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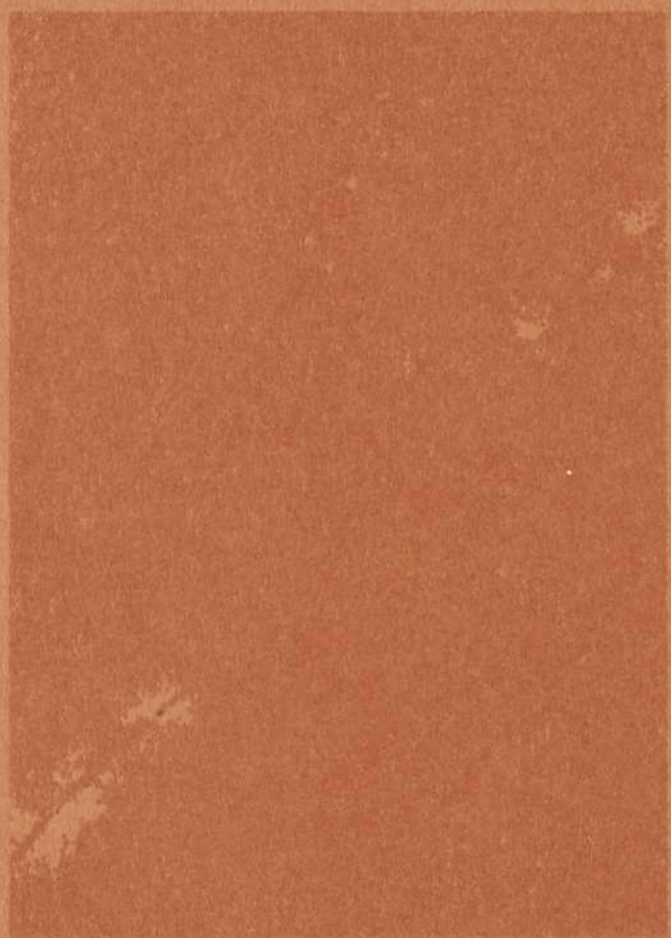
CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

**On Antisemitism In Canada.
1929 - 1939**

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

**By
David Rome**

**Section 6
Montreal, 1978**



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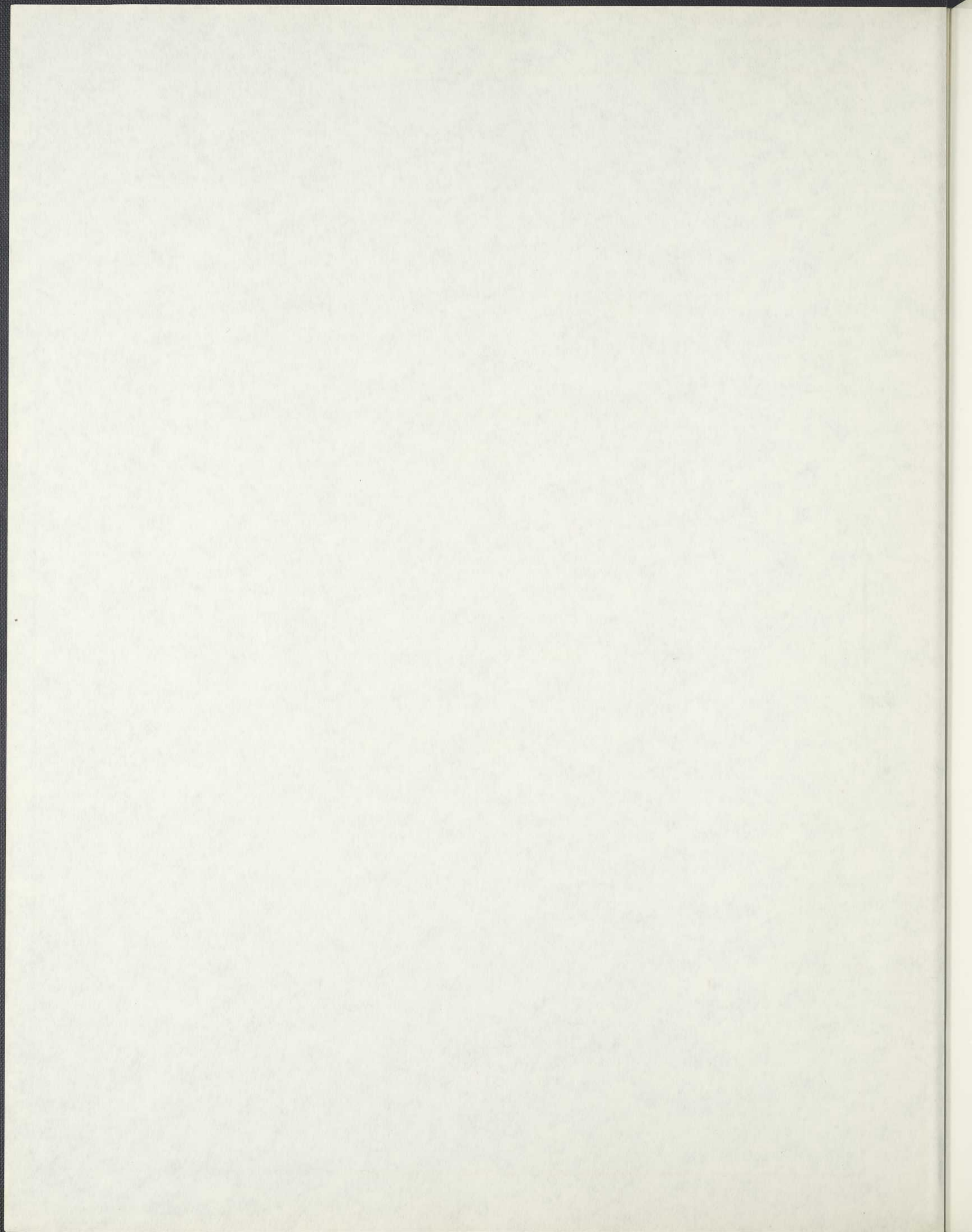
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Montreal, 1978

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REHEARSAL IN POLAND

The focus of Jewish attention -- as of world attention -- during that decade was at the heart of Europe, on Germany.

But to understand the Germany problem in the perspective of Canadian Jewry in the 1930's we must refer to the European continent as a whole ever since the cannon stilled in 1918.

Concerned Jews in Canada did not take their eyes off Europe since that day. The armistice of 1918 did not end the European war for Jews. Antisemitism of a new character was rampant over half the continent and was constantly evolving and intensifying.

Canadians observing the Jewish fate, often well versed in political affairs and in the cultures of the old continent, were reporting and warning every day. To the point of boredom. The alarms were repetitive; their analyses learned, obscure, often dogmatic and ideological.

At the other end of Canadian society were the unconcerned with distant events, cooler in their life style and in their expression, fatigued after the last war, optimistic about basic human nature and the ultimate outcome of current conflict, secure in the Canadian shelter, remote from the Yiddish speaking sector of overseas Jewry and its down-town colony still nurturing its European lore and interests.

Between those two polarities Canadian Jewry wavered. Canadian education, the Canadian birthrate, the immigration

rate, acculturation -- all these were determining forces. So, also, were the alarming and pleading reports from Europe, and the constant interpretation of these calls from down-town and the continuous calls for ancestral loyalty.

Overseas the constitutional guarantees of Jewish minority rights imbedded in the Versailles-dictated constitutions were being whittled down.

Attacks on Jews were occurring with increasing frequency in Poland and in other European lands with ever greater boldness, violence -- ever more clearly with government support and approval.

Antisemitic ideas were gaining acceptance in societies traditionally tolerant.

Legislation kept limiting possibilities for Jewish residents of Europe.

Governmental policies were designed to squeezing Jews out of their economic positions.

Political parties with antisemitic programs and slogans were gaining.

The gates to the lands of refuge -- including Canada's -- were closing. In Palestine in particular the British obligation to help establish a Jewish homeland became a limiting control of Jewish immigration and settlement.

Poland, Roumania, Lithuania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia -- not to speak of Russia -- Europe was becoming a vast and deadly trap for its Jewish residents.

Anti-Jewish attitudes were assuming new forms, replacing the medieval Holy Office and the Black Hundreds of the czar. In each country Jew hatred was identifying with the nationalism of the land and the region. The "patriots" of countries in conflict were finding a common ideal in the hatred of their Jews and in the common savagery of their international and universalist ideas and of social justice in each country, the whole poisoned by antisemitism, brewed into an international of shirts, all blood red.

In each case claiming to be national patriotic, basically anti-communist and anti-socialist, the anti-semitic movement in the various lands was universally anti-democratic, racist and murderous. The danger was becoming world-wide; the threat was final, the intention annihilation, the objective genocide.

This danger-laden process began with the pogroms of war- and revolution-torn Russia and the establishment of the new governments, perilously intoxicated with the power of their new sovereignty.

Canadian Jews pleaded constantly for government interest in the plight of their fellow-Jews in Europe, to no effect.

This endeavour began years earlier, soon after the first war, when discrimination against Jews commenced with the establishment of the succession states on the western fringes of the Czarist empire. The ill treatment of Rumanian, Hungarian and Polish Jews was the harbinger of the holocaust and of world war. Canadian Jews sought to warn their government of this, but to no avail.

Poland, of course, was the most blatant offender, the superlative of the antisemitic rage and vice, clearly the home of Auschwitz and Lublin and Warsaw, the arena Hitler was to choose for his murder camps (eastward, rather than Drancy or the Netherlands).

In point of historic fact, one of the first activities of the Canadian Jewish Congress when it was organized in 1919 was the coordination of a number of protest meetings and demonstrations against pogroms in Poland.

For two decades Jewry tried to say something to Poland and to the world -- with no success.

The concern of Canadian Jews for their kin in Poland was formulated in Ontario in a resolution of protest against "the unparalleled misery under which their fellow-Jews are compelled to live in Poland.

"1. Although the Jews of Poland are entitled by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and under the constitution of Poland, to equality of treatment as individuals and as

members of a group recognized as such by law, these rights are systematically being denied them.

"2. Having developed a policy of denial of Jewish rights as prescribed in the terms of the Versailles Treaty and under its constitution, having indicated by legislative enactment and action to the Polish masses that it regards Jews as aliens and superfluous, the government of Poland has inevitably drifted into a situation in which it has given direct and indirect support to a system of economic discrimination, to a vicious organized anti-Semitic movement, to a system of violence and boycott against Jews which has swept through the country unchecked by representatives of government or by the organs of public opinion.

"3. Having embarked upon a campaign to eliminate the middle man from commerce and industry through the establishment of state monopolies and state enterprises and the creation of subsidized Polish consumers' co-operatives, the government made no provision for this displaced section of the Polish-Jewish population; moreover the government's policy has been consistently to exclude Jews from all possibilities of obtaining employment.

"4. By recent legislation the government has caused the ousting of large numbers of Polish Jews from the possibilities of earning a livelihood in bakeries, in the meat industry and in artisan shops.

"5. With the adoption of the numerus clausus, discrimination against Jews has been introduced in the field of professional training, one of the results of which are acts of violence perpetrated by Polish students against Jewish students.

"6. Notwithstanding the exorbitant taxation system imposed upon Jews, the Polish government discriminates against them where employment and work projects are concerned, where credit grants to Jewish cooperatives and credit societies are involved and with reference to subventions to Jewish communal institutions.

"7. The acts of the government against the Jews in the economic field have stimulated a growing and violent campaign of propaganda against the Jews, the spread of a boycott of Jews and a general disregard against Jewish rights. More than 300 municipalities of Western Poland

and Pomerania have stopped trading with Jews on market days. From January to December, 1936, according to a conservative estimate in the censored Polish press, 430 attacks took place on Jews in 179 villages. Moreover, the government courts have taken to punishing victims instead of the perpetrators, and the gross miscarriage of justice relating to the pogrom in Przytuk impelled the crushed and terrorized Jewish population in Poland to arise in a nation-wide one day protest strike.

"8. Having directly and indirectly created a status for the Jews of Poland which deprives them of the protection of law and denies them economic opportunities to which they were entitled; having, in brief, segregated its Jewish citizens from the economic and political life of Poland, the government has sought to meet the problem which it has aided in creating by seeking to bring about the expatriation of its Jewish citizens, on the ground that of all the citizens of the Republic, the Jew represents the superfluity.

"a. While this Conference recognizes the difficulties facing the Polish government in the solution of the social and economic problems of the land, it affirms that the Jews are entitled to the same consideration and treatment as their fellow-citizens, and that the solution of the problems of the Jewish and non-Jewish relations can be found only upon the soil of Poland.

"b. This Conference repudiates the allegation that Jews are an alien or superfluous element in the Polish population. We protest against any attempt to force the Jews leaving their native land in which they have lived for over 900 years.

"c. This Conference pleads with the Polish government to take immediate steps to restore to the Jews, in fact as in promise, the equal rights which are their due as human beings and as guaranteed them by law, and thus maintain the goodwill of Canadian Jewry and the Canadian people for the Republic of Poland."

Repeatedly, on a hundred occasions, the Jews of Canada petitioned for redress in Poland. The wording of this Congress memorandum to the Polish government is a fair sample,

"The Jews of this country view with deep anxiety the conditions in which the Jews of Poland find themselves today.

"We note with great concern that, despite the efforts of the Polish government to suppress the attacks upon them which are now sweeping the country, these excesses nevertheless continue and increase. There can be no doubt that this lawlessness and these disorders are the inevitable consequences of years of agitation against the Jews, but this would not yield these results if it were more vigorously checked by the government. For, even though the Polish government has on the one hand announced its opposition to those sponsoring this agitation, the boycott, and the physical attacks on the Jews, the anti-Semitic groups in Poland have relentlessly continued their activities.

"The Canadian people share with the entire world the gratification that, as a result of the war, and after the severe trials which Poland had passed through during its incorporation into other states, it was erected into a new Republic. We all hoped that after its dismemberment for a century and a half, the new Poland, remembering its own trials, would make the lot of all of the people settled within its boundaries one which would serve as a model to other states. That this has not happened is patent. The Jews of Poland have had the minimum rather than the maximum of the well-being and protection which it was hoped they would enjoy. Their virtual exclusion from public employment and from industries which have been taken over by the State, and in which they were formerly employed, has reduced the Jewish population of Poland to a condition of poverty worse than has prevailed at any time during this and a great part of the preceding century.

"In the light of these facts, which have been repeatedly given to the public and which are authenticated in the official records of the Polish government, the Jewish citizens of Poland are being deprived of their elementary human rights and of their legal rights as guaranteed by international treaty and national law.

"On various occasions the attention of the Polish government has been drawn to this state of affairs. Jewish members of the Sejm have brought all the facts directly to the attention of the Parliament and have interrogated the government. Jewish communities outside of Poland concerned about the welfare of their brethren in that country have lodged protests with the diplomatic representatives of Poland in their countries."

The report of a meeting with the Polish consul-general in April 1936 is typical of the outcries from Jews in Canada -- and the world over:

"Mr. S.W. Jacobs, M.P., was confident that the Polish consul-general understood the purpose of this visit, which was to express the apprehension of the 160,000 Jews in Canada at the persecution and suffering of the millions of Jews in Poland.

"Mr. Herschel Wolofsky, publisher of the Jewish Daily Eagle and of the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, who is responsible for the development of Polish-Canadian trade, expressed his alarm at the Schechita Bill. Even in its amended form, the regulations adopted will hinder orthodox Jews in buying food, since prices will increase five or six times, due to the fact that they will not be permitted to dispose of two-thirds of the meat to the general trade, as they had done previously. Thousands of Jewish families will thus be deprived of a livelihood.

"Assurances were given in September 1934 by the Polish Foreign Minister to the effect that the interests of minorities are and will remain protected by the fundamental laws of Poland, which secure minorities of language, race and religion, free development and equality of treatment. But, in spite of these assurances, conditions the responsibility for which the government cannot escape are becoming more and more alarming from week to week. The continuance of such conditions is all the more surprising in view of the fact that the Republic has been in existence less than twenty years and that prior to its birth its people were themselves a minority and were the victims of an oppressive, crushing tyranny.

"In accordance with the reference by Prime Minister Marjan Zyndram Koscialkowski to this agitation by destructive, irresponsible elements blindly following foreign examples, it would seem desirable for the peace of Poland to suppress at their source these terrorist groups. In view of the Pastoral Letter issued by the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Augustin Hlond, such an act would meet with the hearty approval of the great majority of the citizens of Poland.

"This Congress requests the government of Poland to take immediate and effective steps to protect Jewish life and property, to restore to its Jewish citizens their full and equal rights in accordance with the obligations specified in the treaty of 1919 and in the constitution based upon that treaty.

"The Jews of Poland are entitled to an equal opportunity to live and to work in building up the land of which they are natives and citizens."

"Mr. Lyon Cohen explained that he was not challenging the right of the Polish government to introduce monopolies for the welfare of Poland. But he did consider it most tragic that the Jewish minority in Poland should be deprived of the benefits of the monopoly: it is rank injustice to exclude the Jews from an entire industry by monopolizing it, and to bar them, as workers, from their own regular occupations in the industry. Wherever Jews are treated on a basis of absolute equality, that country, as a whole, benefits by it.

"Mr. A. A. Heaps, M.P., of Winnipeg, reminded the Consul that more than three million Jews are living in Poland, and that no government can pauperize and neglect such an important minority without harming itself. He recalled the suffering of the Polish people under the Czars and warmly urged that the Consul endeavour to induce his government to respect the laws, drawn up under the Versailles Treaty, for the protection of minorities. He assured the Consul that if, at any time the Polish minorities were attacked in Canada, as the Jewish minority are being attacked in Poland, we would not fail to protest.

"Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, of Toronto, described the great happiness of the entire progressive world, when Poland again became united, because -- having herself suffered so bitterly for a century and half -- it was expected that she would set an example on the treatment of minorities. When he had visited Poland, two years ago, he was greatly impressed with the activities in the rebuilding of Polish life. But when he saw the indescribable misery in which the Jewish masses lived there, he felt the greatest despair. While living in the South (U.S.) he had believed that the greatest poverty that could ever be imagined was that of the Negroes there. But in comparison with the poverty of the Jewish masses in Poland, the Negroes were living in luxury. As Poland wishes to rebuild economically, on the basis of public ownership, he is ready to sympathise with her, but he protested with the greatest vigour against the discrimination and persecution of the Jewish minority there.

"Rabbi Eisendrath recalled that, during his visit in Poland, he had seen a Nazi airplane drop anti-Jewish propaganda in thousands of copies, and warned the consul-general that if Poland, with all her minorities, will fail to oppose Nazi propaganda, she will certainly lose the confidence of the entire world.

"The Polish Consul assured the delegation that he opposes antisemitism and that to his regret the experiments in more freedom for the Polish parties, conducted since Marshal Pilsudski's death, have not succeeded. He assured the delegation that the Polish government will, in the future, be in control of the situation."

Of course the reassurances were without meaning, and every day continued to bring its reports of tightening persecution. Typically that of Nov. 2, 1937 when the World Jewish Congress Paris office wrote to Montreal,

"We are writing you today in connection with the introduction of ghetto benches at the Polish Universities, which, as you know, is a very dangerous violation of Jewish rights in Poland.

"Polish Jewry has taken up the struggle with the greatest energy, and for the first time part of Polish liberal public opinion is supporting them, a number of professors and university rectors having refused to apply the order concerning ghetto benches.

"It is urgently necessary to support this struggle abroad by arousing public opinion in the democratic countries. We have reasons to believe that a vigorous reaction of public opinion in the western European and American countries might cause the repeal of the order. We are therefore, organising protest declarations from non-Jewish circles in France, England and the United States. We think it would be very important to have similar protests in Canada. In England, the protest declaration will take the form of an open letter to the Times and members of academic circles".

An irate delegation told the Polish representatives in Canada,

"Excesses continue and increase. This lawlessness and these disorders are the inevitable consequences of years of agitation against the Jews, but which would not yield these results if it were more vigorously checked by the Government.

"The boycott, the physical attacks on the Jews, the antisemitic groups in Poland have relentlessly continued. The Jews of Poland have had the minimum rather than the maximum of wellbeing and protection.

"Their virtual exclusion from public employment and from industries which have been taken over by the State, and in which they were formerly employed, has reduced the Jewish population of Poland to a condition of poverty worse than has prevailed at any time during this and a great part of the preceding century.

"The Jewish citizens of Poland are being deprived of their elementary human rights and of their legal rights as guaranteed by international treaty and national law.

"Jewish members of the Sejm have brought the facts to the attention of the Parliament. Jewish communities outside of Poland have lodged protests with the diplomatic representatives of Poland. Assurances were given that the interests of minorities 'are and will remain protected by the fundamental laws of Poland, which secure minorities of language, race and religion, free development and equality of treatment.' But conditions the responsibility for which the Government cannot escape are becoming more and more alarming from week to week."

A Toronto conference of delegates from 115 local groups "repudiates the allegation that Jews are an alien or superfluous element in the Polish population and protests against any attempt, either official or otherwise, to compel the Jews leaving their native land in which they have lived continuously for over 900 years and to whose welfare and upbuilding they have contributed in large measure.

"This Conference pleads with the Polish Government to take immediate steps to restore to its Jewish citizens, not only theoretically but in actual practice, those rights which are their due as citizens and as human beings, as guaranteed them by law."

S.W. Jacobs led a delegation to Dr. O.D. Skelton, Under-Secretary for External Affairs, on the Polish situation on April 21, 1937. The delegation submitted a brief which said,

"Having developed a policy of denial of Jewish rights as prescribed in the terms of the Versailles Treaty and under its constitution; having indicated by legislative enactment and action to the Polish masses that it regards Jews as aliens and superfluous, the government of Poland has inevitably drifted into a situation in which it has given direct and indirect support to a system of economic discrimination, to a vicious organized antisemitic movement, to a system of violence and boycott against Jews which has swept through the country unchecked by representatives of government or by the organs of public opinion.

"Having embarked upon a campaign to eliminate the middleman from commerce and industry through the establishment of state monopolies and state enterprises and the creation of subsidized Polish consumers co-operatives, the government made no provision for this displaced section of the Polish-Jewish population; moreover, the government's policy has been consistently to exclude Jews from all possibilities of obtaining employment.

"By recent legislation the government has caused the ousting of large numbers of Polish Jews from the possibilities of earning a livelihood in bakeries, in the meat industry and in artisan shops.

"With the adoption of the numerus clausus, discrimination against Jews has been introduced in the field of professional training, one of the results of which are acts of violence perpetrated by Polish students against Jewish students.

"Notwithstanding the exorbitant taxation system imposed upon Jews, the Polish Government discriminates against them where employment and work projects are concerned, where credit grants to Jewish cooperatives and credit societies are involved and with reference to subventions to Jewish communal institutions.

"The acts of the government against the Jews in the economic field have stimulated a growing and violent campaign of propaganda against the Jews, the spread of a boycott of Jews and a general disregard of Jewish rights. More than 300 municipalities of

Western Poland and Pomerania have stopped trading with Jews on market days; from January to December 1936, according to a conservative estimate in the censored Polish press, 430 attacks took place on Jews in 179 villages; the Government courts have taken to punishing the victims instead of the perpetrators; the gross miscarriage of justice relating to the pogrom in Przytuk impelled the crushed and terrorized Jewish population in Poland to rise in a nation-wide one day protest strike.

"Having directly and indirectly created a status for the Jews of Poland which deprives them of the protection of law and denies them economic opportunities to which they are entitled; having, in brief, segregated its Jewish citizens from the economic and political life of Poland -- the government has sought to meet the problem, which it has aided in creating, by seeking to bring about the expatriation of its Jewish citizens, on the ground that, of all the citizens of the Republic, the Jew represents the superfluity."

Dr. Skelton was requested:

"Canada having taken such a prominent part in the World War and in the liberation and restoration of Poland, Canada being a member of the League of Nations and, as under article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, our Government is a partner to the guarantee which the League of Nations has given that Poland should observe the rights of the racial, religious or individualistic minorities; We humbly pray that our Government should kindly undertake the transmission of this memorandum to the Council of the League of Nations and to the Republic of Poland."

Dr. Skelton reported faithfully on the Jewish representation to Prime Minister King the following day,

"They maintain that the Jews are entitled to the same consideration as their fellow citizens in Poland, and that the solution of the problems of Jewish and non-Jewish relations can be found only upon the soil of Poland (not with the Polish Government, which is urging mass emigration of the Jews).

"The deputation requested that the resolution should be transmitted by the Canadian Government to the League of Nations and to the Polish Government.

"There is no doubt that a wave of antisemitic hostility is sweeping Poland, where ten percent of the thirty million people are Jews. The Polish Government has steadily been restricting economic and cultural opportunities for Jewish residents. It claims to have no responsibility for the rioting and violence which have taken place in cities, villages and universities, but it has not taken very effective steps to repress these movements. There is no doubt that both the official and unofficial action is contrary to the solemn pledges given by Poland under the Minority Treaties. Poland, however, renounced any obligation under these treaties in the session of the Assembly of the League in September, 1934."

More surprisingly, Dr. O.D. Skelton added his own indignation at the Polish government using its Jews as scapegoats for its own responsibilities and guilts in the face of its grave problems. Dr. Skelton added that he had been shocked when Polish minister of state Col. Beck three years ago at Geneva renounced the minority rights of Polish Jews. Dr. Skelton had been at Geneva at the time and recalled the painful impression this had made on the representatives of Britain, France and other lands. (Eagle, Apr. 26, 1937)

The twenty-fifth convention of the Zionist Organization of Canada, meeting at Ottawa, also invoked Canadian support at the League of Nations on behalf of the persecuted Jews of Poland, Rumania and other European countries. (Public Archives of Canada. External Affairs. RG 25, vol. 1802, Jan. 24, 1938)

The despatches continued from Europe for the rest of the decade, to climax with the war that was sparked when the arch enemies of Jewry -- Nazi Germany and communist Russia -- signed a pact to conquer and to divide the continent and the rest of the world.

Principal F. Scott Mackenzie of the Presbyterian College in Montreal stated (Apr. 1, 1937),

"The fact that the present position of the Jews in Poland does not directly and immediately affect us is a minor consideration. The significant thing is that this whole situation reveals to us an attempt to exercise authority in a way which is bound to be destructive of the best things in our civilization if it is allowed to go unchecked. We have here a menace which all lovers of freedom, whatever their individual opinions or sympathies may be, must greatly deplore, and which they need to withstand by united, and if necessary by sacrificial, effort.

"It is directly contrary to all the ideals of Christianity, and our Jewish brethren may be assured of widespread Christian sympathy in this struggle against oppression and tyranny."

In Toronto the Rev. Canon H.P. Plumptre wrote,

"If the parable of the Good Samaritan means anything, it means that Christians ought to be specially sensitive to the ill treatment of those who belong to other races and religions. Would that it had always been so."

But the Polish -- and Rumanian and Magyar and Lithuanian and Czech -- tragedy was but prelude.

HOLocaust HEROES

The full horror, with antisemitism and race hatred merging into the blood red monochrome of war, erupted in Germany, the traditional home of western civilization, and the culmination of its crime was initiated by its government and performed by its government.

The particular victims of these atrocities were the Jews of that country, only several decades ago they had been the most fortunate, most fully emancipated Jews in a millennium. Now there was not the least public concern with their agony.

When Hitler came to power and his war on the Jews commenced, the blindness and the deafness of government became history-making. It was as if no papers or mail reached Ottawa.

From the name Germany there was now emanating a poison openly intended to export its hate and death promises to Jews and to others far beyond the German border.

A partial observer of the language of New France draws attention to a semantic development. Victor Paul Bastien as early as May 1, 1933

"I noticed a curious consequence of the influence of the English language on Canadian French. The word 'alleged', which is used in the British press to qualify criminal charges

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A Parisian observer of the language of New France draws attention to a semantic development. Wrote Paul Bettelin as early as May 1, 1933,

"I noticed a curious consequence of the influence of the English language on Canadian French. The word 'alleged,' which is used in the British press to qualify criminal charges

until they have been submitted to public trial and decided upon, is translated into 'prétendu.' But 'prétendu' in French has another meaning; it means 'invented,' 'faked' -- so that, at first sight, reading about 'atrocités allemandes prétendues' one thinks that the atrocities in question had no real existence. Unfortunately that is not the case." (Letter to S.W. Jacobs, in Public Archives of Canada. Jacobs Papers, Pp. 2628-29)

This exported menace was also threatening to explode the entire planet and destroy no one knew what portions of the human race.

Throughout the decade, until antisemitic Poland fell victim to a pact between antisemitic Germany and antisemitic Russia, the horror which Poland was imposing on its Jews continued to appall Canada, even as Hitler was becoming increasingly bold -- and ingeniously and totally murderous.

In April 1937 S.W. Jacobs was still able to say that in no country were Jews suffering as much as in Poland. Their present plight was the worst in the history of mankind. (Gazette, Apr. 5, 1937)

The cruelties and threats constantly emanating from Rumania since the Versailles Armistice of 1918 created mounting concern in Canada, as in other of the fortunate lands whose Jewries became, inevitably, the patrons and protectors of their harrassed kin.

So on February 3, 1938 a memorandum from the Canadian Jewish Congress to Dr. O.D. Skelton, of the Secretariat of State, noted that "the new premier of Rumania intended measures for: - 1. Expropriation of land owned by Jews. 2. Cancellation of licences held by Jews to sell wines and liquors, tobacco products, salt and other articles of general consumption. 3. Prohibition of Jews from establishing themselves as merchants in villages. 4. Forbidding employment of Jews by Rumanian newspapers. 5. Removal of Jews from all agricultural enterprises. 6. Revision of all naturalizations since 1920. 7. Exclusion of Jews from all government offices.

"The proposals of the new premier of Rumania would be outrageous under any conditions; they are positively revolting when it is recalled that they would flagrantly violate Rumania's pledged word, incorporated in a treaty with the Allied and Associated Powers, whose victory in the World War had made possible the enlargement of Rumania by 7,000 square miles, and added 9,652,362 to her population. In this Treaty, which was signed by both Parties at Paris, on December 9, 1919, Rumania undertook to accord to all persons belonging to racial, linguistic and religious minorities the same rights enjoyed by the majority population...

"The Rumanian government last in power, that of Premier Tartaescu, inaugurated a systematic revision of the naturalizations acquired under this law with a view to finding technical pretexts for cancelling the citizenship of Jews and other minorities. Such cancellation of citizenship is tantamount to loss of livelihood, because although the Law for the Protection of National Labour of 1934 provides that 80% of employees in commercial or industrial establishments shall be Rumanian, it has been so administered as to exclude aliens entirely.

"During 1937, the Tartaescu government went even further and issued a ministerial circular requiring all industrial and commercial establishments to employ from 50% to 75% 'ethnic' Rumanians, a term which excludes all persons of German, Hungarian, Russian or Jewish descent, of whom there are about 5,000,000, or 30% of a total population of 18,000,000. Obviously, this measure is also a flagrant violation of the minorities Treaty."

The years are a confusion of sadism towards Jews. During the decades since mankind is still attempting to orient itself on the scale and coordinates of hatred and of holocaust.

Typically, the April 1937 Toronto conference of protest at the King Edward Hotel mobilized not only Congress spokesmen such as Rabbis M.N. Eisendrath and Samuel Sacks, Jewish legislators such as J.J. Glass and S. Factor, and Isaiah Rabinovitch, but also the Hon. Peter Heenan, Minister of Lands and Forests, Rev. C.E. Silcox and Rev. Pugsley of Social Service League and John Noble of the Trades and Labor Council. The resolution of this meeting constitutes an outline of ante-holocaust menace, especially since 1935.

In Montreal, at a meeting held the same day, Provincial Minister the Hon. T.J. Coonan, of the Taschereau cabinet, expressed the government sympathy with the Jewish movement for justice.

S.W. Jacobs felt that the Canadian government ought to intervene in a situation of plight which was the worst in the history of mankind; a situation which seemed to Rabbi H.J. Stern a preparation for another Mussa Dagh, the tragically dark midnight hour of the exodus epic. (Montreal Gazette and Star; and Jewish Daily Eagle, Apr. 5, 1937)

Mrs. Betcherman cited a newspaper poll of Toronto theatre managers in the autumn of 1937 which "affords some insight into the Canadian perception of Hitler. Asked to describe audience response to various public figures appearing in newsreels, they reported that moviegoers laughed at Mussolini and booed the Japanese but showed no reaction to Hitler. The strutting, screaming, diabolical figure on the screen was not yet regarded as a monster by the average Canadian. Fervently anxious to avoid war, like his prime minister, he was prepared to give Hitler the benefit of every doubt."

The Nazi consul addressed Germans in Montreal in their native language from an important French-Canadian radio station in terms so political and propagandist that Canadian broadcasting authorities were moved to deep concern.

The Hon. Euler of the federal cabinet, speaking on German Day in Kitchener in the fall of 1937, deprecated what seemed to him to be propaganda against Germany, a propaganda which instead of healing sores tended to keep up hatreds. "Publishing of such propaganda should be made a criminal offence." (B. Figler and D. Rome. The H.M. Caiserman Book. Montreal, 1962. P.236)

The complications challenged the unprepared -- and initially unorganized -- Jewish community, the general public, the important institutions, the churches and the government. The challenges were literally vital. The social instruments for dealing with them were virtually nonexistent.

The Jewish community, in particular, was in an impossible situation. The sheer task of informing its own constituents and alerting them to the menace and its responsibilities was almost incapable of realization, if only for lack of an organization.

The structuring of the community before the fulfillment of its functions -- was almost beyond its abilities. Hence the saga of the reanimation of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

There were psychological, social and ethnic blocks in the minds of incredulous Canadian Jews which resisted full awareness of the scope of the incredible events in Germany and mobilization and proper reaction to these events.

By the same token the Jewish community, in the midst of a lingering depression which had struck it, was still immigrant -- poor, was completely unable to render any aid to the additional hundreds of thousands of persecution-hit victims. The first campaign of the newly-organized Canadian Jewish Congress produced nothing to remit to the victims.

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee seems not to have been on the Canadian scene during the decade. H.M. Caiserman was beside himself with frustration.

"An appeal was made for such humanitarian purposes which should have risen to the importance of sensational news, which should have united in vast protest all citizens, Jews and Gentiles, all over the country.

"What has happened with the hearts and minds of humanity-loving people in our country here, that such a message -- intensified by confirmed news of the greatest human suffering, intensified by persecution without a parallel in modern history, and accompanied by an economic demoralization never equalled before, more tragic than human words can describe -- what has happened that all this has lost the power of moving them to historic action?"

From the social point of view there is significance in the divergence of opinion within the Jewish community as to the manner of reaction to these atrocities taking place in the heart of Europe. It was a range of divergence that was also true on other issues facing Jews in Canada -- running through the gamut of mode of relieving the poverty of Jews overseas, the manner of raising community funds, the responses to anti-semitism at home, the curricula of Jewish schooling in Canada, the organization of synagogues, etc.

In regard to the rising tide of murderous race hatred in Europe, there were those who sought to make representations to the offending authorities -- to their diplomatic representatives, to Canadian authorities which had liaison with those governments -- appealing to personal and influential friendships, to the vestiges of decency, to the universal conventions which assumed that sovereign states are civilized and moral, to self-interest inherent in domestic social peace and order. The proponents of these modes of action believed that these were more practical and realistic, and they fed upon every promise and upon every mite of improvement in the confused developments.

On the other hand were those, possibly more sophisticated, who had never learned to trust the smooth words of officialdom and found little purpose or, even more, little relief of their own concerns and anxieties in the guarded words of their own delegations spoken in the tastefully furnished embassies established by sponsors of pogroms.

Failing instruments of action which only governments can mobilize in extremis, the impatient in the community sought to reveal to the entire world the blood of Jews on Polish -- and Rumanian and Magyar -- hands through public demonstrations.

If nothing else, such "action" would clearly emanate not from small delegations, however representative, but from thousands who could speak out by their presence and their own loud approbation of the protest.

The differences were profound enough to become ideological and, in the United States, they split Jewry down the middle. In Canada, too, they threatened the newly organized Congress.

THE NAZI COUNTER ATTACK IN CANADA

Glowing with incredibly atrocious threat was Germany itself in the form of an accredited consulate and endless numbers of not so formally accredited agents -- lecturers, travellers, organizers, spies, contacts, exchange students, journalists, businessmen -- all cheerily inspired to defend their country's régime against widespread reports of happenings there.

Their fulsome reports in praise of benevolent, energetic, beneficent Germany were appearing in the daily press and were heard from the most respected platforms.

S.W. Jacobs wrote to Major John Bassett of the Gazette after reading an article by D.A.L. MacDonald.

"It purports to be a description of the happy state of Germany at the present day. In part, it reads like an advertisement of a German Tourist Bureau and its appearance, curiously enough, coincides with the arrival of Herr Haag, the new representative of the German State Railways and of the German Olympic in Montreal. This leads me to wonder whether the Nazi Government is succeeding in its attempt to use local newspaper men in different parts of the world to spread their propaganda.

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As a leader of the Gazette I should also like to know whether I am to believe the report of MacDonald on the very contradictory reports consistently appearing on the front page of the Gazette which disclose an entirely different situation in Germany. (Dec. 20, 1933)

In Canadian history the Jews must be credited with a major contribution to maintaining the free democratic ideal of Canadianism during a period of severe crisis. The Jewish Congress sought to dispel the agents of Nazi propaganda operating in this country, and constantly placed its information before the authorities of order. It alerted Canadians to German activities in this country, which sought to minimize the horrors of their camps and their savagery of Jewish persecutions since 1933. It endeavored to turn Jewish refugees into a "Jewish" and to speed the migration of Jewish refugees to Canada.

As a leader of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation I would like to know whether I am to believe the report of MacDonald on the very contradictory reports consistently appearing on the front page of the Gazette which disclose an entirely different situation in Germany. (Dec. 20, 1933)

Country constitute a menace to the peace of the world. Nations were absolutely unprepared for and unwarlike. In every public utterance Hitler has declared that Germany had no desire to extend her present European boundaries and that she was in agreement with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium. That war was unthinkable and would be, for Germany, national suicide. Yet in face of all this your broadcaster states that the assumption by Hitler of the war portfolio was a menace to peace, instead of being exactly the reverse. No unfriendly attitude to the German Empire has been taken by any leading British newspaper, and yet the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation permits this unfriendly criticism.

The matter is deplorable because of the fact that there is no country with which Germany desires and better agreement more strongly than with Great Britain. And that Britain feels the same way is evidenced by the attitude of Lord Halifax to Hitler. (King's Speech, 1933)

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Magistrate S. Alfred Jones of Brantford wrote to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation after hearing a Winnipeg broadcaster,

"I was simply astounded at what I heard from this gentleman and at his criticism of the head of a friendly state, namely, Chancellor Hitler of Germany. His assumption that the recent cabinet changes in that country constitute a menace to the peace of the world were absolutely uncalled for and unwarranted. In every public utterance Hitler has declared that Germany had no desire to extend her present European boundaries, as witness her agreements with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium, that war was unthinkable and would be, for Germany, national suicide. Yet in face of all this, your broadcaster states that the assumption by Hitler of the war portfolio was a menace to peace, instead of being exactly the reverse. No unfriendly attitude to the German change has been taken by any leading British newspaper, and yet the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation permits this unfriendly criticism.

"The matter is deplorable because of the fact there is no country with which Germany desires a peace agreement more strongly than with Great Britain, and that Britain feels the same way is evidenced by the visit of Lord Halifax to Hitler." (King Papers, Pp. 214781-83, Feb. 7, 1938)

Canadian pilgrimages to Berlin are of great interest to the reader of Jewish community history. As one scholar recorded,

"Mackenzie King was not the only Canadian to undertake an inspection of the Reich at this time. In August 1936, W.D. Euler, Minister of Trade and Commerce, talked with Hitler in Berlin; no record of the interview is available.

"Shortly before the Prime Minister's visit in June 1937, the Director of Military Operations and Intelligence, Col. H.D.G. Crerar, visited Berlin with the object of obtaining some first-hand impressions of the nature of the regime.

" 'From what I saw and heard,' he wrote afterwards, 'I should judge that it will be one, or perhaps two years before the military organization of the country will be sufficiently ready (for a major European war). At the same time, not even the 'Leader' is infallible and in his aggressive pursuit of external objectives, which appear to him obtainable by the means at his disposal, he may miscalculate. The step from international blackmail to international blood-shed is all too easily accomplished.... The over-riding impression which I took away with me was that of a highly dynamic nation, determined before long to break its present bounds, and, consequently, increasingly dangerous to European and, indeed, to world peace.' " (James Eayrs. In Defence of Canada. Toronto, University Toronto Press)

The visit of the German cruiser, the Emden, was another provocation. Mayor Houde, no less formally than S.W. Jacobs, told Ottawa of his concern about such "a mission of good will" towards Hitler's seamen. The Trades and Labor Council and the Labor Party supported the Jewish protests.

For this Le Devoir attacked them, and its Omer Héroux urged at least a polite if cold welcome, "in spite of the repugnance and even anger that the Hitlerite policy may inspire.... For if we find that such threats of disorders in the streets can be effective, who can assure us that they will not recur tomorrow with other intentions?"

When Jacobs raised the question in the Commons, the Devoir news report asked, "Is there no one in this city to tell parliament that Canada exists other than as a function of the Jewish tribes?" and editor in chief Omer Héroux urged greater discretion upon Jacobs and upon Joseph Schubert in their protests. (Devoir, Apr. 30 and May 1, 1936, reprinted in Patriote, May 7, 1936)

General indifference to what was happening in Germany and to what was emanating thence to other lands, not least to Canada, was an active force to Germany's benefit. The inertia against any change in social practice, utilized by the institutions established to gain from continued unchanged functioning, transferred to Naziism all the good will accruing to old Germany.

The attempt to boycott German products met up with this phenomenon.

It is easy to guess the measure of success to be expected from such a Canadian boycott after reading King's letter to Goering of July 29, 1937:

"I need hardly say how much the Government hopes that it may be possible increasingly to improve commercial relations between our two countries. With this end in view, and in keeping with my promise when in Berlin, I have asked the Honourable W.D. Euler, Minister of Trade and Commerce, whom you will remember having met in the summer of 1936, to send to you information regarding commodities in which an increased trade might prove mutually profitable." (King Papers, Pp. 201662-64)

Canadians returning from visits to Germany told service clubs that "no one could but admit that Hitler was a man of outstanding personality, who had brought the country out of a morass to a semblance of order. There was no other person available of such ability as to be put forward as a leader." The brown and black shirts represented a hierarchy of quality, each group "hand-picked."

Canadian public libraries were flooded with German books by Goebbels and other Nazi leaders' histories of the German nationalist movement, fiction approved by the new régime and other propaganda. They were shipped, innocently, by the German Foreign Book Exchange from Unter den Linden as "scientific books of no commercial value." Initially they followed the accepted practice of the library world of asking which German books the library desired, but the local German Canadian Central Committee revised the list of

desired titles after consultation with the German consul, and in consequence the propaganda books were shipped. (Louis Rosenberg letter from Regina, July 27, 1938 to M. Averbach, Winnipeg)

For the Oshawa Times it was legitimate news that a Queen's student reported after a year at Bonn that "the Jews deserve what they are getting," that "on the whole they are not treated badly" and "it is difficult to think of any other solution to the Jewish problem in Germany." (Aug. 25, 1936)

The student had sung the "Horst Wessel Lied;" A.B. Bennett asked him his feelings when he intoned the line about "not sheathing the sword until it drips with Jewish blood."

Colin Ross was popular as a lecturer on Germany and had written a book on Canada, published in Germany, as the country between the U.S. and the North Pole. He claimed to be objective and certainly denied Nazi connection.

But by spring of 1939 he had registered with the American Secretary of State as a propagandist for Germany. (Letter from R.E. Gutstadt, March 31, 1939)

A number of personal reports which managed to reach the highest level of Canadian authority painted the saintly Hitler. So W.O'Connor of Government House at Ottawa passed on to O.D. Skelton, undersecretary of State, the following eye-witness report from Berlin of August 6, 1933, by opera singer, Edmund Burke,

"Things here are very quiet and most interesting. I think they eventually will succeed in a greater degree with their experiment than the Americans will with theirs. Do not believe all you hear about preparing for war. It is silly tosh.

"As for the Jewish question, there are still thousands of Jews in Berlin in business. They go to restaurants, golf clubs, etc., and mind their own business. The big shops run by Jews still do business and the real German Jew hopes that the Rabbi Wises, the Einsteins (who became Swiss when a young man and became German on account of his appointment to the College of Science in Berlin) would keep their mouths shut. They only made things worse for the Jews who are here. There have been abuses, but they were isolated cases, and the writer for the Toronto Star was never in Germany and his stories of atrocities and also brutality to himself are pure lies.

"I am not defending the Germans nor the Nazis. I only say: they have and are suppressing Communism completely, and the rest of Europe, on that point, owes them a vote of thanks. For a more filthy, pestiferous doctrine could not exist. As to arms -- I have counted 146 soldiers with rifles since I have been here two weeks.

"I have met Jews, politicians of all parties, diplomats. Talked with shopkeepers, working men, rich men, poor men, beggar men, banker, doctor, lawyer, merchant chief. They all are now feeling some security ahead. I am visiting the labour camps and the concentration camp by invitation this coming week. It will be interesting.

"Much as I feared Germany before the war -- much as I distrusted Germany and her future after the war -- today I have a feeling she will pull through. If they still keep their new found idealism. Italy has it. It will save Europe from catastrophe.

"Mr. Morgenthau, one of the American representatives to the World Economic Conference, shoots the bull, saying the Economic Conference failed because of fear of wars and revolutions. His Semitic origin, combined with his American braggadocio, makes a powerful appeal to the American Press.

"He further states that Roosevelt will be the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. I hope he will be a greater success than Wilson and Hoover. The British Empire must go ahead on its own and in conjunction with those countries who are willing to co-operate. If we continue to bow down to America we will never get anywhere."

It was universally assumed that the protocol and convention of "friendly" and peaceful relations between Canada and Germany must be continued "correctly" (what an ethically fatal word!) even though after 1933 Germany as a nation was an ill-concealed band of beasts to whom the term gangster is applied as a compliment, for lack of an appropriate or more exact term for a new phenomenon of hell in human society.

Yet a glance at the papers of the Canadian government during the 1930's reveals no awareness that one of the governments Canada was dealing with in its external affairs was qualitatively different, that its presidents and ministers and diplomats had hands which were red with infants' blood.

When the Vatican entered into a concordat with Hitler Action catholique rejoiced:

"The first crisis past, we can now state that we had been deceived. Even French journalists now see something good in the Hitler movement. Those who had escaped the Jewish capitalist influence see the Hitler policy as useful in uprooting Communism a thousand times more effectively than the tactics of our hypocritical and provocative trusts.

"Hitler suffers from coming from the lower social class. But the privileged who benefitted from the capitalistic system under Jewish domination committed a great error: they were passive in the face of wrong which the young generation will not tolerate and will, quite rightly, suppress."

A German newspaper could write no more enthusiastically.

When Le Canada's Turcotte warned against this Hitlerite enthusiasm -- and antisemitism Mr. L'Heureux responded,

"The Hitler movement contains much evil that peoples should carefully avoid and much good that we would like to see others imitate - including the France we love and our own Canada which we ought to love more than any other country."

As to antisemitism, whatever the word means, L'Heureux would uproot the special privileges which make Jews a state within the state. He endorses preference by French Canadians for their own, rather than for Jews who are unassimilable immigrants. He advocates intelligent national solidarity even against naturalized Jews who think like Jews, act like Jews, Judaize the nation's wealth, favour Jews above others, seek to remain Jewish.

"If Hitler has undertaken to remove from his people the Jewish domination which oppresses certain people and is growing even here -- we can question his means, but not his end." (Aug. 31, 1933)

FORMAL REPRESENTATIONS

Canadian official attitude towards the Jews of Germany and towards the Jews of Canada, who felt about the torturers as all human beings ought to have felt, was puzzling at the time. In the perspective of the decades it remains puzzling.

The government was informed about the nature of Germany and about the state of European Jewry. It was in the newspapers every day.

On March 31, 1933, Dr. O.D. Skelton replied to his Ottawa superiors with a report,

"Have discussed with the Foreign Office and read their reports from Berlin.

"There is no doubt of serious situation. Nazi forces are drunk with success and seek victims for suppressed emotions; some of their leaders neurotic and irresponsible; others slowly gaining responsibility but unable to restrain forces they have aroused. There is a belief in some quarters that some German circles would welcome foreign attacks as affording grounds for repudiating onerous private obligations to foreign creditors.

"Zero hour for boycotting of all Jewish business men, doctors, lawyers and professors set for 10 o'clock on Saturday, but in many communities already under way. Orders issued by Nazi Central Committee against resort to violence against persons or smashing of property; but doubtful whether will be completely obeyed, particularly if police neutral. Boycott not carried on officially by government but by Nazi organizations, a distinction as convenient as that between the Soviet authorities and Third International.

"In the United Kingdom Jewish circles excitement intense, but leaders torn between desire to exercise pressure and fear of affording excuse for further reprisals. Messages are being received from leading German Jews to abstain from any action here; perhaps some sent under pressure, but others genuine. No organized or extensive boycott of German goods here....

"In general public and Parliament amazed, disgust was evident Government so far has taken position that it can intervene only to protect British citizens. Thus far no serious incidents have arisen affecting them.

"They are not prepared, at least at present stage, to intervene on behalf of Jews of German nationality. Experiences of three years ago when protests against Soviet persecution of Christians proved futile and perhaps harmful do not encourage intervention in the present case.

"In Lords yesterday Cecil, Reading and the Archbishop of Canterbury raised question whether Government express concern of British people over situation. There had been conversations through the British Ambassador in Berlin and with the German Ambassador here, and in both cases replies were of reassuring nature. Hailsham did not think that it would be in the interests of the Jews themselves that any suggestion should be made that British Government conceived that they had authority to intervene on behalf of German citizens. Such interference might do more harm than good. Speeches made in debate would be most effective way of representing views widely held by the people of this country. In Commons, Simon, in reply to question, said that matter could not be brought before the League of Nations, but that he would communicate with Ambassador in Berlin as to Lansbury's suggestion that he be asked to give report as to charges of persecution."

The following day Dr. Skelton again wrote in confidence on the Jewish situation in Germany,

"Nazi Minister of Propaganda Goebbels announced late last night boycott would last 1 day only, that 3 days' truce would follow and that, if foreign attacks on Germany then ceased, boycott would cease; otherwise it continue until German Judaism was destroyed.

"Pressure of foreign disapproval has evidently forced compromise by which Nazi gang will be allowed one day's sport and Government given opportunity to claim that boycott, which was only proclaimed as reprisal against foreign lying campaign, has proved successful in stopping that campaign.

"Dismissal of Jewish judges and all other state officials continuing. Unless boycott today accompanied by violence, good chance of being brought within bounds.

"Understand that Jewish organizations here saw the German Ambassador yesterday and agreed to announce that they were not sponsoring boycotting of German goods or conducting public campaign of attack." (King Papers, Pp. 168954-57)

In its survey of "The Nazi International" the Quarterly Review of October 1938 (vol. 271, no. 538, Pp. 24-25) wrote,

"Not content with their machinations in the Old World, the Nazis are equally active in the New, where they are strongly organised in every state, from Canada to Chile and the Argentine. Four years ago the Canadian Minister of Justice had to request the German Consulate in Montreal to desist from circulating copies of an anti-Jewish publication, and owing to this and other setbacks Nazi agitation was driven underground. But there was no abatement in the flood of vituperative literature that flowed from the factories in Hamburg, Berlin, and Erfurt, and that found its way not only into every city from Quebec to Vancouver, but even into remote villages."

The Jewish community sought to place the German situation in its true colours. They sought to defend the democratic image in Europe and in Canada. They sought to counter the ocean flood of libel and lie. They sought to answer the charges levelled against them in press and in pulpit.

But the Jewish protests against German atrocities were little regarded, even if such shameful counter-protests as in Montreal to defend the German acts were not repeated widely. Jewish leaders quickly realized that Canadians regarded the anti-German protests as self-serving demonstrations which were of concern to Jews only.

The community considered that the menace to the Jewish position and to their very lives was the proper concern of all mankind and called for universal intervention to end the crime immediately and to punish the criminals. But for the Jews alone to protest, they came to see, was futile.

The community called upon the Christian churches, and notably upon the Roman Catholic church, to act in defence of elementary humanity. Only such expressions representative of total society, backed by governmental institutions, might have had the most minimal influence. Yet their appeal to total humanity went totally unheeded. The victims were without support.

While many in the Jewish community, out of their anguish, sought expression in public demonstrations, the leaders of their organizations saw the futility of such manifestations. In August 1935 H.M. Caiserman, the secretary of the Canadian Jewish Congress, wrote to his impatient colleagues of the Jewish National Workers Alliance that the young Canadian Jewish Congress had been attempting, fruitlessly, to organize a national protest together with Catholics and Protestants. The Congress had to give up this effort and, instead, sought to place the frightful facts before the government in the hope that Canada would speak to Germany, nation to nation. Caiserman added that mass meetings of Jews alone are dismissed as communist propaganda. (Letter to B. Lachowitzky, Aug. 9, 1935)

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise wrote on the eve of the Jewish year 5696 to S.W. Jacobs,

"Certain things signal one's attention like a semaphore. The reports from Europe of revolution, counter-revolution, torture, murder and rearmament, have unmasked every pretext that progress and civilization are the concern of dictators. Europe is in a panicky retreat from the social programs of the democracies of the world. In the savage reaction now taking place in Europe, the rights of all liberals and all minorities are crushed. The Jew is caught between the upper and the nether millstone. In Germany and Eastern Europe, his position is too pitiful for words. Without American assistance it would be completely hopeless. Not since Attila has Europe been so sick with fear.

"If ever there was a time when the Jews should be concerned for and loyal to America, it is now. One striking lesson comes out of Poland, Germany, Palestine and all the other projects which have rightfully been claiming our attention, and that is while we owe our brethren every ounce of assistance possible, we are by that very responsibility, the more indebted to the program of American Judaism." The Canadian response was slow.

Government and general society preferred to follow an aloof course of neutrality between two clashing equal interests -- the German and the Jewish. They muttered sympathetic tut-tuts, and maintained diplomatic correctness -- on the international level, in trade, in sport, in travel and interchange, etc.

The political persons at Ottawa are the responsible technologists in the area of substantive Canadian public opinion. Their reactions to the predicament of Jewry in the 1930's are a faithful reflection of what these experts gauged to be the mood and the wishes of the Canadian constituency, with the ruthless destruction of their professional position at the hands of the electorate as the price of any misjudgment.

In this Canadian process the German government and its emissaries played a distinct part.

The temerity of German consular officers went far. They conducted a most effective and consistent campaign to promote the philosophy and the policies of the Nazi government of Germany and organized German-origin Canadians and other friends for the Hitler cause.

Early in 1934, S.W. Jacobs sought to discuss in the Commons the propriety of German consuls distributing a considerable volume of Nazi propaganda materials in Canada. But the Minister of Justice saw no occasion for the withdrawal of the consul.

As Hitler had diabolically predicted, and as he later proved by sending out the St. Louis, the world did not care.

The formal petition of the Jewish community:

"The reports that have recently come from Germany have shocked and horrified us. They indicate a continued policy and system of oppression and persecution which grows in intensity from month to month.

"The physical attacks upon innocent men and women have only been part of a series of onslaughts upon our fellow-Jews. They are accompanied by other forms of attack, involving further and greater humiliation and injury to a defenceless minority, whose members are being thus persecuted solely for reason of birth, race or religion.

"These attacks, in various forms, are the outcome of a continuous campaign of calumny and slander approved, encouraged and directed by high governmental authorities. The government controlled press and radio have been incited to develop this campaign.

"The reign of terror has taken the form of physical assaults upon Jews; of an economic boycott; of the deprivation of fundamental civic and political rights; of their forcible expulsion from the economic, professional and cultural life of the country; and of continuous vilification on grounds of religion and race of its Jewish citizens."

But the Jewish community seems to have had no substantial access to their government that might diminish the German Nazi and antisemitic activities in Canada or might prevail on Germany as government-to-government to modify the persecution of Jews.

On August 15, 1935, Premier R.B. Bennett heard out a Canadian Jewish delegation headed by S.W. Jacobs, M.P., which submitted to him considerable documentation on what the Germans were doing to human beings within their grasp. Not then -- or earlier, or since -- could anyone ever hide behind "I didn't know what was happening."

"This persecution has already led to the emigration of 90,000 refugees whose destitution and homelessness constitute a grave international problem, and whose utter helplessness in foreign lands is deeply distressful to their brethren in Canada, who are unable to rescue them from their terrible plight.

"While affecting Jews most severely, this reign of terror is also beginning to affect the lives of numberless Catholics and Protestants and of liberal thinking people, to whom the German Government is denying the elementary rights of religion and of conscience.

"The maintenance of world peace, a vital concern of Canada, now more essential than ever before, is endangered by the growth of persecution, prejudice and race hatred, which may spread into other civilized nations if allowed to develop unchecked.

"As a matter of the defence of our own free institutions and democratic ideals, it behooves the Canadian Government to remind the government practising such methods that they cannot but leave us with a deep dismay.

"We respectfully call upon the Government of Canada to protest against the racial and religious persecutions that now prevail in Germany, and to take every step consistent with international practice to inform the German Government of the outraged sentiments of the Canadian people."

Mr. S.W. Jacobs said to Premier Bennett that our delegation feels that if in his opinion, a statement issued by him (Mr. Bennett) would prejudice his political interests, we will not ask for one at the present time.

When Mr. Bennett heard this, he stood up and answered with great warmth that he considers this matter above any political exigencies. During the interview, which lasted about three quarters of an hour, "Mr. Bennett showed much intimate knowledge of the Jewish situation and of what is taking place in Germany, and imparted to us valuable information regarding the activities of the German Consul in Canada."

Bennett chatted amiably with them about the representations that the German consul had made to him in regard to the anti-German propaganda that the Canadian Jewish Congress had set afoot in Canada. Bennett had dismissed these complaints, for this agitation antedated the existence of the Congress. He had also told the consul that it was perfectly well known to the Canadian authorities that propaganda originating in Germany was being distributed in this country and that orders have been issued not to permit the entry of such materials in any manner.

The prime minister assured his visitors of his concern for the Jews in Germany. There was also vague talk about a statement which he would issue.

The delegation left him uncertain whether they had made their point.

Some consoled themselves with his spirited reaction to the Germans; others remembered his fine gesture in opening the United Palestine Appeal. He had also manifested his sympathy with the Jews by permitting the free entry of Palestinian oranges into Canada.

For weeks the Jewish group discussed whether -- and who -- should prod him about the statement. As Caiserman wrote to a western Conservative,

"You very well understand that the Canadian Jewish Congress cannot at present ask him for the promised statement. But we feel that if prominent Conservatives who are close to him would obtain the statement, which would reflect the sentiments which he expressed in Chamber, I have no doubt at all that it would have a great effect."

Of course, nothing happened.

In fact, the prime minister did telegraph Dr. O.D. Skelton, then in London, on March 29,

"Canadian Jews greatly concerned over conditions in Germany. Please make closest possible enquiries and advise."

A year later Bennett's unhelpful geniality was exploited by the King government. When A.J. Freiman asked the new prime minister to transmit to London the views of Canadian Jews on the Palestine situation -- there, too, as in Canada, the gates were being clanged in the faces of fleeing Jews from Europe -- King demurred: the British government might interpret the transmission of a message as an unwelcome intervention by the government in a matter they consider as not affecting Canada; London had sent no communication to Ottawa on the current situation in Palestine or on their proposed policy; Bennett had not intervened with either London or Berlin at the time of the Nazi onslaught on the Jews in March - April 1933; he had then cabled to Dr. Skelton then in London to make closest possible inquiries and advise; a reply had been sent transmitting all information available at the Foreign Office as to the situation, but no representations were made to Germany by either the Canadian or the British government. (Memorandum to King, Aug. 28, 1936)

The thinking at Ottawa can be gleaned from Dr. O.D. Skelton's comments made to the Canadian chargé d'affaires at Washington of January 7, 1936, on President Roosevelt's message on the State of the Union, (King Papers, Pp. 196179-80):

"Such forthright observations as he has passed upon the structure of other societies might, in an academic scene, pass without comment. In the actual international scene of today his appeal presents possibilities of far-reaching consequences upon the mass emotions and tempers which governments everywhere have to take into account. It is somewhat reminiscent of the conception, current during the last great international crisis, that democratic countries might successfully seek to impose their will upon others to the end of bringing about a common form of state structure.

"The post-war years, although the democratic Great Powers of Europe were in a position of great influence, raise questions as to the validity of this conception. In view of the impact which the course and weight of the United States may have upon events, it will be of high importance to watch the unfolding of policy as it results from the ideas and sentiments which from time to time may dominate Washington and the various elements of the nation."

Another communication reached King from a friend, J.L. Counsell, who wrote at unwonted length. Counsell wrote a long memorandum from Denver to urge King to take the leadership in the League of Nations for collective bargaining in the style of Léon Blum:

"A number of states agree to go to each other's assistance if any one of them is attacked -- this was the original central idea of the League of Nations -- a perusal of Articles 10 and 16 of the League's covenant will show that collective security is just as simple as that.

"There are two parties in England, one party that sees in Hitler their ally -- and the savior of their country from the menace of Socialism -- and, that party who want peace and don't believe it can be obtained by an alliance with Hitler, but are coming more and more every day to

believe in the United Front; and are coming to see that the success of the Front Populaire in France was the success of their class or their kind.

"In other words, what they really want, and are blindly groping for, is a mass party. The middle working class people are now behind Léon Blum. He is for Collective Security and was active in forming the Front Populaire against War and Fascism.

"I feel confident that there is in Canada and U.S. a similar tendency in the masses of the people to finally unite on some issue that will consolidate their forces. It must be something in a sense daring and also courageous.

"I do not see why you could not take the lead in offering a United Front in the political arena to enforce Collective Security -- to make the League of Nations function -- to attack the betrayal of the League by the National Government and their cowardly surrender to Italy.

"You know that the Fascist powers, Germany, Japan and Italy, have chosen the path of war, and that France, the U.S.S.R. and the Little Entente are for Collective Security, or the path of peace.

"Can you not see what a tremendous influence a United Front party led by you -- proposed by you to make the League function -- would have. Have you any doubt but that -- if England, France, U.S.S.R. and Little Entente served notice on Germany, publicly and with unmistakable sincerity, -- that German aggression upon Austria, Czechoslovakia, or anywhere would be regarded by them as an act of war -- peace would be preserved -

"A courageous action of this kind would endear you to the middle and working class people of Canada, but would make all the reactionaries and imperialists -- the London financial circles (tremendous loans made to Germany through Montague Norman of Bank of England), the monarchy and court influences and the foreign office -- your enemies for life. You are to them still a colonial premier and should ask their permission and advice before acting independently.

"You would be giving expression to the inarticulate feelings of the masses of the Canadian people. You know they are against war and fascism. But their desire, hope or expectation centers in a leader, and you would be translating into action what they have in their hearts and heads -- a fear of war and a horror of fascism....

"I am, personally, shocked at any one desiring or even contemplating doing business with a Fascist Government. I know that in their hearts the mass of the people have not yet gotten over their distrust of Germany -- and England, by her attitude, has been the cause of forcing France to the left....

"Having regard to conditions, delay is dangerous (circumstances may force Germany's hand at any time and then the fat would be in the fire and the war on). Of course, there may be some factor that I know nothing of that may tie your hands. But don't let any political consideration, such as the church, tie your hands. The times call for courage, coolness and action. Léon Blum is an example.

"Stanley Baldwin is between two factions in his own party -- those supporting Collective Security and those favoring alliance with Germany; the former very strong numerically, but the latter very influential. So Baldwin vacillates and is losing prestige every day. He cannot act decisively, and the blame for war if it comes will be placed upon him and the Pro-Hitlerites in the conservative party....

"I think that action on your part to endorse Collective Security actively would be of material help in compelling the unequivocal action necessary on the part of Great Britain to avoid war, and that your prestige as a courageous and fearless leader would be thereby tremendously enhanced among the masses of the people....

"The Fascist powers -- Germany, Japan and Italy have chosen the path of war, while France, U.S.S.R. and the Little Entente are for Collective Security.

"Great Britain holds the balance of power for peace or war. But the National Government is divided. One section or party, openly pro-Hitler, wants an understanding with Germany and is against France. Another section or

party stresses necessity of the Anglo-French Alliance against the menace of Hitler.

"Germany at the moment pays court to Britain in order to win her support in establishing its domination in Europe. But its ultimate colonial aims at the expense of the British Empire are unconcealed.

"In France the People's Front has carried through and is behind collective security, but in Britain no parallel process has taken place. The reactionary forces, more or less favorable to Fascism, remain dominant....

"This is an historical period for you. By unequivocally getting behind Collective Peace to help defeat those reactionary forces in Great Britain you not only give to the mass of Canadians the leadership they are looking for, but you give a tremendous impetus to the cause of Collective Security and Peace in England.

"You would be voicing the sentiments of the mass of Canadians and English and render yourself an historical figure in Canadian History -- and at the same time give those reactionary forces in England favorable to war and Fascism a great setback."

King responded seriously to these far-reaching representations from what appears to have been an amateur. He wrote to "Dear Jack,"

"My mind, at the moment, is much concerned with European affairs, and the position to be taken, on behalf of Canada, at the forthcoming meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

"I think you are right in believing that the real struggle in Europe is between financial industrial interests that wish to retain a monopoly of control in affairs political as well as all else, and those who, up to the present, have had little or no voice in shaping financial or industrial policy, and who have still to learn the meaning of political freedom.

"I, of course, like you, am all for those who are seeking equality of opportunity in all things. Anything that savours of dictatorship is anathema to me. I am all for collective peace. But what is troubling me at the moment is that I cannot feel too sure that the mere say-so of the countries which appear ready to support it, is sufficiently a guarantee, either of their ability or readiness so to do, once the real test comes." (King Papers, Pp. 185410-15)

MacDONALD ATTEMPTS ALARM

Despair came readily to those who knew what was happening and what was openly preparing in Germany and who also observed the tepid reactions of the other nations of the world. Among these was the man with the empty mandate issued to him by the league of the very nations which, by and large, were determined to do nothing in the tragic and looming situation -- James G. MacDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany. He resigned.

Probably typical of his frustrating experiences was his exchange with Canada's Prime Minister Bennett in 1934.

The League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had personally appealed to Bennett for the admission of a short list of refugees into Canada. There was not even much respect for the title held by Commissioner James G. MacDonald in the curt reply sent by Bennett on November 3, 1934:

"I have carefully considered the list which you submitted, and I am informed that at the present time it would be quite out of the question to permit the admission to this country of any of those named.

"We have a large number of young, highly trained technicians, who have graduated as chemical and electrical engineers, and there is a surplus in the country at the moment in occupations which could be filled by the remaining names upon your list. My colleagues and myself are deeply sensible of the work which you and your Committee are doing, but at the same time we cannot, in fairness to our own population, authorize the admission into Canada of a number of people who must either remain idle or take the places now filled by Canadians, or for which Canadians are waiting an opportunity."

MacDonald's letter of resignation became the standard of the compassionate.

He urged an appeal to the German government, "in the name of humanity and of the principles of the public law of Europe, demanding a modification of policies which constitute a source of unrest and perplexity in the world, a challenge to the conscience of mankind and a menace to the legitimate interests of the states affected by the immigration of German refugees."

In Toronto a conference of Christian denominations -- including Anglicans, Baptists and Presbyterians -- in a six-point resolution denounced the German treatment of Jews, declared the question "an inescapable responsibility of the League of Nations" and urged Canada to press for League action. (S.W.Jacobs to J.E.Read of Dept. of External Affairs, July 15, 1936. Public Archives of Canada. RR25. vol. 1661, file 342-1)

Jews concerned with the events in Germany were anxious to bring the problem before the members of the League of Nations. Dr. Cyrus Adler, dean of American Jewry, asked S.W.Jacobs to have Canada ask the Secretary General of the League to circulate the Jews' petition formally to the League members for their information and consideration, on a question already on the agenda of the League. (Public Archives of Canada. Jacobs Papers, Jacobs Letter to Adler, June 30, 1936, P. 3399; Adler to Jacobs, July 7, 1936, Pp. 3397-8; Jacobs letter to J.E. Read of Department of External Affairs, July 10, 1936, P. 3403; J.W.Dafoe to Jacobs, July 17, 1936)

One Canadian who saw more clearly than the government was J.W.Dafoe, of Winnipeg, drafted a petition for the attention of the League of Nations, after Mr. James G. MacDonald, the League's High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany, gave up. Mr. Dafoe submitted his petition to his government for transmission to the League,

"1. The persecutions of Jews, 'non-Aryan' Christians, of Catholics, Protestants and of others, which have been made a matter of national policy by the German National Socialist Government, and the relentless increase of this oppression, have, because of their far-reaching effects in many other countries where the oppressed seek refuge, become issues of international concern, meriting consideration and intercession by the League of Nations.

"2. In his Letter of Resignation as High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany Mr. James G. MacDonald submitted to the Council of the League of Nations an analysis of the intensified persecution in Germany which, he stated, threatens the pauperization or exile of hundreds of thousands of Germans. Such mass emigration places upon the state to which these refugees are forced to flee a heavy and increasing burden.

"3. Mr. MacDonald pointed out that, by virtue of the numerous German laws, administrative decrees, judicial decisions and party pronouncements and practices which he cited, not only Jews but also tens of thousands of Christian 'non-Aryans' are deprived of citizenship, and excluded from public offices and the exercise of the liberal professions; he also made explicit reference to the persecutions of 'Protestants and Catholics who in obedience to their faith and conscience

dare to resist the absolute will of the National Socialist state.' By making it impossible for all these many thousands to sustain life within Germany, they are forced to emigrate as refugees, in most cases penniless because of the German government's prohibition against the export of capital.

"4. Therefore the High Commissioner came to the conclusion that: 'The efforts of the private organizations and of any League organization for refugees can only mitigate a problem of growing gravity and complexity. The problem must be tackled at its source if disaster is to be avoided. This is the function of the League, which is essentially an association of states for the consideration of matters of common concern. The effort of the League to ensure respect for human personality, when not grounded on express provisions of the Covenant or international treaties, has a sure foundation in the fact that the protection of the individual from racial and religious intolerance is a vital condition of international peace and security.'

"5. For these reasons the High Commissioner asked that the 'moral authority of the League of Nations and the States Members of the League.... be directed toward a determined appeal to the German government in the name of humanity and of the principles of the public law of Europe,' demanding 'a modification of policies which constitute a source of unrest and perplexity in the world, a challenge to the conscience of mankind, and a menace to the legitimate interests of the states affected by the immigration of German refugees.'

"6. The German National Socialist Government cannot by a defense of 'domestic jurisdiction' or sovereignty, prevent the legitimate concern of the international community over these discriminations and persecutions. It is within the province and competence of the League of Nations to treat this problem at its source, not only on humanitarian grounds, but also because the actions and policies of the German National Socialist Government, having their immediate effects, and working direct injury, in the territory of other states, constitute a series of violations of the rights of these states, as well as a breach of solemn international undertakings and obligations.

"7. The German National Socialist government has, by a system of discrimination and persecution against persons termed by it to be non-Aryans, violated the express terms of a solemn pledge given to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers at the Peace Conference in June, 1919. This undertaking, according to the recognized principles of international law, is a valid and binding one. It gives the Allied Powers the right and the duty to take note of its non-observance and to intercede, so that such violation may cease. It has, by withdrawing the nationality of thousands of individuals after they have entered and while they remain in the territories of neighboring states, increased the weight of burden. It threatens even more rigorous action. Furthermore, the existence of a system of espionage and terrorism directed against refugees from Germany, entailing the direct responsibility of the German Government, has seriously disturbed international peace and security, and has violated the rights of neighboring states to grant asylum to those fleeing from persecution.

"The right of a state to legislate as it pleases with regard to those within its jurisdiction is not an unlimited one. The abuse of that right to the detriment of other states, as well as in violation of a solemn international agreement, is a matter of grave international concern. Monsieur René Massigli, the representative of the French Government, pointed out before the Sixth Meeting of the League Council on January 24, 1935 that the prevention of such an aggravation of the refugee problem is 'too important a matter to pass over in silence'.... With regard to the withdrawal of nationality by Germany, as he pointed out, there is 'the right and the abuse of right' -- an abuse which 'through its repercussions and its generalizations.... does come within the sphere of the League of Nations.'

"8. The League of Nations was constituted 'to achieve international peace and security.... by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments.' The Council in 1922 and the Assembly in 1934 urged States not bound by legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities to observe in the treatment of their own minorities the same standard of justice as is required by the treaties and by the League. It therefore has the right, and is also entrusted with the duty, of interceding with the German Nationalist Government.

"Wherefore, organizations and individuals representing many religious faiths, political views and nationalities, call upon the League of Nations to take action in defense of those elementary human rights which are the very foundation-stones of civilization and which constitute a primary condition of continued international peace and good-will." (Forwarded by S.W.Jacobs to Department of External Affairs, July 23, 1936)

A number of Toronto Christian clergymen, headed by C.E.Silcox, condemned German racism,

"The publication of Mr. James G. MacDonald's letter of resignation as High Commissioner for refugees coming from Germany requires an expression of opinion from Canadian churchmen. No man is in a better position to know the facts than Mr. McDonald.

"This document is perhaps the most comprehensive and drastic indictment of the government of a civilized nation ever presented at the bar of public opinion. Every intelligent Canadian should read it and let the facts therein enumerated speak for themselves.

"We speak for Canadian Christians when we express our friendship for the German people, our profound admiration for the great contribution which Germany has made to our common civilization, and our desire that the problems now facing that country may speedily find a solution consonant with justice to others; but we also speak for Canadian Christians when we express at the same time our unqualified protest against the treatment which has been meted out to the Jews, 'non-Aryan Christians' (both Protestant and Catholics) and various Gentiles deemed undesirables by the present government of Germany.

"The previous silence of leaders in the Canadian churches in respect to this matter has been due to four considerations: first, they feared that as Germany was suffering from a sense of real or imagined wrongs, any criticism might only aggravate the situation; secondly, in a world so sorely threatened by war, they were opposed to doing anything which might in any way render more difficult the efforts of political leaders for a reasonably satisfactory adjustment of

our vexed international condition; thirdly, they were forced to take notice of a certain crude Anti-Semitism in our own country, and they did not wish to arouse any dormant prejudices if, by a process of education, these might be gradually eliminated; fourthly, despite the seemingly unimpeachable evidence offered by authors, newspaper correspondents, lecturers, travellers in Germany and refugees themselves, some of them, suspicious of all propaganda, trusted that the reports concerning the extent of the German treatment of the non-Aryans were possibly exaggerated.

"However, further silence is impossible, and will only aggravate a condition which civilization should deem utterly intolerable. Without elaborating on the devastating character of Mr. MacDonald's report, we wish to put ourselves on record as believing:

"Undoubtedly, the German situation is an inescapable responsibility of the League of Nations.

"The responsibilities now resting upon the League are perhaps greater than the League, with its present membership, can possibly bear unless all the constituent nations bear a common testimony to the demand for peace and righteousness. We fear, moreover, that so long as our neighbour, the United States of America, continues her policy of isolationism and refrains from throwing her whole weight into the effort to secure international collective security, the League will be inherently inhibited from displaying the strong action which the exigencies of the moment require. We in Canada know quite well the illusive appeal of isolationism; but such a policy, we are convinced, only paves the way in our day to international anarchy, the utter ruin of civilization, and in the end, the destruction everywhere of those principles of freedom and democracy which have been the glory of North American life.

"Every civilized country should deal justly with its own minorities. Certainly, it should not rob the victims of its racial prejudice of their only means of subsistence, and then 'unload' them on other countries whose assimilative capacity may already be taxed to the limit. In this respect, the attitude of the present German government is most reprehensible and indicates a complete indifference to the problems of any nation other than its own. We in the New World are confronted with problems of national unity, racial mixture and cultural disparity which are herculean compared with those of Germany.

"Nevertheless, should the flow of exiles from Germany not cease, we feel that Canada should share with other countries the responsibility of providing a haven for at least a reasonable number of selected refugees.

"Should the League prove unable to deal effectively with the existing situation, and should the United States of America continue its professed policy of isolationism, little can be done immediately in the cause of justice, liberty and democracy, and there will be imminent peril in Europe of a lamentable catastrophe which would ultimately involve the whole world, including those countries which hoped to remain neutral.

"The treatment of the Jews in Germany has been based on racial and not on religious grounds, and extends beyond the five or six hundred thousand Jews to over two million people, many of whom are confessed Christians.

"In Christ there is neither Jew nor Gentile, and we deplore the evidences of efforts in Germany to supplant the deeply spiritual truths of the Christian faith by merely tribal values.

"We would give voice to our grave concern lest the present government of Germany seek to interfere unduly with the authority of the Church (both Protestant and Catholic) in purely spiritual matters. Our sympathies go out to those German Christians who at great cost are standing firm in the true liberty of the Christian man. A vital Church may be a veritable bulwark of the State; but no truly Christian Church can permit the domination of the State in the spiritual realm.

"As we thus accuse the German government and recommend those measures which may most effectively make the present National Socialist government realize the full weight of the moral indignation throughout the world which has been evoked by their treatment of Jews, non-Aryans (both Protestant and Catholic) and other alleged 'undesirables' -- we would at the same time deplore all efforts of propagandists in our own Dominion to fan racial and religious prejudices here, especially against those of our citizenry who may be either Jewish or German in origin.

"Our opposition is not directed to persons of German descent now happily resident in Canada, nor even to the German people in Europe, but to the fanatical policy of the present government in this particular field which sadly eclipses its notable achievements in other departments of social administration. We would call for more vigorous efforts in the promotion of an essential Canadianism based on Christian citizenship.

"This is the challenge of the New World to those of us who have been privileged to find so much freedom in this new, northern land. We accept that challenge in all humility and with a resolute purpose."

In May 1939 A.A.Heaps, socialist member of the Commons, raised the matter of Nazi propagandists and spies. He pointed out that the publisher of the Winnipeg Deutsche Zeitung had secured Canadian naturalization as late as 1937, and that there was "nothing in that paper but incitement of racial hatred and setting of creed against creed." He feared that lack of action by the government had been interpreted as acquiescence.

Mr. Ernest Lapointe used the occasion to warn foreign representatives that it is not their duty to interfere with Canadian citizens who had formerly been citizens of their countries.

He said that a new type of international propaganda had arisen in the last decade, and that various governments had established a routine of stirring up class and racial prejudice abroad as a means of carrying out their ideas. In times of depression the seeds of propaganda were more likely to fall on fertile soil.

He also warned Canadians who had been naturalized: the certificates which had testified to their naturalization may be cancelled if they spread objectionable propaganda.

In Halifax a public meeting convened by the local Commonwealth Party in April 1933 told Prime Minister Bennett,

"The Hitler atrocities against the Jewish people are more shamefully cruel than the Czar's hooliganic programme. Hitler is not satisfied with the savage murder and wholesale slaughter of the Jews and other foreigners, but is trying to kill and murder every other party which is progressive, and holds ideas and ideals opposed to Hitlerism.

"As Canadians who are taught to believe in constitutional liberties and parliamentary justice, we feel that it is our moral duty to ask the government to voice our protest to the German Hitlerites against the above mentioned atrocities.

"The brutal crime committed by the Hitlerites on helpless humanity left unprotected becomes the crime not only of Hitlerism but of all thinking human beings who realize the brutality and fail to exert their power, leave a stain on civilization that will make the next generation shrink and marvel at our cowardice." (Public Archives of Canada. Prime Minister's files)

A public meeting in Winnipeg addressed by Mayor R. H. Webb and by spokesmen for the Archdiocese of Ruperts Land, the Westminster United Church and others, on April 2, 1933, resolved,

"By permitting attacks on defenceless Jews and by its encouragement of economic discrimination, the present Government of Germany has placed outside the effective protection of the law a large section of its population,

"Such a policy is repugnant to the moral instincts of civilized nations and inconsistent with the essential spirit of German culture,

"This meeting expresses its solemn protest against the policy of repression which the present Government of Germany is countenancing against the Jewish residents and citizens of that country." (Public Archives of Canada)

The City Council of Winnipeg joined the world-wide protest on March 27, 1933 (Public Archives of Canada),

"Whereas the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Winnipeg, in Council assembled, have been apprised of the attacks which have been made upon Jewish life and property in Germany and of the oppression and persecution to which all members of the Jewish race are being subjected under the present German Dictatorship as part of its declared policy,

"And Whereas the Jews in Germany constitute a racial minority, the protection of whose persons and property is guaranteed by solemn Treaty, to which Canada and Germany are both signatories,

"And Whereas both Canada and Germany are members of the League of Nations and as such are bound by the covenants thereof to maintain equality before the law for all their respective citizens without regard to race or religion,

"Now Therefore Be It Resolved that this Council do associate itself with the world-wide protest now being made against the said actions of the German Dictatorship, and that the Dominion Government be requested to take appropriate and sympathetic action through the proper channels for safeguarding in Germany to all citizens thereof their inalienable rights of life and liberty."

The Dauphin Town Council discussed "the reported inhuman treatment received by Jews from the authorities in Germany. The Council feels that if the reports which have been received are true, objection should be registered with the German Government against the mistreatment of the members of the Jewish Race living in that country."

To these and other protests communicated to the office of the Ottawa Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Canadian government response was,

"The Canadian Government has no direct diplomatic or consular representation in Germany. It has, however, instructed the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, who is now in London, to follow the development of events in that country in consultation with the Government of the United Kingdom.

"I feel I should perhaps point out that the so-called Minorities Treaties, which guarantee the civil,

political and religious freedom of religious and racial minorities, were signed between the Allied and Associated Powers and the several Succession States, but not between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany. So that from the point of view of International Law the questions are technically within the domestic jurisdiction of the German Reich and outside the competence of the League of Nations."

In the case of the ill treatment of the Jews of Upper Silesia, the Ottawa government received a report of May 30, 1933, from its Advisory Officer at Geneva of the League of Nations Council on this matter. The German representative rejected the report of the League's rapporteur on the question, stating that he could not accept these conclusions and raised two previous questions which were referred to a Committee of Jurists for their advice. During discussions hope was expressed that Germany would abide by her own declaration of the 29th May, 1919, and by the Assembly Resolution of 1922 regarding the protection of minorities, and ensure fair treatment to all Jews in Germany.

The Township of York formally resolved to send to the Hon. MacKenzie King, Premier of Canada, a very strong protest of the action of the German Government in their persecution of the Jews and Catholics and suggests that the Premier take under consideration the cancelling of our relations with the German Government as a retaliatory measure." (Nov. 15, 1938; King Papers, P.214,130)

The Montreal District Council of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees wrote to the Prime Minister on Nov. 25, 1938,

"This Council has learned of the savagery displayed towards the Jews by the German Nazi Government in its attempt to place the responsibility of its own shortcomings upon the shoulders of these helpless people.

"To date, your Government has done nothing to convey to the organized gang of plunderers, the disgust of

the Canadian people at the actions of a supposedly civilized race of people, which boasts of its 'Kultur' and of institutions which should be an asset to the forward march of civilization.

"We feel it to be the desire of the Canadian people that your Government immediately join the democracies of the world in the growing protest directed to the German Government. The maintenance of a dignified silence means consent to those who know only force and banditry.

"This Council urges your Government to immediately protest organized persecution and that it support its protest by instituting an economic boycott in trade and credit, against Hitler and his aides.

"We believe this to be the greatest weapon in the hands of the democracies and to be the kind of language which supporters of terrorism will readily understand.

"Our members are being urged to apply a boycott upon all German and Japanese goods, it being our opinion that Democracy cannot for ever retreat before the threat of Nazi or Fascist robbers. As a Council we shall do all in our power to give effect to such a boycott." (King Papers, P. 214,776)

A public meeting in Hamilton on November 20, 1938 addressed by Arthur W. Roebuck, the mayor, the controller and a number of Catholic and Protestant clergymen, joined "the Jewish people and the whole civilized world in mourning the innocent victims and condemn the persecution, desecration of houses of worship and destruction of property in Nazi Germany.

"Our hearts go out in prayer for the persecuted in Germany and Austria and for all those who are reduced to poverty and misery and who are driven into exile from their centuries-old homeland because of racial and religious differences.

"We, therefore, urge the Canadian Government to protest, in the name of the liberty-loving Canadian people, against the persecution of all liberally-minded persons, the Jewish race, and the Catholic and Protestant Church leaders in Germany and Austria." (Public Archives of Canada. King Papers, Pp. 214738-39)

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AN ACTIVE CONSUL

Within the year of Hitler's accession to power the German Consul-General in Montreal, L. Kempf, began his propaganda effort by distributing "literature" justifying the oppression -- and subsequently the murder -- of Jews in Germany, and wherever the searing paws of its force extended.

As he wrote to the Rt. Hon. Mr. King on Nov. 4, 1933,

"I have found that it is difficult for people living on this continent to understand the Jewish problem in Germany.

"They read in the papers the protests of the Canadian and American Jews against the Hitler policy. They have heard over the radio the fiery speech of Rabbi Wise, of New York, who -- a foreigner and a guest on Canadian soil -- has, during his short stay in Montreal, urged the Canadian people -- Jew and Gentile alike, to boycott German goods, i.e., to commit an unfriendly and even hostile act against a country with which Canada entertains friendly relations.

"It therefore seems necessary to show the reasons for which the anti-Jewish policy has been inaugurated in Germany. The enclosed pamphlet, Germany's Fight for Western Civilization, will be of some help to this end.

"The first pages show the numerical development, of Jewry in Prussia and the geographical distribution of the Jews in Prussia. It states that about 75,000 Eastern Jews emigrated into Prussia during the last decades. The preponderance of the Jews in business and in the banks is shown. As an example: in the year 1928, 15 Jews combined in their persons 718 posts on directorates.

...to have been an active contributor to the...
...the...
...the...

...the German Canadian General in Montreal, L. Knapik, began his...
...propaganda effort by distributing "literature" justifying...
...the oppression -- and subsequently the murder -- of Jews...
...in Germany, and wherever the sailing path of its force...
...extended.

As he wrote to the Rt. Hon. Mr. King on Nov. 4,
1933,

I have found that it is difficult for people...
living on this continent to understand the Jewish problem...
in Germany. They read in the papers the protests of the...
Canadian and American Jews against the Hitler policy. They...
have heard over the radio the fiery speech of Rabbi Wise...
of New York, who -- a foreigner and a guest on Canadian...
soil -- has, during his short stay in Montreal, urged the...
Canadian people -- Jew and Gentile alike, to boycott German...
goods, i.e., to commit an unkindly and even hostile act...
against a country with which Canada entertains friendly...
relations. Therefore seems necessary to show the reasons...
for which the anti-Jewish policy has been inaugurated in...
Germany. The enclosed pamphlet, Fight for Western Civilization,...
will be of some help to this end. The first paper shows the numerical development...
of Jews in Prussia and the geographical distribution of the...
Jews in Prussia. It states that about 75,000 Eastern Jews...
emigrated into Prussia during the last decades. The...
preponderance of the Jews in business and in the banks is...
shown. As an example: In the year 1928, 13 Jews combined...
in their persons 78 posts on directors.

"In the best residential districts of Berlin -- namely, Charlottenburg, Schöneberg and Wilmersdorf -- the percentage of Jews in the higher schools is 19.85, 20.01 and 35.18. 239 judges in Berlin (23%) were Jews, who were authorized to administer an oath to Gentiles. In the Berlin Bar Association and in the Bar Association of the Reich all members of the Directorate were of Jewish origin.

"The statement sometimes heard that Germany is a centre for pornography is based on writings by Jewish authors. That the German press has been dominated by Jews is generally known. The central figures in all criminal proceedings on charges of corruption have been Jews who came from Eastern countries.

"The Jews are the apostles of communism. The social-democratic Jewish member of the Reichstag, Dr. Cohn, who was appointed Under-Secretary of State in the German Ministry of Justice in November 1918, received 10 million roubles from the Soviet Ambassador Joffe to be disposed of in the interest of the socialistic German revolution of 1918.

"The Jewish communist propoganda reached its height in the domain of the education of the young by the founding of the Karl Marx School under two Jews, Kurt Löwenstein and Fritz Karsen (alias Krakauer). In the actual instruction at this school socialistic politics played a great part. Full play was given to the discussion of erotic and sexual questions. The founder of this school, Kurt Löwenstein, has described the aim of education in the following terms:

"'The fight against the church and against religious instruction is no theoretical fight about theoretical doctrines, but the fight of the new coming social system against the dying social system.'

"In keeping with this program the school paper, The Red School Echo, the organ of the revolutionary pupils in the Karl Marx School, had been published. Kurt Lowenstein has furthermore founded children's camps as Children's Republics. In all, six such children's republic camps with 10,000 children, were established in 1929. The spirit of these camps may be found in the 'camp song,' which reads as follows:

"Let us sing Red songs And carry the banners
through the country. We are a strong band Round the hammer
and sickle."

"In this connection it may be remembered that in
the Reichstag election of November 6, 1932, six million votes
were cast for the Communists and that one hundred Communist
members of the Reichstag were elected out of a total of 584.
The leaders of the Communist party in Germany were Jews, as
has been the case in Russia and in Hungary (Bela Kun). Those
Jewish leaders had infected the masses with the germ of
Bolshevism.

"I think that in the light of these facts it will
appear quite natural and understandable to people living on
this continent also that the German people wanted to rid
themselves of this Jewish predomination. For Germany had but
one choice: Communism or Hitlerism, the middle parties
having been continuously reduced or even having faded away."
(King Papers, Pp. 166,951-55)

Probably the indifference of the Canadian authorities
encouraged the German representatives to a more insolent and
impertinent intervention at Ottawa.

Dr. Hans Luther, statesman, protested during a
visit to Canada that the daily papers both of this
country and of the United States emphasize only
one side of the present German scene. It was unbelievable,
he said, what a wrong picture of Germany was being
created by people who did not know the truth.

The Winnipeg Tribune responded on June 5, 1937,

"What has been going on in Germany during the last
few years is pretty well known to Canadians. Ours is a
country in which all sources of information are open to
students, a country in which free expression of opinion,
free discussion and an untrammelled press are available to
those who seek adequately to inform themselves.

"Dr. A.E. Morgan, principal of McGill, told the
Winnipeg Canadian Club that Hitler has used the highest
idealism to arouse the beast and the brute in German
youth,

"Does Dr. Luther propose that we shall overlook the persecution of an entire race, men, women and children, and dwell admiringly on Der Fuehrer's idealistic but fanatical appeal to German youth? Are we to forget entirely his suppression of free speech, his reduction of the German press to servility, his attacks upon the Christian religion, his attempt to nationalize science, his Aryan nonsense, and the ferocious doctrines brazenly trumpeted from Mein Kampf?"

"Is it not a little ironical for the champion of a country which enjoys none of these essentials to criticize the trend of Canadian public opinion?"

When the Communist daily Clarion of Toronto announced a labor carnival with "a tent for a wax museum of Fascists with an adequate effigy of Adolf Hitler in appropriate surroundings," Dr. H.U. Granow, German Consul-general at Ottawa, protested to External Affairs.

Under-Secretary Dr. Skelton went so far as to write to Mayor Robbins that,

"The Prime Minister concluded it was desirable to pass on the information. As you are aware, it would not be in accord with international usage to subject to public ridicule the head of a foreign state." (March 19-29, 1936, King Papers, Pp. 207,022-24)

The consul had occasion to protest against the reported remarks of the Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Quebec, A.E.A. Greenshields, at the trial of Joseph Fuentes who had appeared before him on charges of damaging a picture of Adolf Hitler.

The Quebec chief justice felt it necessary to send a long letter to the office of the prime minister explaining how he had conducted the case of the young Spaniard who had smashed a \$3 photograph of Hitler in the Montreal consulate. (Dec. 2, 1937, King Papers, Pp. 201,744-48)

The Canadian government responded to the consul by recalling that a judge of a superior court in Canada is not in any way subject to the control or supervision of the executive authority. Yet the government regretted that the judge had uttered any statement which could be susceptible of any interpretation reflecting in any way upon the Reich Chancellor or upon Germany.

"The Government does not associate itself in any way with such statement and in particular disassociates itself from any reflection upon, or criticism of, either the Reich Chancellor or of the German state, with which the most cordial and friendly relations have subsisted and it is hoped will continue to be maintained." (King Papers, Nov. 23, 1937, Pp. 209623-24)

Under-Secretary Dr. Skelton went so far as to write to Mayor Robbins that, in connection with the...
The Prime Minister concluded it was desirable to pass on the information. As you are aware, it would not be in accord with international usage to subject to public ridicule the head of a foreign state." (March 18-20, 1936, King Papers, Pp. 207,022-24)
The consul had occasion to protest against the reported remarks of the Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Quebec, A.E.A. Greenfield, at the trial of Joseph Pappas who had appeared before him on charges of damaging a picture of Adolf Hitler.
The Quebec Chief Justice felt it necessary to send a long letter to the office of the prime minister explaining how he had conducted the case of the young Spaniard who had smashed a photograph of Hitler in the Montreal consulate. (Dec. 2, 1937, King Papers, Pp. 201,744-45)

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING

Somewhere, on some level of his consciousness, King had an awareness of the existence of Jews, and this is evidenced most vaguely in his dreams. No conclusion can be safely drawn from such complex, deeply buried phenomena and from inevitably distorting recording "documentations," as anyone who ever dreamed or attempted to recall or to speak of his dream will attest.

Above all, we must be careful not to draw any condemnatory conclusions from these private papers. We must remember that these documents have been made available to us by his express and considered desire. His motives in doing this cannot be known to us precisely; we can hazard a guess that the intention of this lonely, childless man was to endow the totality of his person with documentary immortality in the spirit of Isaiah who promised the virtuous childless a monument for ever, above sons and daughters, an eternal name which shall not be expunged [56:5].

The... to the... by... in... of... and... the... that... the... to... of... to... of... to... of... to... of...

The... in any way... from... Chancellor... and... to be... (2-11-61, pp. 197, 198-199)

The... of... to... of... to... of... to... of... to... of... to... of...

The... of... to... of... to... of... to... of... to... of... to... of...

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The... of... to... of... to... of... to... of... to... of... to... of...

For integrity and honesty this record which was to serve this purpose needed to be both report and confession. It must needs contain, King seemed to believe, the synthesis of the composite understandable universe, with its universally accepted conventions, which constitute "rational" intercourse of adult mankind on every level, and the private, immediate, personal phenomena of the individual being, the intercourse which is the realm of poet, lover, dreamer, sometimes labelled the insane.

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING

King, the high priest of the controlled use of rationality, also willed his business, his self-conflicting, self-forbidden acts, his irrational associations of visual images. It is a heritage we must approach with the respect, understanding and criteria due to each of its phases. Failing this distinction we can do ourselves considerable injustice.

Somewhere, on some level of his consciousness, King had an awareness of the existence of Jews, and this is evidenced most vaguely in his dreams. No conclusion can be safely drawn from such complex, deeply buried phenomena and from inevitably distorting recording "documentations," as anyone who ever dreamed or attempted to recall or to speak of his dreams will attest.

Above all, we must be careful not to draw any condemnatory conclusions from these private papers. We must remember that these documents have been made available to us by his express and considered desire. His motives in doing this cannot be known to us precisely; we can hazard a guess that the intention of this lonely, childless man was to endow the totality of his person with documentary immortality in the spirit of Isaiah who promises the virtuous childless a monument for ever, above sons and daughters, an eternal name which shall not be expunged (56:5).

Their letters articulate King's concern -- articulated or only reflected by Ludwig with remarkable obsequiousness -- with the impression he will leave on history -- or on history.

The King biographer wrote to the Prime Minister from Ascona in Switzerland on February 12, 1946.

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING

Somewhere, on some level of his consciousness, King had an awareness of the existence of Jews, and this is evidenced most vaguely in his dreams. No conclusion can be safely drawn from such complex, deeply buried phenomena and from inevitably distorted recording "documentations," as anyone who ever dreamed or attempted to recall or to speak of his dreams will attest.

Above all, we must be careful not to draw any condemnatory conclusions from these private papers. We must remember that these documents have been made available to us by his express and considered desire. His motives in doing this cannot be known to us precisely; we can hazard a guess that the intention of this Jewish child was man was to endow the totality of his person with documentary immortality in the spirit of Isaiah who promised the virtuous child a monument for ever, above sons and daughters, an eternal name which shall not be expunged (Isaiah).

For integrity and honesty this record which was to serve this purpose needed to be both report and confessional. It must needs contain, King seemed to believe, the synthesis of communicable acts which constitute the composite understandable universe, with its universally accepted conventions, which constitute "rational" intercourse of adult mankind on every level, and the private, immediate, personal phenomena of the individual being, the intercourse which is the realm of poet, lover, dreamer; sometimes labelled the insane.

King, the high priest of the controlled man of rationality, also willed his musings, his self-conflicting, self-forbidden acts, his irrational associations of visual impulses. It is a heritage we must approach with the respect, understanding and criteria due to each of its phases. Failing this distinction we can do ourselves considerable injustice.

In this sense there is interest for us in King's private papers, even though these must be considered very judiciously, for they can be too readily used judgmentally against him.

Our understanding of the very existence of these papers in the public domain is much clarified by exchanges of 1946 letters with his biographer, Emil Ludwig.

It is a remarkably intimate relationship that these exchanges reveal, though it is probably stretching it too far to see in both men a deep ambivalence to the existence of the Jewish people. Ludwig, né Cohn, converted to Christianity and then renounced that religion, a Jewish German who defended that country when mankind was still shuddering at what the Nazis had done -- shared profound ambivalences and reservations and sensitivities.

Their letters articulate King's concern -- stimulated or only reflected by Ludwig with remarkable obsequiousness -- with the impression he will leave on historian or on history.

The King biographer wrote to the Prime Minister from Asconia in Switzerland on February 18, 1946,

"Continuing in the service of your country with unbroken physical health you will prolong the row of public accomplishments that give satisfaction to the mind of a political leader. But, at the age of seventy-one, there is one new item you have to consider: posthumous fame, a great and serious affair, more so, if a man leaves no heirs to his name and leads a life of personal retirement with few witnesses who can later give testimony against his enemies.

"From the time of Alexander who took a retinue of writers and scientists with him, without whose records he would never be 'the Great', to Roosevelt who thought a lot about posterity, governing men of all races have given thoughts to their public.

"You have done this so very little, compared to Roosevelt and Churchill. Your name is graven into the history of Canada, but its echo in the world depends on posthumous memoirs. No one knows if a Canadian Ludwig will turn up to make a living portrait of you of six hundred pages.

"The surest way to ensure your name for posterity, of course also against enemies and slanderers, is to write memoirs. If, for this task, it takes you one or two years, you will -- sub specie aeternitatis -- gain much more than in continuing your successes as a prime minister for twenty years. History shows that the place she gives to a governing man will enduringly and decidedly be influenced by his own memoirs. You will furthermore have the advantage and pleasure of getting a more profound consecutive impression of your own public activities in such a retrospect; as if you were looking over an album with photos of yourself from your third to your seventieth year, which is, as you know, a treasurable hour for a philosopher.

"This work will give you satisfaction for the present and security for your name, post-mortem. You will be able to erect monuments to men you admired and loved in the past, and you can also expose your enemies to posterity. (I remember the expression of your features when you were speaking of one of your predecessors.)

"Please forgive this rather zealously advocated proposal of a man who has read hundreds of memoirs."

(Public Archives of Canada. King Papers, vol. 407, Pp. 367931-2)

King acknowledged on March 3,

"You have gone to considerable pains in helping to confirm me in the wisdom of the decision I have made. What you say of the wisdom of leaving to others a true picture of one's life's purpose, of doing justice to the memory of men who have helped to make one's accomplishments possible and of protecting one's own name after one is gone from the detractions of one's political enemies cannot, I believe, be too greatly heeded." (Pp. 367937-38)

Ludwig retreated, tactically one feels, on July 10. With King involved in the Paris Peace Conference, Ludwig wrote him from Switzerland,

"I wish to revoke my former opinion about your abdication - project to write your own history, an idea I took the liberty to express in a letter last winter. The crisis of the Empire seems to increase, and so I find now that the oldest and best pilot should not leave the ship in storm. I know that my opinion has no influence whatever, but as a philosopher I feel bound to express it, -- especially if events change the moral obligations." (Pp. 367937-40)

But King continued his reflections. "I am interested," he wrote from the Hotel Crillon in Paris on August 8, 1946 (P. 367960), "in what you say about being inclined to revoke your earlier opinion which accords with my own as to the wisdom of giving up public life for the opportunity of reading, writing and reflection, to which, I think, I may lay a just claim. What is the wisest thing to do is, I believe, making itself increasingly clear."

Apparently the concept of Jew on that level of awareness is coloured negative. In his diary entry of December 1, 1944, he noted,

"Before waking I had a curious sort of dream. I seemed to have got into some curious sort of art store or club with old ivory plastered walls. People round about seemed to be Jews."

"There were one or two aged people seated on higher seats than others. Suddenly I seemed to be out of the large room into a hall where two ladies were standing with others in front of a mirror. One of them came over and talked to me in a very free way. She was much overdressed, quite clearly a Jewess." (Canadian Press dispatch from Ottawa, January 2, 1976)

On this insubstantial level which, in all truth, he kept separate from his vigorous universe of extrovert activity, King kept Hitler amid his great personages who visited him from the spirit world. Col. Charles P. Stacey was able to enumerate them in his A Very Double Life (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1976; also in Montreal Star, March 11, 1976, Pp.1-2): Gladstone, Alexander Mackenzie, Edward Blake, King George V, Sir Robert Borden, Oliver Mowat, Laurier....Hitler.

King noted, "I am convinced he is a spiritualist -- that he has a vision to which he is being true.... his devotion to his mother -- that mother's spirit is I am certain his guide... I believe that the world will yet come to see a very great man -- mystic, in Hitler."

The crash of this image of Hitler in the débacle of external events -- as Hitler invaded Poland -- occurs at a séance when King's father announces to him that Hitler had died, shot by a Pole. The father was drawing a parallel in this occult setting between himself and Hitler when the Secretary of State for External Affairs telephoned with news from the international crisis.

King realized the dangerous and lying condition to which he had exposed himself. "I should perhaps not have sought to use the table to discover the course of events." This was the last of his pencilled memoranda of séances. In 1939 another Hitler came into existence for the inner and integral King. But not yet in 1937 when he visited Hitler.

Prime Minister King was engaged in an unusual occupation. He was cultivating the Germans in a social style that few Canadian intimates witnessed.

King's visit to Hitler in June 1937 assumes a decisive role in the annals of Canadian Jews and -- to a lesser degree -- of all Canadians.

The Canadian prime minister was in effect his own secretary of state, and he was conducting its affairs in his own personal, unpredictable manner, moved by inconsistent emotions which no one outside himself seemed or seems to understand.

Such a mystery is at the beginning of this journey. During the Imperial Conference at London in May 1937 King met the German ambassador to Britain. Before his descent to this post Ribbentrop had been a wine salesman in Canada; King had been born in the former Berlin, Ontario, and had studied in Germany thirty-four years ago. This was a basis for friendly pleasantries which led, as one thing does to another, to an invitation to meet Hitler.

King was convinced that the cause of world serenity lay in personal discussions between the leaders of the effective political powers. He had sought to convey this to President Roosevelt, and had urged the Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1936 to call on Hitler. But they felt, as did Churchill, that the German had the power to fascinate callers in such circumstances, and King's advice went unheeded.

By the same token King failed to heed the warning of a close friend, Violet Markham, who wrote him on June 15, just before his departure for Berlin.

"Apparently he has a very attractive personality and makes a considerable impression on nearly everyone who sees him. All the same, don't let him hypnotize you!... He is the head of a detestable system of force and persecution, and real horrors go on in Germany today for which he is responsible." (James Eayrs, In Defence of Canada, Appeasement and Rearmament. Toronto, University of Toronto press. Pp. 43-46)

Within a month King was in Berlin -- resentfully disdaining the hospitality of the British embassy. He had not even informed the ambassador of his coming, nor had Eden or the British Foreign Office or the Canadian High Commissioner; His Excellency Sir Neville Henderson learned of the Canadian's coming from the Germans!

King angrily rejected the ambassador's offer to accompany him on his visit to Hitler; it would smack of too close an association between Canada and Britain. In the confusion of proportions, the quarrel within the Commonwealth family which was dominion identity -- status -- independence became for Hitler a vast fact: Canada may not necessarily follow Britain into a conflict. King probably asserted as much to Hitler to advance his personal egoism; Hitler heard it as a decisive -- but false and misleading -- geopolitical fact, another error of fact which came to be one of the causes of the war.

When he described his stand in terms of his policy, he put it coolly, "We shall not assume that it is our duty, or within our power, to make over their (other countries) social structure or their political ideas or their racial attitudes." (House of Commons. Debates, 1938, vol. 4, 3182-90). But when he travelled to Berlin he was very much warmer.

Our information on this visit is sufficient, and derives from the Canadian prime minister himself.

For the purpose of our present reading we are not primarily concerned with the politics of this visit and its diplomatic character; not even with the impact and consequences upon the policies of nations which derive from it. Rather with what it tells us of the prime minister and his judgment of the man and the forces which constituted a vast threat to the survival of Judaism, of civilization and of a vast portion of the human race. From the perspective the prime minister brought to the interview, and to the views developed there, we can understand his actions as very powerful chief executive of his nation in regard to anti-semitism, to Canadian strengthening of Germany, to anti-Jewish propaganda and activities in Canada, to Canadian endorsement -- or condemnation -- of German acts towards Jews and other persons he did not favour, to the victims of this harsh disfavour, to sheltering those who fled the harsh concentration camps and systematic torture and killing.

Our prime source of information on this incident in Canadian history -- as much revealing of King's prior attitudes as it was influential of his consequent course of action -- was his very long entry in his handwritten diary for June 27, 1937 (26 pages in the typescript).

It needs to be very carefully read, for it was not written to be read as we are reading it. Furthermore, it consists of two sections, though they run without a break: for the most part it consists of the ruminations of a "dreaming" person, in a state of ecstasy, whose flow of consciousness is not intended to stand up to rational dialogue. But all this disappears when the Canadian statesman is discussing affairs face to face with the German ruler speaking for his nation aggressively planning to seize from other peoples and governments what he thinks his people need. The sudden alteration of state of awareness is remarkable and explains the unmerging dualism King was able to maintain for an active lifetime.

His Mr. Pickering was witness to the extraordinary exalted state of mind of his chief as King pointed to lion-like cloud formations as they were approaching Berlin. "The lion was facing towards Germany. I felt it was a symbol -- that its repose signified security. It was a sign related to this mission. It gave meaning to the functions at Glasgow. It is also a symbol of strength...."

He seems to have felt that his visit to Germany was a notable event in the biographies of decisive forces in his psychic personal universe, that both potent and symbolic forces were assembling their presences and were active in his affective deeds during these hours, part of a Plan. Associations, reminders, coincidences, religion, the Mackenzie tartan, poetic experiences, recollections of biography relived were parading before his eyes, from the 23rd Psalm to student days in Berlin, to Germans he knew in Berlin, Ontario, the scene of his early electoral campaigns.

"Today has been significant with lions (animals) in zoo, etc., patting a little lion on the head, seeing lions on the steps of the museum like those purchased in Scotland."

In the museum and zoo, before the original of the head of a "reformer" King who raised the Worship of the Sun (light) over all other gods, "I felt a strange sense of power come over me as I walked about and looked at these faces, as I do now as I write -- something that might relate my life in those lives 3207 or more years ago.... frescoes on the walls -- illustrative of the Ark of the Covenant being born. I am sure the covenant at this point was significant -- also the lions lying recumbent on the steps. God is fulfilling his covenant -- of that I am sure.

"Outside the hotel (as outside at Paris) are symbolical figures of plenty and harvest, little lads holding cornucopias full of fruit and grain expressive of the harvest -- that is being reaped here today.

"At the zoo the lions lying on the rods, magnificent in appearance glorious in power and majesty, the lions in the cage roaring, the little lion carried by a keeper which I patted twice on the head -- it all seemed significant -- related to the Lyon in Scotland, perchance, etc., also to the sea lions, the bison, the humming birds, etc.

"I opened my bible before going to sleep tonight and read Acts 27 with its divine promises. Could any words be plainer than those! or their meaning and significance clearer."

Later, on the great morning before the climactic meetings with Goering and Hitler, again the lions, Psalm 91 -- ("Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet") -- "the lion has appeared over and over again. I patted a lion on the head yesterday.... talked with Goering of his lion which kisses him on his cheek.... Pickering said, 'I imagine, Mr. King, this is the greatest day of your life.' Certainly it would seem to be the day for which I was born -- Berlin 1874, and came to Berlin, Germany, given a house here by Mr. Dickie, father's friend, the one who baptized me, gave me my name (Note, knows name in Chap. 91) 37 years ago. May God's blessing rest upon this day and the nations of the world -- and His peace be theirs."

His last glimpse of Berlin -- "Saw the lion statue in the Tiergarten before leaving Berlin, and as I looked on it, prayed to God to bless all his animal creations.... It was the end of the journey (it was also the beginning of my life) from then on it was returning home to work and rest and peace and joy" -- with ideas changed.

With extraordinary command of self, King's diary -- as all his acts and probably his attitudes -- alters tone under discipline the instant he comes to note his external acts and relationships.

Indeed, the same page of the diary illustrates the double man. In the course of a terse overview of the international situation with the British ambassador the now rigid extrovert Canadian, who but a page or two back had been ruminating on the cosmic import of omens and associations, notes, "When I began talking with Henderson, I confess I was not altogether impressed. He had been dining, and was evidently free and easy after dinner. When I took him up sharply, he began to be quite different."

We read his entry on his sightseeing. What is remarkable is the absolute absence of revulsion against the society whose proud buildings and well disciplined powerful institutions he was visiting, all of which were already tainted with the suffering and with the blood of

innocent persons -- all the more so as many of whom must have been dear to King if only because they were Christians, democrats, labor men, political men of his own conviction, not to speak of Jews like his own friends, Jacobs, Heaps, Gurofsky, Sir Herbert Samuel, Emil Ludwig, etc.

Both to Goering and to Hitler Mr. King emphasized his old links with German Canadians in Ontario among whom "I had spent the early part of my life in Berlin (later Kitchener - D.R.), and had later represented the county of Waterloo in Parliament. I said I thought I understood the German people very well."

King spoke to Hitler with admiration "of what I had seen of the constructive work of his régime, and said I hoped that that work might continue. That nothing would be permitted to destroy that work. That it was bound to be followed in other countries to the great advantage of mankind...."

Again, at the end of the wide-ranging and quite frank discussion King -- after the formal farewell -- "then said that I would like to speak once more of the constructive side of his work and what he was seeking to do for the greater good of those in humble walks of life; that I was strongly in accord with it, and thought it would work; by which he would be remembered; to let nothing destroy that work. I wished him well in his efforts to help mankind.... My sizing up of the man as I sat and talked with him was that he is really one who truly loves his fellow men and his country.... It is truly marvellous what he has attained unto himself through self education.... One could see how particularly humble folk could come to have a profound love for the man."

Needless to reiterate, in that conversation that was so reassuring, even flattering, to Hitler, King did not find it necessary to advert to the horror of persecution and torture of Jews and of others that was at the base and at the peak of all that the Nazis were doing and were planning.

The matter of the Jews did arise during the Berlin visit. Before leaving the Nazi capital, King called on the foreign minister Baron von Neurath.

As the German reiterated his country's position on a variety of issues he recalled the difficulties the Nazis had had in reaching their objectives. "He admitted that they had taken some pretty rough steps in clearing up the situation, but the truth was the country was going to pieces at the time Hitler took hold. He said to me that I would have loathed living in Berlin with the Jews, and the way in which they had increased their numbers in the city, and were taking possession of its more important parts. He said there was no pleasure in going to a theatre which was filled with them. Many of them were very coarse and vulgar and assertive. They were getting control of all business, finance, and had really taken advantage of the necessity of the people. It was necessary to get them out to have the German people really control their own city and affairs. He told me I would have been surprised at the extent to which life and morals had become demoralized; that Hitler had set his face against all that kind of thing, and had tried to inspire desire for a good life in the minds of young people." King's silence was loud consent.

"I left him feeling that I had met a man whose confidence I would continue to enjoy through the rest of my days....

"Looking back over the German visit, I can honestly say it was as enjoyable, informative, and inspiring as any visit I have ever had anywhere. Indeed, I doubt if I ever had four days which were more interesting or, indeed, comparable in significance. The German people seemed to me much easier to understand, and more like ourselves than either the French or the English. Over and over again, I was amazed at their appearance and manners, their outlook, etc. The country, of course, is undergoing a revolution; the hatreds, I believe, are mainly those which arise from position and privilege. Fear of Germany in other lands is that of ideas which mean more in the way of liberty and equality for the classes may spread from Germany to their own lands. One does not like regimentation, but it is apparently the one way to make views prevail, likely to be effective in a country in the position in which Germany has been."

We read more of King's visit to Germany in his very personal correspondence with Hitler and Goering following that 29th day of June 1937.

Was it the day after the interview that he penned, after several versions in his own hand, a dedication or a note to Hitler, while in Berlin on June 28? "In appreciation of his kindness in granting the undersigned an interview on the occasion of his visit in Germany in 1937 and in remembrance of his many happy memories which will ever be associated with the visit." (King Papers. Pp. 202,166-73)

Was it only common -- or uncommon -- courtesy that prompted King to compliment the German chancellor on his effort to improve the conditions of the humble and of the working classes? It reads so in his memorandum to Chamberlain and to Eden.

But it sounds different in his pressing letter to his "dear Reichskanzler" written two days after his visit, on July, from Brussels. (King Papers, Pp.202,174-76):

"My dear Reichskanzler:

"My hours in Berlin were filled with so much of interest in the programme arranged by Herr von Ribbentrop for the course of my stay and by the kindness of friends that I was deprived of the opportunity of writing Your Excellency before the departure of my train last night. I do so now, and that with very great pleasure to thank you most warmly for your great kindness in according me the the interview which I was privileged to have with you and for presenting me with the personally inscribed and beautifully framed photograph of yourself which you so kindly gave to me in remembrance of my visit to Germany and of our meeting in particular.

"I wish I could say how very deeply I appreciate the many courtesies of your Ministers and yourself, and all that was done to make the visit so informative and enjoyable. Particularly do I wish to speak of what it meant to me to make your acquaintance and to have the talks that we had together. It will be a delight to me to tell others of it and of the impressions which the visit to Germany has left in my mind -- and I must add -- my heart as well. I feel if we could only rid this world of some of its fear, the people would soon come more fully into their own. You have helped to remove much of the fear that in common with others,

I have, in some measure, shared.

"I was deeply impressed with the great constructive work you have achieved in Germany in bringing into the lives of those in humble circumstances the opportunities which each and all should possess, and in helping them to develop their natures by providing for them the means of education, recreation, and inspiration. All that work will endure and spread and, in the end, will prove of benefit to mankind. Let no destructive forces imperil its progress. Both are at work in all countries. We who wish to see the highest good of our fellow-men prevail must co-operate in every possible way towards that end. You, I believe, can do more than any man living today to help your own and other countries along the path to peace and progress. What they may come to mean to the world, no man can say.

"I am most grateful for your photograph. It is a gift of which I am very proud, and the friendship, of which it is so generous an expression, I shall ever cherish. May I again thank you for it and for all that it will always mean to me."

In this letter the very precise and careful Canadian statesman speaks of Hitler's enduring and spreading work as proving of benefit to mankind; destructive forces must not imperil its progress. We must cooperate toward this end. Hitler can do more than any other man to help many countries along the path to progress and peace. Unjustified fears of Hitler are extant in the world. Even King had shared them. They must be removed, even as Hitler had removed King's fears.

Hitler, true philanthropist. This was no offhand courtesy or flattery. It was King's considered conviction. He had carefully planned this and had told Sir Neville beforehand. "I said I would like to speak to Hitler about his work on behalf of the people. Henderson said that would appeal very much to him; that he was really an idealist, that he had much at heart the people's welfare."

King examined the German Labor Service camps, "the root of the system being that persons of all classes must put in six months' manual labor.... We went to another camp by the side of another lake, the whole resembling an

Elizabethan village, having very simple regimen of work in the morning, with rest and teaching in the afternoon, one gets the impression that Germany is paying much attention to further development of the people."

King admired Hitler's labor policy to the point of identifying it with his own theories. "The most significant thing of all is the change that has come over the organization of German industry, whereby trade unions have been abolished as being an antagonism to employers, and brought into one organization, and all parts having a share in government of industry... This is virtually advocated in (King's) Industry and Humanity; the State appoints referees and strikes, in this way, are ended. I confess that what one sees here of Socialist States causes one to see many merits in the system. Of course, back of everything is Government imposing its own will on the people; so long as that will be wise, all may go well, but an organization may swing everything into opposite direction."

The next time King was to see Goering and Hess after this visit to Berlin was after the war when he peered through a small opening in the guarded door at Nuremberg during the trials. The Canadian was moved; the Germans impassive. No one could be sure he was recognized. (Hardy. Pp. 272-73)

But 1937 was still a time of peace.

Another version of the visit -- also by King -- is in the form of a report memorandum he prepared for his colleagues in London (printed in James Eayrs. In Defence of Canada, Appeasement and Rearmament. Toronto, University of Toronto Press. vol.2, Pp. 226-31). Here, too, he recalled, "I spoke of what I had seen and learned of the Chancellor's effort to improve the conditions of the working classes and those in humble circumstances; told him of my own interest in these questions as one who had organized the Department of Labour in Canada, and had been Minister of Labour some years ago. I said all that constructive side of his work had appealed very strongly to me, and that I hoped nothing would be permitted to destroy the good that it was sure to effect in the end...."

"He impressed me as a man of deep sincerity and a genuine patriot. I felt increasingly in the course of my stay that there were conditions in Germany itself which accounted for much that had been done there which it was difficult to understand beyond its borders."

The crucial fact about the Berlin visit -- as it was per se and as an illustration of a mood and as an example of current ethos -- was the fundamental value judgment it revealed: Hitler was "a man of deep sincerity and a genuine patriot." To King these qualities were sufficiently valued to entrust the fate of mankind!

Although he had been warned (was that warning necessary?) by a close friend that Hitler "is the head of a detestable system of force and persecution going on in Germany today for which he is responsible," he nevertheless adopted the outlook of Satan.

A sentence in his memorandum to Chamberlain and Eden puts King in the camp of Hitler's defenders and ensures that the cries of those in the Nazi camps will not be heard by Canada,

"I felt increasingly in the course of my stay that there were conditions in Germany itself which accounted for much that had been done there which it is difficult to understand beyond its borders...."

Surprisingly he confided his own version of that ill-starred meeting a few weeks after the event to a journalist-historian, Bruce Hutchison, who recalled it many years later in his The Incredible Canadian, A Candid Portrait of Mackenzie King (Toronto, Longmans Green, 1952. Pp. 225-27):

"He said he had found Hitler 'a simple sort of peasant,' not very intelligent and no serious danger to anyone. Hitler was obsessed with the recovery of neighboring territory inhabited by Germans, a natural feeling. When he had brought these territories into the Reich, King felt he would be satisfied. Repeating that Hitler was at heart only a simple peasant, King predicted that he would not risk a large war. His ambitions were centered entirely in Germany and the narrow irredentist regions beside it. For this reason King looked for no early trouble in Europe."

We need to abstract King's views on Hitler from his position on appeasement. He went far beyond this. One could well have followed Chamberlain through those months without writing, as King wrote to the Governor General Tweedsmuir on September 6, 1938,

"I believe, however, that it will be found in the end that Hitler is for peace, unless unduly provoked."
(Cited by Eayrs. P. 64)

Hutchison comments, "The impression King formed of the Fuehrer was not only absurd but calamitous. It distorted all King's thinking on the human tragedy now about to open.... He was not dishonest in his calculation. He was entirely mistaken, and the unfortunate meeting with Hitler was a large private factor in that mistake."

When he made reference to an opinion that was current -- that the forces of light and darkness in Europe are irrevocably swinging into battle line for the final test of destiny (statement of May 24, 1938) -- it was not of Germany that he was thinking; that concept did come into his ken. It was Russia that was the pole of that concept.

Stacey cites King's comment at Christmas time of "this marvellous and miraculous year.... Clearly the purpose of God is related to my securing the good will of Germany and the British Empire, working with Hitler towards this end, and saving France thereby and much else."
(A Very Double Life, the Private World of Mackenzie King, Toronto, Macmillan, P. 187)

Once, two fateful years later, King had recourse to the intimacy and kinship he thought he had bridged with the German who was violence incarnate.

As the Munich crisis approached he remembered that Hitler had confided that only when he was away from the pressures of the capital, in the solitude of Berchtesgaden, could he give contemplative attention to the great problems confronting him and find positive solutions for them. In the tensions of 1939 King telegraphed him, "Get out of Berlin." (H.R.Hardy. Mackenzie King of Canada, a Biography. Oxford, 1949. P.166)

King got no answer. But Poland did, and the Jews, and Britain, and then Canada -- and all mankind.

The significance of King's visit to Hitler in the annals of the Jewish community -- as well as of the entire nation, following as it did the Hon. W.D. Euler's call on Hitler a year earlier (an interview of which no record seems to exist) -- was lasting, for the prime minister's orientation towards the Hitlerite forces marked his response to vital community needs consistently and negatively, even at a time when likeminded and friendly statesmen were altering their views, even reeling, before the gales of international developments. The Ottawa sophisticate remained in the trap of the Berchtesgaden "peasant." He continued in the belief that world stability could come from the revelation of reality and of the world forces such as he had been privileged to receive from the company of the German leader in Berlin.

There is a measure of not altogether blameworthy vanity in his feeling that his visit to Hitler can be a pattern for other statesmen seeking an accommodation of the confronting forces of Europe and thus the avoidance of world war.

So, in the midst of the Munich appeasement process, when it seemed to many beside Mr. King that peace was becoming assured again, King felt a contributor and a participant in Chamberlain's pilgrimage to Hitler.

During the Munich crisis, on September 14, 1938, he sent a cypher message through the British ambassador in Berlin, to von Ribbentrop,

"I recall at this time with deeper appreciation than ever your good offices in facilitating the arrangements for my visit to Germany in June of last year and the memorable interviews which I had with Herr Hitler and others at that time. Should opportunity permit, I should be deeply grateful if you could let Herr Hitler know how thankful I am that he and Mr. Chamberlain are to meet each other tomorrow and have a conference together, and how sincerely I hope and believe that their joint efforts may serve to preserve and further the peace of the world and the wellbeing of mankind." (Public Archives of Canada, King Papers, P. 214, 241)

Similarly Field Marshall Goering felt free to consult King unofficially and confidentially before a German syndicate applied formally to acquire Anticosti Island properties. King informed him of the negative policy of the Duplessis government in these matters as well as of the likelihood of federal objections again. (Pp. 213,704-7)

"I shall always feel that the visit (to Hitler in 1937) was not without its relationship with subsequent interviews between Hitler and Halifax, and later, between Hitler and Chamberlain. I did my utmost to remove distrust, and to establish confidence, in Hitler's mind, of the purpose of the British Government." (cited by Eayrs, P.70)

It was not loyalty to Britain or Commonwealth, or the civilization of his Anglo-Saxon ancestry that moved him to support Chamberlain's appeasement policies in their time. When Chamberlain saw their futility and proposed more vigorous defence action he did not carry King with him into questioning Hitler's intention. King retained his confidence in the efficacy of the Berlin pilgrimage.

Lest Hitler himself forget the great powers for good inherent in his nature and in his long range considerations, and certainly lest Hitler doubt that his Canadian friend appreciated him so fully, King wrote him six weeks before the destruction of Czechoslovakia,

"On many occasions I have thought of sending you a letter to recall our meeting and some of the views expressed in conversation at the time. Oftener, I have wished that other of the public men of our day might have a like opportunity of exchanging views with you on some of the world's most pressing problems, and gain for themselves, as I did, first hand impressions.

"In expressing to you my thanks for the many courtesies extended to me in the course of my visit to Berlin, I said, if I recollect aright, in a letter I wrote you from Brussels, that I believed you could do more than any other man living to help your own and other countries along the path of peace and progress. These words, I believe, are even truer today than they were when I wrote to you a year and a half ago....

"I think I know something of how many and conflicting are the voices that seek to influence your judgment and direct your decisions. I have always, therefore, been comforted in thought, when I have read of your being at your mountain retreat at Berchtesgaden, knowing, as I do, how greatly the quiet and companionship of Nature helps to restore to the mind its largest and clearest vision.

"The purpose, therefore, of this letter is just to recall to your memory the conversations we had together, and to express anew the hope that, regardless of what others may wish, or say, or do, you will, above all else, hold firm to the resolve not to let anything imperil or destroy what you have already accomplished, particularly for those whose lives are lived in humble circumstances. If you would not think it too presumptuous on my part, I would like even more to say how much I hope that you will think not only of the good you can do those of your own country, but that you will remember, as well, the good that you can do to the entire world.

"You will, I know, accept this letter in the spirit in which it is written -- an expression of the faith I have in the purpose you have at heart, and of the friendship with yourself which you have been so kind as to permit me to share."

Incredibly, Hitler did not accept this homage; it was not servile enough, for King was no longer persona grata having failed to send Hitler a New Year's card.

A very close friend of King's, who corresponded with him on first name basis, H.J. Sims of Kitchener, wrote "Dear Billy" on August 29, 1939,

"I thought your messages to Hitler and Mussolini were most apt. I see that Mussolini answered you, but I saw no report of any word you received from Hitler.

"I remember very well having a talk with you after you had met Hitler in Berlin. You appeared to be quite impressed with his earnestness and sincerity. Are you still of the same mind? I believe ninety-nine out of one hundred people in Canada believe him to be the greatest menace to peace, law, order and everything else worthwhile in the world today. (King Papers, Pp. 236907-8)

The ubiquitous Windels pursued an alternative procedure and managed to ensure delivery of the letter, but not acknowledgment!

Eventually Windels received a reply with an invitation to "a number of Canadian students and officers to visit Germany for three weeks to establish contact with similar German circles, becoming acquainted at the same time with institutions of the most varied fields, which will convey to them an impressive picture of Greater Germany's new-won strength and its will to peaceable constructive work." (King Papers. Windels to King. July 18, 1939. Pp. 238502-4)

Like Hollywood at its most incredible, King told Windels that he wished to be a member of the visiting party, which he timed for November.

Prof. James Eayrs, not always called a friend by the King family of statesmen, ruminates on the possibility that had he followed his own timetable, and had he "set out with the party as planned, the Prime Minister of Canada,

together with a dozen leading Canadians, might have spent the war in an internment camp. It does not seem to have crossed Mackenzie King's mind that precisely this may have been the object of Hitler's invitation in the first instance." (In Defence of Canada. P.78)

None of this is to suggest that King was a proponent of the Nazi social or political philosophy. It is rather a credulity towards established government, including governments that were the very incorporation of evil. It was a reverence for correctness and political propriety, than which there have been no finer practitioners than the Germans for centuries, and extended even to the equally totalitarian communists. Their turn to benefit from King's morality blinded by protocols came within the decade when he long refused to believe the revelations of Gouzenko.

Also, it is an oversimplification to label King an antisemite on the basis of these facts -- any more antisemitic than the entire society that is revealed in a reading of the Canadian record.

If King saw qualities in Hitler that permitted him to foresee the German as ranking some day with Joan of Arc among the deliverers of his people, these words should in justice be taken in context with his citation from Tennyson on man becoming the loathsome opposite of all he was meant to be.

To anticipate, comments about Jews in later entries in his diary also need to be read carefully before the prime minister is indicted.

In connection with the post-war Gouzenko revelations, King noted the number of Jews among those accused of spying on behalf of the Russians. But he cannot be described as antisemitic on this score any more than can the Hon. Mr. Justice Robert Taschereau and the Hon. Mr. Justice R.L. Kellock who dealt with this question in their Report of the Royal Commission to Investigate the Facts Relating to the Communication of Secret and Confidential Information to Agents of a Foreign Power. (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1946. Pp. 81-82)

The Report noted that,

"The evidence before us strongly suggests that anti-semitism and the natural reaction of persons of Jewish origin to racial discrimination, was one of the factors played upon by the Communist recruiting agents. It is significant that a number of the documents from the Russian Embassy specifically note 'Jew' or 'Jewess' in entries on their relevant Canadian agents or prospective agents, showing that the Russian Fifth Column leaders attached particular significance to this matter...

"A factor which appears to have played a part in first attracting at least one of the Canadian espionage agents whose evidence we have heard, was the belief that through these study groups he could fight against the social evils of anti-semitism and racial intolerance.

"'I consider myself as a second-class Canadian -- not as a first-class Canadian. That is not a laughing matter, Mr. Commissioner; it is very serious.'

"He elucidated this point:-

"'Q. You have been speaking about Communism and you also mentioned Fascism. What is your idea, of the difference, if any, between Communism and Fascism?

"'A. Well, my idea is that it would be based on a question of anti-Semitism. We were very active at that time. There was the danger of Hitler; we realized it. The Doctor and his wife were over in Germany in 1931; he went to University there and we realized it. We realized what was going to happen. We saw what happened in Montreal and Kirkland Lake where people were parading in blue shirts and sticking signs in windows, and we felt we should do something about it.... I mean it was from that; it was not from an economic point of view. It was from the point of view of self-preservation. We figured that if we were considered as good Canadians here a law should be passed to make that illegal.'"

Indeed, Mr. King was quite judicious in his comments. The evidence is "not against all Jews -- which is quite wrong, as one cannot indict a race any more than one can a nation."

But he noted that "in a large percentage of the race there are tendencies and trends which are dangerous indeed."

In all justice, the noticing that the communists among Jews constitute a danger -- as do communists everywhere -- is not an unfair statement, and cannot be labelled as an anti-Jewish statement.

Indeed, the royal commission which studied the Gouzenko case entered into this question with much understanding and explained the existence of Jewish communists as a result of the antisemitism which plagued Jews and of the great sufferings of the Jewish people at this time.

In another context King went further. He expressed his mistrust of the Democratic Party in the U.S. as "too greatly controlled by the Jews and Jewish influence, and that Russia has sympathizers in high and influential places to a much greater degree than has been believed."

The occasion for this explosion in his diary (published by J.W. Pickersgill and D.F. Foster in their The Mackenzie King Record, vol. 3, 1945-46. Toronto, University Toronto Press), comes when the Americans, e.g. Mr. Byrnes, failed to appreciate fully King's heroics in the Gouzenko case as a champion of the freedom of mankind. This diary entry does indeed smack of the anti-Jewish conspiratorial theory, and goes beyond McCarthy, to approach Arcand.

Such was the head of the Canadian state at the time to whom its Jewish citizens were appealing desperately for aid in combatting Nazism and for admission of their kin, victims of Hitler's fury and ruthless inhumanity.

Not often did King spell out daringly anything so devoid of unctuousness and morality as when he laid it down: "The least that is said means the least being stirred up in the Commons and in the press and in the minds of the people. To go on steadily as if all were proceeding satisfactorily is, I think, at times like the present, the best policy for the government of the country." (cited by Eayrs, P.61)

But for understanding of the decade we must remember that King was not only a private beatnik poet exploring private experiences and states, but an acute politician in a democracy with a genius at sensing and reacting to the profound consensus of Canadian opinion from coast to coast on all but very few, very personal, very intimate subjects. Adopting this confiding posture in regard to Hitler, King was not remote from the nation he led so skilfully.

It is revealing that King's reply to all questions about Canadian policy in regard to Germany -- whether posed by J.S.Woodsworth in the Commons or to Canadian High Commissioner Vincent Massey in diplomatic dispatches, or formally to the Imperial Conference in London -- was: our task is to keep Canada united, a politician's idiom for following a Canadian consensus.

Even on that late day, when he said that "we cannot be indifferent to the suffering of unfortunate minorities elsewhere," he did not lift a finger or an eyelash to save one soul of the classic suffering minority knocking on his door with hands mangled from the tortures by "the simple peasant" he had been chatting with.

Henceforth, protests against antisemitic atrocities, requests for intervention on behalf of the victims, or cries for the admission of those not yet done to death are to be dismissed by Canada as deriving from a lack of understanding of the true situation -- an enlightenment available only to the Germans and to King.

The Canadian leader thus placed himself on the level of guilt of one of the guards in the camp and as a sharer of the Nazi vision.

As a secondary or tertiary footnote in this history of the century and of the Jewish people during these decades: certainly the fate of the Jews was considered minor by the diplomats delegated at the time to deal with international problems. It is shocking to note that King was not the only visitor who failed to broach this human problem. They were engaged in more general problems; and the fate of Jews in Germany and elsewhere did not enter into the greater questions.

But there were openings made by the Nazis in these discussions; and the Anglo-Saxon world ignored them:

In May 1937 Lord Lothian sent King an extensive report on his own visit to Berlin, on his interviews with Hitler, Goering and Schacht. Of course, he never mentioned the word Jew. But Schacht did in his interview of May 5. The German stated that "If Germany lived under normal conditions of economic opportunity, all the rather strange ideas -- antisemitism, racialism -- would disappear. They are the result of the terrible pressure and privation which the German population has had to bear since Versailles. Normal conditions bring normal thoughts. The English were wrong in (pressing) expecting Germany to become normal first, saying: When you are normal we will do something to alleviate the situation. It was the other way round.... He agreed that the handling of the Jewish question was wrong, but something had to be done to reduce the Jewish domination of the German national and cultural life," to cite Lord Lothian's report of May 11, 1937 (King Papers, Pp. 203063-101)

Here was the possibility of intervention, at least as an element in the continuing British-German dialogue. More far-fetched, here was a possibility for King to inquire about it of Lord Lothian!

Instead Lord Lothian told Mr. King, in his remarkable survey of the world situation, that regrettably British "public opinion has been shocked by the repressive and persecutory aspects of German internal policy.... and a large part of left public opinion has been inclined to accept the current Marxist interpretation.... We are in the middle of an anti-Fascist wave corresponding to the anti-red wave after the war. But the Marxist interpretation of modern Germany is incorrect. She is not suffering from 'capitalist imperialism.' National socialism is fundamentally a national movement against internal disunity caused by defeatism and communism.... If Hitler disappeared some of the extravaganzas like the persecution of the Jews and the propagation of paganism might disappear also, but as a military and air power Germany could remain as strong and resolute as ever."

The Jewish and humane aspects are irrelevant, Lothian to King; of course no comment from Canada!

For a balance in this sad story we must recall that the Canadian public accepted with no dissatisfaction its prime minister's pilgrimage to Hitler and asked no embarrassing questions.

Before the Commons reconvened the following January an Ottawa correspondent of the Toronto Globe and Mail (Jan. 2, 1938) forecast an insistent demand for a full explanation of the Hitler visit. He foresaw that Sam Factor of Toronto or A.A.Heaps of Winnipeg would revive the rapidly fading memories of the voyage.

But King judged the Canadian climate rightly. There was no such outcry. Factor even hurried to reassure his chief from his Atlantic City vacation on January 4, "If I participate in any debate which may arise in the House concerning Canada's foreign policy, I shall endeavour to make some contribution; but I certainly do not intend to say anything which will either embarrass you or the government."

King knew this all along, he wrote Factor on June 6, "and I have not the least doubt that it (the Globe and Mail report) is equally untrue of Mr. Heaps." (King Papers, Pp.200971-74)

Again for balance, if only parenthetically, we need to note the personal relations between the Liberal prime minister and the oppositionist socialist, the whip of the C.C.F. on the Commons floor. The warmth between the two men -- the prime minister who had begun his career as a champion of workers' welfare and of labor justice in capitalist society, the other a constant, down to earth battler for unions and for socialist redistribution of the earth's assets -- is remarkable.

We need to round out our "Jewish persona" of King by recalling his warmth towards a Jewish family such as those that Hitler did to death by the scores of thousands.

Abe Heaps was the whip of the C.C.F. and therefore his antagonist marshal on the floor of the Commons. Yet there was a strange bond between them. Perhaps he

was continuing his devotion to labor that was at the beginning of King's student life, journalism and public service.

In mid-November, following King's visit to Hitler, Heaps' "quiet and faithful wife, Bessie, afflicted by an incurable disease, passed away. She had endured incredible suffering for over a year and died in Ottawa in A.A.Heaps' apartment with the family at the bedside. One of the first people to come to pay his respects was the Prime Minister, MacKenzie King.

"A.A.Heaps lived on the third floor of a downtown apartment house and the Prime Minister, no longer a young man, quite heavy and not too well himself, walked up the three flights of stairs unannounced to sit on one of the small stools where the family mourned. To show further his marked respect for the Labour Member, he attended the funeral ceremony and took the long, cold drive out to the cemetery, paying great attention to Heaps' two sons, talking to them for more than an hour about the life and achievements of their father. The great consideration and human warmth of MacKenzie King, so well masked in Parliament but known to those who had the pleasure of his close association, was certainly one of his more endearing qualities." (to quote A.A.Heaps' son, Leo, in his The Rebel in the House. London, Niccolo, 1970. Pp. 157-58)

In this strange world in which King was living, and leading a nation, when all the social patriotic, political and emotional loyalties of his life were in question and in flux, and the directions of his powerfully directed ambition were swirling like a spinning compass, philosophic associations with Jews like those with Sir Herbert Samuel and partisan gratitudes and friendships like S.W.Jacobs' faded -- leaving behind debts unpaid, promises of mutuality forgotten.

One does not look in the biographies of political men for classics of gratitude or of old friends remembered, but names such as S.W.Jacobs could not fail to bring back to King crucial moments in his career associated with this Jewish parliamentarian.

It had been Jacobs who, in 1917, had urged King to work with Laurier, which, Jacobs foresaw, would ultimately give King the party leadership when Sir Wilfrid dropped out.

After a visit to Jacobs' home during his years at the crossroads of his life he noted enviously, "the sight of Jacobs' little child smiling at his father on a Sunday revealed to me the security there can be in an infants' faith and trust in its parent." It led him to think, "To go into politics without marrying would be folly. I cannot live that cruel life without a home and someone to love and be loved by." (F.A. McGregor. The Fall and Rise of MacKenzie King, 1911-19. Toronto, Macmillan, 1962. Pp. 83, 293, 300-3, 320)

King was still remarkably warm to Jacobs, who in July 1938 was already a sick man. When he read the press report that Jacobs had recovered sufficiently to make his journey for New Hampshire he dictated a note of good wishes, but added a long P.S. in his own hand: "I hope you have all your teeth x-rayed. If not, please do so at once and get out the ones that are responsible for your ill health. I have a bottle of Kruschen salts in my room at the H. of C. for you for a fortnight or three weeks past. Please let me know when to send them, and when received take one dose, size 10-cent, each morning with your coffee until you are quite normal and then for the rest of your life in order to prolong same. Affectionate good wishes. Yours very sincerely, W.L.M.K."

(Amateur physician King participated in the fad of tooth pulling current at the time. Several years earlier he had written to the Hon. Ernest Lapointe,

("The Baltimore people made no mistake when they directed attention to a focal infection which they believed lay at the root of the arthritis from which I have been suffering. I had to have no less than four teeth removed, and a very trying and unpleasant business it has been. However, I think we have struck the cause of the crippled condition from which I have been suffering for the past two months and I am hoping that ere the New Year sets in I shall be in the best of fighting form again."— Dec. 9, 1933; King Papers, Pp. 167207-8)

Nevertheless, Jacobs' pleading for the rescue of his kin by communion and by family received not the most perfunctory response. Their fate at the hands of Hitler was not even the most evanescent concern.

With the unrelenting efficiency of an administrator of a nation, he was still concerned with retaining the political good will of the Ottawa Freimans. But this did not extend to any saving act that would preserve the lives of those close to the Jewish philanthropists. Totally other considerations relegated the Freimans and the Jacobs to the waiting line in front of the closed wicket of King's ministries.

Upon his return from Germany Erich Windels, German consul-general at Ottawa, came to enjoy King's friendship.

In this light it is easier to understand King's reaction to Canadian protests against what was happening in Germany.

Mr. Vincent Massey, High Commissioner for Canada in London, addressed his prime minister, "Dear Rex" on November 15, 1938,

"Europe continues to present an uneasy scene. The anti-Jewish orgy in Germany is not making Chamberlain's policy of 'appeasement' any easier. I am not sure that 'appeasement' has ever been a very happy choice of word for what the Government here is endeavouring to do. It becomes increasingly apparent in the light of what has taken place since Munich that real friendship between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Germany is hardly possible. Hitler is impatient over the normal processes of democratic government. The Anglo-Saxon mind cannot accept the excesses which have characterized policy in Berlin for the last few weeks. But friendship with Dictator States is one thing and an agreement based on self-interest is another. Despite all that has happened one can only profoundly hope that an agreement can be reached, however detestable may be German internal policy. The only alternative is a growing estrangement, with the probability of war." (King Papers, Pp. 217, 553-54)

The Prime Minister's papers contain a later confidential report from Mr. Vincent Massey, Canadian High Commissioner in London, of November 25, 1938, to Prime Minister King whom he addresses as "Dear King,"

"Debates and discussions on foreign policy during the last week or so have been dominated by the repercussions of the anti-Jew outbreak in Germany. I wish that energies could be devoted more forcefully to the task of finding new homes for the unfortunate German Jews and less to the rather futile business of expressing moral indignation at public meetings. When feelings on this subject are expressed in words rather than deeds it makes possible rather an easy rejoinder from the Nazis. But, where are the Jews to go? In most countries -- our own included -- I should think too many Jews would create an anti-Semitic movement. Probably settlement in French and British colonies will represent the most that can be done, and that cannot be very extensive.

"German Jew-baiting has not made Chamberlain's position any easier. It has handed a fresh weapon to the anti-Governmental forces here, particularly those who regard Anglo-German rapprochement as impossible, and an ultimate conflict between the two inevitable. There are far too many irresponsible people shouting today from the platform, over the radio and in the press, and they are having a very unsettling effect on public opinion."

To this last sentiment Mr. King initialed his Amen: "No doubt in the world about this." (Public Archives, King Papers, P. 217571)

(It is difficult to understand the amorality of these often high-minded humanistic men of the profession of diplomacy, and their distancing from the human realities of the people which it is their profession to study and to regulate. The very figures of speech in the Massey letter may be enlightening: the work of colleague-diplomat Chamberlain is not made easier. The anti-Jewish orgy is therefore bad for that reason. It is not the pain of the helpless at Mauthausen that is evoked, but the technological problems created for the men in the offices, in the country houses. King would find this collegially congenial. Protests were making waves in External Affairs. It is everybody's responsibility to still the waters. The reality of camps was not even secondary.)

Not only the sacrosanct trade relationship was blind to the news headlines about barbarous persecution, camps and torture.

On the invitation of Germany's Master of the Forests and of the Game of the Reich, the Canadian government presented 20 bison and 7 moose as a gift to the German National Parks. The Master of the Forests: the Prime Minister Hermann Goering!

In his letter to Edmonton M.L.A. W.Howson of January 6, 1936, Prime Minister King, with characteristic care, noted that the donation had also been approved by his predecessor, the Rt. Hon. R.B.Bennett. (King Papers, Pp. 187561-67, 187908)

Even when we take full cognizance of the niceties and conventions of international intercourse, it is evident that the prime minister seems to have made no effort to interpret his nation's reaction to the German atrocities of the 1930's.

On July 10, 1938, Mr. Windels again complained to King about the "unbridled abuse and slander of Germany and the leading figures in her government" in the Canadian press. He sent many excerpts and cartoons to King, some of them reproductions of American syndicated features.

The prime minister gave the complaint very serious attention, much more serious than he accorded the representations of Canadian citizens on the same subject.

He called Mr. Windels to his office for a discussion of the German complaint and sent him a long letter in which he, as prime minister, not only failed to second the Queen City alderman who made derogatory remarks about Hitler, but actually criticized him.

The King letter certainly gave comfort to the Nazis in their torture chambers and in their camps, and was no help to Jews or to Canadians:

Canada strongly desired that "the conduct and the discussion of international relations be carried on in such a manner as not to endanger goodwill between countries or hinder the settlement of threatening issues. No member of any government can possibly feel more strongly than I do on this point. I have on more than one occasion, both in and out of Parliament, emphasised the desirability of all persons refraining from statements which would aggravate a difficult international situation. In fact, a good deal of criticism has been directed against the Canadian Government, and myself in particular, because of this very attitude.

"I must at the same time make it equally clear that freedom of speech and freedom of the press, within the limits of the laws and customs which give means of redress where specific injury to individuals or danger to the state can be established, is a cardinal feature of the democratic system of government and social relations to which this country is determinedly and irrevocably committed. The right to criticise the conduct of public affairs is essential to the maintenance of democratic institutions.

"Such criticism is often uninformed, often unjust, often extreme; but freedom involves freedom to err. Liberty to speak only what those in authority consider wise or expedient is not liberty.

"This very freedom of speech brings its own restraints; misstatements are exposed in open debate, and extreme and unwarranted criticisms react on the heads of those who make them. Rumor is brought into the open, and criticism does not gather the explosive force that comes from repression.

"No governments and few public men in Canada are immune from attacks, sometimes just, sometimes unjust, never welcome, but accepted as part of the price we must pay for freedom.

"Liberty to speak is qualified by the laws of libel and slander, both civil and criminal. Defamation, by written or spoken word, may lead to a civil action by the injured party. Certain types of defamation may lead to the laying of an information by the aggrieved individual or his representative, resulting in a criminal prosecution and sentence.

"The law does not, however, provide for anything in the nature of a censorship, whether by the Government of Canada or the Governments of the Provinces."

A Toronto alderman had made derogatory remarks about the head of the German state. The mayor of Toronto, to continue with King's letter, "has stated that, while the alderman was not speaking in the council chamber, or in any official capacity, he personally regretted that offence had been given. I am not aware that a substantially different reply could appropriately have been given."

"The alleged remarks were undoubtedly in bad taste and to be regretted. In my opinion, they reflected most of all upon the individual who made them. I fully share the Mayor's regret that they should have been uttered and given publicity. At the same time, as the Mayor has indicated, they bore no official character.

"The tasks of men of goodwill who are working for peace are frequently made difficult by irresponsible utterances and extreme writings or cartoons.

"Frequently, as regards states in which supreme authority has been concentrated in a few hands, external criticisms of state policy tend to take the form of criticisms of the eminent figures who symbolise their country."
(King Papers, Pp. 222881-84)

But not one word about the substance of the offending publications. Not a word about what the Germans were doing to call forth these criticisms.

Or was his silence an accurate reflection of his nation's reaction -- and of his own?

Figaro reported from Ottawa that City Councillor William Croft of Toronto had insulted Hitler. Speaking of the unclean lakes in the zoological garden, he said the only thing he would agree to put there was Hitler. The German consul in the Ontario capital protested, but the incident was bound to have reactions at higher levels. (Letter from World Jewish Congress at Paris to Canadian Jewish Congress, July 4, 1938)

Instead of being regarded as integrated citizens, loyal, alert and sensitive, critically useful to a nation and a world on the brink, Jews are seen by the leading, intelligent decision makers for their nations as an impediment to the processes of peace. Vincent Massey was not the most hostile or the most insensitive of Canadians at the helm.

Yet here is what he wrote to his prime minister whom he addressed as Dear Rex on February 9th of the fateful year of 1939,

"I am afraid that some rather alarming telegrams have gone to you from the Dominions Office in the last two or three weeks. They must have had a disquieting effect on anybody who read them, here or elsewhere. As the days have passed and I have been able to learn what I could of the sources of the information on which these telegrams have been based, I feel that not only did the tone of these messages give too great a sense of urgency but the atmosphere of alarm which inevitably was diffused by them was unfortunate.

"It was obviously imperative not to disregard any of the information which was transmitted in these wires. We are living in a mad house, and no possibility can be excluded. It is interesting that even in this capital, where official secrets are admirably kept, the

atmosphere created at important Cabinet meetings sometimes seems to percolate into the public mind. Certainly opinion in the more knowledgeable circles in London became deeply perturbed at about the time the Dominions Office circular was despatched. Some of this alarm was based, of course, on independent information received from Germany through journalistic or private sources. Some of the wiser people in the City and the newspaper world, however, remained incredulous and indeed critical of the feeling of acute apprehension which existed in certain circles.

"One useful result of the receipt and circulation of this information has been that various defensive measures have obviously been speeded up. But a less happy result of the situation has been the diplomatic communications which have taken place on a fairly extensive scale which, unless kept absolutely secret, may result in having a provocative effect in Berlin and in Rome.

"Both Hitler and Mussolini have in their immediate entourage persons whose interest it is to paint the intentions of the Democracies in the darkest possible colours and who are trying as far as we know, to show their leaders that a democratic front is being built up against the Dictatorships with the intention, ultimately, of overthrowing them. It would be very tempting to such people to advise their leaders to strike while the relative power of the Dictators is at its peak.

"Provocative speeches made by people like Winston Churchill and Duff Cooper can be used as an argument to support this contention. Everyone who believes that a war is inevitable and says so or acts as if it were makes Chamberlain's policy so much more difficult and makes a war more likely.

"Jewish opinion is not helpful. The Jew today, not unnaturally, feels very passionately about the sufferings of his own race in Nazi Germany and regards any agreement with Hitler as unthinkable. This keeps him from sympathizing with Chamberlain's effort to arrive at a constructive peace, and Jewish influence is now noticeable in certain sections of the press and in various other ways.

" Fortunately Chamberlain as yet appears to be unmoved in his determination to pursue the path of pacification despite all the obstacles which are put in his way. Certain things have happened recently which should give him encouragement. The dismissal of Schacht announced in the press and received in the City as a shattering blow to what is left of moderate forces in Germany has evidently been greatly exaggerated in its importance; in fact Schacht in the last three or four days has been offered new and not unimportant work by Hitler. Goering, regarded as one of the more moderate people in the entourage of the Fuehrer, received public compliments in Hitler's speech on January 30th, whereas, Goebbels, the extremist, was not mentioned. It is unwise to build too much on this rather slender evidence but it is clear that the policy known as "appeasement" is far from being discredited as some of Chamberlain's critics would allege." (King Papers, Pp. 231616-20)

Windels would not accept the prime minister's reading of Canadian law and custom in regard to freedoms. "My Government could not agree to the right of free speech being permitted to deteriorate into license to vilify Germany and to endanger general, as well as commercial, relations between our two countries." (Dec. 7, 1938; King Papers, Pp.222904-5)

King followed the interview and letter with a rare invitation. There are not very many in the King biography who received such a letter as Windels got from Kingsmere on July 21, 1938:

"I am sending this line just to remind you that I am much looking forward to the pleasure of having Mrs. Windels and yourself spend a very informal evening with me at my country home at Kingsmere.

"As mentioned over the 'phone, should you find it convenient to arrive at about 6.45 p.m., that would allow us an hour to stroll about before dinner. Please wear whatever is most comfortable for out of doors on a summer afternoon.

"It takes from half to three-quarters of an hour to get out to Kingsmere from Ottawa. As you near the top of Kingsmere hill, you pass first a farm house on the right, and will see a newly built house in an open field to the left. You drive past the entrance to that house to a road which turns to the left, just a short distance beyond. A large house behind some fir trees is on the right. You turn in on the road to the left, following it to where it turns to the right, and come right along that road till you come to a sort of an open space, just over a small hill. There are three gates there, and you will see a lamp-post near one of them. One gate bears the name of 'The Cottage'; the other gate 'Moorside'. Turn in the 'Moorside' gate. That brings you direct to the house." (King Papers, P.222837)

It was a lovely weekend, not only socially.

Mr. Windels was deeply gratified. From a note of thanks we learn of the further nature of the discussion. (July 23, 1938, King Papers, P. 222888)

"Still under the vivid impression of the most delightful evening we have yet spent in Canada, I feel urged to express to you Mrs. Windels' and my own gratitude for the great privilege which you have been kind enough to accord us in asking us to your summer home, for letting us share in the delight of the surroundings, the gardens and the various charming retreats you have built for your quiet hours.

"If I may be permitted, I would like to say that we especially appreciate the honour of being allowed to share for this evening the atmosphere of the private life of Canada's Prime Minister.

"I am particularly grateful for the kindly sentiments you were good enough to express towards my Country and its Head and for the friendly messages which it will be my most pleasant duty to forward."

Several weeks later, on September 2, when the consul was in Germany, King had occasion to write to Mrs. Windels to acknowledge the gift of a hand-knitted scarf. He took advantage of the occasion to convey a message to Berlin.

"When you write to your husband, give him my kindest remembrances, and tell him to be sure to get to Herr von Ribbentrop and to Herr Hitler, the messages I sent to them, to let them know that I am thinking of them, and have faith that their love for the well-being of mankind will prevail over all other considerations. 'Over all nations is humanity' ". (King Papers, Pp. 222889)

But Windels had not been sent to Ottawa for the pleasure of such friendships. He was here to ensure, in King's words, that "the conduct and the discussion of international relations be carried on in such a manner as not to endanger goodwill between countries or hinder the settlement of threatening issues."

He was in Canada to silence the critics of Germany regardless of what his government was doing, and he had the ear of the Canadian government (as well as of "Franklin" who wrote accordingly to the Quebec City La Nation on November 23, 1938).

So he dared to write, October 23, 1938,

"The measures which have been considered necessary in Germany in consequence of the murder of a German diplomat by a Jew appear to be made the occasion for entirely unbridled insults against Germany and its leading men both in the Canadian press and in mass meetings being held all over the country, apparently according to a concerted plan.

"Even men in high official positions participate in these abuses. To name only a few cases: Chief Justice Greenshields, apart from other derogatory remarks, said, the German people 'will rise in righteous revolt against the men who have disgraced and put to shame a nation in the eyes of the whole civilized world'."

"In Halifax, County Court Judge R.H.Murray spoke of responsible personages in Germany as of 'those mad dogs of Europe'; while the Nova Scotia Superintendent of Education, Dr. H.F.Munro, referred to Chancellor Hitler as 'a psychopathic type, possessed of the doctrine of hatred'.

"I feel compelled to lodge a sharp protest against men in responsible official positions in Canada arrogating to themselves the right to such abuse and to incitement to revolt, and I have to protest again against the fact that the right to free speech is permitted to degenerate into license.

"As against the tendency, to be widely observed in Canada, of placing the German people and its responsible men into the role of the depraved prisoner at the bar and of assuming in pharasaical self-righteousness the role of the morally unimpeachable judge, I should like to be permitted to emphasize, for once, the German point of view:

"The German people and the German Government deny to other nations the right to sit in judgment on events in Germany; at least so long as these nations do not definitely dissociate themselves by restitution from all the wrong which, during the war and, worse still, after suspension of hostilities in the world war, has been committed against hundreds of thousands, yes millions of defenseless German women, children and old people; wrongs which were even to be embodied in the so-called peace treaties as a sacred and inviolable basis of international law and international intercourse for all future.

"Even after the armistice, when Germany had become completely defenceless, the hunger-blockade against the German people was continued. Thereby, those responsible for the blockade became guilty of the death by starvation of hundreds of thousands of Germans, mainly women and children, although this guilt, if felt at all, was hardly ever taken very seriously.

"The outer world looked on unmoved, when this blockade provided unscrupulous, mostly Jewish, profiteers with the opportunity of making millions of profit by supplying inferior but expensive foodstuffs to a starving people.

"Former enemy countries continued the hunt, begun during the war, against German nationals all over the world; these were torn from their occupations, chased from their homes; their property was confiscated and they were deported in masses, and driven back to a country stripped and starving, and were finally, very generously, permitted to apply for compensation for their confiscated property to this same bared and starving Germany. Apart from a few gratefully noted exceptional instances, the conscience of the world was not aroused at the time when thousands of Germans died of starvation daily, and it did not stir when the German people sank lower and lower into hopeless, abject misery.

"It began to stir only since, and because, the German people, under the guidance of its leader, at the last hour took its fate into its own hands and turned its course.

"World conscience was silent when the German people was being driven towards a collapse without even the excuse of a higher purpose; but it begins to stir the moment a German Government, conscious of its responsibility, carries out measures for the realization of its high ideal of a German racial community by eliminating a part of the population which, during the centuries, had remained a foreign body, definitely incapable of absorption; measures which are hard on those concerned, but which do not approach by far that which has been done unto the German people without a scruple.

"These measures could easily be adjusted by the complaining foreign nations, as far as damage to property of the presently injured parties is concerned, by spending a fraction of the values which not so very long ago they have taken from individual German nationals by confiscating their property.

"The German people and the German Government refuse to accept complaints and accusations for acts of which the accusers themselves have been guilty towards innumerable Germans.

"They not only refuse to listen to such complaints but protest most emphatically against the impertinence of their accusers in presuming to abuse and insult in immoderate terms the German people and its leaders.

"The German people and its Government are agreed that it cannot remain without grave consequences for neighbourly intercourse of the nations if a stop is not bidden to this abuse.

"I have the honour to ask the Canadian Government to take suitable measures to this end."

We are incredulous as we read Canada's own words, uttered through its Undersecretary of State, on December 12, 1938, in regard to "the measures which have been considered necessary in Germany in consequence of the murder of a German diplomat by a Jew."

Dr. Skelton admitted that the Canadian critics of the Nazis endangered the good will existing between Canada and Germany, and formally disassociated the government from these critics' statements.

Mr. Windels could find comfort from the reiteration of the premier's attitude to minimizing the protests against actions such as the German pogrom.

"It cannot be expected in times of great unrest, of revolutionary and sudden changes in the relations between states and conflicts between economic classes and racial and religious groups, that public feeling, even at a distance from the main centres of conflict, will not be deeply stirred..... Only when the disturbances die down will the deep feelings, whether of sympathy or of antagonism, lessen, and the urge to extreme as well as moderate expression of such feelings disappear. In the meantime I hope that the press of Canada and of every other country will endeavour to realize the good features, as well as those which arouse criticism, in the social and political policies of other lands, and that the Government of our own and every other country will succeed in avoiding policies which make for unrest rather than for appeasement." (King letter to Windels, July 18, 1938, cited by Skelton, July 31, 1939, King Papers, P. 237148)

Having put a distance between himself and the protesters, Dr. Skelton did proceed further to explain,

"You are of course aware that criticism has not been confined to Canada, but has been widely expressed.

"If criticism has been widely expressed during recent weeks, it is not due to any unfriendliness, or any failure to recognize the difficulties facing your country, at least as fully and sympathetically as Germany recognizes the difficulties of other countries. The criticism is rather the outcome of the surprise and regret which followed the receipt of reports of private and public action toward racial and religious minorities which they have found it difficult to reconcile with their conceptions of the high standards of the German people.

"You refer in vigorous and deep-felt terms to wrongs which you declare were inflicted on Germany during and after the war, particularly by the blockade, and contend that the failure of the world's conscience to condemn these policies puts out of court any criticism of Germany's actions today.

"War today, with all its penetrating destructiveness, involves for every participant the risk of sacrificing some of the finest traditions and ways of life that have been built up through the ages; and that censorship prevents those traditions and attitudes finding full expression.

"It is further clear that the only effective means of averting such catastrophes is the renunciation of war or the threat of war as an instrument of national policy.

"While it is essential to seek to have discussion of national and international affairs carried on 'in such a manner as not to endanger good will between countries', it is equally essential to avoid suppression of the information and discussion that are necessary if the decisions made on such questions are to represent the judgment and the best traditions of the country."

The German continued to do their work in a responsive environment.

Not surprisingly the American Jewish Year Book summarized its review of events of Canada,

"The failure of Prime Minister Mackenzie King to reveal the results of an investigation of the work of Nazi agents, started sometime in 1938, aroused great indignation and editorials in the press demanded publication of findings. As these demands did not subside, Mr. Lapointe, Minister of Justice, announced in the Dominion Parliament, on March 22, 1939, that the Government was considering either a Royal Commission or a Parliamentary Committee to investigate all subversive activities as well as anti-Semitism and other anti-democratic movements. In this connection, it may be added that the most persistent demands for the suppression of Nazi activities came from German groups, especially the German-Canadian League.

The Deutsche Zeitung fur Canada issued in Winnipeg mocked the Canadians protesting the inhumanity of Germans' violence against the Jews,

"We must categorically deny Canadians and Americans, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, any right to protest. Their protests against 'Jew-persecution', etc., ring hollow and empty. They are only the outpourings of powerless envy over the fact that the German people, awakened from its post-war stupor, and stirring with unfettered power, has marched victoriously over all hostile opposition, has in the Anschluss of Austria and Sudetenland created a Greater Germany, and for the preservation of its peace and protection of its splendid structure built up a most powerful defense force.

"The protestors, too, feel that their protests are ineffectual, and they really might save their lungs and their printer's ink, because the German nation will go its own way, as go it must, to realize within its own life-span the independence wrested from the international and supernational forces. Had the hatred-befogged heads had an ounce of common sense they might have told themselves that all hostile propaganda against Germans of late years would bring results exactly the opposite to those the wire-pullers set themselves to achieve....

"How the German nation conducts itself toward the Jews in its own house in the future is its own

business, which concerns no Englishman, American or Canadian in the slightest. If these protestors seek a really worthwhile objective, let them first put their own lands in order, let them first provide their own poor fellow-citizens with work and bread, before they shed crocodile tears....

"We stop here to ask a few questions. Weren't the Indians exterminated with poison and firewater? Aren't the Negroes even today hounded with hatred and contempt? Or shall we recall the suppression of the Mahdi uprising in the Sudan, the terror in India, the maltreatment of the Boers? What is going on even now in Palestine where the most fearful modern weapons are used against the ill-equipped Arabs and whole Arab settlements are being destroyed?

Were wails of despair heard aloud when the German nation, in the post-war period, was more shamefully enslaved, downtrodden and starved? Did the League of Nations societies and all the humanitarian organizations hold mass-meetings to protest against the infamy of Versailles, against the starvation of the German people, against the black despair, against the cheating of Germans through an international gang?....

"There are so many other questions to ask. But we will content ourselves with those enumerated. For they are enough to prove the dishonesty and the lying attitude once more shown by the enemies of the German nation." (Dec. 1, 1938)

On December 7, 1938, Windels complained and dared ask about the wording on posters displayed:

"A lively campaign was being conducted in Canada for a boycott against German merchandise, which, if successful, would be bound to adversely affect both Canadian exports to Germany and German exports to Canada.

"This boycott propaganda has since, unfortunately, not grown any less intense; on the contrary, it is being conducted with increasing violence and threatens to assume an extent and character which must of necessity not only have repercussions on German-Canadian trade, but, beyond that, endanger German-Canadian relations in general.

"This danger will arise especially if such instigation to boycott is made the object of public demonstrations, such as are planned in Winnipeg.

"A Committee for the Boycott of Aggressor Nations has been formed which, on the next two Saturdays, December 10th and 17th, is going to hold poster parades in the principal traffic arteries of Winnipeg, the Main Street and Portage Avenue, in order to appeal for a boycott against German (and Japanese) goods.

"In view of previous experiences and the unbridled language used against Germany by the press and in public meetings at similar occasions in the past, it is not difficult to predict the manner in which such parades will be conducted or the wording of the posters to be displayed. My Government could not agree to the right of free speech being permitted to deteriorate into license to vilify Germany and to endanger general as well as commercial relations between our two countries. I have the honour to request the Canadian Government to consider suitable measures with regard to the planned demonstrations and to inform me of the steps taken."

If Mr. Windels' communication to the Canadian government was impertinent towards a state supposedly more and more sensitive of its sovereignty and dignity, there was no reprimand in Dr. Skelton's response of December 9:

"We have brought the matter to the attention of the authorities of the Province of Manitoba in order that they may take such action as is considered appropriate." (King Papers, Pp. 222891-907)

But the diplomatic atmosphere was changing and Canadian patience was fraying.

When Windels heard that Col. G.A. Drew, leader of the Ontario Conservative Party, was proposing to speak on Nazi barbarism over the radio, Windels warned Dr. Skelton, Undersecretary of State for External Affairs, that

"Col. Drew's radio campaign against Germany, if conducted in the spirit indicated in the press reports, would be likely to seriously strain the good relations between Germany and Canada.

"Given Col. Drew's official position in the political life of Canada on the one hand, and the government-controlled set-up of radio broadcasting in Canada on the other hand, I feel sure that my Government could not but interpret the prospective attacks in a light which would cast shadows on the good understanding between our two governments.

"I therefore have the honour to ask you to use your influence with a view to seeing to it that the incriminated radio attacks against Germany will not take place." (Windels

to Skelton, Jan. 14, 1939; King Papers, P.238483)

Dr. Skelton took the trouble to spell out for the German envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary the limitations that exist in Canada upon the powers of government. (Skelton to Windels, Jan. 26, 1938, King Papers, Pp. 238485):

"The Government stands firm in support of freedom of thought and the liberty of all Canadians freely to discuss questions of public interest. This liberty extends to the discussion of questions of domestic policy and also to international affairs, and particularly those aspects of international affairs that, directly or indirectly, affect this country.

"Accordingly, it is open to Colonel Drew or to any other Canadian citizen freely to discuss public questions, domestic and external. He enjoys, along with all other persons in this country -- excluding the representative of the Crown, Judges, Police, members of the Defence forces and of the Public Services, and persons who are exercising a diplomatic or consular function -- the liberty to engage in such a discussion without censorship, and without any control, other than the limitations imposed by the Criminal Law and the Civil Law of libel and slander. It is his privilege to criticize with severity both the policies and the conduct of this Government and the Government of any of the Canadian provinces, as well as governments abroad that may be concerned with those public questions which form the subject matter of his discourses.

"To the extent that his addresses are broadcast, he will be subject to the regulations of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. These regulations do not, however, constitute a censorship, and there is no way whereby any Canadian government agency can exercise any effective control over the expression of Colonel Drew's opinions.

"Further, there is no prospect of the enactment of new laws for such a purpose. All parties would unite in opposition to any legislation designed to enable the Government, or any other Canadian authority, to prevent or to censor the discussion of public issues and the criticism of public men and governments, by the citizens of this country."

Windels persisted, in rising tones, in demanding that Canadian opinion -- even Toronto's Tattler -- be muzzled in its criticism of Hitler. He even threatened in his letter to Skelton of February 1, 1939 (King Papers, Pp. 238488-92) that,

"I regret to be obliged to again call the attention of the Canadian Government to a coarse insult published in a Canadian publication against the head of the German Reich, the Fuehrer and Chancellor Adolf Hitler, and thereby against the entire German nation. This insult, in connection with which well justified complaints have been addressed to me, is contained in an article 'Hitler is a Pansy' which appeared in a periodical published at Toronto, National Tattler, in its issue of January 2nd. This publication, side by side with pornographic advertisements of the lowest kind, carries one concerning a book 'Dastardly Hitler' which presumably is no less obscene and appealing to the lowest instincts of immature and misguided readers.

"The German nation, which has ruthlessly cleansed its newspaper and book stands from the filth of such pornographic publications, is by no means of the opinion that it is the honour of the German people or its head of state which is being sullied by such filth being held for sale in other countries.

"It must not be overlooked, however, that such sordid personal insults -- even if they appear in periodicals of the Tattler kind which no self-respecting person would touch -- by their constant repetition, must have a poisoning effect upon broad strata of the population, and finally constitute a serious danger to international relations....

"The German public has complete understanding for a reaction of public opinion of this kind in other countries. The German Government desires to see all personal defamation disappear definitely and completely from discussion of international affairs and personages.

"But this cannot be attained by the allegedly Government-controlled German press alone exercising a tone and manner of writing in accordance with the wishes of the

Government. As everywhere in international life, so also in this respect, reciprocity must be the leading principle...

"If this should not materialize, I believe that I am interpreting official German intentions correctly. In future the German press and radio will counter with replies in kind to attacks of the press and radio of a country where defamation of Germany's leading men is permitted to freely occur again and again....

"Campaigns of slander have been conducted against Germany for a long time past, and Germany has urgently asked the world again and again to desist from such baleful practices.

"Germany considers attacks by foreign countries upon her system of government as uncalled-for interference; conversely, she is far from desiring to offer to other countries suggestions as to their form of government or reproaches in this respect, because she would likewise consider such actions as unjustified interference. In the same manner, however, in which a country would be bound to protest if its inhabitants were endangered by stray or even well-aimed shots from a neighbouring country where the free and unlimited use of firearms is permitted, and in the same manner in which a country would have to protest if its rivers were contaminated or poisoned in a neighbouring country: in the same manner will any country -- and in any case Germany -- have to continue to protest if and when poisoning of public opinion through the press of a foreign country is carried on, which is bound to have far more evil results in the end than poisoning of rivers or occasional stray shots.

"Germany merely demands that the continued endangering of international relations be prevented. That means to this end are available in Canada, would appear to me to be proved by the fact that, at least in one Province of the Dominion, the right of free speech has been very definitely limited by a so-called padlock-law, without the Dominion Government having seen fit to take any counter-measures against this law.

"It would appear to be proved perhaps even more convincingly by the fact that members of Parliament, whose

right to free speech in their capacity as elected representatives of the people can hardly be curtailed more drastically than that of their electors, are bound, as far as I know, by very definite rules of parliamentary language which are not arbitrarily to be offended against."

Again Dr. H.U.Granow protested on March 18, 1939, to Dr. Skelton,

"In newspaper reports from Toronto, Colonel George A.Drew, leader of the Ontario Conservatives, is said to have delivered, on March 16th, before the Empire Club of Toronto, a speech in which he assailed the Head of the State of the German Reich, Adolf Hitler, as a 'madman,' a 'sadist,' a 'gangster,' and a 'crueller Caesar.'

"I refer to our serious concern about the effects of the unbridled radio attacks against Germany made by the same Colonel Drew. At that time you stated in your reply dated January 26th, 1939, that, while it was not possible, according to the Canadian laws, to influence Canadian citizens in the free discussion of public questions, 'speakers are subject to the Law, including both the Criminal Law and the Civil Law of libel and slander, as regards any statements actually made.'

"I think that Colonel Drew's new outburst in insults against the Reich Chancellor constitutes a clear case of libel and slander against the Head of a foreign State and, in particular, comes under the head of your statement.

"The case is the more serious in view of the official position in the political life of Canada of the man who presumes to vilify the name of the Head of the State of Germany.

"It does not alter the case that Colonel Drew is said to have emphasized that he was making the speech as a private citizen, given the fact that he cannot divest himself of his official standing at will." (King Papers, Pp.227574-75)

A similar protest when Dr. R.J.Manion, leader of the opposition, called Hitler a madman (Ottawa Citizen, Apr. 22, 1939)

That day the German Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary wrote to Dr. O.D.Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,

"In a report of the Citizen of today the Hon. Dr. R.J. Manion, leader of the Opposition, is said to have called the German Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler 'a mad-man' in the course of a speech delivered yesterday at the 20th annual reunion dinner of the Red Chevrons at the Chateau Laurier.

"I understand that the Canadian law makes it an indictable offence to slander, revile or degrade the name of the Head of a foreign State. I think that Dr. Manion's outburst constitutes a clear case of libel and slander against the Reich Chancellor of Germany. The case is the more serious in view of the official position which Dr. Manion holds in the political life of Canada.

"I, therefore, have the honour to vigorously protest to the Canadian Government against the unqualifiable words of Dr. Manion against the German Reich Chancellor, and to demand adequate protection for his name according to the Canadian laws." (King Papers, P. 238497)

(Even as he was saying that to ignore Hitler's gangsterism is "the same as ignoring the plight of a man drowning in the Rideau Canal" -- the gates were still shutting upon Jewish children, women and men fleeing Germany.)

By this time at least Anglophone Canada was alert to what was happening in Germany and to those whom Hitler did not love. A series of protest meetings against Germany across the dominion in November 1938 mobilized leaders from all levels of Canadian life.

In Halifax Chief Justice Sir Joseph Chisholm led the demonstration as did Chief Justice R. A. E. Green-shields of Montreal, Mayor R. C. Day at Toronto, Mayor John Queen at Winnipeg, the Hon. J. Bilodeau, Minister of Commerce in Quebec City, Rev. Dr. A. H. McGreen, Principal of Bishop's University at Sherbrooke, Glace Bay Mayor D. W. Morrison at Sydney, Mayor E. H. Spinney at Yarmouth, Mayor Morrison at Hamilton, Archbishop M. J. O'Brien at Kingston, Reeve R. T. Carter at Kirkland Lake, Mayor C. D. Hanniwell at Niagara Falls, Mayor F. H. Bence at Humboldt, Mayor H. A. Ireland at Portage la Prairie, Mayor A. Davison at Calgary, Archbishop Duke at Vancouver, Mayor D. L. MacLaren at Saint John, Mayor G. W. Gordon at Kitchener, and Mayor G. D. Johnston at Brantford.

On July 31, 1939, near the outbreak of hostilities, Dr. Skelton wrote Windels (King Papers, P. 238509),

"I am afraid I cannot agree with your view that no Nazi propaganda is being directed to Canada.

"I am not aware of any Canadian propaganda that is directed to Germany, but I am quite aware that criticism of German policies and actions has been frequent. In some cases the language used has been strong. I trust the time will very shortly come when discussions of international affairs will be carried on in a more restrained fashion. I must, however, repeat what has previously been stated,—that such criticisms are the inevitable repercussions of disturbances in Europe, and will disappear when the events that have given rise to them no longer disturb the peace even of distant nations."

A correspondence developed between the prime minister of Canada and J. Benneman, the German emissary in London engaged in "bringing English and German young people and youth leaders into personal contact.... As you know, it is my work, besides studying in London, to establish foreign contacts for our boys and girls, i.e., seven million members of the Hitler-Jugend."

Benneman was pleased to report to King on the meeting at the German embassy in London with Lord Baden-Powell and von Ribbentrop; the lord of English youth promised "to express the new friendly contact through the youth of both sides. One barrier less, perhaps, towards an aim which is at your heart as well: the personal friendship, based on contact and understanding of each other's troubles.... I venture to ask for your help in establishing contacts between Canadian and German youth. In this and many other ways a link could also be established between the Canadian and German youth. Press, camps, exchange visits are valuable ways of supporting our ideals and putting them into practice.

"Your kind words on the occasion of your visit to Berlin and as expressed in your letter to me may justify my hope that you will consent to foster relations between young people of your great country -- which has the natural admiration of every German boy -- and our youth."

King took the request up very seriously with Paul Martin who was inclined to comply with it, but further staff consultation, with Dr. Skelton and others, revealed it clearly as an element of Nazi propaganda. King referred Benneman back to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides through Lord Baden-Powell. (King Papers, Feb. 8 - Apr. 11, 1938, Pp. 210330-39)

A glimpse at routines in the offices of the prime minister reveals more than formal statements about attitudes and policies.

On September 3, 1930, R.B. Inch, Secretary of the League of Nations Society in Canada -- as respectable a group of Canadians as could be assembled in Ottawa -- invited Mr. King to a meeting at the Chateau Laurier on September 11 at which the Duchess of Atholl would speak on "Peace or War? Our Individual Responsibilities."

The speaker was "a distinguished member of the United Kingdom House of Commons who, after supporting the Conservative Party for fourteen years, has broken with it on foreign policy. She is the daughter of the late Sir James Ramsey, author of A Scholar's History of England and herself the author of Women and Politics, The Conscription of a People and Searchlight on Spain. She has been Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education, a Substitute Delegate to the League of Nations Assembly, and a Member of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service. She is a member of the Executive of the League of Nations Union and Chairman of the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief. Fresh from Europe, she will present the background of the current tense situation in Central Europe and of the political conflict in Great Britain, and will outline a programme of action."

Mr. King consulted Dr. Skelton who responded,

"I am inclined to doubt whether it would be advisable to send a letter to Inch to be read at the Duchess of Atholl's meeting.

"Inch takes himself a little too seriously. I do not know whether you saw the letter he wrote to Mr. Lapointe, giving him, in the name of the Canadian people, instructions to reverse the Canadian stand on sanctions. He sent copies to the press, some of which have printed it. His letter of September 3rd is not wholly free from the same touch of impertinence.

"As regards the meeting itself, the chances are that it will take a form with which you would not particularly wish to be associated. The Duchess of Atholl is a strong partisan of British intervention on the side of the Government in Spain and of a war union of Britain, France and Russia, with the League of Nations drawn up behind them, against Germany and Italy. She has become an extremely bitter critic of the Chamberlain Government. She was brought to this country under the auspices of the League for Peace and Democracy, a Communist-controlled organization, though the League of Nations Society in Ottawa have sidetracked her for a meeting here under their more respectable auspices. It is quite possible she will show more discretion here in view of the ticklish situation abroad and the fact that she is speaking outside her own country; but it is also conceivable she will not.

"I think it would be sufficient if Mr. Henry would simply confirm his previous telephone conversation to the effect that you were still confined to your room and that it would not be possible for you to attend any meeting at present."

Mr. King agreed, adding in his own hand that the League of Nations Society is "becoming a dangerous body."

This "dangerous body" at this meeting "noted with horror the shocking persecution of the Jews and non-Aryans within the confines of the present Reich and feels that these almost unbelievable atrocities should be officially denounced by the Government of Canada." (King Papers, Pp. 214,698-708)

Of course, a fine case when King's "tolerance" and confidence in Hitler's good faith ended... when the war broke out... it was now his turn to advocate realism to those who were still... especially to those so hostile to the British as to give credence to anyone anti-British... such as the South Africans.

General Herring was slow to believe that Hitler desired world domination... to confess, you have to see, every bit of evidence as to what he really was... but I have shared that view myself at the time, but I have changed it in the light of what has developed since this war began. Germany could not have developed the military machine she has, nor proceeded in any way she did unless she were bent on world domination by terror and violence. (Cited by O. S. S. in A Very Double Life: the Private World of Mackenzie King, Toronto, Macmillan, p. 133) ...

... as if... would... your... any...

... League of Nations...

... with horror... Aryans within the confines of the present Reich and Jews... officially denounced by the Government of Canada. (King's Papers, pp. 214, 208-708)

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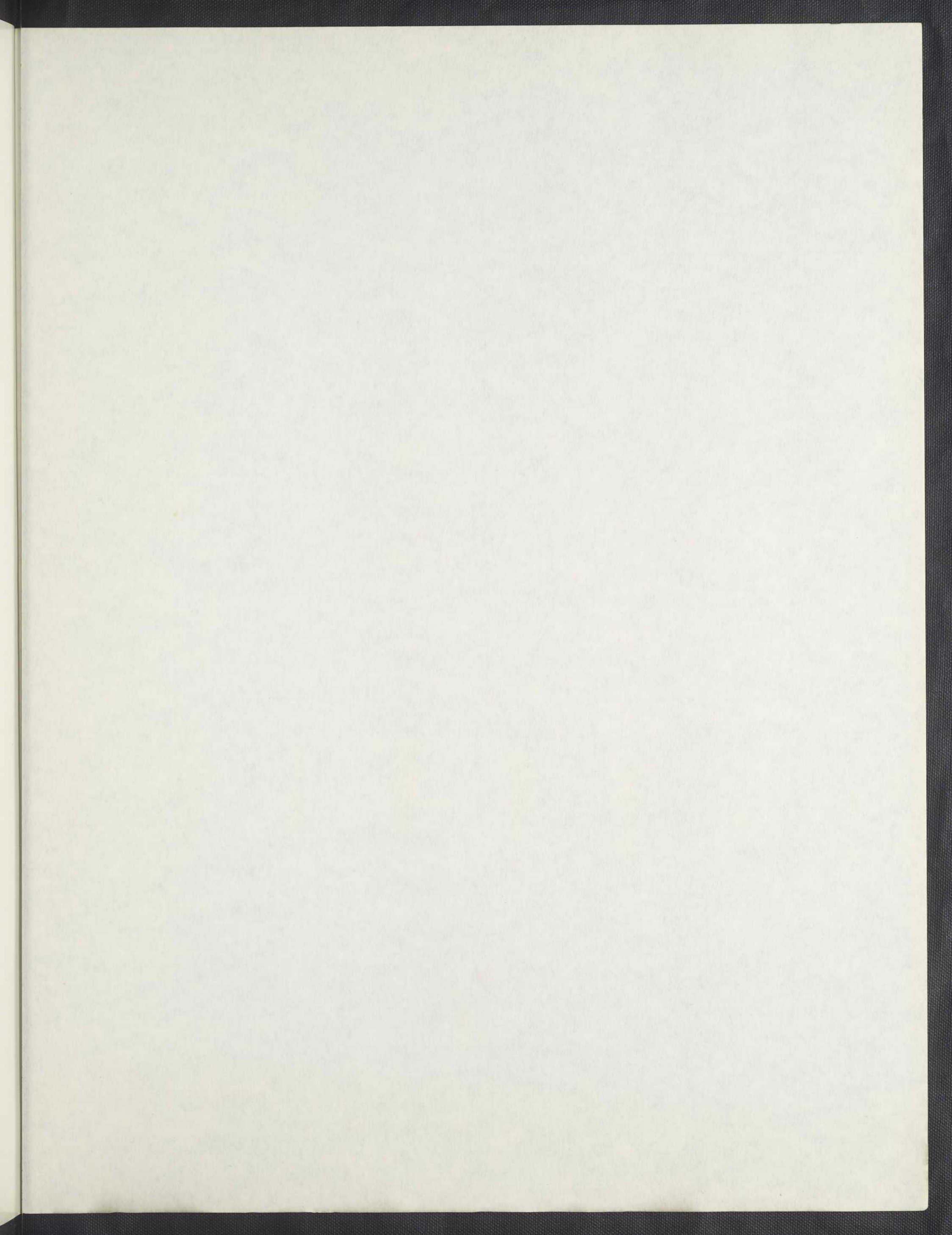
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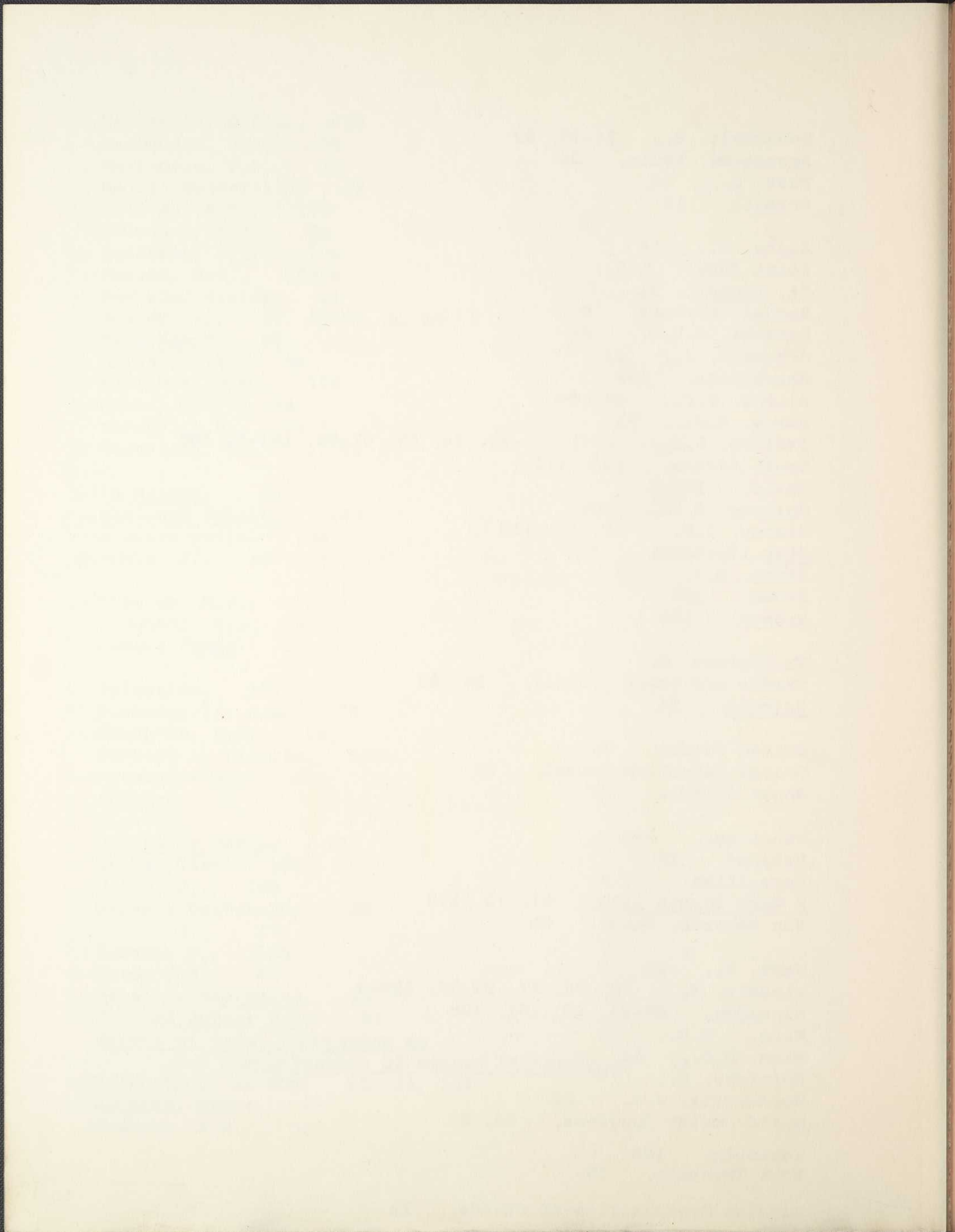
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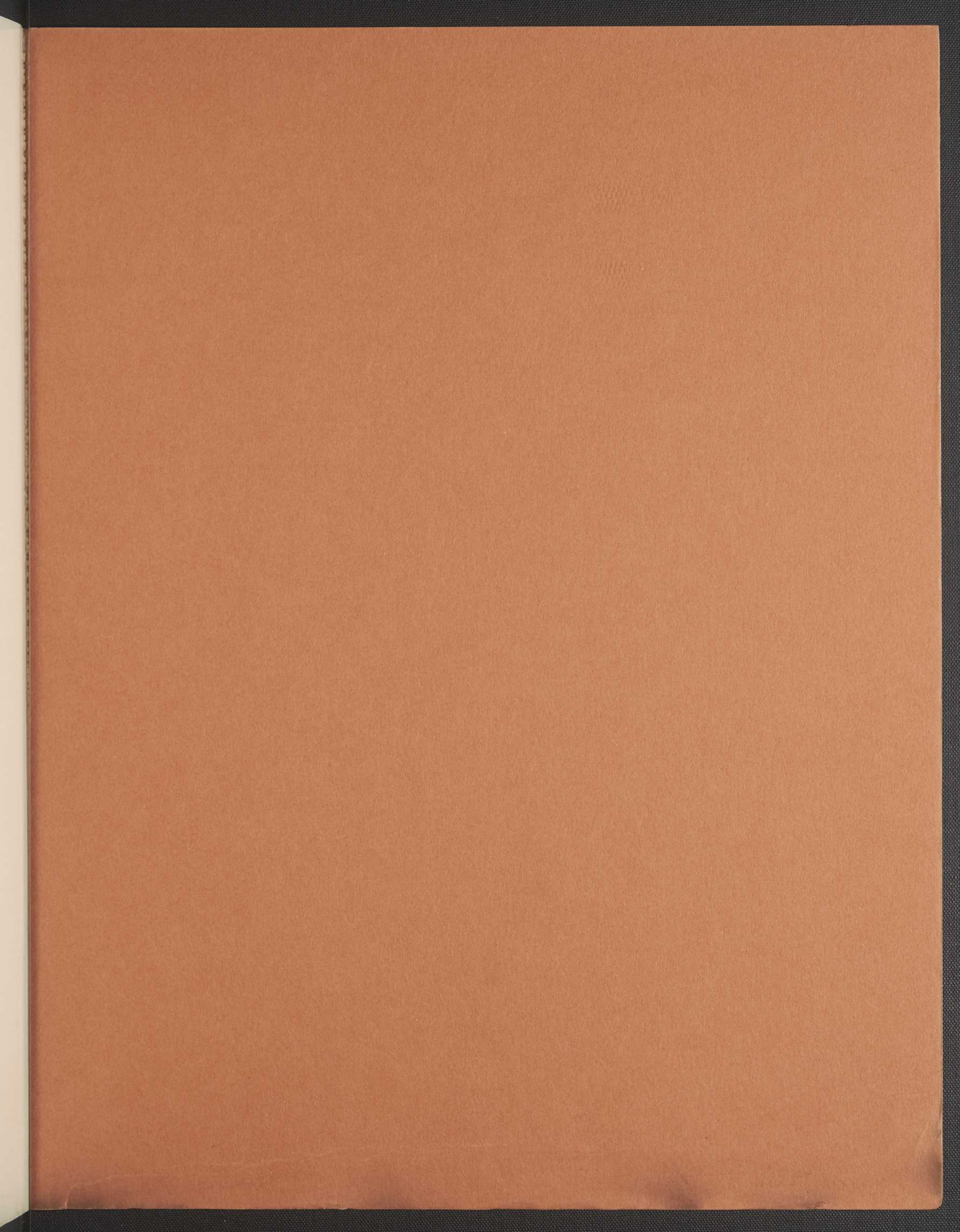
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