg" and of the Hebrew weekly "Haderech", both under the editorship of Brainin.

The letter gives the text of a telegram "Papa" received, an invitation "to address a mass meeting about present situation." Kaufman is asked to reply that Brainin is in Boston at the convention. In all likelihood the reference was to the meeting of the Provisional Committee for Zionist Affairs which met in Boston on June 27, 1915. At this meeting it was resolved to convoke an American Jewish Congress on a democratic basis. Other organizations were to be invited to participate in a joint appeal for a Congress which would seek to secure full status for Jews in all lands and the development of a homeland for Jews in Palestine.

(American Jewish Year Book, 5677, p. 88)

8. The Congress Archives hold a damaged but complete copy of a lengthy Yiddish document, printed in Montreal, undated, on both sides of a white sheet, 8½" x 13", entitled "Declaration of Principles of the Canadian Jewish Alliance."

It consists of 12 numbered paragraphs drawing attention to the lot of the Jews in the war areas and their future after the war. The permanent resolution of their problems must derive from the will of the awakened awareness of the entire Jewish people. This can find expression and resolution in a popular tribune established through the union of all classes and parties within Jewry.

This is followed by the "Convention Resolutions adopted by the Montreal Branch of the Alliance on July 15, 1915." These eight propositions include a recommendation for a convention of all Canadian Jews affiliated with the Alliance to determine the nature of the aid - economic, cultural and political - which can be tendered to our brethren in the countries at war. At the end of hostilities a Jewish congress is to be convened at which Canada is to be represented. If American Jews should determine to convene a congress before war's end, they should base their concern not on their neutrality, but as being Sons of the Jewish People. The Alliance should prepare for participation in such a congress.

The next section deals with the expulsion of the Jews from Curland, Kovno and other border areas of Russia which has uprooted a million of our brethren and has cast an aspersion on Jewry, being based upon accusations of espionage against these communities. The statement recommends mass meetings of protest across Canada at which Canadian Jews would subscribe to a petition to the Ottawa government for transmission to Great Britain, seeking English intervention with its Russian ally to stop the expulsions.

9. The holdings of the Congress Archives document the activities of the Organizing Committee of the Folks Ferband in collecting funds by the summer of 1915. Printed receipt forms exist; No. 76 notes 90 cents raised on August 18, 1915, through boxes by Chevrah Thilim; on September 15 \$1 was thus receipted from D. Sperber, both through Mr. Kaufman.

A printed report form details collection of nickels, dimes and quarters by name of contributors raised at the Bayer wedding, totalling \$2.12 as checked by Z. Wolofsky. Belkin details the substantial proportions which these petty collections assumed as hundreds of devoted workers gave endless time and effort to visit thousands of homes regularly and frequently. (p. 133)

A very complete minute book in Yiddish survives of the meetings of the Jewish People's Rescue Army founded under the chairmanship of L. Zuker on September 7, 1915, to stimulate the collections of the Alliance. The minutes continue to March 21, 1916. The book bears the stamp of the Socialist Organization Poalay Zion of Montreal, organized July 25, 1905.

10. The Alliance appeal evoked a notable response from the communities outside the large centres. Quite extensive correspondence survives reflecting an active movement in a fair way to becoming a nation-wide organization. There are indications of local problems and divisions.

In the absence of a Yiddish typewriter, outgoing correspondence was probably in manuscript, and no copies exist in the Montreal

files which consist of incoming letters only.

The Toronto file running from August 15, 1915, to March 13, 1917, holds 22 letters and four telegrams signed successively by A. Rhinewine, Morris D. Davis, M. Kremer, Naurice Goldstick, L. Rosenberg and S. Factor.

On August 22, 1915, the Toronto Conference of All Jewish Institutions in Aid of Those of Our People Suffering from the War voted, not unanimously, to become "to all intents and purposes a branch of the Canadian Jewish Alliance". Officers include P. Levy, E. I. Kennen, H. Dworkin, I. Rosen, M. Manson, J. Brodie, M. D. Davis. - Letter to Kaufman, August 25, 1915. According to S. K. Belkin in The Jew in Canada, edited by Arthur Daniel Hart in 1926, p. 525, "The Toronto Conference on War Victims was organized through the initiative of the Toronto organization of the Poale Zion at the end of 1915... A. M. Goldstick was elected president."

As A. Rhinewine, historian and editor of the Toronto Hebrew Journal, wrote to Kaufman on August 24, "It did not come about easily, but it passed."

This letter refers to the difficulties encountered by the Alliance from not having its own periodical. He notes that "the Montreal Yiddish Eagle is closed to the Alliance. If you wish to accept my proposal, you may utilize the Journal in the interests of the Alliance in so far as space will permit. I am anxious that you should not suspect that I am seeking to benefit for my paper. As you see, for my part I write on behalf of the Alliance at every opportunity. If my proposal appeals to you, please let

me know." A further undated letter from Rhinewine details his editorial support of the Alliance and discusses distribution of the Journal in Montreal.

On September 20 Goldstick reported to Kaufman on very extensive collections by the Toronto Conference: \$3,500 raised directly and \$3,000 collected by several congregations; three well attended meetings on one September Sunday; a public meeting planned with Mr. Brainin.

But the first echoes of problems already are to be heard: "It is the sincere wish of the Conference that you enter into negotiations with the Federation of Canadian Zionist Societies having as their object the creating of a better understanding between the Federation and our Alliance. The chief object of such negotiations to be that the Federation should give up its plan for a competitive convention which the Federation has decided to convene... We shall visit all Zionist organizations in our city for the purpose of inducing these organizations to insist that the Federation give up the competitive scheme," Mr. Goldstick wrote.

The meeting with Brainin took place at Massey Hall, a clipping from the Toronto News reports. Over \$700 was raised and resolutions adopted favouring "the calling together of all the Jews in Canada to express a desire for better treatment for Hebrews in those countries in which they are at present subjected to certain disabilities, and to ask for Jewish representation at the next Peace Conference."

On September 20, 1915, Mr. Kremer, secretary of the Toronto National Workmen's Conference on Jewish Rights, wrote that they had voted a day earlier to seek affiliation with the Alliance. He asks how democratic principles will be protected in elections to the forthcoming convention and in current relations with the Zionist Federation. Also, "How do you propose to participate in the Jewish Congress being convened by the Jews of the United States when the secretary of the Congress Committee, Dr. Girdjansky, has told our delegate to the labour convention, A. Rhinewine, that we Canadian Jews cannot participate?"

The Hamilton correspondence is as voluminous: 20 letters, 2 telegrams between May 19, 1915, to July 19, 1918. The correspondents: D. Sweet, U. F. Rabinowitch, S. Zwonkin, M. Shochat and A. Dumas, almost all in Yiddish except for Hebraist Rabinowitch.

The Agudath Zion Society endorsed the Alliance program as early as April, 1915, although, as Rabbi J. S. Minkin pointed out, "no prominent names of Montreal men who are leaders in Jewish affairs, with the exception of Kaufman and Brainin, appear in the circulars; and the members thought this very strange....We have received instructions (from the Zionist Federation) that as a Zionist Society we cannot take an active part - that is, as a body. Besides, the Federation is considering the advisability of taking up the work in due course." (D. Sweet to Kaufman, May 19, 1915)

In spite of these reservations an active Alliance group continued in contact with Mr. Kaufman.

A telegram from F. Rabinowitch informed Mr. Kaufman of a mass meeting scheduled for August 8.

Earlier correspondence is adorned with a rubber stamp of the Hamilton branch of the Alliance. Towards the end of 1915 there appears a printed letterhead and, later, a printed envelope with the return address of the branch.

Similarly, in London, Ont., the Jewish National Farein extended its work into Chatham and St. Thomas. The Congress Archives hold 16 letters from M. Hornstein, J. Wolf and I. Richmond, dated from May, 1915, to May, 1916.

In August, 1915, the Chatham Jewish community endorsed the Zionist and political program deriving from the Alliance in Montreal and distributed 20 boxes in their homes. (J. Yankelevitch, correspondent.)

Nine letters from M. S. Steinberg and M. Adams of North Bay reflect the community's enthusiastic response to the Declaration of Principles of the Alliance (August 1915 - March 12, 1916).

In Quebec City a group was organised in August 1915 under the chairmanship of Louis Lazarovitch. Correspondence with J. M. Margolis continued until January, 1916 (3 letters).

H. Midane and B. Zukerman of Saskatoon informed the Montreal office of the Alliance on the organization of their community, one of the centres of Yiddish cultural activities in the country at the time. Their library of several hundred Yiddish volumes was one of the first in Canada.

A. Chashevsky of Edenbridge, Sask., had lost the letter the Alliance had sent him in February and wrote in for a copy.

11. The Congress Archives have a stamp issued by the Alliance to aid in their collections.

12. The developments which had spurred the activities of this movement in the circles under the influence of Brainin and Kaufman were also effective elsewhere in the community.

The Congress Archives hold a letter from the Nordau Zion Club of Toronto dated August 16, 1915, to "Mr. Hugo Kaufman" (their misreading of Yehudah) to the effect that the club was raising the question of the participation of the Federation of Zionist Societies in the work of the Canadian Jewish Alliance.

The concern of the Toronto Federation with this matter has appeared in the Goldstick letter of September 20, 1915, for Zionist disapproval of the Alliance was becoming more open and widespread.

There was nothing ideological about the disagreement on the level of Zionism. To pit Brainin or Kaufman or Zuker or Goldstick against de Sola or Fitch is to note devoted Zionists on both sides. The Alliance call for a Jewish voice at the peace settlement was a forerunner of the Versailles and San Remo confirmation of the Balfour Declaration.

But there was at this moment a clear social confrontation and an institutional rivalry in the community: the Zionists, the only national Jewish organization in the dominion, feared the rise of a second.

As H. M. Caiserman pointed out in his "History of the First Canadian Jewish Congress" in Hart's The Jew in Canada, pp. 465-82, the explanation of the stand of the Zionist Federation is to be found in a letter from Leon Goldman, chairman of the Zionist Bureau, in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle of December 27, 1918: "The Zionist Federation had strong reasons for abstaining from taking any official part in organizing a Congress until after the signing of the treaty of peace. Negotiations that were at present being carried on with European Governments by the Zionists were of too delicate a nature to admit of the Zionists running the risk of jeopardizing their position by being compromised by possible inimical or unwise resolutions that might be passed by the Congress."

The penny box collections of the relief campaign were seen as competing with the Jewish National Fund (Belkin. p. 133).

The conflict took other forms.

The Eagle, under the direction of H. Wolofsky, opposed the Alliance for several reasons: the Eagle was centred on the religious element while the Alliance was led by groups religiously neutral or hostile to religion.

Wolofsky clashed with Brainin, easily his superior as a journalist and writer, the Brainin whom he had sponsored and had even invited to come to Canada. Brainin left the editorship of the Eagle and eventually set up his own newspaper, the Veg.

The Congress Archives reflect how the conflict reverberated across the communities. We have noted the repercussions in Toronto

and in Hamilton. In a Hebrew card dated September 7, 1915, Uri F. Rabinowitch asked Kaufman to "wire him the names of six prominent men in the communities who take part in Alliance work."

In a letter dated October 6, 1915, we note the existence of "An Organizing Committee of the Conference of Canadian Jews", with Louis Fitch as secretary of the provisional committee, together with Clarence I. de Sola, Lyon Cohen and Samuel W. Jacobs; offices in Room 521, Power Building in Montreal.

This group was largely representative of the Up Town community, diametrical from Down Town of the Poale Zion. But within this more conservative society it might be noted that Cohen was friendly to the newer immigrant society, that de Sola was president of the Zionist movement with its important base in the more populous eastern quarters of the city, and Louis Fitch, throughout his life a brilliant, articulate, unpredictable and stormy petrel, was considered as a friend of the workers' group. Belkin considers Jacobs a consistent rebel against the "Jewish aristocracy" of the city; two years later, with the consent of Mr. Cohen, he stood for election in the federal campaign against the opposition of his social peers in Westmount. It is thus he began his brilliant parliamentary career for Montreal-Cartier. (p. 183)

The Congress Archives have the typewritten (carbon copy) letter they sent out to J. Margolese, president of the Mizrachi Society in Montreal. The letter reads,

"It has been felt for some time that a Conference of Jews throughout Canada be summoned for the purpose of discussing questions of interest to the whole of the Jewish people, questions which may, to a certain extent, be solved at the termination of the War.

"Jewish thought throughout the whole world has united for the purpose of organising the Jews of every country so that they may express to their Governments their desires for ameliorating the condition of Jews in all countries where they today suffer oppression or inequality and to bear pressure, wherever possible, upon those Governments for the purpose of improving conditions in those countries.

"It has been decided to call a Conference of Canadian Jews for the same purpose and it is believed that by the making of proper representations to the authorities based on the unanimous desire of all Canadian Jewry, that our voice will be heard and that, coupled with similar demands throughout the world, will result in a proper readjustment of conditions.

"At a meeting held last week of the council of the Federation of Canadian Zionists, it was decided that such a Conference be held at Montreal on November 7, 1915, and that the Canadian Zionist Federation take the initiative on account of its large organization throughout Canada in calling this Conference.

"The Conference is to consist of all Jews of Canada representing all opinions and classes. The Conference must consist of all Jews, whether they be Zionist, non-Zionist or anti-Zionist. The Zionist Federation, in taking the initiative for the calling of this Conference, is merely lending its organisation as the mechanism for the calling of the Jewish Conference and this must not be construed otherwise.

"At the Conference all questions of importance to Jewry as a whole will be considered and discussed. At a gathering representing all Jews of this Dominion it will be learned what are the desires of Canadian Jewry, and proper means will be found to convey these desires to the proper authorities who will be asked to see that these desires be complied with and be properly guaranteed.

"In order to make this gathering as democratic and as broad as possible, it has been decided by the organising committee to invite one delegate from each Jewish Organisation throughout Canada having a minimum of twenty-five members, the organisations invited being synagogues, charitable organisations, labour unions, socialist bodies, national bodies, educational and literary societies, etc.

"If you are in sympathy with this idea, will you please call together a meeting of your society (when we shall be pleased, if you so desire it, to send someone to elaborate on the objects of the Conference) and elect from among yourselves a delegate whose name you will kindly mail to our secretary as soon as possible."

The date proposed by the Conference for the national assembly which they were convening, Nov.7, 1915, was significant: it was nearly to coincide with the date set by the Alliance for their national convention, "not later than November 18." (Belkin, 167)

This was intended, and was received, as a direct challenge.

13. The Congress Archives contain the Winnipeg reaction to this invitation from the Conference of Canadian Jews. The Fitch letter reached the Winnipeg Committee for the Furthering of the Movement for the Removal of the Disabilities of the Jews, headed by Rev. H. J. Sandheim. Marcus Hyman, secretary of the committee, wrote to Mr. Fitch. (The Congress Archives copy of the letter is a carbon sent to Mr. Kaufman):

"Prior to the receipt of your letter, we had convened a Conference Representative of all Jewish Organizations in this City.

"This Conference was held on Sunday, the 10th, and delegates from 56 Organizations were present.

"A resolution was adopted, cordially approving of the holding of a Conference in Montreal on November 7th, but in view of the fact that some local organizations had received invitations to a Conference to be held on the same day, under the auspices of the Volks-Verband, our Conference decided to adjourn for a fortnight in order to obtain further information.

"Without any formal motion, it was strongly urged with unanimity that, as the purposes of both of the proposed Conferences are presumably identical, and as both are also at least in the first instance, merely deliberative, it is vital that there should be but one Conference.

"Our Community consisting of some 15,000 Jews and, as far as we can judge, the whole of the Jewry of Western Canada fail to realize the reason or necessity for the condition of affairs that exists in Montreal, in connection with this matter.

"There was produced at our meeting, a published list of some 250 associations from Montreal, Toronto and other cities, who have signified their intention to support the Volks-Verband.

"I am instructed to communicate in the same strain with the Volks-Verband, and would ask you to be good enough to let me have a full reply in time to submit the same to the adjourned meeting of our Conference to be held here on the 24th.

"We in Winnipeg strongly disapprove of being called upon to break up our united forces on an occasion of such paramount urgency for Jews of every class and origin. Winnipeg Jewry, in common with the Jews of the whole world, is seeking light in this momentous hour of darkness and of hope. In this Dominion we naturally look to Montreal for the lead. That deliberation and action shall be united is of supreme importance.

"We, at this juncture, therefore, demand from Montreal unity - no more and no less."

14. At the same time Mr. Hyman wrote to Mr. Kaufman in Montreal:

"We look to your organization equally as to the organizing Committee of the Conference of Canadian Jews for the avoidance of what is to us an inexplicable and inexcusable rupture in our united forces at this vital moment.

"Kindly in reply give us the fullest information possible to lay before our adjourned Conference."

15. In Hamilton, S. Zwonkin, long time Poale Zionist serving as secretary of the local branch of the Alliance, wrote Kaufman about the intemperate attacks on the Alliance by Leon Goldman of the Zionist Federation. (Yiddish letter of October 12, 1915.)

Mr. Zwonkin probably replaced Hebrew-writing Mr. Rabinowitch; on July 30, the latter reported that he has been requested to conduct the correspondence of the Alliance in Yiddish. "Hebrew is Turkish to members of the committee."

Zwonkin's letter of October 22 probably refers to the effort at compromise attempted in Toronto on October 11 when Brainin, Gold-

stick and Rhinewine met with local Zionists in an effort to arrange for joint sponsorship. (Belkin p. 169) Before the tentative agreement which they reached was rejected by the principals, it had been published in the press. On the 22nd Zwonkin wrote them in exasperation:

"From the clipping in Der Veg which you sent me it appeared that the Alliance has joined the Zionists in convening the assembly. Why, then, did all the organizations of the city receive letters from Lawyer Fitch in the name of the Conference Committee, dated October 19, inviting them to a convention convoked by the Zionists for the 14th of the next month? He does not mention your Saturday meeting at all, and he convened the assembly as before, invoking the same circumstances....We are being asked whether this is the united conference which was under discussion."

As late as November 8 Hamilton was still uncertain of the situation. That day Zwonkin telegraphed Kaufman for "particulars why the union did not take place."

In the meantime the Committee of Nine, headed by Rabbi Minkin and centering on the Houghson St. Synagogue, established a separate relief campaign for the suffering Jews in Russia. This was published in the daily press of Hamilton and elicited a critical letter from M. Chertkoff, chairman of the Alliance, in the News. (Copy in the Congress Archives)

In Ottawa Mr. Fitch delivered an address in favour of the Conference which evoked dissatisfaction from the proponents of the Alliance. M. A. Saslove, secretary of the local Alliance Committee, invited Mr. Kaufman to address the Ottawa community, an invitation which was accepted. (Letters of October 19 and 28, 1915; the

latter with one of the stamps for the Palestine Labour Fund, precursor of the Gewerkshafften Campaign.)

In London a conference of organizations convened by the Alliance requested the Montreal central committee to seek a mode of cooperation with the Zionist Federation, in the interests of the larger cause. (Letter of October 8, 1915) By October 21 they were informed of joint action in the metropolis, and they responded that very day in a letter of gratification. But on October 28 they were still enquiring about details.

There was no peace in London, for on November 1, and again on November 5, secretary Richmond wrote Kaufman about a meeting convened locally by the Alliance on the last day of October to elect delegates to the forthcoming convention:

"But the meeting was interrupted many times and was brought into disorder by our Zionist delegates with the help of the orthodox delegates and their supporters. The issue was voting rights for women. The Zionists and their allies would not permit women to vote. They went so far as not to permit the unaffiliated to vote. Nor did they permit women to speak in defence of their position. The sense of the meeting was naturally against their stand, so they disrupted the meeting with their shouts until the chairman was forced to adjourn.

"Our Zionist friends have been making trouble all along since they began receiving word from the Zionist Federation under the name of the Conference of Canadian Jews. It was hinted to them that they ought to destroy the London branch of the Alliance. For before word of the union of the Alliance and the Zionist Federation reached here they had persuaded two of our affiliated groups to withdraw...The Zionist spokesman who represents them in the Alliance announced from our platform that the Alliance no longer existed, but was merged with the Conference."

M. S. Steinberg, Hebraist secretary of the North Bay committee for the Alliance, reported that the attacks of the Eagle have created confusion among supporters in that community.

In Quebec City Mr. Lazarovitch, chairman of the Alliance, was invited by the Conference to arrange for the community to participate in their national assembly. J. M. Margolis, secretary of the local Alliance Committee, wrote to the Montreal office for guidance.

On September 15, 1915, Mr. Goldstick of Toronto wired Kaufman:

"Rumour in Toronto that officer of Alliance has escaped with public funds. Advise us as to correctness. Wire if Mr. Brainin will be able address giant Alliance mass meeting October 10. Toronto has drawn the sword against forces of Federation and have the masses behind us."

16. In Montreal, too, the competing efforts of the two groups, the Alliance Folks Ferband and the Conference, evoked a desire for unified action. On October 13 the Bessarabian Hebrew Sick Benefit Society wrote to Mr. Kaufman of the Folks Ferband that:

"At the pre-conference convened on October 10 with the participation of 48 organizations in the Auditorium Hall to unite all Jews in Canada into one Folks Ferband it was resolved that:

"A committee of 5 named by the Folks Ferband and the same number by the Zionist Federation to confer under an impartial chairman towards an agreement that but one convention of Canadian organizations should take place under the leadership of the Folks Ferband and of the Zionist Federation.

"We have arranged for this conference to meet on Saturday evening, October 16, at the St. Regis Hotel, 282 St. Catherine St. West....

"We have arranged for Lawyer Bercovitch to preside over this meeting." (Belkin, p. 170)

This letter is in Yiddish, 2 pages, on the letterhead of the society illustrated, as so often in the cases of mutual benefit societies, with a picture of two hands clasping.

15. This effort at uniting the two groups failed, but some did not give up hope. The Congress Archives contains a slip of paper signed by Gedalia Rabinowitch and A. Komarow which attests to their efforts.

Komarow, an active Labour Zionist, was from the beginning anxious that the community be united in this effort. So much so, Belkin tell us, that he was prepared to forego the valued services of Brainin as leader of the relief project rather than incur the hostility of Wolofsky and his Eagle who were already bitter opponents of Brainin. On this score he and the important Poale Zion leader, S. Schneour, even withdrew from the group for a time.

(Belkin, pp. 165-65)

On November 13, 1915, the very eve of the opening of the Zionist-sponsored conference - when the delegates to the Zionist national convention declared themselves delegates to the assembly sponsored by the Conference - Komarow and Rabinowitch signed a statement:

"Following extended conversations, as non-partisan citizens seeking only a united conference of Canadian Jewry, we have today appealed to the Conference Committee (consisting of the Zionist Federation and others) proposing that an agreement be reached with the Alliance and with the National Labour Committee. It was decided that a committee of seven from the Conference Committee should meet with representatives of the Alliance and the National Workers Committee at 5.30 p.m. in Room 1310, Windsor Hotel, to consider possible unification."

17. "A Letter from Canada" signed pseudonymously Pinchas in a New York Yiddish periodical of Sept. 15, 1915 is an interesting document for this history of the Congress. It is a hostile and mocking report of the Alliance movement in Montreal, particularly

on its rivalry with the more successful Up Town competitor in fund raising.

The writer is clearly a serious, well-informed man, deeply involved at least as a close observer. His thinking reflects some of the positions taken from time to time by the Jewish Daily Eagle (the Adler). He mocks the enthusiasts who had talked much about raising a regiment of Canadian Jews to assist in the nation's war effort. Equally ineffective, reports Pinchas, was the proposed petition to the Government protesting against Russian discrimination against Jews and the deportation of Jewish residents from the western provinces of the Czarist empire. In point of fact, he reports, the petition was never submitted.

Pinchas says that other activities of such elements in the community who act without due deliberation have proved equally abortive. It was such procedures, he writes, that led to the division in the relief campaign and the setting up of the Alliance of Canadian Jews. But these groups are unable to raise substantial sums, and they have had to resort to penny- and dime-collections. In the meantime the Up Town Committee has renewed its efforts with considerable success.

The reporter points to a basic difference of principle that crystallized at this time between the two approaches to community action. It was a basic division that was to mark Judaism in the modern era until the Restoration of the State of Israel.

To quote Pinchas:

"One more point: the Up Town people claim that the Alliance program absolutely does not include relief work for the war-suffering Jews. Their program includes other areas of activity and other concerns.... The Up Town Jews collect tens of thousands of dollars and send it to Europe for the Jewish victims of the war. The

campaign is only beginning; it is expected to net many thousands dollars more. While the Down Town protests."

Pinchas notes the polarization of the community. On one hand there are those who envisaged a unified and total program of Jewish action which included the political, cultural and social. In this ideology the philanthropic was part of the whole program.

On the other hand was the "purely philanthropic," which disavowed any political involvement, rejected any social "ideology" of Judaism, and refused any relationship between the charity funds and any other Jewish concern. This charity-oriented group included those who had come to Canada earlier, many of whom were economically better situated and acculturated to Canadian society.

The first group consisted largely of the new arrivals who were experiencing many of the new nationalistic and social revolutions that marked Jewry during the past century.

The distinction was practical as well as deeply ideological and social. For fund-raising was done more easily for philanthropy than for political or organizational work, even among those who were involved in social activism. The activists viewed the funds raised for relief as national resources to be properly utilized for national purposes. The cutting off of these funds raised under the slogan of philanthropy denied the life blood of the machinery of political and cultural initiative.

This division in outlook was not limited to the Canadian -- or even American -- scene. Overseas, too, in the decades ahead, "purephilanthropy" as an approach clashed with "Reconstructive aid". In Poland the "recipients of aid" became vocal very early, in conflict with the dispensers of the aid, either in the form of the local

distributive staff, the local agency officers or the American contributors and controllers of the charity funds. This articulation of the needy entered Jewish thinking strongly decades before this phenomenon entered the social thinking of western social experience. An examination of the thinking of Canadian Jewry at this period brings to the surface much that was germinal and prophetic.

18. The New York office of the People's Relief Committee replied to B. Steinberg of North Bay, Ont. on Oct. 19, 1915 in regard to a transmission of moneys sent to the Montreal office. A copy of this explanatory letter was sent to Brainin.

19. The Congress Archives hold a personal letter to Kaufman from Marcel Rosenberg from New York, Nov. 8, 1915, about a trunk to be forwarded to him.

20. The Congress has in its S.W. Jacobs Collection a copy of a letter from Jacobs to Sir Herbert Samuel in London discussing current wartime problems of the eve of Rosh Hashanah, 1915:

"As a coreligionist I was pleased to learn the deep interest you showed in the various Jewish communities along the line of your travels. The time is not far distant, we trust, when we may be again able to welcome you to our shores.

"Jewish conditions in Eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, where military necessity compelled the removal of thousands of our people, forms pitiful reading. Every Jew in America is horror-struck at what has happened. A campaign for funds for the relief of the destitute has been organized here, but the task is so great as to be almost discouraging.

"German Jews in the States are making the most of the present conditions in Poland and Russia, and have worked up a strong feeling against the Russian authorities for what they call this newest and greatest outrage on our people. It is hoped that when the treaty of peace comes to be signed, Jewish rights will not be disregarded, and that some good may be the outcome of the war, if Jews are given equal rights to those of other human beings, rights denied them for over two thousand years.

"Our people throughout the world naturally look to you to see that we are safeguarded for the future, and I know that their trust is not misplaced. The civilising influences of Great Britain and France ought to have some effect on the Russian and other Governments which have hitherto denied us that to which we are entitled."

It is probably a summary of a report made at a meeting in Montreal. It may date from 1917 and certainly pre-dates the sinking of the Lusitania. From the absence of such details and the fact that it is a summary it may be presumed that the document is later than the summer of 1916. From the parallel discussion about the composition of the central body of the project to be found in a Toronto letter of January 18, 1916, one would be disposed to date it early in the year. It may derive from later the same year because the mention of Chicago may refer to the meeting in that city which was convened in January 23, 1917. This was a convention of the American movement for a Jewish Congress to prepare the actual convocation of the American Jewish Congress.

The document opens with a list of 15 numbered names, presumably those present. It includes Calixman, Lyon Jacobs, Barcovitch, Belkin, Zuker, Kivnko, Yagor, Wolofsky, Dr. Orszberg. Mr. Barcovitch opened the meeting. Belkin reported on activities. Calixman and Miller moved participation in the Conference with Belkin and Barcovitch as delegates. If the Board of Deputies will not participate for two months, Calixman proposed, the Central Executive Committee should constitute the coming conference. Zuker proposed that the Montreal Congress committee and the Board

1916

1. The Canadian Jewish Congress Archives hold a remarkable document, a sheet of paper, undated, that seems to reflect an important and far-sighted discussion.

It is probably a secretary's draft notes in Yiddish of minutes in Montreal. It may date from 1917 and certainly pre-dates the sinking of the Lusitania. From the absence of both Brainin and Kaufman it can be presumed that the document is later than the summer of 1916. From the parallel discussion about the composition of the central body of the project to be found in a Toronto letter of January 16, 1916, one would be tempted to date it early in the year. It may derive from later the same year because the mention of Chicago may refer to the meeting in that city which was convened in January 23, 1917. This was a convention of the American movement for a Jewish Congress to prepare the actual convocation of the American Jewish Congress.

The document opens with a list of 18 numbered names, presumably those present. It includes Caiserman, Lyon Jacobs, Bercovitch, Belkin, Zuker, Kivenko, Yagod, Wolofsky, Dr. Ortenberg. Mr. Bercovitch opened the meeting. Belkin reported on activities. Caiserman and Miller moved participation in the Conference with Belkin and Bercovitch as delegates. If the Board of Deputies will not participate for two months, Caiserman proposed, the Central Executive Committee should constitute the coming conference. Zuker proposed that the Montreal Congress committee and the Board

Deputies should constitute the central body. Existing Congress committees should remain independent. Constructive relief, a national loan, Palestine as home and the problem of immigration were discussed. "In case America enters the war, we favour a Congress for Canada alone. We favor a permanent Congress. The question as to whether the Board of Deputies is not represented at the Chicago conference. A Congress and the question of elections - an elections committee. The conference should name the committees."

This is followed by a scribbled list of contributors (the sums range from \$5 to \$10 in most cases) including Myerson & Sons, Miller, Dr. Ortenberg, Kivenko, Averbach, Wolofsky, Belkin, Bercovitch, Jacobs, Yagod, Edelberg.

2. A Toronto Conference in Aid of the Jewish War Sufferers met on January 9, 1916, and named its six representatives to the central committee. Secretary M. D. Davis wrote on January 12 to enquire about further steps to be taken.

On January 16 Davis telegraphed Montreal, and also wrote, acceptance of the proposed date of a meeting of the central committee. He notes that "there seems to be some uncertainty whether the 'For-Conference' (pre-conference) will consist of the central committee representatives or whether it will be something on a larger scale, that will not be quite a convention."

On February 3 the Toronto conference formulated a series of questions which delegates to the forthcoming pre-conference would be called upon to answer, under three categories: internal organisation (tax on participating groups, permanency of the Alliance, a

federative system of organisation); centralisation of relief work (national tag day, resolution on equal rights for Jews everywhere to be proposed to Ottawa); Congress (the Alliance to seek ways and means to unite all Canadian organisations for a Jewish Congress; failing cooperation from other groups, that the Alliance should convene such a Congress alone).

On March 15 Davis wrote a 4-page report on activities in the city and in other Ontario centres. Plans include invitations to Pinhas Ruttenberg and to Mr. Sugarman (i.e., Baruch Zukerman).

Mr. Davis having left Toronto, the report letter to Mr. Kaufman in Montreal is from M. Goldstick (also in English). It is less optimistic, but places great hopes on the forthcoming visit of these leaders of world Jewry.

The archives of the Congress hold a report letter of May 29 from S. Factor which justified the hopes entertained by Goldstick.

"On Sunday, May 21st, 1916, Mr. Pinhas Ruttenberg and B. Zuckerman, of New York City, came to the City of Toronto for the purpose of addressing a meeting which was to be held under the auspices of the Canadian Jewish Alliance (Volkes Verband).

"On ascertaining the true state of affairs existing between the Canadian Jewish Alliance and the Canadian Jewish Committee, they refused to address the meeting called by the Canadian Jewish Alliance and they immediately communicated with a few gentlemen who have identified themselves with one or other of the said bodies and conferred with them on the questions at issue between the said bodies.

"Acting upon this suggestion the following gentlemen representing every element of Toronto Jewry formed themselves into a Provisional Committee for the above purposes: Ald. L. M. Singer, B. Stone, L. Levinsky, M. Rosen, S. Factor, M. Goldstick, Rhinewine, Reich, Brody, Nisnewitch, S. Kaldofsky.

"Under instructions from this committee, I enclose herewith a resolution unanimously passed by them which I would respectfully ask you to submit to your body for their immediate and earnest consideration.

"Further, under instructions from this committee, I respectfully submit to you the following suggestions for the purpose of accomplishing the objects expressed in the resolution:

"1. A committee composed of equal representatives from the Canadian Jewish Committee and the Canadian Jewish Alliance shall immediately take the necessary steps to organise the Jews in Canada for the purpose of convening a Congress as soon as possible and not later than September, 1916.

"2. The said Committee shall, as soon as possible, submit to the British Government a memorandum through the Canadian Government with reference to the condition and situation of the Jewish people, and the said Committee shall also immediately communicate with representative bodies of Jews in the other British Dominions and Colonies urging upon them similar action.

"I might further add that the mass-meeting which was addressed by Mr. Ruttenberg was heartily approved of the resolution enclosed as well as the above suggestions, and a fund was subscribed and partially collected in order to assist the accomplishments of the objects mentioned in the resolution. I might also say that as soon as the two bodies unite, the Toronto Provisional Committee will submit itself to the jurisdiction of the joint Committee as aforesaid and transfer all its funds to them.

RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE TORONTO PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE

"RESOLVED that the Canadian Jewish Committee and the Canadian Jewish Alliance be formally notified that unless by June 12th, 1916, they succeed in settling all their differences, so that the Canadian Jews may organise a Congress truly representative of a united Jewish opinion, the Jews of Toronto will, on their own initiative, take such measures to that end as they think fit."

We need only note that the agreement thus reached failed of implementation. (Belkin, p. 175)

In London, Ontario, the local Jewish War Relief Committee resolved on January 12, 1916, that the federal government be requested to proclaim a national tag day in aid of the Jewish victims of the conflict. J. Wolf, secretary, communicated this very

eloquently worded resolution to Kaufman.

On January 29 the London committee decided to participate in the pre-conference convoked in Toronto for February 4-6, and adopted resolutions: that the international tribunal which would follow the end of the war should assure Jews everywhere equal rights with their fellow citizens; that the Canadian government support the Jewish claims at the peace conference; that "Jewish national associations" be formed across Canada which would be strictly impartial and non-partisan, would watch over general Jewish interests and would cooperate closely in receiving the migrants who will surely come in large numbers to Canada when the present hostilities will end; that the Congress be organised as rapidly as possible on a democratic basis and by a referendum.

From an undated letter late in January and another of February 22, it is apparent that two London groups were affiliated with the Alliance, the Jewish National Workers Alliance and the Workmen's Circle, Branch 284.

On February 23 a letter signed by chairman M. Hornstein and secretary Isaiah Richmond again indicates that the Association and the joint educational committee of the Association and of the Workmen's Circle were cooperating closely in Alliance work. The local committee was also active in organising Berlin, Woodstock, Chatham, Stratford, St. Thomas, Sarnia, Windsor and Brantford. (3 p.)

In letters of March 17 and May 2 to Mr. Kaufman, Mr. Hornstein is critical of the inactivity of the Montreal office of the Alliance.

From Chatham, L. Teitelbaum, secretary, wrote to Mr. Kaufman on January 24, 1916, naming O. Goldberg as delegate to the pre-conference.

The Congress Archives hold an undated two-page resolution passed by the Hamilton Alliance committee in seven points:

"As to how the Congress Committee is to be chosen, by a conference or by referendum, our decision is by a referendum. As to how the Congress Committee is to confer with those not affiliated with the Alliance, our decision is that all means be adopted to ensure that all organisations are affiliated with the Alliance....As to the principles of the convocation of the Congress, the decision is a democratic one. As to the most appropriate date for the convocation of the Congress, the decision is: when it shall have proven feasible to unite all Canadian Jews."

The document is signed by A. Dumas, secretary.

In February, 1916, the Toronto Alliance branch was seeking to organise an immigration society, an early indication of what was to become a major Canadian Jewish concern for decades to come. The same communication in the Archives collection from secretary Dumas tells of continuing collections and of organising the Brantford and the St. Catharines communities. "We must reach every corner of Canada with the ideas of the Alliance. We must be organised in every city and town in Canada before we convene a Congress....We are planning a mass meeting with Baruch Zukerman of New York as speaker for the purpose of raising funds for the victims of the war."

(Feb. 17, 1916, 2 p.)

3. In July, 1916, the Hamilton branch of the Alliance was still not informed as to the relations in the metropolis between the Alliance and the Board of Deputies. Collections in Hamilton were

proceeding. "You inquire about the feelings for a Congress. In my view there is no one to deal with. They are all ignoramuses. If there will be unification in New York, it may have some effect." (Letter to Mr. Kaufman from M. Shochet, July 19, 1916; Mr. Shochet replaced Mr. Dumas as secretary; the latter left Hamilton in April.)

4. C. Ichiel Finkelstein of St. Thomas wrote on April 2, 1916 to Montreal on collections which began in August 1915, totalling some \$100:

"In regard to Mr. Brainin's participating in the conference in Philadelphia, nothing could be more right. I had earlier wanted to inquire why we Canadian Jews should not cooperate with our American brethren who work with such dedication for the same end."

5. From Berlin (Kitchener), Ont., on the last day of January, 1916, Benjamin Goldberg, secretary, reported that on the 26th the local committee had resolved that:

"The Congress of Canadian Jews must be absolutely democratic; the major question on the agenda be: equal rights for Jews in the lands where they do not enjoy such rights at present; that Canadian Jewry be represented at the peace conference of the nations and place its demands there through independent delegates and not through notables; that the Palestine question be fully discussed at the conference".

On March 28, H. Silver, chairman, wrote to Mr. Kaufman about difficulties encountered there, about local opponents who systematically call on members of the community in their homes. They were aided by several visitors from Montreal, supporters of the Jewish Eagle, who accused leading figures of the Ferband of criminal dishonesty as well as of being despicable and traitorous persons. In their view, only the Federation deserves the confidence of the

community. The Jews of Berlin believed these visitors.

The few who remain dedicated to the principles of the Alliance fight hard to maintain their position. When they arranged with the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Society to present a show in aid of the overseas relief cause, their opponents urged the community not to attend. "In plain terms they chose to condemn several suffering starving families to death just to injure our cause." The committee had recently raised over \$100.

6. In North Bay M. Steinberg wrote his last letter as secretary on February 8 before leaving the town. His successor, M. Adams, wrote on March 12 that differences among the Jewish residents of the town made community work impossible.

7. The Congress Archives hold a February 2, 1916, letter in Yiddish from Zelig Grinkes of the Calgary Zionist Organisation to Mr. Kaufman which is of some interest:

"In reply to your letters of the last several months, and in particular to yours of the 17th and 19th of January about the pre-conference of the Alliance in Toronto, I wish to inform you that, regrettably, we have not any branch of the Alliance organised here to this day, and I do not understand how you can be under the impression that such a branch exists and that I am its secretary.

"On April 15, (1915) our organisation convened a conference meeting of all local organisations and groups, at which time resolutions were passed in favour of a Jewish Congress and in support of the Alliance and its activities towards this end.

"Last October this organisation again convoked a mass meeting to deal with the invitation of the Zionist Federation to participate in the Conference of Canadian Jews. At that time we resolved to participate only in a conference convened jointly with the Alliance, and we named Mr. Brainin as one of our delegates. That is the sum total of our activity in the interests of the Alliance.

"Personally, I have neither the time nor the ability to do much in this direction. I am often out of the city and that is why I have not replied to your letters. Others here also have neither the time nor the willingness to do anything, and I must with regret inform you that until you send an organizer here, nothing will be accomplished for the Alliance here."

8. The Congress Archives hold a series of processed circular letters of 1916 sent by the New York People's Relief Committee. These are dated May 22, June 16 (2 circulars), June 20 and September 18.

9. The New York file includes letters to S. Belkin, who by October 1916 was secretary of the Alliance in Montreal. These are signed by the Executive Secretary for the Provinces, Baruch Zuckerman, who became, in the course of the years, one of the inspiring orators and leaders of world-wide Labor Zionism. He was particularly active in overseas relief work and travelled to Poland in the services of this cause after the war. He was also one of the outstanding figures in organizing the World Jewish Congress. Zuckerman maintained very close contact with the Montreal community from his early days in the New World; he lectured in Canada frequently; his published memoirs contain interesting materials of Montreal interest. In later years he conducted a spirited correspondence with H.M. Caiserman, General Secretary of the Canadian Jewish Congress in regard to World Jewish Congress affairs and the condition of the Jews in Poland.

Zuckerman's first letter of April 12, 1916, addressed to S. Selinger, Secretary of the Alliance in Montreal, concerns 6,000 J. L. Peretz buttons and 3,000 circulars about Peretz Day.

10. Zuckerman's first letter to Belkin is dated October 2 and deals with the Rosh Hashanah campaign.

On October 12 he telegraphed and wrote about coming to Montreal on October 20; on November 12, a routine note; on December 1 and December 10 he wrote about Sholem Ash and himself possibly coming to Montreal on December 31; on December 14 he wrote that Ash would come on January 14, 1917.

In the fall of 1916 both Brainin and Kaufman left Montreal for the United States, and the Congress and the People's Relief movements were somewhat diminished.

The third annual report of the Jewish Public Library tells of the banquet in the Prince Albert Hall on Sept. 10, 1916 at which they bade farewell to Montreal. Leon Chazanowitch and Alexander Chashin were among the speakers.

Zuker succeeded Brainin as president of the Library.

Both Brainin and Kaufman visited Montreal frequently in the following years and appeared on the Library platform.

1917

1. Apparently the arrangements for the Ash visit did not materialize, for on January 6 Zuckerman telegraphed that "Chashin also became ill. Cannot get second speaker".
2. The Congress files contain New York bulletins of January 2 and July 2.
3. On March 28 Zuckerman wrote Belkin about the successful bazaar sponsored in Hamilton. "There is a controversy in Hamilton between the radical elements and the several Yahudim there about where to send the money. The Yahudim, naturally, would have the money sent to the Canadian Jewish Committee. The radicals, on the other hand, would send it to us. We have advised them - if the Yahudim should raise objection that Canadians are not permitted to send money to Americans who carry on relief work in Allied countries but also in the lands of the Central Powers - that they send the moneys to you; you will then send it to us and we shall receipt it through you".
4. On March 22, 1917 Mr. Goldstick of Toronto wrote to S. Belkin in Montreal that they were expecting "your funds for the relief of the Jewish sufferers of the war who are now in Russia".
5. In the fall of 1917 L. Rosenberg, Secretary of the Toronto Conference of local Jewish Organizations for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers, invited the Alliance officers in Montreal to a Canadian relief convention in Toronto to be convened the last days of 1917. "The Canadian Government has issued a regulation to enter into force on December 20 (the War Charities Act, 1917) banning appeals for war relief or war charities except under charter. We do not know how difficult it will be to secure a charter, but it would be easy to secure such a charter for all Canadian communities

through a united Canadian relief committee. The convention we are convoking is important if only for this reason", Mr. Rosenberg wrote in his reminder.

Leiser Rosenberg is known to us as the editor of the Yiddish collection Canada which he edited in Toronto in 1919 (published by Wissen; 96 p.). He was a Poale Zionist and one of the founding members of the first Canadian Jewish Congress. He left Toronto in 1928 and died in Detroit in 1965. Birth dates of 1893 and 1896 are given.

Rosenberg's Canada is a landmark in Canadian Jewish literature. It is one of the first Yiddish books published in this country and many of the works included have a strong sense of Canadian background.

The collection includes work by J.I. Segal written well before the appearance of his first volume, and also poems of Pesach Matenko. A story by A. Rhinewine entitled "In a Canadian City," clearly located on the Toronto waterfront, is a remarkable documentation of early immigrant experience in this country.

One of S. Nepom's poems deals with a Jewish newsboy; another is titled "Montreal Dawn."

Rosenberg's verse includes lines "To a Jewish Peddler." Other contributions are by Shloimeh Halperen, H.M. Kirshenbaum, and L. Bercovitch.

The volume was printed by H. Leventhal on Queen St. W., and was sold through Dworkin's Bookstore on Dundas St. W.

The back cover announces forthcoming publication of Rhinewine's Yiddish Palestine in Jewish Life and Literature which appeared later in Toronto, in 1921. (147 p.)

6. A press report in the Eagle of March 27 tells of 10,000 rubles sent to Petrograd for Passover relief. Special 10-cent stamps are affixed by the Central Relief Committee to Passover wine being sold in Montreal, to defray this remittance.

7. A letter from Zuckerman, dated Apr. 4, refers to a remittance from Saskatoon.

8. A letter from Zuckerman to Belkin dated Apr. 19, not on a letter-head, was sent care of Wolf Myerson, probably because, as we learn from the first paragraph,

"Our last letter to you fell into the hands of the censor and, as I understand, this led to much embarrassment to you. It appears, however, that now that the U.S. is practically in the war on the side of the Allied Powers, this hindrance ought to have been removed. New York is in the same relationship to the Canadian government as Petrograd or London.

"But this is not the most important aspect. If you will need to send moneys directly to Rissia, it is no great hardship. After all, it will reach the war sufferers in any case."

9. A printed Yiddish invitation to a conference convoked by the Folks Ferband in Montreal on Apr. 22 (1917) is revealing of the social conditions of the epoch:

"We have carried out our work with all means at our disposal and sought to ensure that the relief collection among the broad masses of our people should not be weakened by the great crisis of the strike which the large numbers of our community have experienced this winter...

"We do not seek to make a special appeal with this communication. We do not need to address ourselves to your hearts. We are convinced that the people's assistance is a national cause, and no one is free of this obligation.

"The great Russian revolution has not yet been able to assuage the sufferings of the victims of the war. Our brothers and sisters, liberated from their chains, are still suffering great need, are suffering cold and famine.

"In the light of the great events in the history of mankind, as millions are sacrificing their lives, as men are dying on the barricades for great ideals, shall we remain at a distance and not do our duty which calls for such slight sacrifices from us?"

The Russian revolution refers, of course, to the Kerenskyseizure of power of March 1917, when the Czar was overthrown and democracy was being instituted in Russia -until November, when the government was overthrown by the Bolsheviks.

10. Routine letters from Zuckerman, dated May 21 and 22.

11. On June 1 Zuckerman wrote to state that Dr. (Isaac) Hurwich would be available for Montreal on June 17.

12. On Aug. 15 Zuckerman wrote that the New York office had received \$800 from Saskatoon. "So it appears that moneys can be sent us from Canada. So why cannot we receive it from Montreal?"

1918

M. Yanovitch of Saskatoon enquired from S. Belkin in Montreal on January 9, 1918, about \$500 that had been transmitted.

The documents on the convening of the Canadian Jewish Congress are incomplete and in very poor condition - often scraps of paper with jottings, many water soaked, undated. Most of them are in the handwriting of H. M. Caiserman.

1. A scrap of paper dated December 13, 1918, mentioning the Canadian Jewish Chronicle bears several phrases about the complex of Jewish issues and the Peace Conference.
2. Another note, also in the handwriting of Caiserman, may be of very great importance in explaining why the Congress, so strongly opposed three years earlier by the Zionist Organisation, was so easily convened in 1919, with full Zionist support.

The note tells of a meeting on December 4, 1918, "of Council of Zionist Federation, highly representative with representatives of Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, at the instance of A. J. Freiman of Ottawa and seconded by M. Markus of Montreal.

"Resolved: that the Council appoint a committee to watch and keep informed on the Congress question in conjunction with Congress Committee now existent, and that at some future date after the signing of the treaty of peace; the time should prove right in the

opinion of the Federation for a Congress, the Federation will then take steps to cooperate with the Congress Committee to call a Congress, the action of the Committee of the Federation be, of course, subject to the approval of the Council.

"Committee: M. Markus, Mr. Morison, M. B. Stein, A. J. Freiman, Mr. Jospe, Dr. Schwartz and D. Sweet."

1919

The file of the Montreal Conference for the Jewish Congress convened in January, 1919 at the Baron de Hirsch Institute is very complete and in good condition. Belkin refers to "the Montreal general conference of the 19th and 26th of January". (P. 187)

1. The Congress Archives file includes the covering letters from H.M. Caiserman, secretary of the committee on resolutions, accompanying the decisions reached by the delegates from 125 organizations. These covering letters are in English, typewritten, and in Yiddish in manuscript. The resolutions consist of a one-page statement of principles typewritten in English and, again, a one-page Yiddish letter of "Principles and date of Election", and a one-page manuscript on "Date, Place and Executive of Congress".

2. The file also includes the credential letters of the delegates. The nature of the organizations and their concerns accurately reflect the organizational life of the Jewish community of urban Canada in the 1920's. Not the least interesting aspect of these documents appears in their letterheads, illustrations, rubber stamps and in the texts of the letters, the nomenclature and in the transliterations from the Hebrew and from the Yiddish. A careful examination almost restores the very speech sounds and the cultural relationships of these generations of acculturating Canadian Jews.

Rubber stamps identify the credentials from the Montefiore Protective Association, Temple Solomon, the Congregation Nussach Hoary and of Yehoash Br. 8 of the Jewish National Workers Alliance which had initiated the Congress movement in Canada in the first place.

M.H. Myerson was named delegate for the Young Men's Literary and Zionist Society, and O. Kleinberg for the Maccabean Circle.

J. Schubert signed the credentials of the delegates from the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers Union.

M. Dickstein and B. Lachowitzky were the delegates from the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion, organized in 1905.

The letters, printed in red, from the Social Democratic Party of Canada, affiliated with International Bureau, Jewish Local No. 4, show a hand holding a torch.

Zuker and Belkin were delegated by the National Socialist Block. I.M.

Bobrove was named by the Poale Zion Youth Club.

Leon Goldman wrote out the credentials for the delegates of the Federation of Zionist Societies (B. Weiner and S. Kahn) on a plain sheet of paper. A similar procedure was followed by the Zionist Society of Lachine Agudath Zion, by the Chovevei Zion Association, the Alt-Neuland Association, and Bnai Zion Kadimah, by the Hebrew Ladies Aid Society of Amherst Park and by the Independent Bnoith Israel Society.

The Congregation Tiferet Israel of Mile End named S.D. Cohen. Congress has the letterheads of Congregation Chavarim All Israel on Cartier St., Congregation Beth Hamedrash Hagadol on Notre Dame St. West and Congregation Shomrim Laboker.

The Beth Israel of Lachine sent their credential letter in Hebrew.

The Credential from Agudath Ivriyah, also in Hebrew, is signed by M.Z.R. Frank, on the back of a Hebrew notice of meeting.

The New Adath Jeshurun Congregation on Esplanade Ave. nominated A.D. Paltiel.

The Agudath Hamizrachi affixed their stamp to their credential.

Two trees decorate the credential of the Industrial and Agricultural Cooperative Association.

The Zionist Group of the Chevrah Mishnayoth Beth Israel U'Machzikai Hadath wrote a long midrashic homily in Hebrew about the sacred work which their representatives and the other delegates will doubtless perform at the Congress assembly for the cause of Judaism. It is dated with a Bible passage which represents the year in Gematriyah summation.

The Ezro Cooperative Syndicate credentials are on their letterhead as are those of the Francis Joseph Loan Association, of the Hebrew National Cooperative Loan Syndicate, the Montreal Commercial Loan Syndicate, Chevrah Kadisha Congregation Beth Jehuda on Lagauchetiere St. East, the Raincoat Makers Union, the Besserabian Hebrew Sick Benefit Association, the Russian Polish Hebrew Sick Benefit Association, the Jewish People's School at 740 St. Urbain St., the Young Hebrew Malbish Arumim Association, the Cooperative Organization Tur Malco (Mount Royal in Aramaic), the Rumanian Jewish Farband, the Dominion Loan and Discount Association, the Canadian Hebrew Loan Syndicate, the Second Hand Merchants Organization, the Independent Order Sons of Israel of Canada at Royal Arcanum Chambers, the King George Philanthropic Society Kerem Israel, the King George Sick Benefit Association, the Hebrew Ladies Immigrant Protective Association, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

local 217 Pants Makers and its Joint Board, its cutters and trimmers local 116 and coat makers local 209, the Independent Hebrew Sick Benefit Association, the Hebrew Sick Benefit Association, the Hebrew Ladies Relief Society and the Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association.

Rubber stamps mark the credentials of the Mile End Loan Association, of the Papineau Gemilath Chassodum Cooperative Syndicate and the Palestine Loan Association, Congregation Beth Joseph, Congregation Beth Izchock, the Benoith Israel Bikkur Cholim Ladies Society, Tiferes Jerusalem Congregation of Rossland, Chevrah Thilim Lynath Hatzedeck, the Russian Polish Hadrass Kodesh Congregation, the Vilner Loan Syndicate, the Retail Merchant Association of Canada Hebrew Grocers section, the Poule Zedick Association and the North End Hebrew Sick Benefit Association.

The letterhead of the Cooperation of the Congregation Rumanian Jews Baith David of Montreal indicates it was founded in 1888 and incorporated in 1900. It was located at 89 Chenneville St., an address sanctified in the annals of Canadian Jewry, the building having been erected by the Congregation Shearith Israel in 1837 as its second home, on the initiative of Benjamin Hart.

The credential of Chevrah Mishnayth Beth Jehouda, with its stamp on plain paper, describes its delegates as "orthodox Mizrachi."

Congregation Tifereth Joseph, Congregation B'Nai Jacob, Chevrah Machzikai Hadass, and the Bnai Zion Loan Syndicate had neither stamp nor letterhead.

The name of the Sholom Synagogue at 626 Drolet St. is illegible on the note sheet of the credential.

The letter of the A.H.J.B.S. Congregation Share Tephila at Milton and Clark Sts. is a beautiful example of Hebrew calligraphy done by its secretary, David Sperber. Mr. Sperber also acted as vice-president in filling in two lettered lines in the typewritten letter of the Adath Israel of Montreal, the United Hebrew Orthodox Community with its seven affiliated synagogues. Equally beautiful is the lettered credential of the Jewish Youth Dramatical Club signed by A. Zatzarsky, decorated with a rubber stamp bearing a lyre.

Congregation Bnai Jacob used a seal to legitimize its credential, as did the Progressive Loan Association.

The seal of the Hebrew Free Loan Association is in gold. Their letterhead was an education in Jewish ethics, bearing not only slogans but the history and record of the Gemilath Chassodim Society and its policies, and lessons from the Talmud on the merit of this particular category of virtuous action.

A seal also marks the credential of the Dachever Protective Association, S. Schwissberg, secretary.

Congregation Kehal Jeshurin Anshai Galician on Colonial Ave. illustrated their letterhead with a large photograph of their two-storey synagogue.

The Baron de Hirsch credential was on the letterhead of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

The Hebrew Maternity Home, forerunner of the Jewish General Hospital, was located at 890 Cadieux St. The Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association was on Pine Ave. West.

Hands clasping are on centre of the letterhead of the Canadian Hebrew Sick Benefit Society.

The Queen's likeness is well reproduced in a rubber stamp on the credential of the Queen Victoria Hebrew Sick Benefit Association.

His Majesty appears to be proud to sit on the credential of the King Edward Benefit Association.

M. Garber and B. Bernstein were named by the University Zionist Society, a note on the back of the letterhead of the Auditorium, the School of the Joyous Spirit, informs us.

H.M. Caiserman, president of the Jewish Public Library at 951 St. Urbain St., signed the letter naming him as delegate.

The Karl Marx Branch of the Workmen's Circle carried the global emblem which the labor order still uses. The Mile End Branch 445 has its letterhead printed in red.

A beautiful musical design appears on the letterhead of the Literary-Dramatic Association Hazomir which was located in the Jewish People's School.

The Bakery and Confectionery Workers Union used a very ornate engraved letterhead, probably prepared in the U.S., featuring the fasces, symbol of strength in unity. The union label appears prominently here, as it also does on the letters of the United Cloth

Hat and Cap Makers of North America and the Journeymen Barbers' International Union.

The square and compasses appear on the letterhead and stamp of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners local 1270.

The letterhead of the Red Mogen David for support of the Jewish Legion with the British Forces in Palestine is indeed in red.

The Ivriyah Hebrew Circle wrote in English. The Montreal Hebrew Teachers Circle and the Hebrew Teachers Cooperative Loan Association wrote their credentials in Yiddish, but not the Education Committee of the United Talmud Torahs (Rabbi H. Cohen, chairman; Benjamin Weiner, secretary). Even the telephone number is translated into Hebrew.

The People's Relief letter of credentials lists labor unions affiliated and is illustrated with an engraving of an old Jew appealing to the heavens.

The Central Relief Committee in Aid for Jewish War Sufferers through the War reproduced on its letterhead a dramatic engraving showing a hand reaching out to unfortunate persons across the waters. The Congress Archives also possesses a very large framed certificate with this drawing.

The Jewish Peretz Schools also made use on its letterhead of a large drawing of a teacher reading to two children.

The Welcome Club for Jewish Working Girls at the Baron de Hirsch Institute had a large seal-sized illustration symbolizing migration and womanhood.

The Talmud Torah Kerem Israel Hebrew Free School on St. Dominique St. called itself the Hebrew Bible and Talmudic School Kerem Israel and titled itself a Yeshivah.

3. An undated appeal from the Dominion executive committee for the Canadian Jewish Congress, probably written in mid-February, 1919, exulted,

"At last the hopes and aspirations of Jews throughout the Dominion shall gain expression; at last our brethren in Canada shall be able to organize for the great work set upon them by those momentous times.

"From the flood of tears and blood occasioned by war and massacres; from amid the wrecks of Jewish homes and the heart-rendering cries of the slaughtered and outraged, there rises the call to Jews the world over, to assert undauntedly their right to National liberty and National equality.

"The Canadian Jewish Congress will, therefore, first and foremost deliberate upon the issue of a homeland in Palestine for the Jewish people. It will also deliberate upon the question of national rights for our brethren in all countries wherein they dwell, as well as the necessity of constructive relief work for our war-suffering co-religionists.

"Its significance will, for the Jews living in the Dominion, be tremendous; for issues bearing upon our rights as a national minority, will be raised and resolved upon; vital issues, for us in Canada. As well, the question of immigration shall form part of the proceeding of the Congress.

"May noble inspiration animate all Jewish men and women with the exalted national ideas of our people. May the feeling of unity arduously arise in the breast of all our brethren. May we all recall our duties as a people of martyrdom; and may we joyfully and conscious of our national dignity cast our ballot at this election for representatives worthy of this sacred cause.

"In electing such representatives, you will cause the blood of the victims sacred to our race not to have flown in vain; you will bring about the sanctification of the name of Jews."

4. The same note was struck in a circular letter to a number of smaller communities dated Feb. 21:

"You no doubt know that Nomination Day for Delegates to the Canadian Jewish Congress is upon us. (Sunday, Feb. 23rd); that the work is proceeding rapidly and encouragingly. The Jewish population here, and from what we learn throughout the Province of Ontario and the West, are keyed up with great enthusiasm for the idea of the Congress and all it means to accomplish, and is fervently active to make it an unprecedented success.

"How about you and the Jews in your Community?

"Are you fully alive to the occasion? Do you realize the importance of it all? Do you feel that this is the moment when the Canadian Jewry is being weighed and must not be found wanting?

"We wish we could imbue you with the inspiration and enthusiasm worthy of the cause!

"For now is the time to work for the idea; propagate it, speak about it to all our co-religionists, all our brethren, in the Community. Think of the brilliant future that awaits us.

"Think of the cry arising from the breasts of our brethren in the lands of oppressions who look upon us as their saviours, as those who are to rescue them from modern Egypt.

"Let your soul tremble with hope, expectancy and fervor, and understand that very much depends upon the success of this Congress of ours.

"We appeal to you to realize with all your inner feelings the importance of it all; - the importance of your activity and propaganda, as we mean to make this Congress a rallying point of all our brethren in Canada, all our interests here, in Europe and in Palestine; as we are to discuss the vital Canadian Jewish problems, affecting us directly and immediately.

"Let your motto be now and ever, first and foremost, for our people, for the oppressed and maltreated co-religionists in the benighted countries. Now and ever for the regeneration and rehabilitation of our people.

"The Congress, the event of events, in Canadian Jewry, must be uppermost in your minds and deepest in your hearts."

6. The Congress archives have an incomplete copy of a 4-page letter (the first page is missing) from the Dominion Executive Committee addressed to Mr. A.F. (A.J. Freiman?) outlining the arrangements agreed to in regard to elections, budget and agenda of the Congress. The final paragraph states,

"The Zionist Federation as such has taken an active part in the deliberations. I feel that if the gentlemen have at heart not only the success of this great undertaking, not only the ambition to influence with your views the first Jewish Canadian Congress, but also to carry out the distinct instructions given to you by the Toronto Zionist convention, it is your duty to immediately take an active part to carry out the decisions, to bring into life the great body that will permanently be known as the Canadian Jewish Congress."

The Congress also has the hand-written note from which this letter was typewritten.

7. The Congress executive sent a short resume of its program to the French-language press on Feb. 17 with a covering letter in French signed by Louis Benjamin who was engaged, at this very time, in his translation of Romain Rolland into Yiddish. (New York, 1918-21).

Similarly an invitation was sent in French to the press to attend the Congress sessions.

8. In compliance with a request from Montreal, the American Jewish Congress sent material on the program and procedures of their organization and their election procedures.

9. Five copies of receipts of monies exist in very poor conditions (\$10 - \$25): from the King Edward Society, from the Sydney, N.S. community and from J. Parness, dated Feb. 13 - March 4.

10. A leaflet printed by the Labor Zionist groups urging that delegates to the Congress be chosen in democratic elections.

11. A manuscript report on the distribution of Quebec seats in the elections (2 p.)

12. A draft 4-point questionnaire to the electors.
13. A March 5 letter from Frank White, secretary of the national election committee, arranged for new locations in Sherbrooke after investigating the elections that had been held there earlier.
14. A draft invitation to committee meetings at the Baron de Hirsch Institute and at the Maimonides Club at Esplanade (near Duluth, later the home of the Jewish Public Library, and then of the Montreal Jewish Community Council.)
15. Scraps of lists, including delegates from Montreal, Toronto, Saint John, N.B., Winnipeg, Ontario centres, Granby, Lac Megantic, Stanstead, Thetford Mines, Windsor Mills.
16. An election statement from Progressive Zionist candidates (including Dr. S. Ortenberg, J.J. Myerson, B. Bernstein and M. Garler).
17. Candidates from the St. Jean Baptiste Ward, Montreal.
18. A Yiddish invitation was sent for a meeting of Jewish residents in New Glasgow and St. Jerome to be held in Ste. Sophie on Feb. 25
19. M. Seidel was delegated to Saint John and to Halifax to organize Congress work there.
20. A printed nomination form.
21. A leaflet from the Bessarabian Society urging its members to vote.
22. Election leaflets issued by S. Sternklar, A. Handelman and W. Signer.

23. The Winnipeg election count.
24. The division of Montreal into electoral districts.
25. An engraved certificate issued to members of the electoral body of the Congress.
26. A typewritten appeal and a letter from the Congress finance committee, seeking \$14,000.
27. In regard to arrangements for the Congress sessions: A Feb. 27 letter survives with the plans of Congress arrangements detailed fully.

There is also an undated Yiddish letter to schools to arrange for children's participation in the Congress proceedings.

Another letter was addressed to a number of ladies inviting them to cooperate in welcoming the delegates.

28. A printed invitation to a meeting of Congress committees on March 12, just before the convening of the Congress.

29. Prior to the opening of the sessions the secretary wrote,

"In the case of the Jews, who, as yet are spread throughout the world, surrounded by strangers. Each community whatever the number of its components, may be of importance to Judaism at large. Nay, more, it may, because of certain exceptional conditions, political or social, be of greater importance than other Jewish communities with a greater number of components members.

"Be that as it may, we must ever bear in our minds that, though dispersed, we are a unit of one race with one national soul. We must, so that the world at large may realize the indivisibility of our national organism, vitalize all its components' parts, give them the necessary impetus and keep it in harmony with the entire frame.

"Should Canadian Jewry not raise its voice at this eventful moment, not move energetically whilst the whole organism is shaking with feverish activity - then Canadian Jewry would justly be considered a paralyzed limb of the Jewish body.

"In showing our vitality just as the Bulgarian, the Serbian, the Rumanian and the Belgians have, we incontestably prove the vitality of the Jewish race, the unity of the Jewish people, the independence of the Jewish nation. We prove the inherent attachment of all Jews to their national ideas."

30. The typewritten notes of the agenda of the Congress sessions survive.

31. Four pages of report of the Congress sessions printed in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle are to be found in the Congress archives.

Also an incomplete typescript of the resolutions adopted at the March sessions and a list of committee members.

An undated (draft?) resolution, in Yiddish, on a blank sheet of paper reads,

"We, the duly elected representatives of Canadian Jewry, assembled at our first all-Canadian Jewish Congress, at a time when the fate of our people is being determined, indignant at the barbaric massacres of our brothers and sisters by the Poles and Rumanians for whose liberation the blood of our finest sons has just been spilled, horrified at the indescribable cruelties against the lives of the Jews in Poland and at the despoliation of their properties -

"Protest with the utmost fiery fervency of our souls against the barbarians of Poland and Rumania, and call on the governments of the Allied Powers, in whose armies some 600,000 Jewish soldiers had borne arms for liberty and for democracy, not to permit such a scandal unheard of in the prior ages of history."

32. There is also a file of clippings of Congress publicity from the pages of the Jewish Eagle which carried a regular section on Congress preparations and activities.

33. Among the most significant papers in these files are copies of two telegrams sent in March, 1919 in connection with the international concerns of the Canadian Congress.

The contribution which it might be able to make towards protecting Jewish interests at the Peace Conference at Versailles,

and even later, was one of the raisons d'etre of the Congress. So Mr. Caiserman wired on March 27 to the American Jewish Congress,

"Canadian Jewish Congress requests you to wire us the address of Judge Mack, Paris. Need same re sending Canadian committee to Paris. Also names and addresses of representatives of Jewish Congress from Poland, Ukraine and others. Need same for taking steps to carry out resolution for calling world Congress."

The following day Lyon Cohen and Caiserman wired to Judge Mack on Blvd. De Hausmann in Paris,

"Canadian Jewish Congress decided to present Jewish rights and Palæstine resolutions, and protest treatment Eastern European Jews to Peace Conference. Kindly advise if necessary to send special committee or will you undertake to act in our behalf."

34. The Congress holds a copy of the invitation sent out on March 21, for the "first meeting of the new executive committee elected by the First Canadian Jewish Congress at the Baron de Hirsch Institute on March 26.

35. On May 4 the Poale Zion Organization of Montreal wired to the minister its objections to legislation on immigration which was being proposed to the House. The minister replied on May 5 in a 3-page letter giving a point-by-point reply to Mr. Eliezer Greenberg, well known activist for the Congress, the Poale Zion, the Jewish Public Library.

36. On May 6 the Canadian Jewish Congress submitted its memorandum on the proposed amendments to the Immigration Act which were still before the Commons. It commented specifically on a number of sections and sub-sections. The 3-page printed document marks the beginning of a quarter century of concern with a vital issue of Jewish survival and of community growth.

The memorandum was reprinted in D.A. Hart. The Jew in Canada.
Toronto, 1926. Pp. 480-82.

37. The Congress has letters of acknowledgment from members of the Commons and from senators, including the office of the Minister of Immigration and Colonization, from the private secretary to the Hon. A.L. Sifton, Minister of Customs, from the Office of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, from the private secretary to the Hon. Mr. Rowell, President of the Privy Council, from S.F. Tolmie. From Toronto Samuel Factor wrote that he had forwarded the Congress protest to Mr. H.C. Hocken, M.P., who had responded to him. D.D. MacKenzie, M.P., wrote that he "had discussed the matter with my good friend Mr. S.W. Jacobs and he thought that there was no special objection to the legislation as far as his people were concerned as the literacy clause is not likely to deprive any Jews of the right of entering Canda."

Mr. J. Hoffman of St. Catharines took up the matter with Mr. J.D. Chaplain, M.P. for his constituency, and wrote to the Congress on May 16 that he had a satisfactory statement from him.

38. The Canadian concern with the lot of overseas Jews was strong. Already the shadow of Hitlerism was oppressing those sensitive to Jewish suffering years before the name of the Nazi was heard of. It was, therefore, in keeping with Congress feeling that its vice-president telegraphed to the distinguished American leader Louis Marshall. His response of Dec. 4 is polyphonic as we read it to-day:

"Your telegram of the 29th ultimo reached my office while I was absent from the city.

"I do not think that it is at this time practicable to arrange for

the migration from Poland and Roumania of any considerable number of Jews. In the first place there is the question of transportation, which is an extremely difficult one. In the next place, if there is a considerable migration of this character, there is every likelihood that it will bring about legislation, not only in Canada, but in the United States, restrictive of immigration.

"I do not believe that either the Polish or the Roumanian Government would object to the migration of Jews. On the contrary, from all that I can learn there is a tendency on the part of the anti-Semitic party to force the Jews to leave Poland and Roumania. If it were understood that there is an inclination on the part of the Jews to leave these countries there would be the danger of renewed pressure to compel migration.

"So far as the possibilities of travel to French or English ports is concerned, I know them to be extremely slender at this time. It is most difficult for those with adequate means to secure admission to these ports. This is largely due to the prevailing economic conditions in France and England. The governments of both countries discourage in every way the entry into their boundaries of those from foreign countries unless they have adequate passports and are able to show a strong controlling reason for being admitted. I cannot give you any details as to these points. I am speaking from my personal observation during five months abroad. I know that a number of the leading Jews of Roumania, men of the highest character, were unable to secure admission into France, although their presence there was highly desirable. I also know that it was equally difficult to secure the admission into France from England of Russian Jews who were of the highest standing, whose presence in Paris was likewise important, and the same difficulties were encountered by those who desired to go to England from France. It took me personally nearly two days before I was able to get my passports visayed and to run the gauntlet of the different embassies in London in order to get into France."

39. A fragment of a letter sent to the delegates to the Congress on Oct. 9, 1919 reflects the continuing Canadian Jewish interest in overseas developments,

"The extraordinary conditions prevailing in Roumania, Poland and most particularly in Ukrainia, which have placed our brethren in the unfortunate position of being eventually totally exterminated, has determined the executive of the Canadian Jewish Congress, to undertake a great political action for rendering quick and efficacious relief.

"Firstly, we must ascertain how many dependents of Canadian residents are abroad and can be brought back to the shores of our Dominion.

"We must furnish our intended commision to Ukrainia, with lists of

all dependents of Canadian residents, and make it possible for them to find those who are still alive.

"For this purpose, the Canadian Jewish Congress undertakes a registration of all Canadian Jewish residents, having dependents abroad."

The wording of this document -- specifically the reference to eventual total extermination -- is significant as a very early Canadian indication that the full measure of the menace of anti-semitism and the onset of "the final solution" was foreseen by many in the Jewish communities. The menace was not first seen to arise with German Hitlerism; rather it was related to the anti-Jewish movement which was sweeping Europe at least since the end of World War I.

Equally significantly, those who saw it this early, such as the men and women of the Canadian Jewish Congress, sought solutions in the emigration of Jews to such havens as Canada and in the restoration of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

40. The Congress archives hold the Yiddish minute book of the Canadian Alliance of Ukrainian Jews (Ukrainer Ferband) recording meetings from Sept. 14, 1919 to Aug. 16, 1921.

A summary of the work of this organization appears in the article "Jewish War Relief Activities in Canada" by S.K.B. which was included in Hart. The Jew in Canada, P. 525.

1919

The formation meeting was chaired by S. Belkin. After H.M. Caiserman, secretary of the Canadian Jewish Congress, read a report from a Paris committee confirming the reports of the atrocities perpetrated by the Ukrainians, it was decided to form an association

of Ukrainian Jews in Canada. H. Wolofsky proposed that a joint committee with the Congress be named to Ottawa in the interests of immigration of Jews.

At the meeting of Sept. 16, Belkin was elected president, Pollock and Tatrinsky vice-presidents, Wolf treasurer, Goldstein and Rabinowitch secretaries.

On Sept. 20 it was reported at the meeting at the J.L. Peretz School that L. Zuker and Fine had given it as their opinion that there is no hope that legitimate government in the Ukraine will protect the Jews there. Their view is that a commission of no fewer than three must go there to establish contact with the families of Jews now in Canada so as to arrange for migration to Palestine or wherever else is possible.

On Sept. 27 it was reported that the Congress was informed of the Ukrainian situation. It was decided that with the cooperation of Louis Fitch, Mr. S.W. Jacobs be asked to present the memorandum of the Ukrainian Ferband before the government and to ask its assistance in sending a committee to the Ukraine.

On Oct. 1 was reported that a Ukrainian Jewish Ferband be formed in Winnipeg.

On the 11th it was noted that a similar group was formed in Toronto. Jacobs, Lyon Cohen, Peter Bercovitch and Caiserman were guests of honour at the meeting of Oct. 12. Reuben Brainin had been invited as honorary chairman. Mordecai Danzis, Yiddish journalist and secretary of the Association of Ukrainian Jews, was the guest speaker. Nine hundred dollars were collected of which \$500 was allocated to send a commission to the Ukraine.

A national conference took place in Montreal on Nov. 9, 1919.

Toronto delegates took an active part in the deliberations. "A hunger banquet" followed the conference. Of the proceeds \$100 were allocated for relief.

November meetings were devoted to arranging a mass demonstration of mourning.

Throughout November and December there was close cooperation with the Congress in arranging a registration of Canadian Jewry. This project was carried out at the Congress and elsewhere on Dec. 9. The Ferband paid the Congress \$300 on account of this work.

Dec. 16 Belkin was elected as delegate of the Association to proceed to the Ukraine. He became the first foreign Jewish visitor to the scene of the pogroms. The assistance of the Congress was solicited in ensuring Canadian government cooperation in arranging the visit of the Canadian delegation.

Dec. 23. A Winnipeg recommendation that Almazov be nominated as delegate to the Ukraine was rejected by the executive committee in Montreal since the Canadian government was certain not to accept him.

1920

Jan. 20. Planning of meetings with Lyon Cohen and Canadian Jewish Congress regarding securing ship-load of clothing, food and other supplies for the Ukraine.

Jan. 27. The first meeting not under the chairmanship of Belkin. Vice-president Wolfe conducted the meeting.

Feb. meetings deal with the collection of clothing. "Mr. Hashinow promised to make his horse available during the week to collect articles offered."

March 30. Winnipeg professional men contributed considerable quantity of medicaments.

Apr. 5. Arrangements for sorting and packing the materials collected.

May 6. Unneeded and old clothing sold for \$120. Share offices with People's Relief. A member of the Ukrainian Alliance will be accompanying the collected materials when they will be sent overseas.

May 25. Belkin reelected chairman in elections.

June 8. Decision to accept letters for delivery in the Ukraine.

June 15. Association agrees to support the effort to bring orphans from the Ukraine to Canada.

June 19. Winnipeg proposes that two delegates be sent to the Ukraine.

Aug. 10. Proposal by Prof. Cheifetz that Orphans Bureau be established was accepted.

Aug. 17. Reports on orphans project. Rabbi H. Cohen and Lyon Cohen were named to the finance committee; S.D. Cohen and Zuker to the investigation committee; Zuker and Rabbi Cohen to committee on adoptions. Letter from Belkin read and made available to the Canadian and U.S. press.

Aug. 24. Further letters from Belkin, also to be published in the press. Rabbis and Gabbaim of the community were invited to cooperate in orphans project, and the Central Committee is requested to devote the income from the Yom Kippur Kaaroth to this work. Labor unions were asked to donate half a day's work for the orphans project. The J.C.A. promised monthly contributions.

Sept. 8. The Court of Arbitration has condemned some person for libelling the Ukrainian Association by accusing it of selling clothing collected for overseas relief.

Sept. 9. Montreal committee inquiring how the Winnipeg group is sending their \$25,000 for medicaments to the Ukraine. A sum of \$3,000 for this purpose had been raised in Montreal.

Oct. 4. Representation at Ottawa national conference on the orphans movement.

Oct. 26. Telegram from Belkin that transport of clothing and medical supplies purchased, together with Saltzman, was crossing border into the U.S.S.R. The letters to relatives in the Ukraine are being delivered. Koldofsky had proceeded to Moscow. Belkin appealed for more clothing, and medicaments, for a quarter of Ukrainian Jewry is on the verge of destruction.

Nov. 16. Telegram from Belkin from Moscow. He has been well received there, and is leaving for the Ukraine. The committee renewed its campaign for clothing.

Dec. 10. Telegram from Belkin asking that Ukrainian Ferband urge Jews in Canada to submit affidavits of immigration with a view to bring their relatives from the Ukraine to Canada. The matter to be discussed with Mr. Jacobs.

Dec. 14. Mr. Jacobs recommends that some 20 Jewish citizens here submit such applications to Ottawa as a test case.

Dec. 23. Report that a delegation of Canadians is about to proceed to Europe in connection with the orphans project: Sanders, Hershman, Levitt. The Ukrainian group is dissatisfied with this decision.

Dec. 28. Report on the position of the committee on the

orphans project: a. As an executive they felt that they had been empowered to appoint their delegates; b. The delegates will seek to enter the Ukraine to select orphans there; c. The funds raised to bring orphans to Canada cannot be used for the maintenance of orphans' homes in the Ukraine.

Dec. 30. Arranging for shipment of clothing to Revel addressed as per the suggestion of Pelkin.

1921

Jan. 4. Lyon Cohen reported that the Associated War Relief will bear the costs of transport.

Jan. 11. A committee of the People's Relief asked the Ukrainian Ferband to assume the campaign for this cause jointly with the existing committee. It was agreed that the Ukrainian group would accept 40% responsibility.

Jan. 25. Acknowledgement from Moscow that materials sent were received and are being dispatched to the needy in the Ukraine. Decision that the request from the Copenhagen committee stand until further information is received. A proposal by Mr. Hershman that 15 cases of clothing be sent to Bessarabia was not accepted. Instead they are to be sent to Warsaw for forwarding to the Ukraine. The committee decided to reply to an article in the Chronicle which was critical of the Ukrainian Ferband.

Feb. 8. Inquiry from Advocate Calmanovits in Revel, Esthonia re an immigration bureau on behalf of a Moscow committee.

Feb. 15. Forty-two cases of clothing received from Winnipeg forwarded together with those received from Windsor.

March 1. Decided to request Winnipeg to arrange for Chaim Saltzman to visit Montreal on his return. Request from the Paris-based World Jewish Committee on the Ukrainian Jewish Refugees in Bessarabia to be published in the Eagle. (Some of this group of war displaced refugees eventually entered Canada.-- D.R.) A token contribution of 3,000 fr. to be sent to them and the Associated War Relief Organization was asked to assist them further. The letter from the Scandinavian Committee will be answered. Delegates named to the Immigration Society. Delegates named to the consultation convened by the Poale Zion regarding a proposed campaign for Tools for Palestine, the precursor of the Gewerkshafften Campaign presently being conducted by the Canadian Association for Labor Israel.

March 8. Discussion as to the propriety of participating in the Campaign for Tools for Palestine, since the Ukrainian Ferband was formed solely to aid Ukrainian war victims. It was decided 6:3 in favour of such participation since Ukrainian refugees are among those who aspire for Palestine.

It was reported that the Immigration Society was dealing largely with the representations of Vladimir Grossman on Jewish colonization in Western Canada. He reported on the attitude of the British government to the immigration of Jews and to Jewish colonists, and stressed the importance of diverting new immigrants to Western Canada and to transform them into useful and productive elements of Jewish society.

March 15. It was decided to telegraph to Calmanovitch on the whereabouts of Belkin. Dr. Trossman had received a letter from a group of Ukrainian Jews in Kovno seeking American aid to reach Palestine

as Chalutzim. The letter indicated that Belkin had been in Kharkov eight weeks earlier.

March 22. Another telegram was sent to Calmanovitch about Belkin. It was also reported that "It is impossible to engage a star from New York for a projected theatrical show here because of the involvement of the local theatre manager."

Apr. 5. Calmanovitch had replied about Belkin.

Apr. 19. A letter received from Hershman, presently in Warsaw, is to be published in the Eagle.

May 3. Committee read lengthy report from Saltzman from Winnipeg on the condition of the Jews in Russia and other materials relating to his trip to the Soviet Union. It was decided 8:4 to arrange a public meeting for Mr. Saltzman to report on May 8 in the Prince Arthur Hall.

May 24. Telegram received from Belkin from Revel, Esthonia. Message sent to him to Kovno.

June 7. Farewell letter from Prof. Cheifetz as well as a Paris report from him on the work of the World Committee on Ukrainian Refugees.

June 14. Report from Paris on Ukrainian refugees in Constantinople. The Ferband will rent its office for two weeks to the Montefiore Orphans Home for their tag day project.

July 4. Calmanovitch reports from Revel that shipment has been sent off to Moscow. Belkin reports to the executive committee on

his voyages to the Ukraine. His activities on this perilous journey are fully approved, both in regard to relief and to community work. Mrs. Belkin's courageous behaviour during this difficult period are commended. A mass meeting for Belkin to report on his trip was arranged for July 11 and a conference of organizations interested in relief work in the Ukraine will be convened on July 14.

July 19. A number of inquiries addressed to Belkin were read. It was decided to have the Toronto Daily Hebrew Journal publish the list of refugees in the Ukraine. Rabbi J.L. Zlotnik had attended the conference of organizations in his personal capacity, not on behalf of the Mizrachi. J. Abel formally proposed that a book with Belkin's reports be published. A discussion took place about the language of this book. A banquet will be held with Mr. Belkin as guest of honour. Among the guests: Rabbis Cohen, Rosenberg and Zlotnik.

(Rabbi Hirsch Cohen was the recognized leader of orthodox Jewry in the community, a member of the Lazarus Cohen, Lyon Cohen, Horace Cohen, Leonard Cohen family. Rabbi Judah J. Rosenberg was a Chassidic leader, formerly of Toronto, author of many religious and folkloric works, translator of the Zohar into Hebrew, grandfather of Mordecai Richler. Rabbi J.L. Zlotnik, later director, the Zionist Organization of Canada for many years, was one of the outstanding scholars of the time, author of many Hebrew and Yiddish works of history and literature, translator of Ecclesiastes into Yiddish, also known by his noms de plume of Elzet and Avida.)

Aug. 16. Letters from the Paris committee with photographs of refugees, to be used in the educational work of the Canadian alliance.

Also from the Ukrainian Federation in London regarding a number of names in Belkin's lists. Report on Belkin's report meeting in Winnipeg. An invitation from the Ukrainian Federation in New York for Belkin to address them. A conference on relief will take place in Toronto on Aug. 23.

40. Congress has a printed leaflet on the letterhead of the People's Relief for the Jewish War Sufferers Campaign Committee, Montreal, appealing for candles and soap to help "Stop Sickness among the Jews of the Ukraine and Russia." Campaign day was announced for Sunday, Jan. 30 (1921). S. Polishuk is listed as chairman; Peter Bercovitch, treasurer; L. Meltzer, secretary and campaign manager; H. Hershman, L. Ortenberg, W. Wolfe and L. Zuker, administrative committee.

The Congress Archives contain a scrap book of clippings, Feb. 19 - Dec. 15, 1919, including reports on preparations for the Congress sessions and accounts of the proceedings; Jewish representations to the Commons from the Congress executive and from Jews in St. Catharines and Welland in regard to literacy tests for immigrants; report on the Congress protest meeting at the Monument National following pogroms in Poland and in Rumania; Congress sponsorship of registration of Canadian Jews; leaflet proclaiming a protest demonstration, Nov. 24, and a supporting leaflet from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union; a leaflet in English and French, "Protestation des Intellectuels Français" against the pogroms in the Ukraine and in Poland; press reports on this parade of 30,000; a series of six leaflets ("The Congress says a new word each day in these bulletins") urging registration

for the purpose of rescuing relatives, on Dec. 13-14; a report on Congress uniting Canadian Jews, reprinted from the New York Tageblatt in the Vienna Morgenpost; also report on the organization of the Canadian Jewish Congress in the Juedische Rundschau of Berlin of Apr. 25, 1919.

"I am to add, however, that in view of the Holodomor advance, Sir H. Mackinnon's report will only cover a very small part of South Russia. (File no. 175000/435)"

By a clerical error the letter of acknowledgment from the Prime Minister's Office in London in which an acknowledgment was made of the Downing St. address, is dated Jan. 3, 1920 - clearly in error for it refers to the Congress letter of Jan. 15.

2. On the 23rd. of January the Canadian Jewish Congress also consulted the Jewish Delegations at the League of Nations Conference in Paris in regard to the condition of Jews on the European continent. The secretary general in Paris replied on Feb. 23, 1920.

"We have no objection to an action against pogroms being taken, either through protestations or by any other means. On the contrary, the pogroms, unfortunately, are still raging, and public interest must be called to these terrible happenings. The part played by Poland in the pogroms movement must, on no account, be exaggerated, but on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the form of a less bloody antisemitic persecution are thriving in that country; viz. - organized, social and governmental anti-Semitism, and all kinds of trouble is being done for the Jews. You will see, by reading our bulletin, what happenings which stand out most."

"The Ukrainian pogroms and those due to the Denikin army, should also come in for such a share of indignant protestation as they deserve."

1920

1. On Jan. 15, 1920 the Congress sent the "Resolution which has been adopted by the Canadian Jewish Congress on the subject of the condition of Jews in Ukraine" to the authorities.

The Foreign Office in London replied on Feb. 10:

"I am directed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston to inform you that this matter is receiving the earnest attention of His Majesty's Government, and that the British High Commissioner to South Russia has been instructed to report fully on the whole question of Jews in that country.

"2. I am to add, however, that in view of the Bolshevik advance, Sir H. Mackinder's report will only cover a very small part of South Russia. (File no. 176008/W38)"

By a clerical error the letter of acknowledgement from the Prime Minister's Office in London on his embossed letterhead with seal and the Downing St. address, is dated Jan. 3, 1920 - clearly in error for it refers to the Congress letter of Jan. 15.

2. On the 23rd. of January the Canadian Jewish Congress also consulted the Comite des Delegations Juives aupres de la Conference de la Paix in regard to the condition of Jews on the European continent. The secretary general in Paris replied on Feb. 23, 1920,

"We have no objection to an action against pogrom being taken, either through protestation meetings or by any other means. On the contrary, the pogroms, unfortunately, are still raging, and public interest must be called to these terrible happenings. The part played by Poland in the pogromistic movement must, on no account, be exaggerated, but on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the forms of a less bloody antisemitic persecution are thriving in that country; viz:-economical boycott, social and governmental anti-semitism, and all kinds of trouble is brewing there for the Jews. You will see, by reading our bulletins, those happenings which stand out most.

"The Ukrainian pogroms and those due to the Denikin army, should also come in for such a share of indignant protestation as they deserve.

"Some isolated cases of massacres in Hungary must be mentioned; in that country antisemitic feeling is now rife and wherever one goes the Jewish population is living in a continual state of fear.

"The campaign thus organized will give results favorable for our cause. An appeal for the punishment of the culprits and for some compensation to the victims of these terrible pogroms should be addressed to the League of Nations."

3. A year after the March, 1919 convention Lyon Cohen, president of the national organization, issued a message reviewing briefly the work of the first twelve months of the Congress. This was accompanied by a longer "Report of the Year's activities" from the secretary, H.M. Caiserman. Both were printed on a single page of the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, a copy of which is in the files of the Congress. Mr. Caiserman's report was also printed in Hart's The Jew in Canada, pp. 478-79.

4. In October, 1920 the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Relief Conference, with its seat in Paris, sent the Canadian Jewish Congress its printed Yiddish circular Letter, No. 1, accompanied by a questionnaire, also translated into Hebrew, English and French.

The circular signed by Leon Motzkin and A.L. Salkind, recalls that,

"The conference was founded in Carlsbad in Aug. 5-13, 1920 to co-ordinate as far as possible all Jewish relief efforts so as to ensure system and uniformity in relieving the continuing suffering of millions of Jews in the eastern countries; there still remains a degree of confusion arising from the division and mutual isolation of the respective agencies. This is a total people's cause that should be carried out with the united forces of the people. We must lay down the barriers that divide those of our people who can render assistance from those that at the present moment still need this help.

"In order to achieve this unity so that the entire relief program can be carried out on a planned basis, the various aid organizations must be in constant and lively contact with the relief agency which was selected by the conference and through this agency with each other..."

5. The Congress Archives possess a scrap of a mutilated Sacred Scroll of the Law, a relic of the Ukrainian pogroms. It had come into the hands of H. Wolofsky.

6. A letter from the Jewish People's Schools of Montreal, dated Dec. 15, 1920, invited the Congress to a conference of organizations on Jan. 9 to ensure the continued existence of the school. The letter expresses its disappointment with a failure of Congress:

"When the Jewish Congress in Canada was convened, the friends of Jewish education were elated. We believed that a new era was coming for Jewish schooling in this country. The indifference which is fatal for every national Jewish initiative would be dissipated.

"Unfortunately, our hopes were not fulfilled. We know the reasons well.... Nevertheless, we have decided to turn to you again.

"Our school, which provides a modern Jewish national education to some 400 children, is facing great financial difficulties."

Speed and Other Factors in "Social" Differences, reprinted in Archives of Psychology, no. 91. His earliest work include A Study of Psychological Differences between "Social" and National Groups in Europe. (1931) Race Differences (N.Y., Harper); Negro Intelligence and Selective Immigration (N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1935) and several editions of Social Psychology (N.Y., Holt).

2. On Feb. 7, 1922 the president of the Congress petitioned President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia to intervene in the impending deportation of Rabbi Yehoshua Ben Hoshaya of Lublin "in view of his advanced years and intellectual standing."

3. On July 3 Ignatz Cohen asked Mr. Eliason to assist Mr. Klinenberg in getting out some notices.

The letterhead lists the officers including Louis Fitch as

1922

1. On Feb. 5, 1922 acting secretary Otto Klineberg signed invitations to a meeting of the executive of the Canadian Jewish Congress on Feb. 12 at Zionist headquarters in Montreal, on Sherbrooke Street West.

The Congress Archives hold copies of the invitation letters to H.L. Weidman and M.J. Finkelstein of Winnipeg and to A.B. Bennett of Toronto. Others invited included B. Sheps, J.A. Cherniak, M. Tessler and A. Osovsky of Winnipeg and M. Goldstick, J. Bechnik, A. Rhinewine, B.M. Speyer, S. Koldofsky, H. Dworkin and B. Nathanson of Toronto.

The business of the meeting was to include "immigration and other Jewish problems" and the future of the Congress.

Klineberg, born in 1899, has since become one of the distinguished anthropologists of our century. He wrote his doctoral dissertation in ethnopsychology for Columbia in 1928 On an Experimental Study of Speed and Other Factors in "Racial" Differences, reprinted in Archives of Psychology, no. 93. His earliest works include A Study of Psychological Differences between "Racial" and National Groups in Europe, (1931); Race Differences (N.Y., Harper); Negro Intelligence and Selective Immigration (N.Y., Columbia University Press, 1935) and several editions of Social Psychology (N.Y., Holt).

2. On Feb. 7, 1922 the president of the Congress petitioned President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia to intervene in the impending deportation of Rabbi Ysacher Ber Rokeach of Munkacs "in view of his advanced years and intellectual standing."

3. On July 3 Lyon Cohen asked Mr. Ellman to assist Mr. Klineberg in getting out some notices.

The letterhead lists the officers including Louis Fitch as

Montreal vice-president, Goldstick as Toronto vice-president, Finkelstein as Winnipeg vice-president, and A. Levin as treasurer of the Congress and Caiserman as general secretary.



II

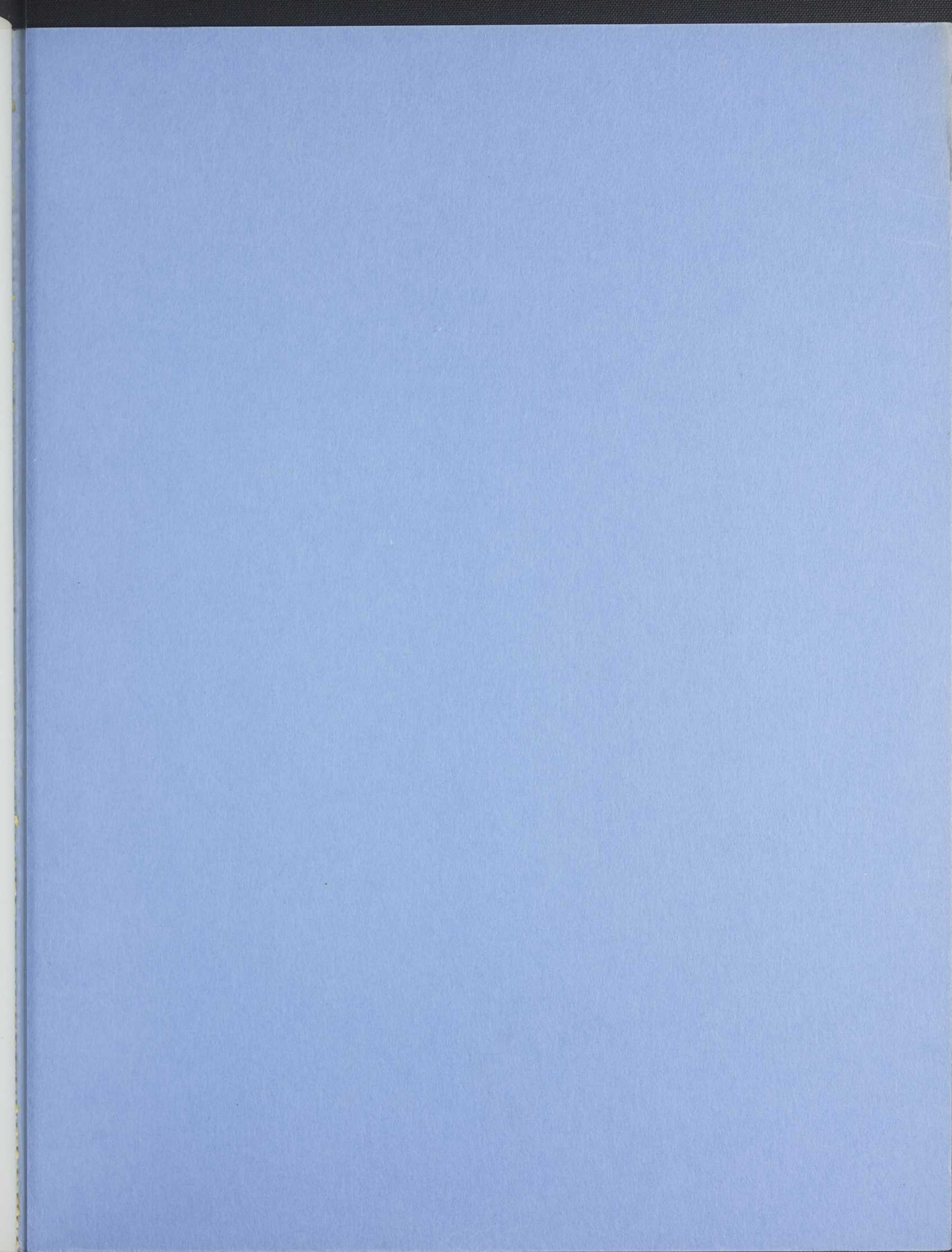
They also document the identification of these men and women with the remarkable continuity of thousands-years-old Judaism. Within the extensive borders of the Canadian nation also there have been played the dramas of the meetings of strangely distant Jewries -- those from London's Spanish congregation, from Prussian towns, from Colonial Australia, from Vilno and Strettin, from Bergen Belsen and Casablanca. These dramas developed on Chenneville St. in Old Montreal and at York, at Berlin (later Kitchener) and in the Cariboo, on Hirsch farms and in Cote St. Luc, in Winnipeg and at Corner Brook in Newfoundland. The settings have been at Congress Plenary Sessions, at Yom Ha'atzmauth observances, at Jewish Studies courses and at administrative meetings of various institutions, on Yom Kippur and at student retreats.

The Congress archives record the face to face meeting of Canada's Jews with their fellow citizens, with Canadian governments and parliaments, with civic organizations, law courts and with the media. They document the place Canada has won in the councils of world Jewry, in Israel, in international relief agencies, in the world struggle for peace, for Jewish rights and for human rights.

The Congress archives will long be a mine for scholars. It is the escutcheon for the centuries-old community.

The needs of the academics of to-day and of to-morrow will vary with their originality and with their evolving perspectives. It is our duty as custodians on their behalf to preserve within the dimensions of the possible that which they will consider relevant. This forces us to strain our imagination, to contemplate our self-understanding and to concern ourselves with posterity.





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