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CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Antisemitism In Canada. 1929 - 1939

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

By
David Rome

Section 5

Montreal, 1978



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ENTERING THE POLITICAL ARENA

After Hitler came into power Arcand became increasingly active politically.

The deepening economic depression might have suggested and facilitated this effort. The rise of Hitlerism in Germany might have been a factor. There was rejoicing at Le Goglu when Hitler came a crucial step closer to power in the 1932 elections (March 18, 1932) and the increasing violences of the Nazis against the Jews in their grasp were joyfully applauded week after week. (Apr. 15, July 28, Aug. 5, 1932; March 3 and 10, 1933)

Arcand left journalism and propaganda to Ménard. On May 4, 1933, Arcand's Le Goglu became Ménard's Le Patriote and was thus issued until Jan 15, 1938, except for a break between Sept. 3, 1936 and Oct. 21, 1937.

Mrs. Betcherman notes that in the interval Ménard was given employment in the provincial ministry of colonization which had as its minister H.L. Auger This gentleman had led the campaign against the immigration of Jewish refugees while he sat on Montreal's City council in 1933.

The transition from Goglu to Patriote might have been connected with Ménard's legal problems and with his imprisonment, for he speaks at this time of his sale of his first weeklies.

After 1935 Le Patriote also appeared in an Ottawa edition.

Arcand left the Patriote in the summer of 1934 to Ménard (issue of Jan. 24, 1935). Ménard continued the publication in the style which had become traditional. (Illustration, Jan. 11, 1935)

Indeed, Arcand largely retired from political journalism, devoting himself to the political action. Even in subsequent publications issued by Arcand such as Le Fasciste canadien (June, 1935-June, 1938) the Chief's signed contributions were minor.

When Le Fasciste canadien folded in 1938, Arcand took over Unité nationale which had been founded in 1935 as Unité; he added the second term in the title in May, 1938.

At the time the indefatigable Arcand was also issuing the Combat national, the "organe du parti de l'unité nationale du Canada" (1938-39)

Arcand was also editing Nouvelle illustration, a more responsible conservative publication which had began as Illustration, an offshoot of La Patrie in 1930 and assumed its new name in 1936. In 1941 the title was changed to Montreal-Matin. The owners of this paper were leading members of the Montreal establishment and strictly forbade Arcand the publication of systematic anti-semitic propaganda.

Later, the U.S. Committee on Un-American Activities revealed that Arcand had requested the German consulate in Montreal for the Trans-Ocean news service for the local Canadian Fascist organ, L'Illustration Nouvelle. (Associated Press dispatch, Nov. 22, 1940.)

The corpus of Arcand's later writings includes his New York Hippodrome address of Oct 19, 1937, which Robert Edward Edmondson called "Arcand's English-language address, the greatest classic work ever heard in this country." It was printed in the 23-page pamphlet, The Greatest War in History Now On! International Jewish System Against National Patriotism, with speeches by Henry Hamilton Beamish and Edmondson.

The Hippodrome meeting had been originally planned as a rally of German-American Nazi supporters to welcome their leader, Fritz Kahn. But other American Fascists joined to make it a Hitlerite manifestation with all pro-German groups participating. Piles of the Montreal Key to the Mystery were distributed.

Arcand with Beamish, founder of the Britons in England and leader of the South African fascists who had visited Winnipeg a year earlier without notable success, were the guests of honour at the conclave. (M.J. Finkelstein's letter to Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, Oct. 26, 1936; Fasciste canadien, Dec. 1937.)

Other of Arcand's publications, issued after his release from war-time internment, were: Le communisme installé chez nous (13 p.), La révolte du materialisme (13 p.) and later La republique universelle (Montreal, Service canadien de librairie, 1950. 22 p.) L'inévitabilité d'une reconstruction sociale (5 p.), Le Christianisme a-t-il fait faillite? Notre devoir devant les faits; deux discours, (Montreal, service canadien de librairie, 1954. 74 p.) and A bas la haine! (Montreal, La vérité, 1965. 141 p)

This dangerous body of hate mongering must be considered together with the writings of his alter ego, Joseph Ménard, whom he called "the corner stone of our movement."

Ménard issued Enseignement religieux et réveil économique; La question religieuse en Allemagne, Ecoles catholiques ou écoles nationales? Le problème de l'enseignement religieux se posera-t-il de la même façon en notre pays? Les dangers de la présence du Juif au sein d'une société chrétienne. (Montreal, Le Patriote, 1937. 81 p.)

The pamphlet deals with the conflict within Germany in regard to Catholic schools. In this attack on the Catholic position in Europe Ménard, self-proclaimed defender of the church, justifies the rise of Naziism in Germany. Seeing Catholic interest under attack, he recommends a renewal of antisemitic activity.

His authority for this thinking: Canada's own Goebbels, Mgr L.A. Paquet and Canada's own Beobachter, the Quebec Semaine religieuse. Ménard quotes Vatican statements with misleading comments to give them an antisemitic meaning.

The pamphlet contains one of the few links between the Patriote, Arcand and Menard and the more literate antisemites of the Devoir. Ménard reprints an article by Georges Pelletier, successor to Henri Bourassa as editor of the important daily, "L'Antisemitisme, péril grandissant; les Juifs chez nous, ou les Juifs chez eux?" (from the Devoir of Apr. 17, 1937).

Ménard's later clash with the more moderate churchmen is documented in two editions of Le clergé et les Juifs. (Longueuil, 1947. 15 p.)

The ideological identification of Arcand with Ménard is essential for a review of this fascist movement, despite the incidental frictions natural between two men so closely connected in political work, the type exemplified by a report in Illustration of Jan. 11, 1935, "Arcand and Ménard No Longer Friends." (Ménard is described there as the operator of a "fabrique de black-ball" on Delormier Ave. near Sherbrooke St.)

Arcand's first public step in founding a political party was the convening of a public meeting at the Palestre national on Oct. 20, 1933; but 1934 is the date Arcand himself gave to the founding of his party.

On Feb. 22, 1934, he called another meeting at the Monument National where he read the Discours-Programme, Exposé des principes et du programme du parti national social chrétien which he had published by Le Patriote, successor to Le Goglu, the same month (1934, 55 p)

He proclaimed a many-pronged attack on the Jews. On the political plane; war on Jews in politics, on political men and parties who supported Jews, who protected the rights of Jewish residents, and on the legal and constitutional principles upon which these rights rested. On the economic plane he sought to undermine

the Jewish position by a boycott of Jews, thus starving them out of power and out of existence. On the religious plane, a distortion of Jewish faith, morals and way of life which went as deep into the abyss as any calumny in the middle ages, brought up to date by a perverted reading of modern history which set the Jew-devil myth into current affairs. Psychologically, deliberate use of horror cartoons to dehumanize the image of the Jew and to arouse nightmarish fears of him unto very death. The expanse of this anti-democratic, anti-left program, in its own words "in its outline and even in a host of details is identical with the programs of the principal corporatist organizations of other countries: the Italian Fascists, German Nazis, Rumanian Cuzists, French Francists, British Fascists, Swiss nationalists, Australian Guards, the Fascists of Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, etc." Jews, under this policy, could not be Canadian citizens for "they are totally unassimilable by race, fundamentally anti-Christian by religion. They raise the false cry in dealing with the minority questions before the League of Nations, in justifying their special Congress, in claiming their rights to a special school status....Their position as British subjects will assure them their protection of their persons and their honestly acquired possessions, but not the right to tell us how to run our affairs "

Arcand recalled that the Feb. 1934 rally was followed by nine months of inactivity when meetings were reduced to audiences of a score or two in Maisonneuve basements and in a Villeray apartment turned into a meeting hall. (Fasciste canadien, Nov. 1936)

But now Arcand had a political lodestar -- international fascist antisemitism. His hatreds are no longer against a former ally such as Houde or Bourassa. Now it is against all democracy, all moderation, all liberalism, all the established institutions of society. Even respect for churchmen is doled out selectively, a function of their support of world fascism. And Arcand does the measuring.

LE PATRIOTE

As Ménard put it in his preface to Gobeil's La griffe rouge sur l'Universite de Montréal, "Le Patriote was founded to continue the work begun by Le Miroir and Le Goglu, to prevent the loss of their endeavour. Its formula is different from these two, adapted to the mentality created by the economic crisis, a crisis which leads people to reflect, to search the causes of their ills, to seek means to correct them and, consequently, to think rather than to amuse. Though different in form, it is inspired by the same principles, accomplishes the same task and pursues the same ends. It may be humbler, with fewer illustrations, but it must contend with economic conditions which can assure its continuity."

Le Patriote was of a different class of diabolism even from Le Goglu. This might have been due to its later date, when Hitler had been established in power longer, or because it had more antisemitic sources of foreign provenance at its disposal. Ménard's personal style, as distinct from his Siamese twin Arcand, might account for the difference. For whatever reason, Canadian publishing reached a nether circle. Further unpleasant investigation is needed to establish whether even German writing matched it. Clearly, Ménard had the collaboration of contributors in Canada and in France who signed their articles, such as Tissot and Gohier. In addition his own columns reflected grotesquely the events and the agitation of the day -- and some history -- distorting each line into a sermon for the builders of Dachau.

The editors were constantly reporting anti-Jewish activities in other countries, as the Fascist tide of the future seemed to drown the western world, with the Jews in each land as the first unnoticed pilot-victims. Indeed, Le Patriote was the herald of triumphant Naziism.

Each moment in the Jewish contribution to history was intensely transmogrified into a devilish act in a universal conspiracy. A Jewish activist, whose English was little but creative, referred to the Patriote's "perveracity of the Protocols," a coinage which associates perversity with the particular nature of veracity in the classic colossal lie.

The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia situated the Patriote accurately in its survey of world antisemitism by reproducing a full page of this Montreal publication. (N.Y., 1939 s.v.)

The contents of the Patriote are so indescribable and incredible that it might help to note the headlines of its first few months.

The editorial in its first issue, of May 4, 1933, defines "The Object Towards which All Our Efforts will be Directed," the Jew.

An article headlined,"'Without Distinction of Race or Creed,' -- a Great Jewish Password Which Serves to Put to Sleep those who Lead us."

Another, "Hitler and the Christian Principles; Christian Doctrine, Socialist Doctrine, the Principle of Authority: A Chief whom we Need." The cartoons in the Patriote are signed A. Goglu.

"The First Jew Hanged," (one Schwartz, condemned for the murder of a night watchman. Earlier an Ontario Jew was executed for the murder of another Jew.) "Only a good Canadian can be a Good Citizen." (May 11)

"Antisemitism Spreading in Manitoba; the Jewish Cemetery of Winnipeg (on Transcona Road) Destroyed by Unknown Persons; Seventy Stones Overturned."

"Le Monument National and the Jews," (criticising the owners for renting the hall to Jews. (May 18)

"A Splendid Address by Hitler before the Reichstag; Jews, Freemasons and Liberals against Hitler." (May 25)

"The Identity of Jewry and Liberalism is Manifest." "Jewish Business is Seen Throughout Genesis." (June 1)

"Jewry is Thunderstruck." (June 8)

"The Jews' Way of Defending Themselves; They Claim Fascist Organization is Spreading." "The Jews and the (Ecole des) Beaux Arts." (June 22)

"The German Bishops Approve Work of Hitler," (reprinted from the Devoir); "The Jewish Problem in the World," by Léon de Poncins. (July 13)

"The Revolutionary Activity of Jewry," and the editorial on "Jews, the Masters of Catholic Spain," (July 20)

"What Hitler has Accomplished in Less than Five Months." (Aug. 3)

"An American Hitler," (Sen L.T. McFadden); "Manuel Levitt (President of Bennett's Conservative Party) Exposes the Jewish Soul." (Aug 17)

On Aug. 10 the Patriote hailed the new Devoir, a Conservative organ "now that Bourassa is gone without a single word of explanation. It had in the past always been Liberal, the radical liberalism of Louis Joseph Papineau, the Jewish liberalism that Bourassa applauded in Sam Jacobs, Heaps, Herbert Samuel, etc."

"'Bolshevism is Jewish,'a new pamphlet, the work of our friend Arnold Leese;" "The Jews are Rats who Roam the Nations." (Aug 24)

"Mussolini and Hitler, Christian Rulers;" "Antisemitic Explosion in Toronto." (Aug.31)

"The Jew, Disgusting Creature who Dreams of Dominating the World." (Sept. 7)

"Only Fascism Can Save Our Beautiful Country!" (Sept.14)

"The Jew is a Thief to be Avoided." (Sept. 21)

"Rabbi Stephen Wise is a Professional Liar," in connection with his visit to Montreal. (Sept. 28)

"From Everywhere Rises the Call for Fascism." "The Stupidity of an Alliance between Jews and Christians." "The Jews in Our Newspapers," an attack on Abel Vineberg of the Gazette and on Leoboldti of La Presse. (Oct. 5)

"The Jews Have to Leave; They Corrupt Our Country." "Yom Kippour, the Festival of Perjury." "St. Thomas Justified by the Satanic Talmud; Also Hitler," quoting Mgr. Paquet. (Oct.12)

"The Greatest Glory of Hitler is that He Crushed Jewry." "The Jew is Always Dangerous," quoting Judge Pagnuelo. "Cardinal Villeneuve and the Jew Pollock on One Footing," since both have to pay taxes. (Oct. 19)

The front page of the issue of Oct. 26 was in colour, bearing a large swastika headed, "Fascism or Socialism?" the title of Arcand's public address, subsequently published as a pamphlet. By the fall of 1933 Arcand was contributor to the Patriote. (Nov. 9)

"The Jew Should be Kept With Harmful Creatures." "The Need to Buy From Christians." "Bercovitch and Cohen are Sitting (in the legislature) Illegally," citing a 1809 document from Castlereagh to Craig in the Ezekiel Hart case. (Nov. 9)

"The Importance of the Jewish Question," by Arcand. "The Jew, the Eternal Parasite on Peoples." "How Our Ancestors Expelled a Jewish Member of the Assembly" and "Laurier Rejoiced in the Emancipation of the Jews," from Ménard's long series in which he rewrote the history of the Jews in Canada in an antisemitic vein. (Nov. 16)

This continued in the next issue, "The Clique Protected the Jew Hart." "The Jew a Menace for our Country." (Nov. 30)

"A Jew Cannot Sit in the Legislative Assembly." (Dec.7)

"The Jew Cannot be a Citizen of Any Country." (Jan.5,1934)

"The Cabbala Turns on the Jews." (Jan 12)

"The Race of Israel is the Most Degenerate in the World." and "The Jew Should be Rendered Powerless." (Jan. 26)

"For the Attention of the Attorney General," about the Poale Zion, a subversive revolutionary organization,which is sponsoring a Queen Esther Ball at the Mount Royal Hotel on Feb.25, "a gathering of the snappiest Jews of the metropolis." (Feb 2 and 8)

"The Enemy of All Other Peoples," "Laviolette or Aaron Hart?" regarding the suggestion by a Trois Rivieres newspaper that the memory of Aaron Hart, "the dominant figure of an entire epoch of our local history," be honoured in that city "The Hart family had given a piece of land to the Catholic cathedral " (Feb.8) the newspaper had recalled.

"The Insolence of Rabbi Eisendrath," in connection with the resolutions of the Canadian Jewish Congress sessions in Toronto. "The Messiah of Israel is about to Come!" (Feb. 15)

"Commercial Criminality among the Jews." "The Congress of the Jewish Pack." (Feb. 22)

"Slavery Imposed by Jews upon Christians." (March 15)

"New Insolences of Rabbi Stern." "Bourassa Again Involved" in defending the Jews in an address delivered in the House of Commons. (March 29)

"Our Radical Liberals Play the Jews' Game." (Apr.26)

Opposition to the immigration of Jews was a holy cause to save the country from becoming another Poland and to make it possible for Christians to survive on Canadian soil. (March 12, 1936)

This was the Patriote, the weekly that Mayor Gregoire of Quebec City recommended to an audience of 20,000 in the summer of 1936. (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, July 24, 1936)

The Montreal La Patriote and its Ottawa edition devoted much attention to the Jews of Quebec. It reported on the affairs of prominent Jews, on Jews before the courts, on the business activities of Jewish citizens, on the positions they occupied, on thier political life, on the efforts made by the Jewish people to aid their threatened and attacked brethren, on their self-defence against their calumniators. On the Canadian scene, as elsewhere, citizens not loved by the editors were labelled Jews. The paper was a bouillabaisse of distortion of truth and of ridiculous and at times transparent lies.

Every issue contained attacks on Jewish citizens by name: well known members of the Jewish community such as Peter Bercovitch, S.W.Jacobs, Joseph Cohen, the Bronfmans, Maurice Pollock and others; also names that sounded Jewish from the police blotter and from civil litigation.

The few Christians who defended Jews, such as Sen. Dandurand and Olivar Asselin, not to speak of Bourassa, shared the obloquy heaped up on the Jews.

The rare Canadian voice that spoke humanly of Jews, such as the Ottawa Citizen which sympathized with the victims of Hitler, was condemned. ("Why lament so much over the fate of the Jews of Germany? Are they not free to go to Palestine? For long years Germans in large numbers had to emigrate to foreign lands because Jews had seized what had belonged to them." (Jan. 16, 1936)

The charity of Mrs. Lillian Freiman and of other Ottawa Jews was criticized as a publicity stunt aided by a Jew-bought press. Conclusion: do not buy from Jews. (March 12, 1936)

The several Jews who lived in Laprairie found themselves a constant target in the columns of the Patriote.

The libel laws suddenly proved no protection. Whereas at the beginning of the century every member of the Jewish group was held by the courts to be entitled to damages when Jewry was defamed, now dozens of Jewish citizens were being freely vilified by name.

The laws of Canada were in effect, but there are limits to the protective effectiveness of the law when it must act against those who have wide popular support, and considerable political and electoral power.

The credulous reader -- even if he had a modicum of education -- was provided with a world view that prepared him to become a torturer in Auschwitz and, more immediately, a fiendish supporter of such horrors.

The world view was presented in a continuous, repetitive series of weekly headlined news, local reporting, cricatures, foreign and Canadian correspondence, editorials, reprinted articles -- all addressed to the full range of reading citizenry, not at all confined to the ignorant. The authors and editors could not be faulted on linguistic or stylistic grounds.

This fatal distortion was to mark the mentality of thousands of readers of French in Canada for decades. It was all grounded in a Canadian and Catholic value system. The symbol on the front page was a swastika surmounted by a cross.

In this "journalism" Arcand was assisted by Notary Desroches until he resigned to devote himself to founding the Achat chez nous, on the instructions of the Order of Jacques Cartier according to Wade. Oliver notes of this Order, "its mysterious network of affiliations and influence are still all too little known." (P. 60)

In addition to all the many fascist periodicals from the entire world which he could reproduce, Ménard had several writers who wrote especially for Le Patriote.

One of them was Jean Tissot who might easily have become a not-minor Arcand. An Ottawa policeman, he was so sedulous in his fascism and antisemitism that his superiors had to reprimand him, however gently. His campaign against A.J.Freiman brought him into the courts, but the experience was no more salutary than the Abugov action against Ménard. It did not prevent him from appearing on the Montreal political arena or from garnering thousands of Ottawa votes in a federal election.

That historic trial is adverted to in Section Two. It had arisen from inflammatory anti-Jewish statements in the Ottawa edition of Le Patriote:

"Our fathers did not found and colonize this country to provide the means for Freiman and a horde of Jews to enrich themselves. The British flag flies over anti-Jews as much as over Jews. Since this flag grants liberty we take advantage of this liberty to defend ourselves against the invasion of Jews....

"Christian charity, in which we believe and which the Jew will soon learn to his detriment, requires that if there is success, prosperity, trade and commerce and thriving industries to be had by someone in Canada, that it be first for a Canadian; if there is to be supremacy, whether it be financial, industrial, commercial, professional or social, in Canada, then it must be the supremacy of Canadians; if a certain mentality, tradition, civilization or aspirations can exist in our country, they must first be those of Canadians. Now, all Canadians are Christians, and the first duty of Christian charity is to protect and guarantee oneself against all which may be anti-Christian, that is to say, prejudicial to themselves. And Jews, because they are militant anti-Christians, signify a real danger for Canadians in all spheres, both material and spiritual.....

"It would be enough if Christians stopped buying from Jews and making them rich, and would buy instead from Christians. In this way, they will give Christians the financial strength necessary to support Christian charities, which are sorely in need of help, and, at the same time, will put an end to the peril of Jewish domination. Let us buy everything from Christians, never from Jews." (May 16 and 23, June 13, 1935)

As Lawrence Freiman, son of Archibald J. Freiman, recalls in his autobiography Don't Fall Off The Rocking Horse (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1978. Pp. 51-57),

"We awoke one morning to find a huge, black swastika painted on our front door and felt sadness at the loss of the quiet life my father valued so highly in Ottawa.

"My father believed that Canadians would not tolerate such viciousness, and decided that he would fight this evil in the courtroom. So began a long and difficult legal struggle. Antisemitic activities were undertaken in Ottawa by Jean Tissot, a detective with the Ottawa police force. On May 29, 1935, father launched two informations charging against Tissot for defamatory libel.

"In the first information, my father charged that on May 13, 1935, Jean Tissot 'did unlawfully publish a defamatory libel concerning the said A.J.Freiman to William McCullough Graham of the City of Ottawa, and Herbert Grenville Munroe, of the same place, in the form of a type-written translation of a certain article in a newspaper known as Le Patriote, which said translation was headed 'Ottawa Jewry Moans,' and contains the following defamatory statements concerning the said A.J.Freiman.

"'This information included excerpts of the article and their interpretation by the informant, my father, as follows:

"'Meaning thereby that the said A.J.Freiman was associated with and is in sympathy with the torture and slaughter of Christians.

"'Meaning thereby that the said A.J.Freiman is a dishonest and unethical business man and is unworthy of the trust and confidence of the public and is a loathsome and repulsive character.

"'Meaning thereby that the said A.J.Freiman is addicted to dishonest and criminal business methods.

"'Meaning thereby that the said A.J.Freiman is a treacherous and despicable character.'

"In the second information my father charged that Tissot 'did unlawfully publish to William McCullough Graham, of the city of Ottawa, and Herbert Grenville Munroe, of the same place, a copy of a newspaper called Le Patriote, Ottawa edition, dated May 16, 1935, which contains therein and on the front page thereof a defamatory picture or cartoon with a caption and description annexed thereto which was defamatory of the said A.J.Freiman.' In this case the informant charged 'that the said cartoon in connection with the caption and description means or was intended to mean that the said A.J.Freiman was a dishonest businessman, a despicable character and was unworthy of the confidence and trust of the community.'

"During the preliminary hearing, as reported in the Ottawa Citizen of Friday, June 21, 1935, Mr. Munroe, general manager of Bryson-Graham's department store in Ottawa,was asked to testify. 'Mr.Munroe said six months previously Mr. Tissot brought him a paper published in Chicago and attacking Jewish merchants. 'He told me the time had come for Christian merchants in Ottawa to organize to drive the Jews out of Ottawa. He told me he had used a great deal of his own finances in the work and needed financial support. He suggested that I organize a League of Christian Merchants to assist in the 'good work' and also suggested it would be a good way to get rid of competition. I told him I would have nothing to do with it.'

"Defence counsel J.V.Vincent rested his argument on the legal point that libel did not apply to racial groups. He maintained that the publication of the article was an attack upon the Jews, that A.J.Freiman's name appeared not as an individual but as a man belonging to a race. Here is what Ottawa people read in the Ottawa Evening Citizen, June 26, 1935:

"'When the case was called Mr. Vincent advanced the argument that the article published did not contain a libel and that therefore there was not sufficient evidence on which to commit Tissot for trial....

"Addressing the court Mr. Vincent declared that the publication of the article in Le Patriote was, first of all, an attack upon the Jews. The name of Freiman appeared in it not as an individual but as a man belonging to a race against which there was a campaign owing to their business methods and their attempt to gain control of all human activities, in this as in all other countries....

"Continuing, Mr. Vincent said the articles complained of were against the Jews and Mr. Freiman was mentioned as president of a secret society of Jews who, we know, are working not only in this country but in all other countries....

"'Mr. Freiman is a public man and as a public man is liable to be criticized in his actions,' said Mr. Vincent. 'There is reason for connecting him with the campaign against the Jews of which he is the head in this country. We wish to point out that there is no libel in linking Freiman with the statements concerning the Jews.'

"On June 28, Magistrate Glenn E. Strike ruled that there was sufficient evidence against Tissot to commit him to trial by jury at the fall assizes of the Supreme Court of Ontario.

"As that trial began, we all knew that by implication my father, and Jews in general, were as much on trial as Jean Tissot. That quickly became evident in the line of questioning directed at my father, as reported in the Citizen, October 9:

"'You are connected with the Zionist Organization in Canada?' Mr. Vincent asked.

"'I am. I am president of the organization and very conversant with the Jewish movement in the whole Dominion.'

"'What is the purpose of the Zionist Organization?'

"'We establish a home in Palestine for the Jews.'

"'How large is Palestine?'

"'It is approximately 150 miles by 60 miles.'

"'Do you expect to establish all the Jews there?'

"'No, not at all.'

"'There are other races in Palestine are there not?'

"'Certainly. The Arabs form seventy per cent of the population.'

"Asked about the number of Jews in this country, father stated that there were 150,000 Jewish people in Canada. In Toronto there were 30,000, in Montreal 50,000 and in Ottawa 3,000, he testified, while some 4,000,000 Jews resided in the United States.

"Mr. Vincent asked, 'Are all these funds you collect used in repatriation only?'

"'Nothing else.'

"'How many Jews could you place in Palestine?'

"'The Zionist movement figures on placing 5,000,000 Jews there.'

"Father stated that Arabs were benefiting greatly through the Jewish people in Palestine, so much so that they were coming in from other countries. 'It is the only country in the world that is prosperous in these times of depression,' he said.

"'Is it not true that the Jewish ideal and the Christian ideal are absolutely opposite?' the defence lawyer asked.

"'That is not true.'

"'How about the Talmud?'

"'I know very little about it and few people in Ottawa know anything about it. I did when I was a child, but it is a very deep and complicated study.'

"'You are a great advertiser of your business, are you not?'

"'I advertise like any other business man.'

"'When you donate to hospitals and other charities you keep your eye on the public, do you not?'

"'No, I give to charities only as a citizen who desires to help them.'

"'Do you do business with the General Hospital?'

"'I believe we have done some.'

"'Do you do any business with the Hull Hospital or the Salvation Army Hospital?'

"'I cannot say.'

"'With the Civic Hospital?'

"'I think we have done some business with that hospital.'

"These insinuations were deeply repugnant to father because they affronted his love of people.

"In his address to the jury, the defence lawyer said:

"'Mr. Freiman, instead of proceeding against the root of the evil, proceeded against one individual man who gave a translation of the article to W.M.Graham and H.G. Munroe (sic), of Bryson-Graham Limited. You men, some of you are business men, know the sort of competition being carried on by merchants along Rideau, Sparks and Bank Streets. There is a hidden motive behind the prosecution of Mr. Tissot and while we have not been able to get to the bottom of it, we know it exists. Why did Mr. Freiman not sue the paper itself that was circulating the libel all over the city and province?'

"'You all know what is happening in business today. Was there anything very mean in Mr. Tissot asking Christians to organize to protect themselves against the Jews and to save your trade? As to the caricature contained in the paper, we see similar ones every day depicting the Prime Minister and Mr. King, yet these men do not take action against anyone. The paper only repeats

the speech of A.L.Sachar, and I say there was no libel in publishing a piece that lauds Mr. Freiman.'

"Mr. Justice Kelly addressed the jury, defining the law in cases of criminal libel:

"'Libel of the kind charged in this case is called defamatory libel,which means libel that has been published without legal justification or excuse and designed to injure or hurt the person against whom it was published. In cases of this kind the accused must justify his act on the grounds that the publication was for the public good. I brought that to the attention of counsel for the accused before this trial was proceeded with, asking whether the accused would enter a special plea. His counsel said no, that a not guilty plea would be entered as there was no libel here.'

"'You must decide whether the public peace has been endangered. If you find that it has, you must find the accused guilty,' his Lordship concluded.

"On October 9, after deliberating for two hours, the jury found Tissot guilty as charged."

"After the trial, watching the mounting madness in Europe, father prophetically saw the impending war. In 1938 he feared 'Democracy and freedom are being pilloried and the madness of it is that,as the torturers go systematically about their nefarious business, the spectators stand by in horror-stricken amazement, with hands paralyzed and with not a voice raised in condemnation, so callous have they already become at the oft-repeated spectacle. A new generation is being schooled in a new philosophy and within the next few decades, revengeful persecution of the helpless will be accepted as calmly and as much a matter of fact as was an auto-da-fe five hundred years ago. And there is a further danger, for those that stand by are themselves in peril of being engulfed in the maelstrom.'"

Tissot was not discouraged,at that very moment he was running for the Ottawa-East seat in the Commons. The Patriote called for support,

"'By voting for Jean Tissot, you will show to the Jew your will to see him stand aside before the

Christian, and you will make clear to communism your belief in the incontestable superiority of Christian principles to provide peace for our people. By voting for Jean Tissot, in addition to forcing back the Jewish invader, you will have given a Christian the power necessary to fight effectively for Christians, you will have given him the chance to devote all his efforts to freeing those of our own people who already feel the claws of Jewry digging into their throats.'" (Oct. 17, 1935)

When he lost his Ottawa position he was named chief of police at Rouyn and later inspector for the Quebec Liquor Commission and officer in charge of revolver permits for Montreal. (Betcherman, P. 142)

Another contributor was a Montreal architect J.A.Gaudin who seems to have specialized in "uncovering" the Jewish acquisition of real estate. (also in Le Devoir, Aug. 17, 1935)

Among these bigotted journalists was the strange figure of Urbain Gohier, "the greatest polemicist of France .... the passionate antisemite," who had devoted himself monomaniacally to Jew-hatred since the beginning of the century and had published the Protocols in French as early as 1924. For him Leon Daudet was David the Jew and Charles Maurras was "le métèque."

This "idealist of Jew-hatred," the associate of François Coty in antisemitic journalism, was seventy-three when Ménard enlisted him for the Patriote. He had surrendered fully to the madness of antisemitism and devoted his life to poverty and militancy to fight the Jews. His years were marked by hatreds, not least of his associates in antisemitism. He had broken with his mentor Drumont on the tactics of destroying Dreyfus. (Patriote, Sept. 5, 1935, Aug. 20, 1934 and March 5, 1936)

An appreciation of Ménard's collaborators comes from Marcel Hamel, who is not too distant from his antagonist in many senses. Yet he records that the Patriote was known for its underground alliances with the famous Streicher. (In that ominous decade the "patriots" of several countries made such alliances) Its journalists are perfect idiots who borrow stupidities like their own. Gohier in particular was an idiot, "the illustrious unknown, a frolicking cretin."

The crazed Gohier had written of the Jewish editors of Action française and of Davidet ben Daoud, the true name of Leon Daudet. The antisemitic Hamel was aghast. In truth, Action française never had a Jewish editor, being itself a centre of antisemitism. Leo Daudet was the anti-Jewish son of Alphonse Daudet, a tireless columnist who for thirty years was exposing the evils of the Jews for the readers of Action française. Gohier's ridiculous distortion was a Gestapo invention to discredit Action française.

"The journalists of the Patriote are perfect imbeciles to paint such stupidities." ("Un idiot," in Nation, Dec. 30, 1937)

ARCAND AND FASCISM

The British Quarterly Review reported on "The Nazi International" and its activities in Canada.

"Public attention was focused upon Nazi propaganda owing to the increasing nuisance of a Fascist organization, styled the Canadian National Socialist Party, whose activities were marked by all the outward trappings and insignia and the ideological slogans of Hitlerism.

"The leader of this Party, a French-Canadian, Mr Adrien Arcand, declared that his aim was to establish a corporative state in which the Jews would be reduced to second-class citizens, and boasted of his drilled troops; and unfortunately his paper, L'Illustration nouvelle, is the semi-official organ of the Quebec Government, whose Prime Minister, Mr. Duplessis, shows marked tolerance towards Fascism.

"Mr. Arcand denies that his Party is oficially connected with the Nazis, although there can be little doubt of the relations between the various Canadian Fascist organizations (of which his is only one) and the German Nazi Party, the 'Deutsche Bund,' and the German Labour Front, which have branches in many parts of the Dominion." (based upon the London Times of June 1, 1938. This report was republished by the Friends of Europe in Britain with a foreword by Sir John Murray.)

Caux speaks of the phenomenon of "Chefism," the search for a national chef who would rebuild French Quebec. This call for a saviour leader of the race was not a new element, but it was given a new force which it had probably not known in the past. (P. 14)

Arcand became the Chef Fasciste, the aloof personality, with poster-sized photographs. The object of their hatred broadens out. The pathology of Jew hatred survives. The monomania is untouched. The mixture of fact and of lie, of distorting caricature continues. The inanity of conspiracy against precious values (themselves increasingly unclear and shifting) continues.

This insanity is familiar to psychopathologists in its completeness as a system, irrefragable by argument. It seems completely integral, with factual information, much of it false, as coherent as the normal world. But the set of information has been turned inside out to make a mad universe for the victim and for his victims.

But now the patient is not the only victim, and the Jew is not the only additional victim.

All mankind is threatened as this perverse point of view is ceaselessly taught and reiterated. The sick are committing the normal.

Thus, Ménard's publications contained a vast amount of information about Jews all over the world, their problems, sociology, history, activities, personalities, literature, institutions. He was tireless in collecting all he could find from Canadian and overseas sources. By this time he had at his disposal a world-wide anti-semitic press centering on western Europe, particularly on Germany. He tirelessly turned everything good into anti-human, everything philanthropic into conspiratorial, everything moral into wicked. He distorted Jewish history, Canadian history and current affairs into as vicious as anything appearing anywhere outside Hitler's Reich.

A fine distinction is needed between Fascist and anti-semitic movements. The unnecessary identification of the two evils has been costly to Judaism in that Jewish concerns have often been lost in the more extensive context.

In Canada in particular the distinction is germane in that antisemitic activity has other spiritual roots in the country.

The damage it has done, and the further damage it proposed to do immediately, has been concrete and life-taking well before it had achieved power for any fascist program.

Jews died in Europe in horrible ways because of ugly words and resolutions which animated and motivated decision-makers and the permit granters seated at Canada's gates.

Hate spread against Jews has brought material losses to Jewish residents and to potential immigrants whose lives might have thus been saved, quite aside from any threats posed to political democracy. At the same time Canada lost in the total gross national happiness and has delayed in benefits obtained from the fuller equalization of its Jewish citizenry.

All this quite apart from the related attempt-movement to destroy the Canadian democratic political system. It is true that if those in the international conspiracy had succeeded the fate of the Jews in Canada would have worsened. Their exact fate would have depended on which of the totalitarian conspiracies would have come to power in the world.

By and large the Fascist tactic was military and international, with a plan to corrode internal morale with antisemitism and cynicism. The actual number of those enrolled and trained in this anti-democratic plot was secondary to the outcome of the world conflict of arms.

But it was important that a number of Canadians were waiting for their Day, their day that would dawn for them on their battlefields, the day of the victory of their force.

The crucial question was the vigilance of each Canadian group and of each Canadian citizen in opposing the enemy who might appear, or, on the other hand, Canadian readiness to make peace with him.

It is in this context that we, the heirs of the victory gained by Canadian and allied servicemen, must analyse Canadian citizenry in the decades before 1945.

What needs to be noted in this chronology is that Ménard and Arcand, the successors to Notary Plamondon and the pupils of Mgr. Paquet, began their anti-Jewish agitation well before the stimulation of their ideological superiors in Action Nationale, before the encouragement of Semaine religieuse, before Winnipeg's William Whittaker and Toronto's Joseph C. Farr who later joined the Quebeckers after the Kingston-Toronto conference, before the foreign-organized agencies such as the National-Socialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei, before the Canadian Deutscher Bund.

An interesting distinction between evils is formulated from a later friendly meeting between Arcand and a group of Hungarian fascists (Hungarists). One of these, "N.U.," remarked on Hitler's "vertical nationalism" and the "horizontal nationalism" such as the Ukrainians, Madyar Szalasi, Italian neo-fascists, Belgian Rexists, Spanish Phalangists, Rumanian Iron Guard, Croatian Ustasa and Slovak Hlinkagard.

When the two types met, as in Nazi-conquered Europe, the conjunction was often bloody, as Rumanian, Ukrainian and Magyar nationalists recall. Arcand, N.U. wrote, understood this condition better than Hitler and Mussolini. (Serviam, vol. 2, no.6, June, 1967, Pp. 15-17)

Significantly, one of the names recurrent in the columns of the Patriote, if only in the advertising, is that of Mrs. Leslie Fry, author of Waters Flowing Eastward (issued in Paris in English by R.I.S.S. in 1921), a basic document in the history of the Protocols. The second revised and enlarged edition found it very encouraging "to note each year and in nearly every country, the issue of new publications devoted to the defence of local and national interests against 'bad cosmopolitanism and bad finance,' e.g., Le Patriote of Montreal." This edition, issued in London by the Britons Publishers, revised and edited by the Irish antisemitic Father Denis Fahey, C.S.S.P., in 1965, included sad information about Israeli maltreatment of Catholics in Palestine ("The Christian population faring even worse than the Jews are alleged to have fared under Hitler") -- information derived from the Canadial Social Credit.

The Fry name is a link between the White Russian pogromists after the first war, the Hitlerite fascists and American and British "Christian" antisemites before the outbreak of War II.

Now Canadian Jews were witnessing the emergence of the same propaganda that was creating such havoc overseas, under the same auspices, making similar progress in Canada.

When Arcand founded Le Fasciste canadien, it of course became his newer, or additional, vehicle for the antisemitic poison he had been injecting into Canadian consciousness for years. Typical is the article on "The Authenticity of the Protocols" in the fall of 1936 (commented on by the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, March 13, 1936).

During the years of the decade Arcand became a force in Quebec, under his original title of National Social Christian Party or, after 1938, the Canadian Unity Party. It is not to be measured by its military strength, its membership rolls, the clarity of its ideology, or the number of votes it attracted or influenced in elections.

From the Canadian perspective its measure, difficult to calibrate, is the degree to which it disseminated its teachings, it injected its poison into the minds of the Quebec population, it coloured the connotation of words, of concepts to influence the thinking, the politics and the actions of the citizenry. In these regards it was a major negative influence in Canada for decades.

Adherents multiplied, for now we have reports of meetings all over Montreal as well as rallies at the Monument National -- the hall which, curiously, was also the scene of countless important Jewish theatrical, cultural and Zionist manifestations. Photographs now show large numbers in attendance, and reports of the movement for the first time give many names of activists.

The farmers of the far-away west were sensitive to the anti-Canadian implications of Arcand's propaganda. In December 1938 George R.Bickerton president of the United Farmers of Canada, forwarded a letter to Hon. Ernest Lapointe, Minister of Justice, protesting against the stirring up of racial animosity in the Dominion. He referred particularly to plans of Canadian Nationalists to stage a three months' anti-Jewish campaign. The letter reads as follows:

"Our attention has recently been attracted by a press statement, apparently issued by Adrien Arcand, president of the Canadian Nationalist Party, setting out that this organization is preparing to engage in a three-month anti-Semitic campaign in protest against Jewish refugees being allowed to come to Canada.

"Because of the danger to our domestic and national harmony, if such campaign is allowed to proceed, we wish to draw your attention to the cosmopolitan nature of our population, and comment, that, if anti-racial campaigns are allowed to proceed in Canada, we would soon arrive at a condition in our country wherein racial bitterness could precipitate our peace-desirous people into an internal turmoil, more vicious and alarming than any racial conflict at present engaging public attention throughout the world.

"While the statement above referred to indicates that the campaign is to be one of protest against Jewish refugees coming to Canada, it will I feel sure, be quite plain to you that no such campaign could be engaged in, without engendering the racial hatreds against races of people who have come to Canada from all parts of the world.

"While we believe in the principle of free speech and assembly we must all admit that there is a limit to all things. If anti-Jewish campaigns are allowed, what is to stop anti-French, anti-German, anti-Ukrainian, or even anti-British campaigns?

"We would therefore request that your department and the government take whatever steps are necessary by special legislative enactment if required to prohibit any and all anti-racial campaign proceedings."

RCMP EVALUATIONS

In terms of organization and even of criminality the most concise description of the movement appears in a Royal Canadian Mounted Police report published after the war:

"Apart from the Italian Fascist and German Nazi groups in Canada, a number of organizations were formed with a national (Canadian) background. Emulating the Nazis and Fascists, these bodies advocated the corporate state and ultra-nationalism in their programs; they even adopted the Fascist form of salute and greeting, and wore either blue, black or brown shirts with arm bands.

"The three most important of these were:

"(a) The National Social Christian Party, founded in Montreal in 1933 by Adrien Arcand, a newspaper editor. Predominantly French speaking, it was confined to the Province of Quebec where it had a considerable following. Antisemitism was one of the main planks in the party's platform. Most of the anti-Jewish propaganda came from German sources. One of the more important tracts, published both in French and English, was entitled The Key to the Mystery, a collection of articles based on the so-called Protocols of the Elders of Zion. About 150,000 copies of this tract were sold or distributed. The members of the organization wore black shirts similar to those adopted by the Italian Fascio with arm bands bearing a swastika emblem.

"(b) The Canadian Union of Fascists appeared in Toronto in the middle '30's. Its founders were Charles Brandel-Crate and John Ross Taylor -- both fanatical antisemites.

"(c) The Nationalist Party of Canada. Formed in Winnipeg in 1933 by the late W. Whittaker, a notorious antisemite, it never gained national prominence or political importance. It published a mimeographed sheet -- The Canadian Nationalist -- which served as its official organ. Its members wore brown shirts and arm bands with the swastika emblem, obviously patterned after the uniform used by the S.A. (Sturm Abteilung) formation of Hitler's party.

"On July 4, 1938, delegates from the aforementioned organizations met at a convention in Kingston, Ont., with the object of welding the three groups into a Dominion-wide Fascist Party. Adrien Arcand, then already acclaimed No. 1 Fascist of Canada and regarded as the Canadian prototype of Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists, dominated the proceedings. As a result the National Unity Party came into being. Arcand was elected Fuehrer, and Joseph Farr of Toronto, as the National Organizer. The new organization adopted all the trappings of the Nazi and Italian Fascists, including black shirts with arm bands and the outstretched arm as the salute. The swastika was replaced by the flaming torch as the party emblem. Anti-semitism became the most important point in the party's program.

"The convention was followed by a flurry of activities centered largely in the Province of Quebec where at one time the party claimed a membership of over 10,000.

"Organizationally the party developed along semi-military lines, not within the parent body. The 'Legion,' for example, corresponded to the S.A. formation of the N.S.D.A.P., while the Iron Guard had functions similar to those of the S.S. (Schutz Staffel) of the German Nazis. The ranks corresponded to those of the Canadian army, except that Major-General was the highest obtainable. Members of the Legion, or the Legionnaires as they were commonly called, engaged in drills of various kinds without arms under competent instructors. The latter also taught map reading, theory of guerilla warfare, first aid, engineering, and the elementary use of firearms.

"The party maintained cordial relations with the heads of the Italian and German-inspired organizations, but there was no open or organic connection. Arcand and some of his assistants kept up correspondence with Fascists in many countries including Germany and Italy.

"The outbreak of war so confused party circles that activities were practically suspended for a few months. Early in the spring of 1940, however, activities were resumed with renewed vigour, and by May, or following the success of German arms in Europe, the party had become militantly and aggressively hostile in its attitude toward Canada's war effort. In fact the party became a threat to the security of the state and consequently was declared an illegal organization under the provisions of Regulation 39C of the Defence of Canada Regulations, while Arcand and a number of the more important leaders were interned." ("Fascism and National Socialism," in Law and Order in Canadian Democracy, 1952 edition, Pp. 161-64)

Arcand's meetings outside Quebec quite properly aroused no alarm. In no sense were they responsive to the popular mood, whatever the dissatisfaction of the decade. As much as anything else it was the presence of several men in the uniform of the Canadian artillery that provoked anger. Wrote the Globe and Mail,

"Participation in a pro-Fascist meeting of five artillerymen wearing the King's uniform ought to be the last episode of the kind in this country, whether or not it is a contravention of military regulations. The authorities in control should make certain that the uniform will continue to represent law and order, and not be allowed to become a symbol of sectional defiance.

"Nothing favorable can be said of Mr. Adrien Arcand's Fascist meeting except that peaceable gatherings are permitted under democratic rules.

"The Fascist salute is not pro-democracy. To assemble in a district where opposition was almost certain to appear is not promoting peace or orderliness. To proclaim or attempt to inflame racial hatreds is not British; it is not what the King's uniform stands for.

"Mr. Arcand and his followers are entitled to hold whatever political views they wish, but only by authority of a tolerance which concedes the same rights under similar circumstances to the mob which invaded the streets in opposition.

"Together they exhibited the germs of revolution. From such beginnings wars develop. Neither gathering was democratic. The one on the street was illegal, having only the excuse that it was an answer to a challenge.

"We doubt that the most tolerant of citizens would wish to carry tolerance to the point of public disturbances which feed the spirit of revolution.

"Fascists cannot parade and hold street meetings without permits. The privilege cannot be allowed the motley of Red organizations, the Provisional Committee for Anti-Fascist Action, the Revolutionary Workers' Party, or the rest of them. If the Communists want to shout themselves into irritation, they should be obliged to hire a hall. The streets are for peaceable citizens and uninterrupted movement of traffic."

A question subsists: just how strong was Arcand's organization? How many members did it number? Who contributed to its organizational structure and executive?

Everything is still veiled in secrecy, and it could be that the vociferous king may have been naked.

A 1938 Canadian Jewish Congress memorandum doubts Arcand's claim of 15,000 members and puts the figure close to 5,000. "The Mounted Police in Montreal, who claim to know the situation well, know of only 450 members of the Nazi party in the district of Montreal. The four demonstrations held in Montreal in 1937 by the Nazis were never attended by more than 750 people, and the total number of Nazi uniformed men never exceeded 50."

Widely varying figures were bandied about regarding the extent of his following. The Encyclopedia Britannica placed the membership at 3-4,000, a figure he hotly denied later, claiming 16,000 legionnaires in Montreal alone (Almanac éclair). He restated it for Edwards at 80,000 followers in Montreal, explaining that the figure includes "entire families of eight and even fifteen members which I know are all Fascists, but only one or two can afford to pay dues or have the price of a shirt."

Bishop Farthing warned his flock that the Arcand legions need only to arm to be as menacing as Hitler's shock troops. (Cited by Rumilly, in Maurice Duplessis, Vol. I. p. 429-30)

The papers in the possession of the party seem to have disappeared, at least for the present, but there is remarkably little outside evidence of the existence of the movement, an unusual phenomenon of documentation of a social reality but a decade or two old.

Only the names of several colleagues recur a number of times.

The nearest to weighty evidence of a strong party: when the police raided the offices of the party on May 23, 1940, they removed six truck-loads of banners, documents, membership lists, etc. Six trucks can carry a long list of members. (Gazette, May 24, 1940)

Not that this lessens the danger it posed to Canadian society.

Certainly when Arcand joined forces in Kingston with what was nearest to his Canadian peers, to organize the Fascists of the nation into the National Unity Party, the captains whose general he became were certainly nonentities. His merger with them and his new all-Canadian rank in effect diminished him; if only as he lost the Quebec background that was giving a powerful regional resonance to his emotional rallying cries.

At least one of Arcand's colleagues thought so. Dr. J.G.Lambert quit the party because, as Arcand told it, he opposed the nation-wide extension of its activity. Action on a provincial basis would prove more fruitful, he felt. (Caux, Pp. 52-53)

To call the roll of those present at Kingston, as Réal Caoux does, is to illustrate the point: British Columbia's Cliff Thomas, Winnipeg's William Whittaker, Ontario's Joseph Farr, New Brunswick's Dan O'Keefe.

One sentence out of Arcand's recollections of his Anglo-Saxon associates in Fascism reveals the dimensions of the chasm: "Farr and Whittaker didn't understand because they were not Catholic."

C.V.Harrison, then Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, has served Canadian history with his memoir, The Horseman, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1967), in which he recalls (chapter 9),

"The Special Branch -- that part of the Force responsible for the gathering of intelligence regarding subversion and espionage in order to keep the Government well informed -- had, since 1917, concerned itself almost exclusively with the activities of the Communist Party of Canada.

"By 1936, it became apparent that an even greater and more imminent threat was being posed by budding Nazi, Fascist, and Canadian Fascist groups.

"To meet this problem, special branch sections across Canada were increased; administrative and co-ordinating staffs at headquarters were strengthened; contacts and liaisons were established with intelligence agencies in the United Kingdom and United States; training courses were set up in Canada; and selected members were sent abroad for specialized training.

"By 1938, the Force had successfully penetrated the Nazi, Fascist, and Canadian Fascist parties to the point where officials, memberships, and many of their plans were known. Copies of instructions and planning programs were reaching the Special Branches almost as quickly as they were being readied by the leaders of the espionage and subversive groups. Indeed, in many instances, the Special Branch was aware of the plans of the Fascists and Nazis before detailed instructions for members had been drawn up by their leaders. Even more important, the Force was aware of direct espionage activities being carried out in Canada by the German Nazi Party.

"Apart from the German Nazi and Italian Fascist parties in Canada, the memberships of which were drawn mostly from former nationals of those countries, several Canadian Fascist parties sprang up across the country.

"In Montreal, the group was headed by Adrien Arcand, a tall, rather impressive-looking man with considerable oratorical ability. His fiery speeches placed great emphasis on abuses, real or imagined, that had been suffered by the people of Quebec at the hands of the English Canadians, Great Britain, and the United States. All of this, he claimed, would be quickly and easily corrected following a Nazi victory in Europe, when he would become the leader in Canada.

"His spell-binding powers appealed to the lunatic fringe, and by 1938 he could claim a party membership of twelve thousand.

"Many of his meetings were held under swastika banners, with all of the trappings of Hitler's Nazis. His organization was closely tied in with the Silvershirt Organization in the United States, with Mosley's group in the United Kingdom, and with German, Italian, and South American Nazi and Fascist parties.

"At one stage, Arcand's party printed and sold, at a discount, many thousands of dollars' worth of their own money which was to be redeemed at face value when the Nazis took power. The German State Railways, with offices in the Dominion Square Building in Montreal, provided cover for German espionage activities in Canada, and to some extent in the United States." (Pp. 86-87)

Mr. Harrison reveals that a German spy who had been landed on the Baie de Chaleur during the war had not been supplied with the names of contacts in Canada, but had been told that Arcand's Canadian Fascist Party was well organized and unquestionably loyal to the Nazi cause. He would be quite safe in contacting members of that party for assistance and information. (P. 109, 116-17)

HOW GRAVE THE MENACE?

Dr. Lita-Rose Betcherman notes Arcand's early linkage with the Nazi movement, in a letter dated February 21, 1933, from a correspondent in Bavaria. The occasion was Hitler's elevation to the chancellorship, and the writer felicitated with Arcand on the victory.

"I would first of all congratulate you and your fighters of the Ordre Patriotique des Goglus for having bravely carried on Hitler's mission in far away Canada. It is a great thing to know that far out in Canada, brethren of ours are jubilant these very days of the beginning of the Renaissance of the holy north." (The Swastika and the Maple Leaf, Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties. Toronto, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1975. P. 28)

The German ramifications of the Arcand activities appear in a letter he wrote on September 28, 1933 to Major Frank Peace in Bad Aachen-S. in Germany,

"I had news from Boston, Philadelphia, New York, etc. Most encouraging. The excess of Jewish agitation has provided a kind of reveil, and a fast growing fascism in the United States.... Here in Canada our moral capital is increasing in unexpected proportions, and fascist and anti-Jewish mentality begins to open the eyes of many politicians .... We have adopted our emblem exactly the German swastika flag, except that the flag itself is blue, the circle white, and the cross red -- which are the British and French colours .... Try and see my friend Kurt G. Ludecke, Kaiserhof Hotel, Berlin. He is a friend of Hitler. My respects to Ludecke and Madame.

"If it can help you," he wrote, "you can act as correspondent of Le Patriote, which is known to Hitler and which is very well appreciated by the Nazi propaganda bureau. Don't forget to reach Ludecke, a most estimable friend, who was in the United States for several years. I have great faith in him." (John Hoare, "Swastika over Quebec: Party Record," in Saturday Night, Sept. 23, 1939; N.Y. Nation, Feb. 26, 1938)

The American section of the Nazi propaganda agency World Service suggested their subscribers communicate with Arcand and his National Unity Party and with their friends, Mr. and Mrs. Tissot. (1939. Letter to Dillon O'Leary of Ottawa, undated)

In 1938 the office of Prime Minister King was concerned with the editorial activities of "Fascist Adrien Arcand" who was editing L'Illustration nouvelle "reputedly financed by the Government of Quebec," as J.W.P. (Pickersgill) reported to the premier. (Illustration had reprinted a New York newspaper story to the effect that the Queen Mary had orders to proceed to Halifax in the event of war to take 8,000 Canadian troops on board for England.) (King Papers, Pp. C-119,061-62)

As a matter of accuracy, Arcand's position in the L'Illustration nouvelle was not that clear -- or constant. Reports vary from placing him as member of the staff, to editor in chief. At one point, with Arcand at his political height in 1936, the secretary of L'Illustration "desolidarized the paper from Arcand's views" and denounced them in a letter to the Nation. Nevertheless close relations continued with Lucien Dansereau, proprietor at one stage. (Caux, P. 60)

J.B.Lunne, in his Treachery and Antisemitism, notes that "just after Munich, Streicher's Frankische Tageszeitung published an enthusiastic article about this Canadian Fascist movement, emphasizing how powerful Arcand had become and how his movement was violently antisemitic and anti-democratic.... At his trial (after 1940) documents were produced showing that he was in contact with Germany and Italy and had intended to take over Canada by force.... Again the antisemite was at the same time the traitor." (Pp. 35-36)

Pierre Dehillot, the author of Gestapo (Paris, 1940. Pp. 146-47) wrote, "In the city of Montreal alone the national-socialist pre-military organizations had at their disposal 18 legions of 200 men each, totalling 3,600 soldiers. More than 300 automobiles were at the service of these militiamen." (Copied and distributed by the Richelieu-Vercheres Liberal Organization.)

In his own words, right at the beginning of the war, Arcand offered through Salluste Lavery, some 6,000 members of his party (whom he called Legionnaires), trained for defence against the ever offensive Communists, as a brigade for home service.

The British New Statesman and Nation reported, "that a Fascist movement exists in Canada; to those who know the Senior Dominion it may be even more surprising to learn that this movement has its origin in Quebec.

"The leader of the movement, Adrien Arcand, is a young French-Canadian. By a strange coincidence Arcand resembles Sir Oswald Mosley, while his right-hand man, Major Scott, has been photographed on more than one occasion in an attitude strongly reminiscent of Mussolini. Editor of L'Illustration Nouvelle, a French daily, Arcand also manages to edit and publish monthly Le Fasciste Canadien, the official organ of the party. He claims 80,000 followers in the province of Quebec alone, but impartial observers do not credit him with more than a tenth of this number. The steady growth of the party, however, is undeniable, and it is almost solely due to Arcand's passionate nationalism backed up by his fiery oratory.

"Until recently the party was called the National Social Christian Party (Parti National Social Chrétien), and the members wore blue shirts with a red swastika on a white background, but at a recent national convention Arcand was elected Leader for the Dominion, the party name was changed to the National Unity Party and the swastika was abandoned for a flaming torch. The blue shirt remains.

"As is usual during the early stages of a movement of this kind, the platform is more negative than positive, the main planks being anti-Communism, anti-Judaism and anti-Freemasonry. Arcand's solution to the Jewish problem, which, incidentally, is non-existent in Canada, is to ship all the Jews to Madagascar -- after they have purchased it. Loyalty to the King and adherence to constitutional means of taking power are continually being reiterated by party speakers.

"The organization of the corporate state -- which is preached by certain French clerical and educational authorities -- is also part of the programme, but corporatism has ever been a rather hazy subject. The movement more closely resembles Italian Fascism than any other of the present-day totalitarian forms of government, though as a Jew-hater Arcand is not excelled by any of the Nazis.

"The change in the party emblem from the swastika to the flaming torch is significant. It was made, according to Arcand, 'because our enemies call us Nazis.' A similar interpretation may also be placed on the change in name.

"In a recent speech, Cardinal Villeneuve, for example, said that he did not think a change in the present democratic system of government was necessary, but he went on to define 'liberty' in a fashion which is not in keeping with the usual tenets of a democratic State.

"Arcand denies that any of his propaganda comes from Germany, claiming it is all printed in Canada except for a very small amount imported from the Imperial Fascist League in London.

"Bands of uniformed Fascists are drilling regularly in various parts of the Province of Quebec, the principal centres being Montreal, Valleyfield, St. Hyacinthe and Sorel. A few weeks ago in Toronto it was discovered that several members of the Canadian militia were members of the party and were attending party meetings in soldier's uniform. The Federal Government at Ottawa has stated there is nothing illegal in the procedure.

"Generally speaking it may be said that the whole affair is being taken very calmly throughout Quebec, even by the English-speaking minority, though there have been several minor riots and disorders in which the windows of Jewish shops have been smashed." (Aug. 27, 1938)

Macleans recorded that in March, 1938, "the National Social Christian Party held ten public meetings in the Province of Quebec, seven in Montreal, one in Sorel, one in Saint Hyacinthe, and one in Valleyfield. The meetings were advertised as 'Assemblées publiques fascistes' and they were well attended. A crowd of 2,000 people with an overflow listening to Arcand's pyrotechnic oratory through loud speakers, is a commonplace today in Quebec. It is true that the French people greatly enjoy political meetings; true, too, that not everyone attending these gatherings is necessarily an Arcand supporter; or even a notable percentage of them. But they go and they listen.

"Most of the membership of the Party, in Quebec and in other parts of Canada, is made up of young men; and in Quebec it is almost one hundred per cent French-Canadian. There are a few women in the Party, which admits them on equal terms with the men.

"'Over sixty per cent of our membership is of youth, up to thirty-five years of age,' Arcand says. 'The balance is ripe old age. Today a lady aged eighty-four signed up; last week a man of sixty-two joined the ranks of the legionnaires, with his two sons. In Quebec we have mostly French-speaking members. We have opened our doors to other naturalized Aryans, but refuse to accept Asiatics, particularly the Knights of the Wailing Wall.' A typical Arcand crack, that last remark." (Apr. 15, 1938)

The Arcand-Ménard press constantly announced public meetings in such places as the Council chamber of the Verdun City Hall, the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve County Hall, the Municipal Hall at St. Faustin, the Montreal parish halls of St. Alphonse d'Youville and Ste.-Philomène de Rosemount.

H.M. Caiserman drew the attention of Zionist Louis Fitch, then member of the Legislative Assembly sitting on the Union nationale benches, that Arcand's party was meeting at Ecole de Mennais and at the St. Rosaire Church hall. At the latter locale, Caiserman reported that Arcand "had railed against Jews and against the democracies for daring to oppose the Fascists." (Letters, March 30, April 25, 1939)

An early meeting took place in the old capital when the Société St. Jean Baptiste of Limoilou invited him and Ménard to address them on November 28. On the occasion he was welcomed by Capucin Father Maurice and the parish choir. (Patriote, Dec.7 and 14, 1933)

In "a momentous speech before the Junior Board of Trade at Ottawa" Paul Gouin, K.C., explained that "the result, very slight after all, of fascist recruiting is partly due to the Mussolinian prestige, and to a certain antisemitic feeling which appears here and there in the province." (Cited by Father Henri St. Denis, o.m.i., in the Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, vol. 9, 1939, Pp. 101-10, in his response to Foreign Affairs article, Apr. 1938, Pp. 454-66 on "Embryo Fascism in Quebec.")

The Blue Shirts of the Fascist Legions of the Party maintained order at the Arcand rally in October, 1934. (Le Patriote, Oct. 18, 1934)

Journalist Israel Medres of the Jewish Daily Eagle could not use his press card to enter the rally of Arcand's National Unity Party in the municipally-owned St. James Market in September 1938. But he was admitted when he presented himself as a visitor from a country town.

He described the meeting as the best attended and most enthusiastic Arcand had ever convened. It was devoted to branding the Jews as war-mongers responsible for the current Sudetenland crisis.

Admission was by card only, and uniformed guards ensured order. Those who could not enter stood in the rain outside listening to the speeches in the rain. The audience consisted largely of young working men, with a few women in the packed hall. The uniformed fascists appeared

to be well trained and well organized; their bearing military in character. There were no swastikas among the symbols decorating the hall; mostly beacon themes, and a large sign, "God Save the King" over the platform. Tom Farr of Toronto addressed the meeting on Canadian issues; Arcand spoke as a French Canadian. But Jewish warmongers were the subject matter of all the speakers.

Farr accused Toronto Jews of hampering fascist efforts at organization in Ontario, and blamed Rabbis M.N. Eisendrath and Samuel Sachs for preventing the group from access to the government radio network. Similarly, he stated, U.S. Jews work together with President Roosevelt against the interests of Americans and Canadians.

Arcand was introduced as the man who united English and French Canadian citizens of Canada. In Quebec it is Jews who divide the two founding races. He criticized Mackenzie King, and in particular his Quebec ministers Lapointe and Rinfret, for collaborating with the Jews in seeking to involve Canada in a war which would advance the interests of world Jewry.

Democracy serves only the Jews, he said, promising to abolish this form of government when he assumes power which, Arcand predicted, would be soon. (Eagle, Sept. 22, 1938)

Characteristically, Dr. Gabriel Lambert appeared in the courtroom of Judge Maurice Tétreau on a charge of inciting a group of students in the uniform of the P.N.S.C. The trial arose in connection with disturbances at a communist meeting. At the suggestion of a court official he changed into a blue shirt adorned with a swastika. (L'Illustration, Feb. 5, 1938)

A large photograph on the front page of the Gazette of January 31, 1938 "shows uniformed Fascists drilling in an east-end hall, under the guidance of former officers of the regular army, in preparation for the day the party expects to come into power. The organization is known as the 'Legions' and is an integral part of the National Social Christian Party, as the Fascists are called. The two swastikas, one on the ceiling and one on a banner on the wall, symbolize the Aryan theme of the organization, the leaders say, and have no connection with the German sign. The men carry no arms and disclaim any military ideas, but the organization is not unlike that of the regular army in its set-up."

The Gazette reported in the same issue, "With a sense of precision and discipline which do credit to many a militia regiment, uniformed 'Legions' of Fascists hold regular weekly parades in various parts of the city and of the province."

The picture of the Council of War showed some of the officers, headed by the Commander in Chief of the legions Joseph Maurice Scott, who held the rank of major with the Canadian forces during the Great War, and Dr. J. G.Lambert, presently before the Courts on a charge of inciting University of Montreal students to riot.

"With right arm upraised in the Fascist salute, Commander in Chief Scott stands in front of a swastika and below the Canadian beaver and a picture of Adrien Arcand, Supreme Chief of the National Social Christian Party in Canada, which now extends to six provinces. A former physical culture instructor at Royal Military College in

Kingston and an early student and teacher of physical training, Commander Scott went overseas with the eighty-fifth regiment in the first contingent and later was sent back to Canada by Sir Adam Hughes as recruiting officer. Afterwards he was an officer of the Quebec Liquor Commission Police for sixteen years until the Duplessis government came into power.

"A goal of eight divisions of some 8,000 men each has been set for the province. Qualifications for party membership are that one must be a British subject, 'Aryan' and Christian. Supreme Chief Adrien Arcand claims 15,000 party members in Quebec.

"At parades, which are held by small groups in halls, the men learn to form fours, left wheel, left incline, and to obey other ordinary military commands. Arms are forbidden, and the organizers vehemently deny the party gets any outside assistance whatever or that any violence is contemplated. By 1940, they believe, the people of Canada will come to the Fascists, and force of public opinion will bring about the changes they desire. The major plank in their platform is antisemitism. For the present, a large part of the work of the legion will be to keep order at halls where party meetings are held.

"Professional men and unemployed French and English-speaking recruits are in the ranks. There are other branches in Valleyfield, St. Hyacinthe, and similar cities throughout the province."

Years later Jacques Hébert's Vrai published other photographs of swastika-decorated meetings of Arcand's followers, including that of Dr. Bouchard wearing the crooked cross. (Feb. 18, June 30, 1956)

Arcand's dissidents of 1937 speak of a core of several hundred members. (E. Bourassa, "Notre rupture avec Adrien Arcand," in La Nation, Apr. 1, 1937; and Betcherman, P. 39)

The New York Post estimate of 100,000 goose steppers was probably an exaggeration; but the federal minister of justice declared that the government intended to invoke the criminal code against organizations making use of military drill.

The Hon. Cléophas Bastine stated in the legislature (March 2, 1938) that "youths are being drilled by the hundreds weekly." Bouchard testified that the movement was extremely active in such industrial centres as St. Hyacinthe and Valleyfield, in each of which they parade openly. On Christmas day the St. Hyacinthe group attended in a body in the chapel of the Christian Brothers, with banners flying and swastikas on their sleeves(such as Leslie Roberts witnessed) within full view of a leading hotel. ("Will Quebec Turn to the Right?" in Canadian Magazine, Apr. 1938, Pp.8-9, 45)

It is equally difficult to trace a pattern of growth and decline of his movement. It appears that its first four or five years were its prime period when it enjoyed most unquestioned support. They were spent largely in organization and propaganda, rather than in preparation or in political activity. After 1937, Arcand devoted effort to extending his influence beyond Quebec. His trip to New York excited his vision of broader fields. Connections with Fascists in Ontario forced him to dilute his Hitler fixation with Mosley and Mussolini elements.

A balanced analysis of "Embryo Fascism in Quebec" in Foreign Affairs, the American quarterly (vol. 16, 1938, P. 457), does not accept Dr. J.G.Lambert's claim -- made while he was before the courts on a charge of inciting to riot -- that the movement had 15,000 members. In its survey of the antidemocratic rightist forces in French Canada it finds that the Arcand force was a lesser danger than other fascisms. But it does not identify fascism with antisemitism, odious as both are; it is clear that on the scale of racist incitement and of preparation for holocaust, the Arcand movement was by far the most dangerously anti-semitic of all the groups operating in Canada at the time.

By 1936 the church turned on Arcand as, in Germany, Hitler violated his concordat with the Vatican. British appeasement derived not from love of Hitlerism but from fear. There were internal defections, changes of name (from the P.N.S.C. to the National Unity Party), changes of emblem (replacing the swastika with a torch brought on a conflict with the torch-bearing Canadian Corps Association), replacing the Fasciste canadien with the Unité nationale and Combat national. Changes of symbols cause weakness and are a symptom of weakness.

Jesuit Father Raymond Dunn issued a statement on September 27, 1936,

"We are obliged to warn the chaplains and directors of our sections that the organization known as Parti national social chrétien (or fascist party) does not have the approval of the diocesan authority. Its program has been examined by authorized theologians; they have concluded that in some of its parts this program is incompatible with church teaching. In accordance with instructions given us by Mgr. the Director of Catholic Action, we request the chaplains and directors of sections of Independent Catholic Youth, of Catholic Working Youth and the Circle of the Canadian Association of Catholic Youth not in any way to encourage this Canadian Fascist movement, and to discourage young people from joining it, even in a personal capacity." (Published by Paul Bouchard in La Nation, Oct. 22, 1936, and May 19, 1939)

Nevertheless, it was in the hall of the St. Thomas Aquinas Church that Arcand told some 1,000 listeners, nearly half of them in uniform, on April 28, 1938 that upon accession to power he would send Rabbi H.J.Stern, A.J.Freiman and H.M.Caiserman to cut stones at the Bordeaux prison. Jews would be forced to remain to receive their just punishment; the fortunes they have accumulated by thievery will remain in the country.

By June 28, 1938 Lapointe told the Commons that "the Fascists did not pose a real danger in Canada. He confided that he had considered passing a law like Great Britain's Public Order Act of 1936, prohibiting political processions in uniform, but had come to the conclusion that this would give unwarranted importance to the fascists. As to the strength of their movement, they boasted of thousands of followers when in effect they were only a handful. Both the communists and fascists only sought publicity, and he warned that people who took them seriously played into their hands. To set the example, he introduced a little humour by quoting a fascist as saying that if his party took power, "the first Jew to be expelled would be Ernest Lapointe." (Betcherman, P. 120)

Bondy summarizes the Canadian followers of "Julius Streicher and the Jew-Baiters International,"

"The Parti national social chrétien (the National Social Christian Party of Canada) has a Fuehrer, like all anti-Jewish and Fascist political bodies. His name is Adrien Arcand whom Streicher's Fraenkische Tageszeitung calls a 'brilliant young man who has made the party, founded by the present Premier of Quebec province, Duplessis, a power which exerts its influence far beyond the Quebec border.'

"Arcand is of French stock and his followers are mainly French-speaking Canadians. They wear blue shirts as their uniform. Their watchword is, according to Streicher's daily of October 14, 1938, 'Canada for the Canadians.'

"No further proof is necessary for the paper's assertion that Arcand is a passionate opponent of Jewry. His own paper, Le Fasciste canadien, would suffice to convince anyone of the truth of it even if Arcand had not sponsored the evil Key to the Mystery. World Service recommended the Canadian Fascist warmly in its issue of October 15, 1937, 'to our French-speaking friends. It has three advantages: It carries really excellent material on the Jewish question; moreover, it publishes the highly interesting novel Le Secrèt du Juif errant of our friend Jean Drault and, finally, it costs only 40 sous (2 francs) per year.'

"In January, 1934, the Sturmer of Nuremberg mentioned another Canadian Fascist Party, this time of English-speaking Jew-baiters, the Canadian Nationalist Party, whose archives were also said to have contributed material to the Key to the Mystery.

"Streicher's organ of February, 1934 showed the chief executives together with William Whittaker in a photo where the four gentlemen are trying to assume as Nazi-like a pose as possible.

"It seems that all Canadian Fascists joined forces at a meeting convened at Toronto in July, 1938, and submitted to the supreme leadership of Arcand, who was under the special protection of Quebec's Prime Minister Duplessis, himself an active Jew-hater and Jew-baiter. Moreover, Arcand benefited from his contact with World Service.

"Henry Hamilton Beamish, the travelling salesman of Erfurt, came to see him from the United States, to help him with his advice and connections. Beamish over-estimated the future prospects of Arcand who -- he thought -- would soon become head of all Canada and entrust him with the propaganda department. Instead the war came and Arcand was soon interned." (Pp. 175-76)

Testifying in the Grahamstown, South African libel case initiated by Rev. A. Levy in the summer of 1934, Beamish, a Rhodesian mining engineer of a family distinguished in naval and military life, told that he was associated with anti-Jewish movements in Canada as well as in other countries.

Sir Thomas Graham, with Mr. Justice Gatsche concurring, described Beamish's testimony,

"It is difficult to accept evidence of this character seriously. The witness impressed me as a man profoundly obsessed with views he enunciated. Intolerant in his beliefs, with an exaggerated idea of his own importance, he regards himself as a modern crusader whose mission it is to reveal to the world the existence of a world plot organized by the Jews since the beginning of their history to overthrow Christianity and to destroy civilization. He has greedily swallowed every anti-Jewish publication that he has discovered, and accepted as facts every anti-Jewish statement they contained, and upon this question he is a fanatic; he has been unable to produce a vestige of relevant evidence in support of his charges.... No victim of a confidence trickster was ever so easily and readily deluded." (Judgment, Grey Shirt Libel Action at Grahamstown, Rev. A. Levy vs. Johannes von Strauss von Moltke, Harry Victor Inch, David Hermanus Olivier, Jr. Reprinted from Gracott's Daily Mail, Aug. 21, 1934. Grahamstown, Gracott & Sherry. Pp. 30-33)

Beamish claimed to have studied "the Jewish question" for some thirty years and had "taught Hitler" whom he knew personally. He recalled a 1921 conversation with the German dictator:

"I said to him, 'How do you propose to deal with the Jews?'

"He said, 'I have made up my mind. We are going to send all our Jews to the Allies.'

"And I said, 'I think that they thoroughly deserve it,' but I said, 'That won't cure the disease. If you have a mad dog and you tie him up in your back yard that does not get rid of the mad dog.' And then Hitler became more reasonable."

Beamish was known in Canada, not least by M.J. Finkelstein of Winnipeg, honorary vice-president of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

When the South African came to Canada in the fall of 1936, Finkelstein reported,

"A chap by the name of Beamish landed on us here about a week ago with the avowed purpose of reorganizing the Whittaker or Canadian Nationalist Party. It was heralded in the press with considerable prominence that he would deliver an address in our large Civic Auditorium in which he would prove that the Jews have caused all the wars from the earliest days and are now stirring up another one in Europe. We tried to stop the meeting but, despite our Mayor's promise, the Auditorium Committee split four to four on the question of cancelling the speaker's permit and so the meeting went on as per schedule. Less than five hundred people turned up, mostly Germans and Ruthenians, with only a small sprinkling of Anglo-Saxons and about twenty-five Jews who heckled the speaker and caused some disturbance. As a matter of fact Beamish was a 'flop,' both in the delivery of his speech and in the matter which it contained."

After this lecture the Free Press of October 24, 1936 reported,

"Henry Hamilton Beamish, who spoke at the Auditorium, Thursday night, under the auspices of the Canadian National Party, has been engaged in similar activities for many years, the Free Press has learned.

"A judgment for 5,000 pounds for libel was obtained against him in England several years ago by Sir Alfred Mond. He was the star defence witness in a libel action against three South African 'Green Shirts' who were found guilty of libel and assessed damages aggregating more than $8,000.

"In rendering his judgment, Sir Thomas Graham declared that Beamish impressed him as a man profoundly obsessed with the views he enunciated and had an exaggerated idea of his own importance.

"This action was instituted in Grahamstown, South Africa, in the summer of 1934 by the Rev. Mr. Levy against three defendants named Inch, Von Moltke and Olivier, and arose out of the publication of defamatory libel.

"The defendants were connected with the Grey Shirts, an antisemitic organization which then flourished in South Africa. The defendants attempted to justify themselves by the introduction of antisemitic material in which they blamed the Jews for all the ills of the world. One of their star witnesses was Beamish.

"The trial lasted a long time and the record of the evidence given consists of nearly half a million words. The defendants were found guilty of the libel and $5,000 damages were awarded against Inch, $3,750 against Von Moltke, and $125 against Olivier. The judgment of the court was delivered by Sir Thomas Graham and it took him two and one-half hours to read it, so exhaustively did he go into all the charges made against Jewry, which he declared to be unfounded."

The Free Press recalled that Sir Thomas Graham had said,

"The grey shirt movement in Port Elizabeth appears to be a society whose objects are admittedly anti-Jewish. They possess, what is described by Inch and Von Moltke, a secret service; they have a bodyguard; both Inch and Von Moltke boasted of having obtained,by means of theft,letters from private persons and from the board of deputies, Cape Town. Their desire is to oust the Jews from South Africa; the Jewish religion is derided, and doctrines of a blasphemous and terrible nature foisted upon the Jews. All three documents contain blasphemous views relating to the Christian religion and peoples, such as the grey shirts and their disciples purport to believe are held by the Jews. In other words, the three documents bear unmistakable signs of having emanated from the same source; they portray the Jews from the viewpoint of the leaders of the grey shirts. We are convinced that these documents bear the unmistakable imprint of having been compiled by a member or members of the grey shirt movement, and could easily have been compiled by the defendants Inch and Von Moltke, or one or other of them."

CONSERVATIVES AND OTHER PARTIES

Arcand's formal political excursions and relationships with such parties as the Reconstructionists and with civic candidates were marginal but revealing, telling as much about his interlocutors as about Arcand's own party.

Lavery addressed partisan meetings for Stevens candidates and was never disavowed either by his party leader or by the Outremont or other candidates during the campaigns. (Joseph Cohen, M.L.A., in Devoir, Oct. 9, 1935, reprinted in Patriote, Oct. 24, 1935)

In federal affairs he was consistently pro-Conservative. In provincial politics he was Duplessis' man.

He had long been involved in Montreal civic politics. In the late 1920's he was associated with Camilien Houde whom he supported in the mayoralty elections. But he broke with Houde as not being sufficiently explicit in his antisemitism, as well as on other issues.

A more lasting relationship existed with Salluste Lavery, K.C., national vice-president of the Native Sons of Canada.

In 1934 Lavery ran for the mayoralty on the ticket of the National Christian Party. Initially J.C. Roncourt had been intended as the "Christian" candidate, but he retired in favour of Lavery. (Patriote, March 22 and 29, 1934)

At a near riotous election meeting, where the Steel Helmets which guarded all Arcand rallies clashed

with Houde partisans and both with the police, one speaker called out, "You will see what veterans can do. Do you want French-Canadians to fight each other? Our slogan is 'Face the Jews, and not Christians.' We are for the small people, for those who suffer."

And Arcand told them, "I am happy about such meetings. They prove our strength, that we frighten others. The powers in the shadows are in panic befour our movement. The French-Canadian race is still too healthy and too beautiful, and Jewry will not crush it. We have a candidate who will bring respect for Sunday in our Christian country." (Le Devoir, March 31, 1934)

Lavery won some 13,000 votes, nearly 10% of all cast.

In the summer of 1935 Lavery addressed Ottawa election meetings on behalf of Jean Tissot, then on trial for libelling A.J.Freiman. In his speeches Lavery urged a boycott of Jews until the time would be ripe for setting up a ghetto for them. (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Aug. 9, 1935, P. 2)

In Quebec the Native Sons of Canada, "the only strictly Canadian society," went off in antisemitic directions under the leadership of the Arcand-style politician Salluste Lavery, and identified with the Ligue des marchands canadiens indépendants to issue Le Petit défenseur.

In Ottawa they sponsored a lecture in 1935 by their national vice-president, Dr.P.E.Lalanne, honorary colonel of the Casques d'acier, (Canadian for Stelhelm) on Why We Should Oppose the Jews and had it published as a 16-page pamphlet distributed by Le Patriote in Montreal, decorated with the cross and swastika.

In the Laurier constituency Omer Langlois ran against Max Seigler on the same "Christian" ticket in a campaign marked by intimidation and terrorism.

Early in 1934 the Arcand movement reached a milestone which was menacing for Canada: in February a member of the Commons, Conservative Samuel Gobeil, became a spokesman for Le Patriote ideas. He was the first open antisemite to echo Arcand from that supreme Canadian tribune.

"If you love our race as deeply as you claim," he said, "go and demand of Mr. Taschereau, your Liberal confrère, to replace the two Jews whom he has named to head the most important committees of the legislature with French-Canadians. If you love this our race so, go and purge the Université de Montréal of the red element which dominates it, of the Jewry which contaminates our youth there."

As he put it later, "the greatest of our Catholic universities, that of Montreal, a Catholic institution where they refuse to have the students pray, probably out of a ridiculous respect for human beings, which leads Catholics to blush before the descendants of those who put Him to death.... The Université de Montréal has become the incubator of the Jewish anti-Christian élite which now arises against our own élite in all the professions. The shameful concessions made to Jews there, such as the abandonment of the prayer which is at the foundation of our race, is the greatest example of cowardice and of servility one could give to our students who will be called tomorrow as the leaders of our race."

His speech was, of course, commended by the Conservative L'Illustration and by Le Patriote, as well as by a number of Fascists whose felicitations he publicly accepted with great pleasure.

On March 17 he convened a public meeting of electors at Lac Mégantic, County Compton, to reiterate and to defend his position. His address there was reprinted as a pamphlet by Le Patriote: (La Griffe rouge sur l'Université de Montréal. 20 p.)

His Lac Mégantic speech was a full summary of the anti-semitic teachings of Ménard, complete with citations from Mgr. Paquet whom Cardinal Villeneuve had called the first theologian of Canada. There was also the usual attack on the Jewish school commission which had been instituted and then had been revoked some three years earlier.

E.A.D.Morgan, K.C., of Montreal, reminded Bennett in May 1930 that Le Miroir "was to a great extent sponsored some months ago by Mr. Rainville, and at his request I gave him $100 for the owner, and many other friends did the same." (R.B.Bennett Papers at the University of New Brunswick, Pp.303,526, 303,537)

Later, when the Goglus had metamorphosed into the Parti national social chrétien, Arcand was named publicity manager for the Conservative Party in the province, as Le Canada revealed in October 1935.

The Canadian Jewish Chronicle was horrified at the effrontery that "the racketeer publisher of the notorious Le Patriote, father of the Goglu-Ménard gutter sheets, megaphone of Hitlerism in Canada and one-time sponsor of the ritual murder blood libel" should be thus recognized. "Maybe it is an elevation for Mr. Arcand, but at the expense of the Conservative Party's reputation."

This Jewish weekly notes that "Arcand came very close to receiving a Conservative nomination in one of the constituencies." (Oct. 11, 1935)

Le Canada wrote,

"It seems incredible that the presumably dignified Conservatives should have permitted their escutcheon to be sullied." (Canadian Jewish Chronicle editorial of Oct. 11).

It was no rumour monger but S.W. Jacobs, M.P., one of the most astute political persons in the House of Commons, who reported to the Congress on Sept. 22, 1935 that Arcand was very seriously considered for the Conservative Party nomination in St. Mary's Ward. Nathan Gordon and Henry Weinfield were named to intervene with the party to prevent this national disgrace (Canadian Jewish Congress memorandum)

Later, when Arcand was sponsoring the Le Fasciste canadien, Bennett was still his hero in Ottawa. In Oct. 1935 he prayed -- and worked -- for a Bennett victory which he viewed as a prelude to government by his own fascist party. (P43)

All this at a time when Bennett was posing as a reserved friend of the Jews. Some eighteen months earlier he opened the United Palestine Appeal. In Aug. 1935 he received a delegation from the Canadian Jewish Congress led by S.W. Jacobs and spoke to them of his concern with what was happening in Germany to Jews and to others. He had the tarif changed to permit the entry of Palestine oranges duty free. (H.M. Caiserman letter to Nathan Phillips, Aug. 27, 1935)

Notary Joseph-Elie Langlois was the Conservative Party candidate for the federal seat of Berthier-Maskinongé-Delanaudière in the August 10, 1953, federal elections. (Two other Langlois were also in the running, according to political custom). Following tradition he addressed the crowd that gathered outside Notary Gervais' office when the nominations were announced. Not quite in accordance with these traditions, he repeatedly praised his "opponent", Adrien Arcand, the nationalist candidate. "You have overwhelmed me with your knowledge, your understanding of international affairs, your erudition on questions that touch the Church. You are a very precious man for us.... He is a true scholar and a true patriot. The day his ideas are realized we shall be able to say that Canadians are free, prosperous and happy in Canada." (Eagle, August 11, 1953)

At Louiseville as at Berthierville he praised the fascist. "After hearing in various places the points of doctrine of Mr. Arcand I have come to see that his views are the best, and I encourage my supporters to follow him."

In his turn Arcand acknowledged that Col. Drew had given moral support to those who had been interned by the government during the war.

Israel Rabinovitch, editor of the Jewish Daily Eagle, thought this was a Conservative manoeuvre to win the seat from the Liberals with Arcand's help (August 6, 1953), but in fact nine out of ten Conservative voters gave their support to Arcand, according to Le Canada, October 12, 1953. (Also Le Nouvelliste of Three Rivers; Louis Benjamin in Jewish Standard; Le Devoir, August 5, and editorial, August 7)

To complete the record: The Liberal candidate won the election with 8,800 votes, but Arcand did receive 6,400 votes. The Conservative vote was insignificant, some 3,000 fewer than the party had received in the previous election.

The Berthier case was not unprecedented; the Sorel experience in 1949 also saw the Conservative vote go to Arcand.

That was early in the Arcand career. A chapter from his last period of post-war decline, when he, nevertheless, ran for parliament:

"Clearly this scandalous incident could not have happened without the knowledge of the Conservative Party machine in Quebec. It is doubtful whether it could have remained secret from the national leader of the Conservative Party, the Hon. George Drew, who, from July 27 to the end of the campaign, was a frequent guest in the Province of Quebec.... Apparently Arcand is not such a 'disgrace' in the family," wrote Rabinovitch on August 11.

"Drew must be respectfully asked to state publicly what he thinks of it, and whether he believes that his adjutants in Quebec did not disgrace the name of his party by their holy alliance with an outspoken Hitlerite and antisemitic hate monger.... On such an important issue we cannot be negligent.... What happened in Berthier-Maskinongé during the last election campaign is a disgrace to the Conservative Party. It is up to Mr. Drew to determine whether he cares."

It is significant that the Arcand association was considered advantageous even though Liberal cabinet ministers such as Postmaster O. Coté sought to exploit the issue in other counties. (Eagle, August 10, 1953)

If Drew thought it undesirable or unprofitable he never found a fitting mode of dissociation.

The matter was long discussed fruitlessly within the Jewish community, as late as June 1954, by members of the party as well as by Liberals.

Life reported -- and there was no denial -- that "Ontario's Premier Mitchell Hepburn, to entice U.S. industry to his province with promises of union-less labor, regards Arcand with benign tolerance." (July 18, 1938) Life's reporter-photographer, who investigated and recorded the Arcand movement in Quebec, had also met Hitler in his Munich café days and had seen the very beginnings of Nazi organization in Germany. He was amazed at the similarity in the situations -- the personnel, methods, propaganda and falsifications employed. He urged the Canadian Jewish Congress not to take the movement lightly and to pursue an active defence.

Arcand's Quebec chief in the Parti de l'unité nationale du Canada, Gérard Lanctot, later recalled Arcand's "private conversations with such political and religious leaders as R.B.Bennett, then prime minister of Canada, who wanted to name Arcand his minister of labor; John Blackmore, head of Social Credit; Mgr. Brosseau; Cardinal Rouleau, etc."

This is the eulogy published in the official publication of the party. Lanctot paid tribute to the "nationalist policy of Maurice Noblet Duplessis, the champion of provincial autonomy, defender of the rights of French Canadians."

Arcand himself revealed that he had been among the founders of Duplessis' Union nationale, its first propagandist in Montreal, and mandatory for 98% of the shares of L'Illustration while its chief editor with "absolute privilege of bending to whichever way I pleased."

Lanctot also remembered Arcand's anti-Jewish campaigns in the course of his two later federal electoral campaigns in Chambly-Verchères and in Berthier-Maskinonge.

He was not far from the truth when he said at Arcand's open grave (Aug. 1, 1967) that Arcand was the first on the continent to cry alarm against the Jews, certainly in his particular demagogic manner. (Serviam, vol. 1, no. 4, March 1966; Pp. 15-16; vol. 2, no. 7, July 1967; vol. 3, no. 5, Aug. 1968, Pp. 1-2, 18)

This close relationship with the Conservative Party may have cost Arcand some of his earlier adherents who gave this, and Arcand's racist antisemitism, as reasons for their defection. (Ed. Bourassa, "Notre rupture avec Adrien Arcand," in Nation, Apr. 1, 1937)

Early in 1938 the Canadian fascists (identified with the P.N.S.C.) petitioned the government for a royal commission to inquire into electoral funds. Arcand founded his request specifically upon a recent statement by Bennett. (L'Illustration, February 7, 1938)

Arcand explained that he was supporting the Conservatives in the 1935 general election because they were the "Conservative Party of the right." (Le Fasciste canadien, Oct. 1935; cited by Montsion, Pp. 89, 104)

The Frankfurter Zeitung of August 27, 1938, reporting on "Canadian Fascism," spoke of Arcand's movement as a creature of Duplessis as an arm to mobilize the more religious of the French Canadians, to take advantage of the hostility the church had developed for the Liberals because of their lukewarm approach both to Franco and to Communism -- a hostility that had cost Taschereau the premiership of the province.

It was in this context that Arcand preached that Jews were responsible for all the evils of the world, and opposed democracy and liberty so profoundly as instruments of world Jewry.

KEY TO THE MYSTERY

Arcand's lying teachings were "proven" by copious citations from his peers in Germany and elsewhere.

But the traffic was not all one way. Arcand made a major contribution to Hitlerite propaganda with a compilation he issued anonymously in French and English edition, The Key to the Mystery.

We first hear of it being distributed in Toronto on August 21, 1937. It was mentioned in the Austrian Alpenlaender Rundschau of Klagenfurt of September 25, 1937 (letter from Amsterdam Jewish Central Information Office, October 7, 1937) and two days later in the Deutsche Zeitung fur Kanada, where a front page story "Das Ende eines Propagandaluegen" refers to The Key to the Mystery. Within the month it was also disseminated by the Centre de Documentation et Propagande, in Paris, XVIe arrondissement. There exists a contemporary description of the meeting where the Canadian publication was introduced, under the chairmanship of Darquier de Pellepoix, editor of the multigraphed Anti-Juif:

"The meeting took place on the premises of a reactionary political organization; it was attended by some 30 people, a very low figure considering that the group has been working for two years and that the XVIth arrondissement offers relatively favourable ground for this kind of propaganda.

"The evening was mainly devoted to organizational problems. The whole of Paris and of France must be covered by a close network of active Anti-Juif groups. Broad masses must be drawn in. For this purpose Darquier de Pellepoix distributed anti-Jewish leaflets at the entrance of large factories. He stated that most of the leaflets are camouflaged as communist propaganda literature.

"The discussion on the programme of action remained within the framework of the usual contents of the weekly L'Anti-Juif; the slogan: 'France to the French People,' the Jews must be deprived of civic rights, they must be compelled

-- if necessary by terrorist methods -- to leave the country. Darquier de Pellepoix hailed the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine: all the Jews of France must be regarded as citizens of that State; in so far as Jews will be at all tolerated in France, they must carry foreign passports.

"Darquier de Pellepoix deplores that neither de la Rocque nor Doriot are able to offer a strong political platform for the Anti-Jewish movement. From the ideologic point of view Charles Maurras would be the right man, but he is unable to galvanise the masses, his writings being accessible only to an intellectual élite. Therefore, it is planned to issue some of his writings in a popularized and easy form.

"The grossly antisemitic pamphlet (in newspaper form) recently imported from Canada, entitled The Key to the Mystery, appeared for the first time in France at this meeting. The pamphlet is being spread in Switzerland through the intermediary of Princess Karadja, financed by German funds, Erfurt-Weltdienst."

Princess M. Karadja, who was residing at Villa Lux, Monte Trinita, Locarno, for many years an extremely active antisemite, was a frequent visitor to Col. Fleischhauer of the Erfurt Pan-Aryan Union. She also worked with the South African Maj. Beamish. The World Jewish Congress Geneva office believed the princess was connected with the collection of funds for the Christian Protection Fund for the Berne trial involving the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and with a secret 1934 congress of antisemitic groups at Locarno and at Bellinzona.

The Swiss postal service felt that the Key came under the provisions of the postal code as containing unacceptable calumnies and promised the Swiss Federation of Jewish Communities to ban its import and its distribution by the postal service. (Letter from Dr. Riegner of World Jewish Congress in Geneva to Canadian Jewish Congress, Sept. 24, 1937)

The anonymous pamphlet is, in effect, a reprint of a host of malicious fictions aimed at the Jews which had appeared in Goglu- and Patriote- type of anti-Jewish incitements in recent years.

According to Arcand, the Key had been compiled by him, both in English and in French. Dr. P.E.Lalanne, honorary colonel of Arcand's Casques d'acier (Québecois for the German Stalhelm), who was rumoured to have been the author, denied having written it.

It was printed in Montreal on the Duplex press of the morning Illustration Nouvelle on Marie Anne Street of which he was editor-in-chief and mandatory for 98% of the shares (owned by Eugène Berthieaume, then in Paris). Reissues appeared in 1938-39 from the mats of the earlier edition. After the war it was reedited, with his permission, in Detroit.

Louis W. Bondy tells of one phase in his Racketeers of Hatred, (London, Newman Wolsey, 1946. 259 p.),

"An ugly-looking newspaper of 32 pages made its appearance in the late thirties, not only at Montreal, where it was edited and sold for 10 cents, but all over the world. Copies were distributed in Britain, in France, in South Africa. Switzerland was at one time swamped with them. The name of that rather mysterious publication, in which no address was given of printers or publishers except an anonymous Post Office Box, was appropriately enough The Key to the Mystery, the word key being replaced by the picture of a rather nice and elaborately old-fashioned-looking instrument which seemed designed to open the locks of a medieval castle.

"The contents of that newspaper, were, however, anything but nice, and they opened a prospect not on a pleasant old castle, but on medieval superstition, hatred and cruelty. For The Key to the Mystery (Clé du mystère in the French edition) was one of the vilest and most recklessly compiled anti-Jewish compendia ever issued."

"The pamphlet was issued under the auspices of the Montreal Women's Anti-Communist League, which is supposed to have been led by Adrien Arcand's sister. In an appeal at the end of the brochure they describe themselves modestly as 'mothers, fiancées, girls, wives of today and tomorrow, French-speaking Canadians, issue from the first colonists of America, entrusted by them to preserve the great heritage, to perpetuate rheir ideals.'" (P. 31) The publishers' address is a post office box leased to Adrien Arcand.

A slight comedy entered the situation when the Jewish trucker -- they mistook him for a Norwegian -- who was to deliver the first shipment to Col. E.U.Sanctuary, well known antisemite at New York, left the shipment at the customs, Rouse's Point, and reported that it had been denied entry by the Americans. However, he became frightened and returned to pick up the parcel.

Several days later, another shipment passed through the U.S. customs there after a copy was examined and approved at the Customs Information Exchange at New York City. The appraiser in New York simply did not know of any provision which prohibited entry of the publication.

In the meantime, having been informed of the return of the first shipment, the Canadian Jewish Congress had written the U.S. Customs official for confirmation. The U.S. deputy collector replied on August 31, 1937 that the publication can enter that country with no difficulty.

From Sherbrooke, P.Q., M.B.Echenberg reported to the Canadian Jewish Congress on September 11, 1937,

"A couple of weeks ago, some of our local news stands had this publication on sale. Mr. Sydney Echenberg and Mr. Sol Niloff learned that someone had brought a quantity of these journals from Montreal and distributed them among our three leading news stands for sale here.

"These men went to see the owners of these stands and convinced them that those publications were full of hatred against the Jews, and they were published by irresponsible people only to make bad blood and disturb the good will between races living peacably in our City.

"Those news stands immediately promised to take them off their stands and not offer them for sale. Of course, I cannot say how many copies they had already sold, but we did not hear any more about them."

Like the Protocols and a score of other defamations, the appearance of the Key to the Mystery set world Jewry off in a worldwide effort to contain its damage and to respond to its poisonous allegations.

Prof. S. Cohon of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati diverted his scholarly attention from worthier themes to compose a point by point work, Why Do the Heathen Rage? Exposing the Deliberate Falsifications and Distortions of the Bible, Talmud and Other Sacred Jewish Literature (no date, 47 p.) and his "The Key and the Mystery", serialized in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle February 4, 11, 18 and 25, March 4, 11, 18, 1938 and in the 1938 souvenir issue of the Eagle, Pp. 92-93.

It is worth noting that a slick new edition of The Key to the Mystery appeared again in the early 1950's, if only to testify that falsehood is immortal.

The durable Key to the Mystery, the Jewish Question as Explained by the Jews Themselves appeared as late as 1965 as evidence submitted by John Ross Turner of Gooderham, Ontario, and David Stanley of Toronto, the Ontario agents of the American National States Rights Party of Birmingham, Ala., to the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs. The committee was hearing testimony on the bill to modify the postal law in regard to hate literature.

On that occasion they sought to prove that Communism is Jewish, that the majority of leaders of the communist revolutions outside China have been Jewish, and that they act under the exclusive and secret control of Jews. (Proceedings, fasc. 38, March 12, 1965, pp. 1905-6)

To continue with Bondy, "In fact, these authors who hide behind ladies' skirts, were not entrusted with their task by dignified forefathers and pioneers, the proud builders of a new world, but by the Fascist Parti national social chrétien. The party's antisemitic newspaper, Le Fasciste Canadien, adorned with a swastika badge of a complicated design, gives the same Montreal Post Box address, 'Casier Postal 2290' as The Key to the Mystery. When looking more closely at that publication we find indeed that the Montreal Women's League, who prints their name in very large letters, acknowledges in rather small print the assistance given to them by the Parti national social chrétien and the Canadian Nationalist Party of Winnipeg, 'by obligingly putting their archives at their disposal.'

"World Service, here, as always, up-to-date in any information on world-wide Jew-baiting, drew the attention of its readers to this 'excellent booklet in newspaper size' in its issue of August 15, 1937, that means shortly after the mysterious key appeared on the market. Erfurt wrote that 'this special edition contained sensational revelations from all countries. It is a mine of valuable information to which Jews themselves have contributed the material.'

"There is no need to describe in detail the contents of the pamphlet. A few headlines will suffice to demonstrate its nature: 'A Jewish Plan for World Domination -- The Great Conspiracy -- Communism, a Weapon for Jew Conquest -- Sensational Admission from a Jewish Banker -- Freemasonry, a Dangerous Instrument of Judaization -- The League of Nations, a Judaeo-Masonic Invention,' etc. The contents purport to be mainly quotations from Jewish writers, statesmen, politicians and rabbis.

"During the trial of the Boer General Maritz for libelling the Jewish community, it was ruled by the court that his book My Lewe en Strewe (My Life and Struggle) was based almost literally, on The Key to the Mystery. The statements taken from that publication were found to have been either forged and deliberately falsified by the author, or taken from their context and thus recklessly perverted and distorted.....

"The Sunday Times of Johannesburg underlined in its issue of November 24, 1940, Maritz's book, "procured in South Africa, was word by word the same as a notorious antisemitic pamphlet issued by Adrien Arcand, under the title of The Key to the Mystery. And behind Arcand was

the Nazi propaganda machine....

"Maritz was tried before the magistrate's court and later -- in August, 1939 -- before the High Court of South West Africa at Windhoek. The Daily Telegraph of London of June 10, 1939, carried a report from its Cape Town correspondent of this lawsuit: 'The charge arises out of the allegations against the Jewish faith made by Maritz in his recent book My Lewe en Strewe, in which references were made to teachings of the Talmud. The book was banned'.

"On August 25, 1939, the Telegraph reported on the result of the trial: 'Gen. 'Manie' Maritz was found guilty of contravening the Criminal Law Amendments ordinance by publishing his book. The judge, in fining him £75 with the alternative of nine months' imprisonment, said that the book was an 'excellent example of vile, venomous and contemptible racial propaganda, and the Court has no doubt that it was written with the deliberate object of encouraging bad feeling towards Jews.'" (P. 172)

The Canadian Fascist monthly, Thunderbolt, was recommended by Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union (of Fascists) Quarterly.

CHURCH CONDEMNATION

By 1938 disenchantment with Hitler had reached so far that the anti-Jewish horrors of Krystalnacht in Germany evoked unqualified condemnation from Jules Dorion of Action catholique. ("The Jews and Germany," Nov. 14, 1938)

Arcand wrote to the diocesan authority asking for clarification and promised that not an iota of the original program of the party would be altered. (La Nation, Apr. 8, 1937)

Arcand's movement was so deep in the mire that even other avowed Fascist groups in the province disdained him.

While himself advocating governmental sanctions to deal with "the Jewish problem," André Laurendeau dissociated himself from Le Goglu.

In March 1937, Ménard complained that Le Devoir was opposing his fascist teachings. (Le Patriote)

Towards the end of the decade, particularly as church experience in Germany was making it very clear that Naziism constituted a grave danger to the church, suspicion of Arcand's movement became more general.

André Laurendeau wrote in April 1938, "Fascist organizations exist in Quebec. Their leading militants do not know which are their principles. They are dedicated to a leader and to a mystique. They are not to be taken seriously.

"The church is neither at the helm or rudder of these organizations. I am informed that one of them is virtually condemned by the leaders of Action catholique in Montreal. Some few clergymen, motivated by the best of intentions in the world, have become its propagandists. But the day Fascism will acquire importance here, the church will doubtless take precautions against it, as it has done elsewhere.

"Will that day come? Let us limit ourselves to observe a 'prefascist mentality' in some quarters; a socio-economic disorder which may well lead us to extreme solutions, and the growing stupidity of those who, by crying Fascism, may end by bringing it into being." (Action nationale, Apr. 1938, Pp. 325 26)

By this time Mgr. Gauthier himself spoke out against Arcand directly. In an anti-Communist circular the archbishop said, "There are confused teachings in the program of the Parti national social chrétien which a Catholic should examine carefully before subscribing. It is German Naziism with its errors and deviations, with the most extreme harshnesses softened to make them acceptable to our own Catholics. It is scarcely necessary to repeat that we cannot forget how Hitlerite Germany treats our brethren in the faith. On the other hand, is there not in all fascisms a need to dominate which is inhospitable to freedom of conscience and which renews the conflict as old as the world: that between Caesarism and the spiritual power?"

As the years of anti-democratic attack followed, the government came to be more openly concerned, although for long it hid its interest, not wishing to antagonize any section of the population. In 1938-39 Prime Minister King had an investigation of Nazi activities in Canada made, but it was not made public. (American Jewish Year Book)

On March 22, 1939 the government announced that it was considering a royal commission on the matter.

INTERNMENT -- AND ANTI-CLIMAX

Arcand was interned on May 28, 1940, together with his backer, Dr. Noel Decarie, Montreal dentist. He was kept in detention until July 3, 1945, when Hitler was well defeated in battle.

Among the several hundred also thus detained was Mayor Camillien Houde, Major Maurice Scott and over a score of Arcand's followers (Almanach éclair). He later recalled that only Pierre Elliott Trudeau and George Drew supported his right to appeal his internment. (Devoir, Nov. 15, 1965)

A word about semantics: the literature about the pathetic internment of the antisemites.

Much has long been spoken about maltreatment of persons who are judicially placed in the custody and care -- sometimes less tender than at other times -- of persons appointed as guards and wardens. There are probably more evils committed on the responsibility of all society than the conscience of most of us can bear.

But in the history of the internship of the Hitlerite fascists at Petawawa a particularly insensitive term is sometimes used: concentration camp.

Not only is the term inapplicable in this case; we have Arcand's own description of conditions to prove it. But the confusion in terms obliterates the fact that he was accused of sympathy with the newest reinvention of genuine concentration camps, and it would have been most appropriate for Arcand and his half-dozen followers to be placed in an institution which their friend Hitler loved so much.

By their using the term negatively they were giving the lie to their support of Hitler's institutions.

Even worse, they were leading Canadians to envisage the real concentration camps to be but Petawawas transported from Ontario to Sachsenhausen and Dachau, one of the most obscene of Arcand's lies.

When he was released on July 3, 1945 after the end of hostilities, he recommenced his anti-Jewish propaganda that Canadian Jews be deported to Madagascar. Later he ran for parliament in Sorel in 1949, for the only time in his life as a candidate for the National Unity Party. He won a respectable vote.

For some twenty years, after his release from war-time internment, Arcand lingered on, a living and not silent reminder of the domestic menace faced by Canada during the 1930's and 1940's. He remained in contact with the relics of his earlier, larger organization and continually reiterated his insane hate teachings. Indeed, his final testimony, published a year or two before his passing, was entitled Down with Hatred (A Bas la haine. Montreal, La Vérité, 1965. 141 p.) Its dizzying distortion was evoked by Ottawa setting up a royal commission to study the dissemination of hate literature. His theme was that hate is being spread by Jews, "Talmudic Jews," against Christian civilization. The book was issued by an organization entitled The Truth. The entire booklet is structured on the Talmud-myth which had its renewal in Germany and France a hundred years ago, and was developed in Canada half a century ago by Mgr. Paquet and La Vérité. The particular butt of the attack was Saul Hayes, K.C., the national executive director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, who had been named to the royal commission on hate literature, as had been Prof. Maxwell Cohen. The final chapter of Arcand's book is devoted entirely to Mr. Hayes.

Prof. J.-P. Wallot had occasion in 1965 to write,

"It is regrettable that at this time of the Ecumenical Council, when even bishops have come to condemn anti-semitism severely and to exonerate the Jewish people from collective responsibility for the death of Christ -- Jesus having died for the sins of all men --, that Catholics should trouble to hear a message of hatred and fanaticism, grave faults against their own religion which is one of love.

"It is particularly regrettable that a group in Quebec, which we believe to be awakening, should swallow the least of these enormities whose tragic absurdity history has recently demonstrated....

"The truth is that even convinced Catholics in Quebec before the war believed that Hitler would save the west from the Communist threat. Too bad if this salvation led directly to the persecution of Jews." ("M. Arcand et les juifs" in La Presse, May 5, 1965)

The Christian Science Monitor of Boston reported an Arcand meeting in a Catholic parish hall. (Miriam Chapin, March 29, 1956)

Curé Pierre Gravel of Boischatel arranged for Arcand to speak before the Société St. Jean Baptiste in 1963, but "weather" intervened and the priest's plan was delayed (La Presse, Jan. 28, 1963)

Similarly Jean Duceppe, of our Metro Express, reported the surprising presence of nuns and priests at his rallies in various parts of the province. (Congress report, Apr. 26, 1965)

By then Arcand had ceased to be a menace. In the years after 1945, as we know today, the likelihood of Canada or Quebec becoming Fascist was slight. But when Arcand began writing and organizing anti-democracy and antisemitism, there was every reason to fear his success. Indeed, in retrospect, the Jews and other pro-democratic Canadians showed all too little awareness of the danger he presented to Canadian traditional freedoms and to the institutions which characterize and defend Canadian living.

Réal Caux notes that Quebec enjoyed other shirt movements as well, but Arcand's was the most important and the most picturesque. It can boast of having left most traces in the memory of French Canadians and of Anglo-Saxons in other parts of Canada and in foreign lands.

AMONG THE UKRAINIANS

A particularly sad chapter in this story is that of the Canadians of German and of Ukrainian and Polish origin.

Their relations with the land of their origin was natural; equally to be expected was the interest in the culture developed in that land and support of the government of that land.

Problems arose when that government and the culture fostered by that régime turned out to be profoundly contrary to their own conscience and to the principles of democracy at the root of the Canadian nation.

Inevitably the ethnic-conscious of German-Canadians became related to the new concepts developing intensely in Germany -- those organized in groups and those nurturing the German cultural concepts in the privacy of their persons.

The situation became even more dangerous when the German government decided to mobilize these concerns and interests in the service of the Fatherland, and systematically sought out both the groups and the persons.

German-Canadians identified with Hitler's world-wide scheme. The antisemitism traditional to Poland and to the Ukraine became Canadian patriotism when preached in the mushrooming ethnic press of Ontario and of the prairies, or when incorporated into the ideologies of their numerous political and cultural groups.

Among the Canadian groups especially open to the antisemitic virus was the Ukrainian. An intense anti-Jewish tradition going back centuries in their Russian and Polish history had sullied the name of their nation, not

least in the second dacade of this century. In Hitler many of them were trapped into identifying their national interests with the Germans' and with antisemitism. Among them, too, many of the anti-Fascist elements had been inveigled into Communism and thus nullified for the causes of democracy and decency.

So, many of the Ukrainian Canadians had learned to identify the Jews with the Russian invaders and occupants of their country, unaware that both Russia and Poland were so bitterly hostile to the Jewish people.

As early as 1917, if the testimony of S.Almazoff Pearl is to be believed, the anti-Jewish feelings of the Slavs in Winnipeg came to the fore at a meeting at Queen's Theatre to fête the fall of the Czar.

Pro-monarchists came to break up the assembly and to fight the organizers of the meeting and the police. Almazoff, one of the scheduled speakers, recalls that the cry of the counter-demonstrators was, "Down with the Jews! We don't need the Jews!" Mr. Almazoff and one Boris Deviatkin were among the scheduled speakers. He recalls that he quieted the invaders by booming out in Russian,

"I am a Jew, and I will speak here." (Mit Dem Vort Tzum Folk, With the Voice to the People, Experiences of a Lecturer. New York, Ikuf, 1947, Pp. 30-31)

The Free Press editorially exposed the Protocols and condemned "the recent attempts in Winnipeg to make use of the Protocols as a credible document." The Bnai Brith published evidence to the same effect in the press. (Apr. 21, 1934) Nevertheless, Mihychuck was not deterred, and the press reported on the 30th: "Zion Protocols Defended before Large Audience; Dr. M. Mihychuck Offers Reply to Recent Denunciations at Sunday Meeting," at which he dwelt on the teachings of Social Credit advocate Maj. C.H.Douglas, a recent visitor to Winnipeg. But "the audience, almost entirely composed of persons of continental European origin," very good-naturedly interrupted him many times and pressed him to speak of the Protocols.

A typical announcement among scores -- this time in the English-language Winnipeg daily Free Press: "Dr. Mihychuck will defend the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion at a meeting at 602 Main St." (Apr. 25, 1934)

A continuous and intense anti-Jewish propaganda was carried on orally and in the extensive media of their Canadian cultural group.

But the hate propaganda continued in the months and years of the decade. So we read in the press of December, 1936,

"More than 800 Ukrainian Catholics assembled in the Prosvita Hall under the auspices of the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Manitoba. Among the speakers was Yakimischack who called upon all Ukrainians in the country to unite in order to protect themselves against a fate 'similar to the fate of the Ukrainians in Ukraine under the Soviet regime.' Ukraine he said was ruined by Moscow and the Jews.

"The notorious Dr. Mihychuck stated that 90% of all the Soviet commissars were Jews. 'They are the curse of mankind.'

"The Rev. Dr. Kushnin spoke in a similar vein.

"William Scraba, elected school trustee, and D.M. Elchisin, unsuccessful aldermanic candidate, thanked the audience for voting for them during the recent municipal election."

As Rosenberg reported on March 3, 1939,

"There can be no doubt of the antisemitic and pro-

fascist activities of the various Ukrainian national organizations in Canada. The Congress in Winnipeg has ample evidence of the method in which prominent members of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organizations have cooperated with German Nazis in disseminating antisemitic propaganda and in supporting each other's activities for municipal and provincial offices.

"Periodic celebrations are held throughout Canada, in the east as well as the west, in which Machno and Petlura are held as martyrs, and their Jewish and communist 'murderers' are denounced. They also have a Ukrainian Veterans Organization which carries out organized drills from time to time and encourages its members to join the Canadian Militia in order to keep up military training and cloak themselves with legality.

"They periodically arrange for Ukrainian White Guard officers, whose headquarters are in Germany, to address gatherings in Canada."

A classic of Ukrainian literary antisemitism appeared in the Ukrainian Voice (Ukrainsky Golos) in the form of a series of historical articles about "Jews on Ukrainian Soil" by O.G.Gikavi.

Another defender of Hitler in Canada was Hungarian Dr. Frank Hoffman, United Church missionary in Saskatchewan, spreading both Jesus' and Goebbels' gospels among Magyars on the prairies. As Rosenberg reported, "He is supposed to be engaged in Protestant missionary work among Hungarian groups in the province, but is more often heard of because of his frequent justification of Hitler's persecution of Jews." (Letter to Rev. C.E.Silcox, Feb. 4, 1939)

The Leader-Post reported as early as April 4, 1933 that Dr. Hoffman had appeared before the Saskatoon Ministerial Association to protest against a resolution condemning racial and religious prejudice in Germany.

"Another Magyar who has exercised great influence among the Hungarians of Saskatchewan is the Rev. Dr. Frank Hoffman, missionary at large under the United Church of Canada to seventeen Hungarian Settlements scattered over an area of sixty thousand square miles. Dr. Hoffman also edits a magazine Az Otthon -- meaning 'The Home'.

"Wounded and captured by the Russians in the Great War, he escaped and crossed Siberia, arriving at Vladivostok in time for the Armistice. Smuggled into Vancouver by some friendly British officers, he drifted into the United States, only to return to study at St. Andrews' College, Saskatoon, where he graduated in Divinity and entered the service of the Home Missions Board of the United Church of Canada. In 1923 he married a Scottish nurse, matron of the Wakaw, Saskatchewan, Mission Hospital."

"God sent us a leader, and we saw that his program was the remedy for us," Mr. Hoffman quoted a German citizen in an address at the Knox United Church at Saskatoon, upon his return from Hungary, Austria and Germany in 1936. He denied reports of suppression of religion in Hitlerland. "Never before has there been greater freedom to preach the Gospel in Germany....The false reports in the press about Germany and the Nazi regime" are the product of Bolshevik propaganda passed on through France and Belgium. There is "real democracy" in Germany today. "Blue shirts, black shirts and shirts of other colours, bandoleers on their shoulders, marched side by side in the working battalions going to the fields. The rich man's son marches beside the poor man's son." (Leader-Post, Nov. 18, 1936)

INFILTRATING THE GERMAN COMMUNITY

As the Canadian Jewish Congress was being re-organized early in 1934, Louis Rosenberg presented the western picture,

"As a result of the rise to power of Hitler in Germany, well organized attempts are now being made to establish active and powerful Hitlerite branches. In some districts, such as British Columbia, these organizations go under the name of "Friends of the New Germany." The leaders in many cases are comparatively recent immigrants from Germany, former members of the German armed forces during the war, or of the S.A. or S.S. Troops. Meetings are opened with the singing of the Horst Wessel song and closed with the cry of 'Heil Hitler.' Democracy is scorned; no elections are held, and the leaders are appointed by someone who claims direct communication with headquarters in Germany.

"In Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, all German-speaking organizations have been banded together into special committees for the avowed purpose of counteracting 'anti-German propaganda.' In actual fact these bodies have not contented themselves with merely denying reports of events in Germany but are carrying on an intensive campaign for a boycott of all newpapers which publish information displeasing to Hitlerism, no matter how true and from what source this information comes. The Boycott is urged not only against such newspapers but against all firms advertising in such newspapers, against all Germans who dare to express opinions opposed to Hitlerism, and against all Jews (thinly disguised under the appellation of anti-German elements).

"Attempts have been made to unite within this organi-zation all German speaking people in Canada, whether they come

from Russia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania or Germany itself, and whether they are Roman Catholic or Lutheran. Every person of German origin who refuses to accept this leadership and refuses to give active support to Hitlerism is placed under the ban, and publicly declared a traitor to his race, religion and language. The German language newspapers appeal to all sympathizers to place themselves in touch with the German Fichte Bund in Hamburg, which will supply them with quantities of pamphlets in English, German or any other language, containing diatribes against the Jews and the Allied Powers. These pamphlets are distributed free of charge.

"There is in Canada an organization, which has done much to distribute widely throughout Western Canada certain anti-Jewish literature published by the Britons Publishing Society of London. These pamphlets include the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, The Jewish Peril, England Under the Heel of the Jew, The Gravediggers of Russia, Jews and the White Slave Traffic, The Riddle of the Jews' Success, and The Menace of Freemasonry to the Christian Faith. These books and pamphlets have been eagerly caught up by Hitlerite sympathizers and have been spread throughout almost every hamlet in Western Canada.

"Throughout Western Canada there are numerous foreign language newspapers, which cater to the racial groups which have made Western Canada their home. Among these are two German language newspapers, of which by far the most influential is the weekly, Der Courier, published in Regina by a group of German origin who are active locally in Canadian political parties. While the owners were not actually born in Germany, the editor is a comparatively recent arrival from Germany and has been decorated in that country for his great work in 'creating mutual understanding between Canada and Germany.'

"This Courier continues to carry on a virulent pro-Nazi campaign in its editorial column, its news section, and its section devoted to correspondence. Since it only prints news favorable to Hitlerism, and attacks against anti-Nazi elements, whilst deliberately ignoring any official communiques even from Germany which would prove the anti-Jewish attitude of the present German government, its readers who depend upon it for their news are entirely ignorant of what is actually taking place in Germany, and are given the false impression that Jews are carrying on a bitter campaign against all Germans.

"Unfortunately, the Province of Saskatchewan is at present on the threshold of a new Provincial election. The German-speaking element is the largest non-Anglo-Saxon element in the Province, and the two major political parties are reluctant to take any position which might lose them the votes of such an important portion of the population. At political meetings in German speaking centres the prevailing depression and the difficult situation of the farm population is used to picture the great financiers and manufacturers of Eastern Canada as Jews who batten upon the sufferings of the poor Western Canadian farmer of German origin."

The convention of Saskatchewan residents of German origin Regina has been considering representations with respect to equality and rights. It was submitted that Canadians of German stock should have equal rights with Canadians of British stock. It was urged that persons of German origin in Canada be not just tolerated, but respected. It was decided to ask the provincial government to permit limited teaching of other than the English language in public schools of the province.

Delegates at the German-Canadian convention in Regina were allowed to march with the swastika flag at their head, no one objected to many Nazi salutes indulged in by delegates at the convention. The German tongue proceeded untrammelled. There were cheers for Hitler.

The Regina Leader-Post was puzzled:

"What rights that the average Canadian enjoys are withheld from persons of German stock or other stocks. Any suggestion that persons in Canada of German origin are merely tolerated seems wide of the mark. Persons of German stock in Canada are respected. They have always been respected.

"There is such a thing as fancied grievances. There may be such a thing as professional effort to whip people up into absurd and unwarranted emotions and conclusions.

"Persons of German stock in Canada are allowed freedom of assembly, freedom to vote, freedom to worship as they will, and the right to employ their own language to the widest possible degree.

"This is Canada, and it calls for the devotion of Canadians, of whatever racial origin. Equality for all Canadians but special privileges for none, and nothing suggestive of racial superiority on the part of any section of the population, is the job of all." (June 26, 1937)

A year later, on May 5, 1938, Saskatoon Star Phoenix was surprised that "Fascist Would Call in Herr Hitler to 'Protect' German Minorities Here."

"It isn't as if the Germans who have come to Saskatchewan in the past fifty years have had such a bad time, but the sort of thing being done for the Sudeten Germans of Czechoslovakia furnishes Hans Fries with considerable comfort just in case the Communists get more numerous in these parts.

"Mr. Fries called a meeting at North Battleford this week to see what support there was for potential Fascist action, but the meeting did not give him much encouragement. The small number attended were chiefly there from curiosity or because they were policemen. A sprinkling of German-Canadians looked in.

"Mr. Fries came to Canada from Munich, Bavaria, in 1930 and his naturalization application now is being considered by the authorities. He has farmed at Rosthern, St. Walburg, and is now in the Goodsoil district. He teamed up a year ago with F. Kratzer of Regina, who calls himself Western secretary of the Fascist group. They claim to have 3,000 or 4,000 adherents in the Province. They assert that local groups have been formed at Senlac, Koehmstardt, Gottloh, Reward, Leipzig, Primate, Revenue and Denzil and a number of other districts, principally German or Ukrainian.

"The Saskatchewan 'Feuhrers' hope to have everything in readiness for the Autumn visit of Ross Taylor of Toronto, who is national organizer.

"The ultimate objective is an appeal to Hitler for the protection of German minorities here, although it isn't clear what the German Canadians need protection against."

A resolution was passed on German Day of Kitchener, protesting discrimination against German-Canadians. The London, Ont. Catholic Record condemned the resolution editorially as an unwarranted intrusion of thinking, alien to this country. (Minutes of Ontario public relations committee, Canadian Jewish Congress, Aug. 24, 1937)

The Regina Leader-Post reported on February 25, 1939,

"First reported instances of their kind in Regina, large strips of paper bearing the word 'Jude' were found pasted on the windows of two Eleventh Avenue stores Saturday morning.

"'Jude' is the German word for Jew.

"The word was printed in block letters about four inches high on yellow paper, about a foot long by six inches in height. The signs were affixed to the windows with strips of pink gummed paper.

"When the signs were placed on the store windows was not known, for in each case they were not noticed until after the stores had opened for business.

"Similar occurrences have been reported in Winnipeg and other cities in Canada, but Regina has had no previous cases reported."

A tiny example from a dot on the Manitoba wheat-fields suggests the nature of the menace: M.J.Finkelstein, head of the western section of the Jewish Congress, reported to Montreal on February 1, 1936,

"L. is a prairie village in Manitoba in the midst of a farming district whose population is about equally divided between Germans and Ruthenians. In this village there are several storekeepers, one being a German who runs the post office in his store.

"It has been reliably reported to me that for some time past he has, along with the mail which he distributes, handed out copies of a circular. He also has a box nailed up against the post office wicket containing a number of these circulars which are naturally picked up by those who come to do business with the post office.

"Considering the nature of the surrounding population, this sort of material is of a highly inflammable nature and may cause trouble some day.

"There are Jews in the village itself and also in other towns and villages in the same district.

"This matter ought to be taken up with the Postmaster General, as it seems to me that such a propagandist should not be in charge of a post office."

Hans Kugler of Leader, Saskatchewan, asked the readers of the Regina Leader-Post, "Is it such a great crime when German Canadians admire Hitler who has done so much for their homeland and, last but not least, for civilization?" (Leader-Post, Jan. 24, 1939)

The Leader-Post reported (Jan. 13, 1939) that a German-language meeting in Togo, Sask., was told, "When Germanism marches everywhere, we too must arouse ourselves and gather. We must firmly oppose the vile lie-agitation against our racial homeland."

In Weyburn the burden of a meeting was, "We want also to help fight against the slander which the Canadian press spreads about our native land."

RESISTING

There were a few who resisted, some of them on principle: they strongly disagreed with the Nazi ideology; a few on the grounds of Canadian pragmatism: it is not practical or wise for Canadians to associate with phases of Germandom that were so contrary to Canadianism; a few on Communistic grounds: they were on equally totalitarian grounds, militantly anti-Nazi and anti-democratic.

We occasionally hear of a Heintzelman of the University of Manitoba who refuses to participate in a German League occasion held under a swastika banner, but there was always a colleague like Prof. Anton Burzle to take his place. (M. Averbach to L. Rosenberg, Apr. 5, 1939)

When G. Mohl, secretary of the Edenwold, Saskatchewan, branch of the German-Canadian Association, refused to distribute the pro-Nazi literature sent from Germany, he was fired from his post. (Regina Leader-Post, Dec. 30, 1938)

To quote J.G. Mohl,

"The 'German days' in recent years have deteriorated into propaganda meetings where imaginary grievances are aired, and high-sounding resolutions demanding 'rights' are passed. The German Day of 1935 in Regina was a Hitler demonstration pure and simple. The German consul, together with local dignitaries, stood on the platform and with raised arms shouted 'Heil Hitler.' This in a gathering where the great majority were Germans from Austria, a year after the Nazis had murdered Chancellor Dolfuss.

"At the 1936 district festival at Edenwold the Swastika was pinned on top of the Union Jack in spite of a promise given to the Edenwold local that no swastika would be flown.

"The effect of this propaganda becomes more apparent every day. A great many German-Canadians, including people born and raised here, are falling for this propaganda. They firmly believe, among other things, that the whole world is bent upon the destruction of the German people; the fuehrer wants peace, nothing but peace; but the world won't let him have it; the Jews are at the bottom of it all; the fuehrer, therefore, is justified in treating them as he does. They should be treated in Canada in the same way. The Jews are to be blamed for all our economic ills. German-Canadians are oppressed and must look to Hitler to get their rights. The whole world is scared of Hitler and his armed forces. Democratic government is inefficient, corrupt, outdated. Any person of German blood holding different opinions is a bad German, a traitor, snake-breed, worse than a Jew.

"It is not easy to counteract this propaganda. Facts are facts. While Germany is short of labor, Canadians are on relief. While the fuehrer acts, our political leaders talk. While every German in Germany is imbued with a feeling of importance, of being essential in the scheme of things, young Canadians are told by police and judges that they are not wanted and better keep on moving! " (Leader-Post, Jan. 20, 1939)

One cannot speak of a polarization in the initially non-Nazi German-Canadian community. Rather a gradation.

As the Nazi organization won the German-Canadian community, there were some who accepted this dominance later; there were some who entertained some reservations; there were some who did not go so completely on the record. But the large fact is undisputed: the community of Canadians of German origin constitute a bastion of Nazi -- and antisemitic -- ideas in Canada.

There was a more sinister and less provable consideration in the minds of many Canadians who had friends or relatives residing in lands under totalitarian control. As the Canadian Jewish Chronicle put it (Feb. 2, 1939),

"There are much more sinister and objectionable methods of propaganda and intimidation. These are said

to include a highly effective organization working in Ontario and in the prairie provinces.

"Under threats, some implied and more direct, that relatives in Germany will suffer unless the demanded cooperation is given, Canadian citizens are compelled to publicly use every opportunity to endorse Hitler and his program and to condone his atrocities. German concentration camps or worse are the alternatives to compliance."

The very possibility that this might exist constituted a powerful inhibitory force restraining resistance against the pro-Nazi agents working in the Canadian-German community.

The Canadian government was fully informed of the pressures upon its residents to serve the German cause.

One Toronto citizen wrote his member of parliament,

"After long and serious deliberations I have decided it appropriate to take the liberty of writing you this letter and sending you translated quotations from my correspondence in order that you may appreciate the kind of 'mental pressure' under which are put Canadian citizens of German descent.

"By doing so I may risk being called a rat by my own countrymen and by those Canadians as well, who may have the idea (as two ex-servicemen with whom I had an argument today) that Oath of Allegiance or not, a man should stand up for the country of his birth what ever the circumstances may be.

"I differ from that opinion and I have the true conviction that I am justified in drawing your attention to these facts.

"May the inhabitants of this continent never forget that they have obligations toward that part of the population that is of German descent. For they have made additions to our cultural life and science, have fought and died in wars when fundamental democratic principles were at stake, have helped to build up communication

lines and industries and have shown a great adaptability and a quality of acclimatization (which fact, the Nazi agents here find, is their greatest handicap in trying to organize branches of the Nazi Party and its doubtful activities). Therefore may there not be unjust discrimination against good Canadian Citizens of German descent.

"When our democratic rights of free speech, free press and free assembly are used by Nazi-agents to build a movement here, that, once it comes into power, abolishes these rights as being (in Nazi terms) 'hindering humbug', that it is time that even a somewhat slow functioning democratic administration calls a 'halt' instantly, and not after this kind of thing has been going on for six years.

"That German press, which stands on constitutional grounds (printed over here), has pointed out these facts for years and has warned against this danger time and again.

"That press died of 'lack of funds' some time ago while the Nazi press (Deutsche Zeitung fuer Canada) came out with a twelve-sheet paper, got ads from the German State Railway, Steamship lines, and funds from other sources and still flourishes.

"Influenced by such papers, in addition to bundles from Naziland and letters, is it a wonder that one scarcely hears a voice from that type of German-Canadian who is opposed to the Nazi policy of quest for 'settling-territory' at the expense of other Nations? I mean the type that sought a haven from oppression, as they have done ever since the first pioneers came to this continent, from suppression.

" The authorities were informed of "the means that were used to break down my defensive attitude, not to say my opposition toward the Nazi movement here, in order to enroll me into the local N.S.D.A.P. branch (Nazi Party). This information may also serve to dissolve any doubts as to the objectives of this group or the D.A.G. (Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft) otherwise called 'German Bund', into whose orbit are again brought individual Clubs.

"Through their confidence-man in Canada the Nazi Party headquarters in Berlin had been informed about the standing of every German born citizen living here and this information verified by censuring letters.

"The Nazi Party put pressure on my relative in Germany and urged her to use her influence to bring me in line. She received the following letter from the headquarters of the N.S.D.A.P. (Nazi Party) in Berlin:

"'Department for Extra-Territorial Organization'.
"'Nazional-Sozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiter Partei'.

"'Berlin, March 30, 1937.

"'In the following I am giving you a report of my confidence-man in Canada regarding your son:.... In respect to.... I would like to point out again,as I have done before in my letter of October 9.36 addressed to the leader for the Dominion,that we have proposed to Mr..... to report frequently at my office and also at the office of the 'German Club Harmonie' which he has failed to do -- Several party members have informed me that Mr.... has very doubtful contacts with people of unfavourable inclinations toward the third Reich.

"'I am expecting a very detailed report on this matter which I will forward to you as soon as it is received here.'"

"The person that sent me these copies was very much upset by these reports about myself,and consequently wrote a letter to the 'Department for Extra-Territorial Organization' denying these statements as slander and citing several dirty tricks that have been played on her son by members of the Nazi Party in Toronto, which would have the effect of throwing a bad light on the character of her son.

"My mother in a supplementary comment adds that she does not know what obligations I would have towards the Dominion authorities but adds:

"'whatever they may be it is your duty to clear your stand as far as the Nazi Party is concerned.... you

made the mistake of not applying for membership in the N.S.D.A.P. in Toronto, the first time you were asked to see Mr. Carl Kropp.'"

"On June 18, 1937 I received another summons from C.G.Kropp.

"'In a matter of great importance to you I would like you to call at my office during the time between 10-12 a.m. or 3-5 p.m.'

"I went there, but again I made no move to join the Nazi Party. When Mr. Kropp urged me to join in the organized fight against the Jewish-communist propaganda, I told him that I had my own way of dealing with communists. He told me that I could not do this, without having contact with the Nazi Party."

The Berlin family of this Canadian citizen was evidently under terrible pressure, for one of them wrote to Canada,

"You have little right to complain about my continued silence.

"Some time ago I wrote mother a letter for the special purpose of explaining to her what I thought of you 'Canadians'. I hoped that mother would at least convey to you those parts of my letter which she could consider fit for your minds to digest. I have vainly waited for some sign of response.

"From the latest communication which I received from mother I could gather that you have become a Canadian Citizen and, therefore, you have evidently no intention of returning to your fatherland. These news shocked me profoundly, especially at a moment, when I had just planned, by way of the Re-Immigration Office of the N.S.D.A.P., to get an allowance for your fare home. I was also trying to find a suitable position for you. This I do not consider difficult, considering your training, your abilities and the fact that you have a family to support.

"At the enquiry desk I happened to meet a gentleman who had just left behind 'ten years Canada' with a negative success and who expressed his joy over having come home for good where he can live like a human being and exercise his faculties to his heart's delight.

"Today we are celebrating another victory: The Memel-Territory has been returned to the Reich. Blow by blow our Fuehrer accomplishes the aims he has set himself during the years of his struggle for power. Any intelligent reader can therefore deduce from the program of the Nazi Party and from the book 'Mein Kampf' what the future will bring.

"'Clear for action', that is the slogan for every German with a sense of responsibility, and it is also the secret key to our successes as far as our domestic and foreign policies are concerned. Not even the fact can alter this decision of our Fuehrer that Germany has become a fort besieged during peacetime, by verdict of the Jews, the Comrade-Jews (Russia), the English, and the French. But we have gathered an immense amount of knowledge since 1914 and above all: History has been benevolent enough

to bless us with the genius of a leader, such as history will not produce again in milleniums. I wished you would confide in him as we do, who are bound to our Fuehrer by a blind obedience....

"You are bound by obligation to come home, because the Fatherland needs every single man immediately and urgently for the fulfillment of the colossal projects of our generation....

"How bitter must it be for you to be condemned to live, of all places, on that Jew-infested continent. What other interest has that continent but to graft profit from the munition-shipments during the next war which will eventually come? Do you intend to, some day, become an accomplice in that criminal act against your own people?

"The reasons which once have prompted you to go to Canada might have been justified at that time, but today there is only one slogan for all Germans (unless they live on their own property over there), may they be descendants from Austria, the Sudeten Territory and the Bohemian-Morauvian Settling-Territory, that slogan is: 'Back into the Third Reich'.

"Now is not the time to consider your own personal opinions. Now is the time when this final decision has to be made by you: 'Are you going to help your country in the final fight for LIBERTY AND TERRITORIAL SETTLING GROUNDS, OR DO you consider your own personal 'WELL BEING' more important? On this point we will not permit conflicting interpretations. The answer has to be a straight 'Yes' or 'No' and in making that decision you will be held responsible by your children and by coming generations. Germany must not be forced upon its knees again by egotism and dissension. In this respect history must not repeat itself, and we here back home have the stout belief that this will never happen again if we keep on marching according to the law which made us form our ranks.

"I am not sure if, and to which degree, you will still possess the right mental attitude in order to be able to digest the thoughts which I have tried to convey in this letter, considering your having to continually swallow the products of the Canadian 'News-Service' (?) Just the same, I have set my mind on making one thing absolutely clear to you that: it would be the most

grievous experience of my life if you would consider seriously and decide to become 'Cultural Manure' for a foreign country and its people. Were it not for the fact that the German population of the American Continent themselves tried to extinguish in their hearts the recollection of their Fatherland, millions and multi-millions of German descendants over there would arise and would send that damn Jewish rabble and all their criminal assistants to h----. Keep this in mind: 80% of all soldiers that were recruited in Canada and U.S.A. during the last war were of German descent."

The intense Nazi propaganda inevitably led a number of German Canadians to throw their lot in again with the militant motherland whose regime was not slow to mobilize those with German blood for various services to the Reich, including military service. In Saskatchewan, the provincial command of the Canadian Legion was moved to ask the government to have aliens returning to their native lands for military service take their dependents with them; these would be barred from return entry to Canada.

Weyburn faced such a case of a returning German leaving his family on public relief in Canada.

The consular procedure in mobilising Germans in Canada did not deceive alert Canadians, especially when it came late in the decade. As the Regina Leader-Post reported.

"War veterans organizations in western Canada are pressing for vigorous action by the Dominion government with respect to persons of foreign stock in Canada who are enemies of Canadian and British institutions and friends or even agents of dictator countries overseas.

Ken MacTaggart of the staff of the Toronto Globe and Mail reported from Kitchener that Rabbi M.N.Eisendrath said that "people of this district had written to him charging that they were being intimidated into support of it on threat of reprisals to relatives in Germany.

"Months ago, a man generally described by his German compatriots as a 'racketeer' and a 'chiseller' attempted such a blackmailing scheme. He demanded support from Germans resident in Ontario and then revealed that he knew names of their relatives. He broadly hinted that something along prison camp lines would happen to the relatives if support was not given.

"He didn't last very long because reputable Germans and German-Canadians quietly 'put the bee' on him. They told him to quit or they would personally prefer criminal charges against him. So he quit." (Nov. 25, 1937)

In 1936 the German groups in Kitchener rejected Naziism, a stiff blow to Farr's plan to convert that community into a stronghold for his movement. (Canadian Jewish Review)

A German Canadian League which was anti-Nazi in character existed in Montreal in 1939. On April 23 it sponsored a rally at the Forum with Paul Tillich, Jesuit Father Bryan of Loyola, Czechoslovak consul Dr. F. Pavlasek and Dean D.L. Ritchie of the United Theological College.

The aggressive German consul at Ottawa protested against the participation of Dr. Pavlasek as an alleged breach of diplomatic protocol. (Public Archives, King Papers)

THE NAZIS IN ACTION

Rosenberg reported the corruption of a fine Canadian tradition,

"Each year a convention of members of the Rural Municipalities Councils meets in either one of the three cities of Regina, Saskatoon and Moose Jaw. It has been customary for the German Canadian Association in each of these cities to give a banquet honouring those delegates who happen to be of German origin. In previous years those affairs have been entirely non-partisan and have consisted mainly of the singing of German songs, the drinking of beer and speeches of various kinds.

"During the past few years, however, since the German Canadian Association has been captured by Nazis, these annual affairs actually became Nazi gatherings in which the Swastika flag is displayed, Nazi songs sung, and the exploits of Hitler and the New Germany glorified.

"This is done although the German Canadian Association of Saskatchewan still loudly protests that it is 'non-partisan and non-political.' 'Rounds of applause were given as pictures of Hitler's triumphal march into Austria, and the signing of the Munich agreement flashed on the screen.' 'The real enemies of the country are those who were hatched in an atmosphere of moral decadence and in a spirit of Stalinism!" (Letter to Caiserman, March 15, 1939)

When the Muenster, Sask., German Catholic St. Peter's Bote condemned the Nazi propaganda which radiates from Winnipeg, the Deutsche Zeitung implied that the editors were "suffering from deformation of the national spine" and "were frightened by animosity and abuse, and were whining for mercy...Perhaps a rascal can be found here and there who draws the dirty weapon of personal hatred like a dagger against Canadian Germans who are loyal to their people."

The Deutsche Zeitung was carefully read in Berlin where Der Angriff, the leading Nazi paper of the capital, reprinted Canadian views from this western Canadian paper, e.g., its report smearing the C.I.O. as a communist-controlled union. (Angriff, May 25, 1937; reported to the Canadian Jewish Congress by the Jewish Central Information Office of Amsterdam May 28, 1937)

With time the German paper became more daring. As the Leader-Post wrote:

"A Warning to the Liberal party that German-Canadians may withhold their support unless action is taken against newspapers which attack the Nazis, and a call to action addressed to all German organizations in Saskatchewan, are contained in the March 29 issue of Deutsche Zeitung Fuer, Canada.

"The German newspaper accused the Canadian Press of whipping up hatred against Germany and stated that most Canadians at heart were not really interested in the fate of Czechoslovakia and still less in a war against Germany, because every half-thinking citizen remembers Canada's sacrifice of blood and gold in the last world war, and asks himself if it was really worth while to save the world for democracy.

"It warned that oppression aroused counter-oppression, and that the sooner steps were taken to deal with the newspapers the better it would be for the peace of Saskatchewan.

"The perpetual trouble-making of the Regina Leader-Post could be dealt with.

"It becomes the task of all organizations who know themselves as Germans to arouse all compatriots of the German race for action to keep clean our honour and for the defence of civil peace in Saskatchewan.

"The Germans are the strongest non-British national group in Saskatchewan. So that as Canadian citizens they don't have to accept the press incitation any longer."

This German "warning" attracted general attention. The Moose Jaw Council of Ex-Servicemen passed a resolution asking that the Deutsche Zeitung be at once suppressed and if necessary that its editors be placed under surveillance.

At the meeting members had reported individual cases which indicated that the situation was more tense than had been originally believed.

Canadian Legion branches in Regina, Prince Albert and North Battleford passed similar resolutions.

J.S. Woodsworth, C.C.F. parliamentary leader, complained in the House of Commons about the Zeitung which was anti-British and antisemitic. "Is the government seeing that there should not be in Canada any organ which is actively promoting strife between sections of the country?"

Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe replied affirmatively but could obviously not reveal the ministry's methods of receiving its information.

"I do know that in certain small sections of the country work is being done in order to gain support for other forms of government which we do not want in this country.

In western Canada the pro-Hitler Germans organized vigorously when Hitler came to power. By November, 1933, Bernhard Bott was president of the German-Canadian Central Committee at Regina and was protesting to Prime Minister Bennett against the boycott on German-produced imports set on foot in Winnipeg by an association of Jewish doctors, dentists and druggists. Dr. D.M. Genoff had written (Nov. 10, 1933).

"As you know, every dollar that we spend when we buy goods made in Nazi-Germany is used by Hitler and his henchmen to spread Jew hatred and atrocity propaganda in this country.

"Nazi-Germany has declared war not only against the defenseless Jews of Germany but against Jewry the world over. The only effective weapon we possess at the present time is an economic boycott....

"We are not alone. The American Federation of Labor, and the Trades and Labour Council of Canada have declared a boycott against Nazi-Germany. The progressive and freedom loving people of the world over are in sympathy with our cause."

Mr. Bott protested to Ottawa.

"The boycott scheme aroused the indignation of all representatives of German-speaking parishes and societies present at that meeting. They resolved unanimously to proclaim our most emphatic protest as Canadian citizens against the inhuman course recommended in that letter.

"According to medical opinion, some of the chemicals and medicines which should be excluded from the Canadian drug market are indispensable, and their substitutes thus insufficient for curing or alleviating the suffering of sick persons in Canada.

"At the same time we put the following questions before you for your kind consideration:

"1. Are you already aware of the boycott scheme or similar undertakings which are nothing else than an interfering with domestic affairs of another country, an unfriendly act against that country, a disturbance of the good relations between Canada and Germany, and an introduction of racial strife and bitterness into the peaceful inner life of Canada?

"2. Is the Federal Government of Canada willing and ready to take immediate steps for a thorough investigation of this matter and to prosecute, if proof is forthcoming, the instigators of that inhuman method of anti-German boycott?

"According to our opinion, it is a criminal offence to prevent medical doctors and druggists from using and distributing medicines that have proved their high value for sick human beings.

"The German-Canadian Central Committee, as a representative body of German-speaking parishes and societies and as an organization representing several thousands of loyal Canadian citizens of German origin would be very much obliged to you if you would see fit to act accordingly with a firm hand." (Public Archives of Canada)

In Montreal the Harmonia, German-Hungarian and the German Schwabian clubs were Nazi centres. The Jewish community sought to deprive them of their beverage licenses because of the anti-democratic propaganda disseminated there. When the government acceded to this request, the Verein Deutsch-Hungary became the centre for the Hitlerites. (Caiserman to Peter Bercovitch, Feb. 14, Apr. 1, 1936)

Among others F.W.Wegenast, K.C., of Toronto, offered proof to the office of the prime minister, to the R.C.M.P. and to the Minister of Justice that this Deutsche paper"is maintained in Winnipeg by way of spreading Nazi propaganda in the western provinces." (Wegenast to King, Feb. 3, 1939; King Papers, P. 238,284)

The Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council drew the attention of Prime Minister King to "the open threats made against the thousands of German Canadians who are antagonistic to Hitler and to his Fascist program, and who are loyal to British democratic principles," as published in the Deutsche Zeitung and reprinted in the Star-Phoenix. "We urge that immediate steps be taken to curb the activities of the paper, the editor of which has evidently mistaken liberty for license. The whole editorial is a challenge to those who dare to hate Hitler and all his works. It is high time that steps were taken by our government to see that those who prefer German leadership and German ways to Canadian be returned to their country. Surely watchful waiting can go too far." (Telegram from G. Dealtry, secretary of the Council, to King, May 15, 1939; King Papers, P. 226,017)

In reaction to the anti-German boycott sponsored by the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Germans in Montreal organized a public meeting of protest against the boycotters, and to encourage the importation of German products.

The satanic Voelkischer Beobachter as early as October 17, 1934, rejoiced that in Canada the "populist elements impelled by the German element within the ethnic composition of the nation's population was rising against Jewish influence."

The first session of the Canadian Jewish Congress, reorganized in 1934 to a large extent in the face of the anti-semitic challenge, was told,

"As a result of the rise to power of Hitler in Germany, well organized attempts are now being made to establish active and powerful Hitlerite branches, throughout Western Canada. In some districts, such as British Columbia, these organizations go under the name of 'Friends of the New Germany.' The leaders in many cases are comparatively recent immigrants from Germany, former members of the German armed forces during the war, or of the S.A. or S.S. Troops. Meetings are opened with the singing of the Horst Wessel song and closed with the cry of 'Heil Hitler.' Democracy is scorned; no elections are held, and the leaders of 'Fuehrers' are appointed by someone

who claims direct communication with headquarters in Germany.

"In Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, all German speaking organizations have been banded together into special committees for the avowed purpose of counteracting 'Anti-German Propaganda'. In the actual fact, these organized bodies have not contented themselves with merely denying reports of events in Germany but are carrying on an intensive campaign for a boycott of all newspapers that publish information displeasing to Hitlerism, no matter how true and from what source this information comes. The boycott is urged not only against such newspapers but against all firms advertising in such newspapers, against all Germans who dare to express opinions opposed to Hitlerism, and against all Jews (thinly disguised under the appellation Anti-German elements).

"Attempts have been made to unite within this organization all German speaking people in Canada, whether they came from Russia, Austria, Hungary, Rumania or Germany itself, and whether they are Roman Catholic or Lutheran. Every person of German origin who refuses to accept this leadership and refuses to give active support to Hitlerism is placed under the ban, and publicly declared a traitor to his race, religion and language. The German language newspapers appeal to all sympathizers to place themselves in touch with the German Fichte Bund in Hamburg, which will supply them with quantities of pamphlets in English, German or any other language containing violent diatribes against the Jews and the Allied Powers. These pamphlets are distributed free of charge among all people."

Louis Rosenberg reported to the Montreal office of the Congress from Regina (Nov. 22, 1935) that

"The Deutscher Bund has branches in the majority of urban and rural centres in Canada in which there are residents of German origin. This organization is very active in the West especially in cities such as Regina, Edmonton and Vancouver. Frequent meetings and study circles are conducted in which papers are read concerning the New Germany, Hitlerism, the Jewish Menace, etc., and each of these centres usually has a library of German and English books and pamphlets.

"In many cases, Canadians of German origin who are prominent in local Canadian political life are active members of this organization, although the fact of such membership is often denied.

"Apart from their activities amongst German-speaking Canadian residents, attempts are made to influence Canadian

opinion in favour of Hitlerite Germany by newspaper interviews and articles purporting to be furnished by people who have just returned from Germany.

"I have noticed in the press in various parts of the country during the past few months, reports by clergymen and others who attempt to justify the treatment of the Jews in Nazi Germany by stating that they have been shown accurate statistics proving that the Jews in Germany not only dominated the cultural life of the nation but were predominant among those convicted of all kinds of crime. When questioned, such speakers have been unable to produce official pre-Hitlerite statistical reports proving these statements, but have stated that they were shown such information by reliable persons."

The convening Canadians of German origins under the German-Canadian Central Committee in Toronto was to be a new development. "There must be the younger generation who have passed through the terrors and difficulties of the war or of the European confusion which followed the war. Much has been broken which will never be rebuilt. A new and fresh wind blows through Germandom. Withered branches fall away. A new people's brotherhood is being built which has nothing to do with the former order, with the misunderstood 'gemuetlichkeit', with all that remains of that beer-blissful courteousness. Many have not yet realized it, although they think they do. It is a question of a new spirit and a new will....

"They are not Sunday picnics or excursions.. They are the driving force for a new German Canadian movement." (Courier, March 21, 1934)

The Bund made its greatest headway in Winnipeg. James Gray, in his chronicle of the Depression years on the prairies, asserts that Nazis infiltrated the university, the schools and the churches. "Until the outbreak of war", he writes in The Winter Years, "anti-Nazism was a lost cause in Winnipeg, and the boisterous rejection of appeasement by the Free Press won it few plaudits." A strong allegation, but at the time of the Bund's inception a professor from Brandon College was on the lecture circuit, giving western Canadian service clubs his extremely pro-Hitler "Impressions of Berlin".

In the spring of 1933 an agent was assigned to organize the Friends of New Germany in Canada. He wrote to thank his Winnipeg correspondent for his interest"in Hitler and his ideas and interests. We do appreciate your willingness to cooperate with us in establishing Nazi groups and locals throughout Canada." (cited in Betcherman, P. 63)

Characteristically, German Day in Regina in the summer of 1937 was observed in low key. Even the socialist C.C.F., precursor of the N.D.P., greeted the meeting together with spokesmen of the government and the mayor. Jewish citizens assisted the organizers, and one even lent a truck to convey the band. But the truck was decorated with a Nazi flag, which was later carried in parade. (Report by L. Rosenberg, Aug. 20, 1937)

In Montreal, a publication marking Hitler's fiftieth birthday in 1939 was issued on the initiative of the Deutscher Fichte- Bund of Hamburg. It carried scores of paid greetings from Montreal citizens, churches and businesses.

Caiserman wrote to the Y.M.H.A., "Out of the 13 German organizations in Montreal, only three are not Nazi." (Dec. 4, 1938)

In Kingston, with its substantial German-Canadian population, there were hoodlums who from time would paint swastikas on public buildings in the cover of night. The local Ministerial Association sought to counter the anti-Jewish agitation by sponsoring lectures to deal with the calumnies against the Jews which were all too rife. (Letter from Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal to American Jewish Committee, May 13, 1935).

Die Deutsche Zeitung fur Canada carried illustrations from an exhibition on antisemitism in Berlin, Munich and Vienna on the theme, "Jews Without Masks."

As Louis Rosenberg reported to M.J.Finkelstein on Jan. 23, 1936,

"A new weekly newspaper in German is now being published in Winnipeg. It is called the Deutsche Zeitung Fur Canada and is published by persons operating under the name of Gutenberg Publishing Company, which may be a firm name or may be a registered company.

"The first issue of this weekly paper was on May 13th, 1935. Its editor is the notorious Bernhard Bott, whose editorial address is given as 339 Mountain Ave., Winnipeg. The printers of this paper are the Rundschau Publishing House of 672 Arlington At., Winnipeg, the same printing firm which figured as the printer of the Nationalist.

"It publishes each week on its masthead some quotation from Hitler, Goebbels, Goering or some other Nazi stalwart, and it boasts that it is the only newspaper in Canada with a direct news service from the new Germany. There can be little doubt that it is a subsidised Nazi propaganda sheet established by Bernhard Bott in Canada after the failure to use the Courier of Regina for his purposes upon his return from Germany.

"A free copy of this paper is being sent out regularly by Bernhard Bott to every public library in Western Canada; the last page of the paper is printed in English. The size of the paper and its general set-up indicate that considerable money must be spent each week in publishing it, and this money is certainly not covered by paid subscriptions."

The printers of the German weekly, the Rundschau Publishing Company, had been codefendants in 1934 in the legal action involving the antisemitic Canadian Nationalist. At that time they were released from the suit on apologizing and giving a written promise not to repeat the offense. They claimed that they had not been aware of the contents of the publication of which they were only printers. (Section 2, Pp. 94-96)

The pro-Nazi elements took over the community organizations. The German-language press in Canada came to defend the Nazi government openly and by innuendo, and contributed to the spread of antisemitic ideas.

The Deutsche Zeitung fur Canada of Winnipeg had German consul Dr. Heinrich Seelheim as principal owner from its inception; holding some 300 of its 700 shares with manager Hermann Bott holding 255 shares. Dr. Seelheim retained control of the Winnipeg paper even after he was transferred to Japan in 1937. The provincial secretary's records indicate the tie between the German government and the Nazi propaganda being disseminated in Manitoba.

On January 12, 1939 the Winnipeg Tribune wrote that the Rundschau publishing house were the printers of the Deutsche Zeitung which was disseminating antisemitic material.

At that time Mr. Herman Neufeld, proprietor of the Rundschau company stated that, again, he was unaware of the contents of the paper he was printing and that other arrangements were being made for the production of the Zeitung.

Early in the spring the Gutenberg printery set up its own plant to print the Deutsche Zeitung.

The German paper boldly defended the Nazi treatment of the Jews, declaring that it was no worse than the British record.

"We have treated the Jews more humanely than the British treated the Boers and the Arabs.

"The atrocities committed by the English during the Boer War brought down the censure of the whole world upon England. To the Boers it meant their lives and friends. The British exterminated whatever existed there by their military superiority only in order to gain diamonds and gold mines and to be able to carry out their speculations.

"A Berlin newspaper wrote the other day: 'The British empire was built upon streams of blood, injustice, the breaking of treaties and ferocity. Always England knew how to make the world forget historical crimes, which were perpetrated not in defence, but as new robbery of new land, while she spread an especially woven cloak over these misdeeds.'"

Always the friend of those Arabs who were attacking Jews in Palestine, the Deutsche Zeitung wrote,

"The great democracies have a guilty conscience and not only recently but in the last decade. Let us glance toward Palestine and we get a picture: According to an official English publication, which appeared November 1, 1,089 Arabs were killed in Palestine in the last few months .... 1,449 Arabs were killed by English troops in October. The Arabs have counted 1,600 people dead or wounded in the past few months.

"By the stern acts in Palestine, which were carried out by orders of the British government, houses, streets and towns were blown up, hundreds of women and children were killed. The brutal deeds of force against the Arabs resulted not because the English nation was affected by them, but only for the benefit of Jews and English capitalists." (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Feb. 2, 1939)

The extent of the German machine in the Canadian west is clarified by its plan to survey points of entry for large groups from Canada into the midwestern United States.

In the light of European experience after 1939 the design is clear and ominous.

Rosenberg noted that in Saskatchewan a minister of the provincial cabinet who was of German origin favoured the Deutsche Bund. Consequently, he noted, it would be difficult to enforce regulations limiting the showing of such Hitler propaganda films as "Deutschland Erwache". (Letter to Caiserman, Apr. 20, 1935.)

P. Abel of the Reunion Association of Alberta appealed to the Secretary of State at Ottawa. (Mackenzie King Papers, July 17-21, 1936, Pp. 185354 - 185357.)

The Montreal division of the Deutsche Bund conducted a flag initiation in Oct. 1938. The main festivity concluded with the singing of "Deutschland ueber Alles" and the "Horst Wessel Song".

The swastika flag flew over national assemblies of German origin Canadians where links with the fatherland were strengthened by active Nazi orators and members of the consular and diplomatic staff accredited to Canada, covered by the traditional conventions to which the country was proud to adhere.

In Edmonton this created a problem in 1936. Although the German flag had been hoisted beside the Union Jack since the innocent days before Germany came to stand for horror, that year the League against War and Fascism protested, and a police magistrate supported them. He refused permission for such a pairing of ensigns at the German-Canadian reunion in a local park on August 2.

519 Church St. was the Toronto address of the Harmonie Club where the local group of Der Stalhelm also met every month. In Montreal the Harmonie quarters was the home of the local group of the Auslands organization, also convened under the sign of the swastika.

In July, 1939, the Canadian Jewish Congress alerted the United Farmers of Canada of active branches of the Deutscher Bund conducting strong pro-Nazi propaganda among German-origin Canadians.

The pro- Hitler organization had branches in an impressive number of western Canadian communities.

The list has been prepared from recent copies of the Deutsche Zeitung fuer Canada, the official organ of the Deutscher Bund published in Winnipeg, and names only those points which have reported activities recently:

Bluebell	North Battleford
Broadview	Prelate
Claybank	Raymore
Crayson	Regina
Langenberg	Saskatoon
Loon River	St. Walburg
Macoon	Vibank
Meadstead	Whitewood
Melville	Young Whitewood

MORE CLEARLY THE ENEMY

In the following months, as Germany became more clearly Canada's enemy -- clearly so to the Canadian Legion if not yet to the Prime Minister -- there were restraints upon German propaganda.

In April 1939 a group of Calgary veterans prepared to attack the hall where the Canadian Society for German Culture was proposing to show two films lent them by the German consulate in Winnipeg. The police chief advised the cancellation of the showing at the last minute. (Windels to Skelton, Apr. 1939; King Papers, Pp. 238493-95)

The Chief Censor of Alberta, Robert Pearson, flatly announced that "films in the German language must not be shown for the present," for their showing in Calgary or Edmonton would lead to disorder. (Pearson to Continental Films, Winnipeg, June 20, 1939; King Papers, P. 238508)

The Manitoba Film Board the same day prohibited the showing of two news reels submitted by the German consulate. (Windels to Skelton, July 18, 1939; King Papers, Pp. 238505-7)

Several months before the bloodbath some Canadians woke to the suicidal silence which was engulfing Canada.

The Regina Leader-Post noticed much that was "close to sedition" on its doorstep:

"The point might as well be kept clearly in mind that those in Canada who are making themselves defenders of countries whose actions are in opposition to those of Britain are not merely attacking, as they usually claim, the Canadian newspapers or Canadian organizations or citizens opposed to what are generally referred to as the dictator states.

"They are attacking the British nation, His Majesty the King, the Canadian government, the Canadian parliament, the prime minister of Canada, the leader of the Conservative party in Canada, the leaders of all parties in the Canadian parliament.

"The statement that they must defend their races against attacks in the Canadian press does not hold good: they are attacking much more than the newspapers. They are attacking the nation.

"While Canada is a land of free speech, the point arises that this fight being carried on against the country in which they are living, and the open sympathy expressed for the nation's potential enemies must come pretty close to sedition." (Apr. 11, 1939)

The extreme Nazi and anti-British propaganda in the Deutsche Zeitung led the Regina Leader-Post to refer to current anti-espionage legislation which "provide punishment for persons who may be found in league with countries that may operate against the interests of Canada. They are aimed at subversive activity. The government at Ottawa, and governments generally in Canada, have a large measure of public support in measures aimed at dealing with anti-Canadian or anti-British activities in any form.

"Some may wonder if organized Nazidom in Canada is to be allowed to go on unchecked. Where such situations exist as the week-by-week insults to Canadian and British feelings to be found in a German publication at Winnipeg, one may wonder to what point tolerance and forbearance in this country are expected to go.

"A front-page editorial in the Deutsche Zeitung fur Canada refers to 'the arrogant British' and carries other material that would seem to suggest where its sympathies lie." (Apr. 13, 1939)

The Canadian Pacific Railway on Feb. 21, 1939 suddenly showed a 20-minute German propaganda film, Germany of Today, in the Montreal YMCA after withholding it for some time.

The Deutsche Zeitung fur Canada was glad to report on March 8:

"This film has been in the hands of the C.P.R. for the last two years, but was not shown because of the political situation during recent times, as a result of which it was not considered advisable to show it in English circles.

"The present period of quiet has made it possible to show this picture of flourishing Germany. This film is an unfalsified, uncolored picture of the creative spirit and work in the New Germany, a picture which is not suitable to persons in political circles in this country who would like to get as far away as possible from the truth.

"It shows the new Germany as it really is, and not as it is described daily in the newspapers, the achievement and success of a people which has recognized its mission and which proceeds upon its way with clenched teeth. From Hamburg the audience was taken over modern motor roads, which are the pride of Germany, through the entire country."

Bott arranged for the showing of a series of 16 mm. sound films of a Nazi propaganda nature. As these can be shown in churches, schools and halls which are not licensed for moving picture purposes, this type of film lent itself readily to the service of Nazi propaganda in the rural areas. In the majority of cases these films, being 16 mm. safety stock and designed ostensibly not for commercial use, are not censored. (Advertisements in Deutsche Zeitung fur Canada, May, 1939)

When Yale, B.C.'s M.P. Grote Stirling complained in the Commons of a German propaganda film being shown in the west by an Austrian Nazi (May 16, 1939), Prime Minister King admitted that such activities had come to the attention of the government which was watching them very closely.

A report by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, published after the war, reviewed German Fascist activities in Canada during this period. (We quote from the revised edition of 1952):

"It will be recalled that Hitler had visions of world conquest, that with this in mind he created in 1931 the Auslands Organization of the National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei -- in English, the Foreign Branch of the Nazi Party. Its influence began to be felt in Canada in 1934. There were already in that year a number of party members and a good many German societies in this country, but the party members were not organized and the societies were local affairs of all colours and creeds.

"In 1934, a number of German lecturers appeared on the scene and began to extol the virtues of the New Order among their countrymen. Among the half a million persons of

German origin in Canada the lecturers had ample material for audiences. Of these lecturers some were special emissaries sent out by the Auslands Organisation but others had been in the country for some time.

"Their organization work was carried out by lectures, personal contact, distribution of printed propaganda, and the showing of German films. The printed material emanated chiefly from a publishing house in Hamburg and enormous quantities were distributed. As a result a national administration was set up and Ortsgruppen (locals or cells) were formed in Montreal, Toronto, Kitchener, Winnipeg, Regina, and Edmonton. The Ortsgruppe in Edmonton appears to have been dissolved later for lack of strength. In addition to these there were a few members at large elsewhere. The total membership was about 100.

"There were various reasons for the limited strength. Applicants had to be born in Germany proper, of blameless record (from the German viewpoint), and to have retained their German nationality. Dues were substantial and contribution to various causes were constantly demanded. The oath of admission to the party reads as follows in translation:

'I swear absolute allegiance to Adolf Hitler and implicit obedience to him and to the leader appointed over me by him.'

"During the years following their inception the Ortsgruppen carried on the fostering of the Nazi spirit in Canada. In this they were supported by German consular officials and various semi-official German agencies such as the Canadian offices of the German State Railways and Steamship Lines as well as several German-controlled commercial concerns. A party member was usually in control of such enterprises. Ortsgruppen worked in secrecy as far as possible. Membership lists were secret, meetings were secret, and their information bulletin which was printed in Berlin was secret. On top of that, in the spring of 1939, all party records were removed to the German Consulates for safekeeping.

"Naturally all this secrecy proved a handicap to investigation by the police, but counter-espionage agents nevertheless learned what was going on within the party. The secret work did not appear to be particularly impressive. There was, however, a more important aspect to the work of the Ortsgruppen, not of a secret nature -- that of guiding the D.A.F. and the Deutsche Bund along true Nazi lines. This presented some difficulty for it was not intended that the average member of the D.A.F. or the Deutsche Bund become aware

that he was being so guided.

"Members of the Bund were officially assured that they were independent of the N.S.D.A.P. Consequently this work required considerable tact and was not always successful. Nevertheless, party members did mingle freely with their compatriots at social and political gatherings, using such talents as they possessed in diffusing, strengthening and maintaining the Nazi spirit.

"In Canada the D.A.P. did not appear until 1936, and here of course it could not function as in Germany. Its purpose in Canada was to provide a mass organization for German nationals. (The N.S.D.A.P. embraced only a few of the élite.) The conditions of admission were not strict nor the fees high. Members of the Masonic Order were ineligible. No oath of loyalty to Hitler was taken, but those who advanced to any official position within the D.A.F. were required to join the N.S.D.A.P. and as such had to take the oath. This, of course, was to insure that the D.A.F. developed along strict Nazi lines. Organization was fairly slow in Canada, and due to the late start there were only three years of development before the outbreak of World War II.

"However, a National Administration was set up in Montreal, and Ortsgruppen and Stutzpunkte (points of support) were established in various cities and rural centres. The largest, in Montreal, had 165 members including 28 women. The total strength was around 500.

"Activity in the bigger centres included the study of propaganda literature and training in public speaking. Party members usually were present and in charge at the meetings. On the social side there were parties, dancing, sing songs, and the showing of German films. Then there were the sports of the Kraft durch Freude (Strength Through Joy) -- target shooting and a bit of drilling. The usual Nazi claptrap was much in evidence -- swastika arm bands, German flags, Nazi salutes, and heiling of Hitler. German consuls were often honoured guests or speakers.

"Early in the summer of 1939 public opinion in Canada became so incensed over these activities that the D.A.F. had to close down. Despite their growing apprehension party members compiled lists of skilled workers and artisans with a view to effecting the return of these people to Germany where apparently they were wanted, but as it turned out there was not enough time left for this repatriation. Some members

returned to Germany, some moved to the United States, and others managed to get their names on the payroll of German Consulates and thereby achieved diplomatic immunity. By early autumn there were about 400 known members left in Canada, but when the war broke out this number had dwindled to about 60.

"It will be seen that the N.S.D.A.P. and the D.A.F. took care of German nationals only. Something was needed to organize the large number of Germans who had become naturalized in Canada. This was provided by the Canadian Society for German Culture. Founded in 1934, this organization grew steadily in strength and by 1939 had spread across Canada except for the Maritimes. Conditions of entry were easy. Anyone of German descent could join and fees were small. The constitution claimed it to be a cultural society not connected with politics and sought to unite all Germans, promote German cultural blessings, supply German literature and raise the German Canadian youth in the proper German spirit. This constitution did not look particularly subversive, nor indicate connection with the Auslands Organisation.

"By 1937 the organization work and propaganda had reached a point where the Auslands Organisation felt safe in disclosing its hand. This was done through proclamation of the famous Four Year Plan drawn up under the direction of Hermann Goering. It is an elaborate document dealing with plans for employment, plans for acquiring foreign exchange, German cultural endeavours, German press and literature, membership campaign, awards and merits -- the whole aim being to diffuse Naziism. By 1939, the membership had grown to approximately 4,000 with the management in Montreal and 70 locals and points of support throughout the country.

"The activities were similar to those of the D.A.F. but on a much larger scale. They ranged from small private membership meetings to huge public affairs attended by thousands. It may be safely said that many of the rank and file cared little for Nazism. Some even resented its introduction into the society. They were chiefly interested in getting together with their countrymen, having their beer, and singing German songs. On the other hand, the higher officials were staunch supporters of the Four Year Plan and laboured continually at bringing its provisions into effect. In this they had some success. The youth movement for example advanced quite well. It took the form of instruction in the German language after regular school hours and of summer camps patterned on the Hitler Youth Camps. At the larger centres where there were strong

leaders, camp meetings were held for adults as well, with drilling, goose-stepping and heiling galore. Naturally these goings-on could not escape public attention. While the activities of the N.S.D.A.P. were unknown to the layman and those of the D.A.F. received little notice, the bundists were vigorously attacked in the Canadian press and in the summer of 1939 forced to suspend.

"The most important medium of Nazi propaganda in Canada was the Deutsche Zeitung published in Winnipeg, which paraded as the official organ of German thought. It reached a circulation of 5,000 by the spring of 1939. A civil suit filed by creditors led to the seizure of its assets just before the outbreak of war and it stopped printing.

"Regarding propaganda, the leaflets distributed were often cleverly written and they appealed to nationalists and isolationalists of all kinds. Films imported from Germany were also effective, and book exchanges and lending librairies were not neglected.

"When war broke out prompt action was taken under the Defence of Canada Regulations. Approximately 400 Germans were interned immediately, including members of the N.S.D.A.P., the more important members of the D.A.F., Bund officials and a few would-be saboteurs. The number eventually rose to 807, including 13 women. Most of the subsequent internments were effected on the grounds of extreme pro-Nazi or anti-British sympathies.

"The prompt action taken at the outbreak of war and the continued enforcement of the Defence of Canada Regulations put a stop to Nazi activities in Canada."

The guise of such groups as the Deutscherbund Canada (German League Canada Inc.) was not only innocent; it was of a nature that a Jewish citizen could only applaud warmly: an ethnic united community; educational work to advance German culture and the German mother tongue; it had nothing to do with religion or politics; it would obey the laws of the new home in Canada.

But the cloven hoof was displayed by the pig to prove it was kosher: it was dedicated to disproving the fabrications and the slanderous charges which were being made against Germandom in foreign countries, and to bring the truth to light. (Der Courier, July 25, 1934) The League enjoyed the benefits of a federal charter of incorporation.

There can be a measure of innocent confusion when Canadians are called on to act for the benefit or aid of persons outside Canada on the basis of their ethnic origin. But the German government deliberately confused the Canadian situation when their calls upon Canadians of German origin were formulated as demands from a government with authority over these residents of Canada.

The issue was raised in the House of Commons by C.G. MacNeil of Vancouver-North (Feb. 14 and 16, 1939), for the German government had appointed its consul in Winnipeg Wilhelm Rodde,as Commissioner for the German Winter Relief Fund. He addressed his appeal to his "Deutsche Volksgenossen" from the German consulate:

"The Winter-Relief Campaign of the German People enters upon its sixth year. This year it is being conducted under the sign of the reunion of Austria and the Sudeten Country with the German home-land. This greatest historical deed of our Fuehrer and Reich-Chancellor Adolf Hitler obliges every German compatriot to prove his oneness with the old home country, Greater Germany, by a thanks-offering to the Winter-Relief Work.

"Many of our compatriots in Canada have to fight a hard fight for their existence,especially in the winter time. Therefore, we also will help to alleviate their need, thereby bringing closer to them the great German racial community. 75% of all donations collected in Canada will be used exclusively for this purpose.

"Only if sacrifices are made can true comradeship, community, and genuine folkdom flourish. Let,therefore,our suffering sisters and brothers feel that we are all members of one great racial community."

No such appeals were made in the United States or in Britain. (King Papers, Pp. 231296-97, 231639-41)

The term Volksgenossen was deliberately vague, for it does not define the element of citizenship or the degree of jurisdiction of the German government over this element.

The issue became the more confused as Dr. H.U. Granow, German consul general in Ottawa, explained to External Affairs that the funds thus raised by Mr. Rodde were spent entirely in Canada for the relief of needy persons..."to Canadian citizens of German birth or descent in the same manner, and to the same extent, as to German nationals proper." (Letter from Granow to Skelton, Feb. 21,1939, in King Papers.)

The problem of the incursion of German governmental authority over Canadian citizens and of German governmental activity within Canada was further confused in a conversation with External Affairs,

"He stated that the Deutsche Volksgenossen to whom the appeal was issued were definitely German nationals. It was immediately pointed out to him that Canadian nationals were being included in 'this great racial community', if not as benefactors, at least as beneficiaries. He was told that it was the duty, and had been the practice, of the Canadian authorities to administer relief without any outside intervention....Political propaganda and endeavours by representatives of a foreign country to organize persons residing in Canadian territory for political purposes were not permissible." (Memorandum from Dr. Skelton, Feb. 24, 1939; King Papers, Pp. 227658-70)

A history of Die Deutschen in der Provinz Quebec, 1664-1964, written long after the fact, in 1963, by H.W. Debor, recalls,

"The seizure of power by Adolf Hitler in Germany in 1933 naturally affected the Germans in Canada.

"Today, if you ask the Germans of that time, you may receive as an answer, 'We were happy here that good economic and political conditions were being restored in Germany. But most Germans did not join any Nazi organization because they took their loyalty to Canada much more seriously than some hotheads imagined.'

"In point of fact, the organizations governed from Germany developed very slowly. On the first of Jan., 1934 they established in Kitchener-Waterloo the Deutschen Bund Canada. This organization was based on a local group, Friends of the New Germany, which had come into existence in Montreal on Sept. 1, 1933. Montreal became the centre of the German Bund.

"This organization wanted to be a purely Canadian organization, but the leaders of the National Socialist Party in Germany recognized that an organization composed of a mixture of German National Socialists and of sympathetic Canadian citizens of German descent would be viewed critically by the Canadian government. So they decided in the spring of 1936 that members of the National Socialist foreign organizations, which included party members holding German citizenship, should

not participate in this organization.

"By 1937 the group in Montreal had only 150 members. In spite of the strong attempt to unite all organizations under one roof, the Bund showed only slim results. At the beginning of the war some of the members were arrested. Together with the Nazis there were also interned some good-natured people, victims of their naiveté.

"In examining the situation at that time, we should not fail to note that influential circles in Quebec sympathized with the Fascist regimes in Europe. Fascism had strong roots in Quebec. Many a German was therefore strengthened in his assumption that Germany was on the right path politically.

"With the beginning of the war all other German Canadian organizations closed down. One exception: the German Society, a small group of women who helped the needy, the detained and the prisoners of war.

"For the second time in a generation German ethnic origin brought trouble, suffering and personal disadvantage. If today so many German Canadians refrain from any activity within their own ethnic group, it should not be forgotten that their German homeland had caused only pain and annoyance to everyone in the world that bore the name of German." (Pp.25-26)

A number of organizers were active in mobilizing German Canadians and other Canadians for the Hitler cause.

Bernhard Bott had been editor of the Regina Der Courier for eleven years. In 1933 he visited Germany on a scholarship and later was awarded a medal for "cementing the relations between Germany and Canada."

Rosenberg reported that Bott was instrumental in founding the Deutsche Bund, the Canadian counterpart of the Friends of New Germany, which has the same coat of arms -- a swastika in a circle on a shield.

In the summer of 1934, he established the Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft in Saskatchewan. He left again in 1934 for another visit to Germany and severed his connections with Der Courier at that time. Upon his return in 1935 he settled in Winnipeg as head of the German Canadian Press Service. (Congress release, Jan. 1935; Regina Leader-Post, Jan. 2, 1935)

Karl Gerhard, a native of the Rhineland, lecturer in German, French and Spanish on the Waterloo campus of Western University, was made president of the League.

When the Montreal Gazette told of an Irish Canadian girl being arrested while a tourist in Germany, the German Canadian League protested against the newspaper for putting the Fatherland in a bad light. Gerhard compared her experience with his own when he was detained by the police for questioning in Toronto.

He had spent several months in Hamburg as an admitted follower of Hitler, and then proceeded to a tour of western Canadian German communities lecturing on such topics as "German Youth and German Women under the Compulsion of the Culture and Spiritual Tendencies."

His tour was intended to promote a better understanding of the third reich. "It is necessary to have one man, the leader, to raise the nation from chaos, rather than an inefficient governing body of two or three hundred. German Canadians are expected to follow the thoughts of honest- minded government by close cooperation with the ideals of our homeland." (Regina press report, Aug. 15, 1934)

His Regina lecture was punctuated by heckling and interruptions from his audience. The Leader Post felt that the lecturer was not accorded the full respect due to a guest. (Aug. 25, 1934; Courier, Aug. 27)

District group leader Jerosch, head of the German League for western Canada, gave "the speech of greetings" at the celebration of Hitler's birthday in Regina. (Courier, Apr. 18, 1934)

He wrote the Danziger Forposten about the efforts of German Canadians to defend the fatherland against its lying enemies. He told the Germans that German Canadians are short of up to date reading materials. To meet this need the Hitlerjugend began to collect books and journals written in the spirit of Naziism.

The Vancouver local district of the German League sponsored lectures on Judaism, Aryanism and Naziism. (Sept., 1934)

The New Germany was an acceptable topic at oratorical contests, an appropriate topic which naturally evoked praise for "what the Nazis have done for Germany; they brought back self-respect and raised the standard of living, not at the expense of freedom."

With the soft-mouthed ambiguity of the antisemites of the time, A.B. Gerein addressed a conference on peace in Regina, dwelling on Hitler's dedication to international amity. He emphasized that Germany stood for "each nation's right to put its own home in order and to restore security, peace and confidence in its own ranks. Corruption, swindle and exploitation of the people must be uprooted. Justice and love must be restored. Proud manhood and refined womanhood must again be returned to their earlier state. Each country must develop its national character."

Hitler's accession to power saw Dr. C.R. Henning tour western Canada, lecturing on "The New Germany." He reported in the Stuttgart Der Auslandsdeutsche (no. 3, March, 1934, reprinted in Der Courier of Regina of Apr. 11, 18 and 25, 1934) that "interest in the New Germany under the leadership of Adolf Hitler is extraordinarily great, among the Canadian-born no less than among the naturalized."

Victor Lange, exchange lecturer at the University of Toronto, filled the columns of the Canadian Forum with falsehoods regarding conditions in Germany. He never missed an opportunity during his stay in Canada to speak favorably of the Hitler regime.

Although Colin Ross rejected the title of Nazi propagandist, Richard E. Gutstadt of the American Anti-Defamation League wrote to the Canadian Congress that his name appeared on the register of alien agents in the U.S. (Letter to J.H. Fine, March 31, 1939).

He was described by the Veterans of the Foreign Wars of the U.S., as an ace propagandist for the Nazis who (Fifth Column Facts, a Handbook of Information on Nazi, Fascist and Communist Activities in the United States, Kansas City, P.9), visited Canada and appeared at many meetings of German and other Canadians. A western newspaper reported an interview with him in the summer of 1933 under the heading, "Pictures Adolf Hitler as the Embodiment of the German National Will." Another interview appeared in the Regina German-language Courier of June 26. He published a book on Canada for the Germans of Hitlerland, issued at Leipzig by Brockhaus in 1934; Zwischen USA und dem Pol; durch Kanada, Neufundland, Labrador und die Arktis.

The case of Werner Haag:

When the German State Railways named him as their official representative in Canada, the federal government

issued an order-in-council granting him entry to this country.

"The request for his admission to occupy this position was a matter of correspondence between the German Embassy in London and the Canadian High Commissioner. It is understood that he runs an information bureau for the railways in question. There is nothing unusual in that as Canadian railways have similar representatives in various foreign countries."

The immigration agent at Toronto reported to his superiors about the innocent:

"Nothing has reached us which shows that Mr. Haag belongs to any of the classes named in the Immigration Act, whose entry to Canada is prohibited, nor that he has yet done anything in Canada which would make him deportable from this country." (Letter from S. Belkin to P. Stuchen in Toronto, Jan. 8, 1936). So Haag became an honored official in Toronto, the guest at a special reception at the Royal York Hotel to promote the Olympic ideal and its institutions.

R.C.M.P. Commissioner C.W. Harvison, wrote that "Werner the head of the German State Railway office, specialized in activities which brought him into contact with leaders in Government, political, business, and financial circles.

"His reports to his German masters were almost invariably accompanied by photographs of him taken with prominent Canadians, probably to convince the Nazi bosses of his ability as a 'mixer'. Another cover was provided by the Montreal office of a German sales agency that specialized in the sale and distribution of high-frequency equipment which, according to our technicians, could quickly be turned into powerful transmitters." (The Horseman. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1967, P.87)

But Haag was known to the authorities as a covert agent. A letter he had sent from New York to his Berlin bureau was published by the Congress at this time:

"The development of the special division cannot take place as rapidly as you desire, since conditions here are more difficult than you suppose. We are being watched and must be careful. Spanner asks energetically that the General Electric representative in Germany be watched, as they intend to carry on espionage here. As his brother in the Medical Centre has done a lot for us, -- for instance, he has won two of the professors there for our cause, -- we request that Dr. Spanner's business affairs be speeded up and

given protection.

"Send us a young lady of good appearance, who is very reliable; it is best if her father and brothers are S.A. men (storm troopers). She should speak some English and Russian fluently, and must take the place of our agent in the Amtorg. She should come over on the Europa or Bremen as a hairdresser, then we'll send another person back to Germany on the ship, thus evading the immigration authorities and avoid a check-up by Untermeyer.

"I cannot find a place for vander Lubbe here; it is best if you throw him overboard into the ocean while en route to another country. Whom do you intend to hang in his place in Germany?

"I agree with you entirely that it would be good to give the damned Communists in Leipzig an injection of syphilis. Then it can be said that Communism comes from syphillis of the brain.

"Send us a new code; we believe that the old code can be read by Untermeyer.

"Spanknoebel has just entered the room and sends you his best wishes. He would like to have a physicist assigned by the Office for Exchange Students to do a few little jobs for him.

"Theremin is lazy and wants too much money, and what's more, he seems to be half a Jewish swine himself. The man betrays his own country and therefore we cannot trust him, despite all assurances. And the little Katja--that is how Count Sauerma calls Konstantinov -- is a dumb and conceited girl, who is doing good work on the whole, but is always crying now; therefore I think she would be better taken care of over there. She could be used for Russian translations.

"Let us know how things stand with the Hitler book. We must distribute many of them free; we'll have considerable success with it. It is child's play to make good antisemites out of the Americans.

"Heil Hitler!

W. HAAG
Adjutant of the National Leader (SEAL)
Friends of the New Germany
National Intelligence Office, U.S.A."

It is not necessary to delve deeply into the treacherous area of German espionage to appreciate what was on the mind of the German consul during these gemuetliche pleasantries.

R.C.M.P. Commissioner Harvison later recalled

"that the German agents had been sent to Canada to gather information and to set up espionage networks within the local Nazi groups, which networks were to take over at the start of hostilities. The German agents expected to receive warnings that would enable them to flee the country immediately prior to war. Our division was directly and heavily affected by these decisions. More than two hundred and fifty members of the German Nazi groups in the Province of Quebec were listed for internment pending hearings before Courts that would be set up for that purpose." (P. 95)

Leon G. Turrou tells us of the German consul at Montreal conniving in spiriting one Lankowsi into Canada. He writes,

"Lankowski was 'one of the world's most dangerous spies' who was fleeing from American justice, aboard a German freighter in the Canadian port awaiting its cargo. With him Ulrich Houssman, a German pilot ostensibly writing for an aviation magazine." (Leon G. Turrou. Nazi Spies in America , as told to David G. Wittels. New York, Random House. Pp.144-45 , 164-65)

" Lankowski had set up a Nazi spy base in Montreal, Canada, headed by an employee of an aircraft-designing plant. At regular intervals the spy in Canada shipped three to five rolls of film to Germany, each roll containing thirty-six negatives of confidential plane designs. In addition he acted as clearing agent for all Nazi spy activities in Canada. He planted a spy in an airplane factory near Boston, Mass., and got stolen secret designs and blueprints from him for transmission to spy headquarters in Germany. He seems to have received confidential information from a spy at Boston Navy Yard, too.

"In some manner we do not yet quite understand, the spy in Montreal got hold of secret plans for a new type anti-aircraft gun the United States was building. The plans for this gun, which utilized an electro-magnetic device to enable it to discharge more bullets per minute, were known to Nazi spy headquarters in Germany before the gun was completed here.

"When we broke up the spy ring, Griebl was under orders to increase the Nazi spy staff in Canada. This was because England was planning to set up more airplane factories in Canada, and so that the spies could spread Nazi propaganda along the Canadian-United States border."

The Pariser Tageszeitung reported from London that an inquiry in Canada, prompted by Leader of the Opposition Bennett, who mentioned the name of Gerhard, identified three German spies in Canadian industrial work, one of them in aircraft work. A national conference in Montreal to intensify the organization of Germans in Canada and the promotion of anti-democratic and antisemitic propaganda was brought to light. (June 30, 1938)

The intense Nazi propaganda inevitably led a number of German Canadians to throw their lot in again with the militant motherland whose regime was not slow to mobilize those with German blood for various services to the Reich, including military service. In Saskatchewan, the provincial command of the Canadian Legion was moved to ask the government to have aliens returning to their native lands for military service take their dependents with them; these would be barred from return entry to Canada.

Weyburn faced such a case of a returning German leaving his family on public relief in Canada.

The consular procedure in mobilising Germans in Canada did not deceive alert Canadians, especially when it came late in the decade. As the Regina Leader-Post reported,

"War veterans organizations in western Canada are pressing for vigorous action by the Dominion government with respect to persons of foreign stock in Canada who are enemies of Canadian and British institutions and friends or even agents of dictator countries overseas.

It is asked that there be registration of all such persons, that there be strict enforcement of laws relating to sedition and espionage, and that there be investigation of all foreign consulates in Canada suspected of being sources of anti-British propaganda or pro-Hitlerism. Suggestions that agents or supporters of Nazism in Canada be run out of the country have been heartily applauded by war veterans.

"War veterans know what 'stabbing in the back' means by personal experience of subtle, knife-in-the-dark methods. It may be little wonder if they are incensed.

"If there be such persons in Canada - and it is not easy to escape the impression that there are - their place clearly is not here, as Canadian war veterans feel."

The newspaper gave it as its view, on April 13, 1939,

"It would be expecting quite a bit of Canadian tax payers to maintain on relief in Canada families of Germans in this country where the head of the family has left for Germany, obviously for military service. North Battleford, Sask., and Edmonton city councils have affirmed that they will not provide relief in such cases.

"These decisions may hardly require much supporting argument. If war comes involving a struggle between the British world and Germany, these departing Germans from Canada doubtless will be found fighting against British and Canadian interest. Canadian forbearance, not to mention financial considerations, might hardly be willing to assume the domestic responsiblities of these erstwhile residents of Canada under such circumstances. To do so would be helping to fight the battles of an enemy."

The Regina Star wrote the same day,

"Those from abroad who seek harborage in the country either believe that their opportunities of making a decent livelihood are bettered or else, as exiles from their homeland, they breathe here the air of freedom and justice.

"On them is imposed merely the obligation of respecting our laws, traditions, our flag and the free institutions from which they derive so much benefit. Any

unwilling to meet these few simple requirements should not be given the shelter of our shores if they proceed to make their new-found home a cell or centre of propaganda for binding together people of their own class or kind in movements subversive of our national interests.

"Any display of arrogant patriotism for some other country than this should be met by depositing the offender back on his native soil.

"The resurgence of Germany has apparently stirred up in Canada a nationalistic fervor among some of the settlers of German origin which ill assorts with the privileges of freedom accorded them without stint or favor. Anyone who is so little appreciative of the welcome and opportunities placed before him is obviously not the sort of settler we need.

"He is likely to be a constant liability. In time of war we should have to intern him in some far northern camp; in time of peace he is a pest who carries contagion around with him. In either role he is costly to the tax payer and the cheapest way out is the way of deportation.

"There is no reason why we should be bothered at this time, to consider methods of registration and investigation, such as are asked by the Canadian Legion. Instead we should readily afford the means of return to the country of their loyalty to all those who believe that life in their Fatherland is to be preferred to life in Canada. In this we should be performing two good actions at once, in translating the patriot back to the land of his ideals, and in ridding ourselves of a nuisance."

What was on their minds became clear to all who knew of totalitarian invaders who enter a territory with exact and detailed lists of first victims.

For the Publikationsstelle Stuttgart-Hamburg, Heinz Kloss was preparing a detailed summary handbook of Canadian Jewry, in cooperation with Edith Putter, with the names and community roles of scores of Jewish citizens from coast to coast.

This was published in 1944 "only for service use" by the Publikationsstelle as its secret overseas Publications Series no.4, Statistic, Presse und Organizationen des Judenthums in Vereinigten Staten und Kanada: ein Handbuch. (137 p.)

History assures us that it is not paranoiac in finding this "research" ominous.

Watson Kirkonnell summarized this German activity in his Twilight of Liberty. (Toronto, Oxford, 1941, Pp. 88-89)

"The unarmed invasion of Canada by the Nazis was still more impudent and violent. With the consular service as the spear-head of attack, it thrust itself deeply into Canadian life, seeking to corrupt both the German Canadians and the Canadians of British and French origin.

"Among the Canadians of German origin, the three chief organizations launched after 1933 were (i) the Deutsche Bund (or Canadian League for German culture), membership in which involved a personal oath of allegiance to Hitler, (ii) the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, an alleged benefit society for workers but in reality a training school for prospective party members, and (iii) the Canadian branch of the Nazi party itself. An attempt was made, superintended by the notorious Auslandsorganization of Germany, to coordinate all existing German societies and clubs in Canada and to lead them, through persuasion or duress, to give their loyalty to Germany. A naturalized German Canadian, Dr. Karl (or Emil) Gerhardt, was appointed Landesgruppenleiter for the whole set-up in Canada. Nazi decorations were bestowed on such Canadians as Franz Straubinger of Toronto and Bernard Bott of Winnipeg.

"There was a monthly Nazi hate-sheet called Der Alberta Herold, published in Edmonton."

Certainly by the time the war broke out the federal police authorities were aware of the danger this activity constituted to the Canadian state.

On Aug. 25, 1939, a week before the actual declaration of war with Germany, the commissioner of the Mounted Police sent the Minister of Justice "a list of persons, mostly members of the National Socialistische Deutsche Arbeiter, Arbeitsfront and the Italian Fascio considered dangerous, who should be isolated, as quickly as possible, in the event of Canada being involved in a war against the countries of the Berlin-Rome axis. It is proposed to arrest these people and despatch them to internment camps as soon as war is declared. The list is only a partial one and will be augmented within a few days." (P.231077)

The following day he recommended that "In view of the imminent peril of war, it is recommended that the following Berlin-Rome controlled organizations be outlawed by Order in Council under the 'War Measures Act' immediately after war is declared, as a primary measure towards safeguarding Civil Security in this country. (a) The Auslands Organization of the National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei, (b) Deutscher Arbeitsfront, (c) Deutscher Bund, Kanada (Canadian Society for German Culture), (d) The Arbeitsgemeinschaft (Provincial), (e) The Hitler Jugend, (f) Bund Deutscher Maedels." (P.A.C. King Papers, Dec. 2, 1939, P. 231077)

The Minister of Justice E. Lapointe named a committee composed of N.A. Robertson of the Department of External Affairs, J.B. MacNeill, K.C., of the Justice Department and Superintendent E.W.Bevin of the R.C.M.P. to examine the question of suppressing subversive activities. This committee examined the records and recommended the arrest of 325 persons, of whom 265 were German nationals and 60 were naturalized Canadians of German origin.

"The first group are German nationals resident in Canada and known to be members of the German National Socialist Party (N.S.D.A.P.). The German National Socialist Party in Canada is an integral part of the Auslands organization of the Nazi Party in Germany, its members subscribe to the same undertakings as members of that Party, and its officers are appointed by and work under the direction of the National Socialist Party of Germany which is itself an official agency of the German Reich. Every member of this Party undertakes to obey implicitly and without question the orders of the Fuehrer and of his representatives. This organization is a compact and rigidly disciplined body, and its members must all be regarded as 'dangerous persons' in the conditions now prevailing.

"A second class of 'dangerous persons' whose detention is recommended consists of the male members of the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, which is a closely knit affiliate of the N.S.D.A.P. It too consists of German nationals who describe themselves in their application for membership as 'true followers of the Fuehrer'. The members of the Arbeitsfront, like the members of the N.S.D.A.P., are relatively recent immigrants to Canada; they are nearly all of military age and, under German law, are liable for compulsory service in the German Army. Under peace time conditions these organizations have been centres of disaffection and racial conflict in many parts of Canada, and in time of war would undoubtedly be dangerous agencies for sabotage and seditious activities.

"A third group consists of German nationals resident in Canada who are not known to be formally members of either the N.S.D.A.P. or the Arbeitsfront but who, from their political and social associations, business and industrial connections, and other opportunities for espionage, are believed to be persons who could not safely be allowed at large in time of war. The Committee have examined the information in the possession of the R.C.M. Police relating to each of these persons and are satisfied that they should be detained as dangerous persons.

"The fourth class consists of a number of naturalized Canadians of German birth or racial origin who have so identified themselves with Nazi propagandist activities in this country that they cannot be regarded as loyal citizens of Canada. They are all persons of influence in their local communities whose subversive activities have been under police investigation for some time past. It is felt that in singling out for immediate arrest these leaders of the Deutscher Bund (Canadian Society for German Culture) who have been most conspicuous and effective in their attempts to undermine the loyalties of Canadians of German origin it will be possible to cripple the work of their organization and safeguard the position in wartime of the loyal majority." (Pp. 231083-84)

These recommendations were approved by the minister on the afternoon of Sept. 3 and those who could be located by the police were arrested on the night of Sept. 4. By Nov. 13 a total of 303 were detained.

"It was reported by Germans whose sympathies were anti-Nazi that these arrests came as a salutary shock to the German community in Montreal. The Nazi party, the Arbeitsfront and the Bund had always boasted of their power of immunity, especially in Montreal, and derided the anti-Nazi Germans in the German-Canadian League as Communists, and had told waverers that if they identified themselves with the anti-Nazi organizations they would be in danger of arrest as radicals, whereas, if they belonged to the Bund, they would be secure. As a result of these arrests there was quite a falling off in the Bund membership in Montreal and in other places in Canada.

"It is interesting to note here that the German-Canadian League of Montreal, which is an anti-Nazi organization, was not only reported as a Communist organization by the Nazis who oppose them, but also by the R.C.M. Police. Mr. Robertson, of the External Affairs Department, has some information on this organization and, if I remember correctly, he does not agree with the Police that this organization is furthering the interests of Communism." (P.231085)

"From information on the Police files many of these persons were known to be planning to sabotage Canadian industrial plants. So far there has been no serious act of sabotage, and it has been suggested that this is probably due to the precautions taken immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities when the known leaders of all Nazi organizations, who were considered likely to commit acts of sabotage, were interned and thus prevented from carrying out their illegal acts." (P. 231086)

The committee read through the police files and concluded that a regulation like No. 21 which included these powers was essential to enable "the arrest of persons who, it was felt, could not, consistent with the safety of the State, be allowed to remain at large." (P.231087)

"No orders under Regulation 21 have been issued for the arrest of any persons other than dangerous German nationals or naturalized Canadians of German origin who, from their activities in Canada during the past few years, have shown conclusively that they are anti-democratic and pro-Nazi, and have been engaged in activities of a subversive nature."(P.231088)

"The first list of persons to be arrested was made out hurriedly in view of the emergency, and it may be that some persons were taken into custody who were not actually dangerous to the safety of the State. However, it is submitted that no one was arrested unless he had by his actions prior to September 3rd come to the attention of the Police as being a Nazi or an active Nazi sympathizer." (King Papers, Pp. 231081-89)

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