305.8924071
R7631c
1977
v.7

CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Anti-Semitism In Canada 1929 - 1939

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

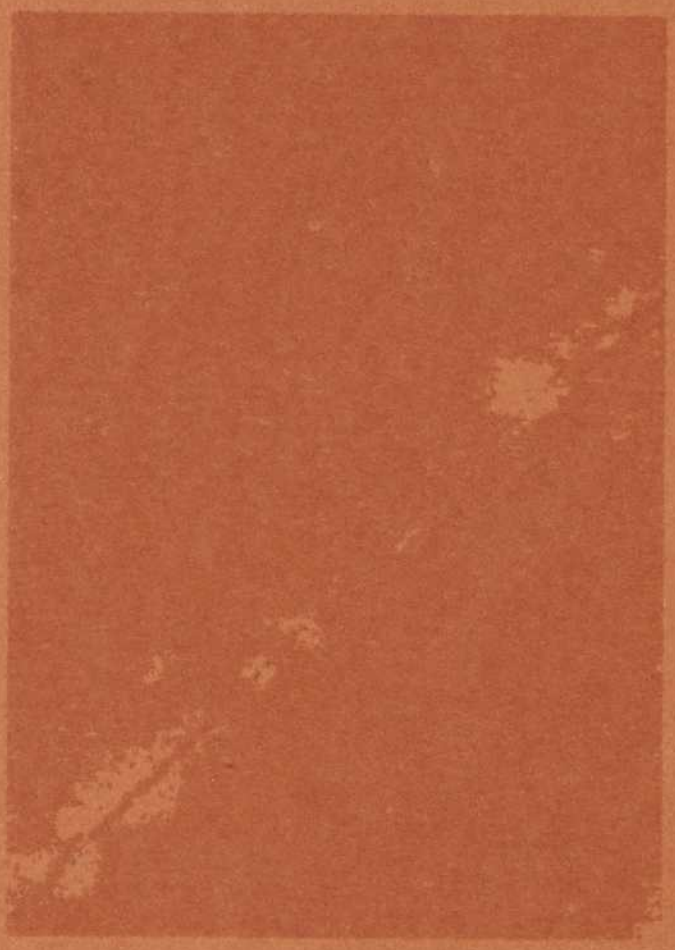
By

David Rome

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Section 7

Montreal, 1979



CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Anti-Semitism In Canada 1929 - 1939

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

By

David Rome

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Section 7

Montreal, 1979

0813001139

D8100489

CLOUDS IN THE THIRTIES

On Anti-Semitism In Canada 1929 - 1939

A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History

By

David Rome

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Section 7

Montreal, 1979

DS
146
C3R6
v.7 15

C O N T E N T S

Vacationland P. 1

Canadian Forum 3
Gloating in Berlin 5
Action Catholique 6
Ste.-Adèle 7
Val Morin 10
Devoir Report on Ste.-Agathe 13
Jewish Accommodation 19
St.-Faustin 22
"Move Your Conventions" 23
Ontario 24
Speisman's Summary 26
Toronto Riots 27
Kitchener, Galt 31
In Provincial Parks 32

University Graduates 36

Toronto 36
Montreal's Notre Dame 37
Peter Bercovitch 39
Edmond Turcotte 43
Olivar Asselin 45
Regina 48
Université de Montréal 49
Ménard, Vanier and the Devoir 50
In the Commons 51

Sabbath Rest 56

Refugees Keep Out 56A

Hayes before Senate Committee 57
Immigration is Community 76

In the European Context 77
As Jewish History 79
Seen from London 82
A Family Migration 88
The Graph that is a Flag 88
Across the Dominion 89
Toronto, Quebec, Halifax 92
Harkani Revisits Canada 96

The World After World War 104

The First Congress 105
Ukrainian Jews 111
American HIAS Investigates 111
Canadian JIAS 112
"We Have not the Funds" 115
The Jewish Colonization Association 121

Re Poland, etc. 123

Toronto concern 124
From Halifax to Vancouver 125
Ottawa Inquires, is Reassured 126
The Congress Registers 127
In the Commons 128
A Child Remembers 130
Observations of French Canadians 132
Ditto Rumania 133

VACATIONLAND

A very sensitive area in Canadian life, where anti-Jewish attitudes emerged into menacing action, was in recreation.

Although economically not a vital segment of social living -- perhaps for that very reason -- Canadians felt free and unrestrained in expressing their prejudices and their antipathies there.

It was during hours of relaxation in the sunshine on the beaches that racial resentment burst out, resentment at others sharing beach and sunshine.

This was also the area where cultural differences and nuances were important in establishing relationship and social orderings between people; and therefore their status.

The resorts are intimate quasi-homes on the more public areas, so that acceptance is both meaningful and symbolic for each member of society on his own social and economic plateau.

The role of "Mein Host," going back to Chaucer's day as the professional presider over this social process, continues, with its own ancient and arbitrary tradition, to our own hotel receptionist, maître d' and manager.

In modern days this aspect of social history emerged with the rise of living standards and with broadening of the institutions, resorts and vacations; particularly as the emancipation of European Jews opened possibilities for them to spend hours and days of leisure away from home in public and semi-public surroundings.

In America "Our Crowd" has a century of this experience, marked by more or less distasteful road posts reading "Exclusive," with its connotational rather than denotational meanings.

Not surprisingly, with the rise of Hitler, the exclusion of Jews from the beaches suddenly became apparent -- and very significant -- from British Columbia to Quebec.

In so much of this history, the significance of vacationaland developments lies not in its extensiveness.

Measured by the violence of the century -- even by the violence of the Jewish condition in Europe before the Stalin-Hitler pact -- the Canadian development was puny (if violence can ever be puny).

But important principles, of the rights of citizenship and human rights, were involved. In the decades ahead many of these issues came to achieve incorporation in provincial and federal law -- indeed, even in United Nations declarations and concern.

In particular, the legal and constitutional status of Canadian Jews were under de facto attack. The questioned right to enjoy the sun or a beach extended to the possibility of sleeping peacefully at home; to the right to acquire property from vendors of another faith, to engage in business in certain localities, to live in certain areas of the country, and thence --

But the conditions in the resorts were a thermometer registering a potentially grave fever in society. In the context of the decade the nature of the pathology was already serious, very possibly fatal.

The condition also illustrates the weakness of the defence. No agency of society fought the evil; outside the Jewish community few Canadians seemed aware of the facts or of their importanve. In the face of the facts the community could only endure and, in fact, retreat under the pressure.

Louise Smith Harvey reported in the Canadian Forum,

"According to the pamphlets issued by the Bureau of Tourism for this province, the inhabitants of Quebec, the English, the French, the Jews and other races live together in mutual love and concern for each other's well-being. They rejoice together over the quaintness of French-Canadian villages; they plow the fertile valleys in unison, and never a harsh word comes between them. These pamphlets play up the goodwill existing between races of different culture, background and religion, until the reader is overcome and feels that the 'entente cordiale' idea has been emphasized too strongly, and that all is not as it should be behind the alluring phraseology of the government literature. If he begins to inquire, he finds his uneasiness well founded; and should he come to Quebec not as a tourist but as an observer, all the illusions so carefully constructed by the Bureau of Tourism melt like spring snow.

"Quebec faces a complicated question on the race-minority problem, one only to be solved by long and patient experience. Whenever it seems insoluble, or other problems are not so pressing, anti-semitism crackles into the headlines. The French-Canadians feel they are a minority in the country as a whole; the English feel they are a minority in the province, although a powerful one. The Jews actually represent a small part of the population. To the casual spectator, there is never any feeling against the Jewish people, but scratch the surface and see what happens.

"Within the last few years dramatic episodes have startled the public. With the rise of Arcand, the leading provincial fascist, and at one time a close adherent of Hitler, incidents occurred and are occurring which belie the picturesque statements of the Bureau of Tourism. Early last summer feeling began to smolder. In the cities and especially in the mountain district of the Laurentians, a farming area largely settled by French-Canadians, speakers went from Arcand's headquarters to rouse the people against the 'international enemy of

of civilization,' the Jew. They began to nurture and build anti-semitism by fiery speeches, pamphlets and placards. Holiday-makers getting off the Sunday trains to spend a quiet day in the hills would return by the next train to the city, for placards greeted them in the local stations bearing the legend: 'We don't want Jews here.'

"More than two hundred notices appeared in the town of Ste. Agathe des Monts. The English one read: 'Jews are not wanted here in Ste. Agathe, so scram while the going is good.' The French version ran: 'Jews are not wanted here; Ste. Agathe is a French-Canadian village and we will keep it so.' Following the appearance of the posters crowds gathered on the street. A Montreal man, a Jew, was hauled into court the next day for obstructing traffic on the main street. No one really seemed clear on actual events, but mass hysteria turned Ste. Agathe into an arena for rioting of the worst kind. The placards appeared, a Jew was arrested, several pedestrians were insulted by anti-semitic taxi-drivers, who drove slowly behind them calling out insults as they drove. The following day, a Monday, investigation began. The local chief of police claimed that he had expected trouble, for he had heard that a band of young French-Canadians were out to 'do a job on the Jews.' The parish priests indicated that they felt that Ste. Agathe must be kept French-Canadian, and that they had told their congregations as much. It turned out that several well known fascists had also been talking in that district, and that they had been discussing the matter with the priests. There is also a rumor, and more than a rumor, that these fascists have been given space to store ammunition and other material in one of the nearby palatial hotels, perhaps for their avowed march on Ottawa, perhaps for a fatal onslaught on the Jews. The investigation further proved that the majority of the French-Canadian populace found their Jewish neighbours good business and good friends. Two days later attempts to burn a bridge leading to an island holding a Jewish hotel were unsuccessful due to the amateur methods employed by the incendiarists." (June, 1940, Pp.86-88)

The Berlin Deutsche Wochenschau gloated in a Montreal report, "Beach Season in Montreal" on Sept.12, 1935, that Canadians drive Jews from their beaches even while protesting at Germans taking similar measures.

"One must drive far out from Montreal into the country before one can finally entrust oneself to the god Neptune in one of the many lakes and rivers.

"After driving 20 miles, a very beautiful beach with a magnificient entrance appeared. My surprise was indescribable when I saw these words on the large entrance door: 'Christians only.'

"There were about 3,000 people present, most of them French-Canadian. A Canadian walked along the beach with a megaphone, politely inquiring whether there was a Jew present despite the warning, and asking him to leave as quickly as possible.

"The Canadian press publishes indignant comments upon the exclusion of the German Jews from German beaches. On the other hand this truth-loving, democratic press very wisely remains as silent as the tomb concerning the situation in Canada. It does not mention that the Jews are simply not tolerated on a great number of beaches in Canada; that no Jew will be appointed a judge in the province of Quebec; that Jews will not be admitted as members of the distinguished French and English Canadian clubs; that many summer boarding houses explicitly advertise in the newspapers that they will accept Gentiles only. Not a word is to be found in the Canadian newspapers that Jewish students at the best known university of Canada, McGill University in Montreal, have to pass much more difficult examinations than the Aryan students, and that some time ago the assistant doctors of a large French-Canadian hospital in Montreal successfully protested against the appointment of a Jewish doctor."

Action catholique published a revealing list of its moral and social priorities over the signature of E.L. (initials of Eugène L'Heureux, Sept. 1, 1933):

Challenged to devote itself to defending the Catholic church against its enemies, Action asked, "which enemies the church has other than the scandals of the beaches, Jewish influence, certain cinema, certain laws...."

In Quebec the "problem" was complicated by religious, national and cultural differences.

The Order of Jacques Cartier monthly L'Emerillon set "The rechristianization of the Laurentides" as one of its objectives. A complicating element: semantically, the Laurentides meant the locus of summer relaxation for some Québecois; for others it was the area of an attempt at "colonization," return to the harsh land, the renaissance of Maria Chapdelaine. There was potential violence in the confrontation.

Agitation came from several quarters. A member of the legislature from Laurentia commented on the harrassment of Jews there. "The Jews were getting what they are asking for by laughing at the population of the country. This thing is just starting. I am getting roads built up here, but they are for our people, not for the Jews."

A Ste. Adèle-en-Bas resident received threatening letters warning him to get rid of his Jewish tenants.

At Rawdon the situation in the summer of 1936 was such that Rabbi Harry J. Stern was asked to seek episcopal intervention with the local priest. (Letter from L. Langsner to Rabbi Stern, Aug. 24, 1936)

The Congress reported to Duplessis in 1937 that posters had been put up at Ste. Adèle warning Jewish vacationers to get out.

After midnight a week later a truck full of hoodlums came to Val David and threw stones through the windows of the homes where women and children were sleeping, and wounded an elderly woman.

Presumably the same men, on the night of July 26th, surrounded the Ste. Adèle home occupied by the families of the Rev. Shurem and A. Rosenberg at 1:00 A.M., smashed all the windows with stones, explosive materials and broke chairs and tables. When the farmer who was living next door came to their assistance upon seeing the disturbance, the men dispersed.

They also vandalized the home of L. Rosenberg a mile away. According to the testimony of the neighbour Jean-Marie Lamont, they threw a can of tar on the veranda, tore open the screen door, broke windows, the glass door and threw tomatoes and bad eggs inside. The crash of breaking windows awoke everyone. There were no men inside, and the women were very frightened. Some of them were hysterical; "one of the women is now very ill and in serious condition."

A sworn statement from a Val David resident identified four neighbours as those guilty of smearing the swastika on the synagogue, and another such sworn statement from one of them confirmed the names of the participants; they had met in the store of a town official who supplied the paint that was used, in the full knowledge of the intent. (National Archives, Canadian Jewish Congress, Aug. 16, 21, 1937)

In Val David the little synagogue was smeared with swastikas, and Scrolls of the Law were desecrated in May 1935. The Congress informed Premier Taschereau that a Sefer Torah had been stolen and destroyed. (American Jewish Year Book)

Three months later, on an August Sabbath, while the little country synagogue was full of worshippers, someone put inflammatory materials on fire under the building. Fortunately, the smoke was detected, there was no panic, and all present left the building in an orderly fashion. (Letter from Congress to Prime Minister and Attorney-General Maurice Duplessis, Aug. 6th.)

H.M. Caiserman told the Premier of Quebec,

"We have learned that after midnight, a truck full of hoodlums came to Val David and threw stones through the windows of homes where women and children were sleeping, wounding an elderly woman in one case.

"It seems that these are the same men who perpetrated similar acts of barbarism in Ste. Adèle, that the band was led by a well-known hockey player.

"The allegations are that he led a group of young people from the localities mentioned and from Montreal, and left for New York immediately after the attacks described.

"We are amazed that the police of Ste. Adèle and Val David permitted such barbarism which is contrary to the best traditions of the Province.

"We again appeal to you to instruct the Provincial Police to re-establish order and to find the culprits and bring them to account." (Aug. 3, 1937)

Mr. Duplessis' response (Aug. 10): "It devolves upon the local authorities to take the necessary steps to protect the properties of the citizens."

It is at least symbolic that Adrien Arcand kept a photograph of the desecrated Val David synagogue in his copy of a book by the notorious French antisemite, Léon de Poncins.

The Canadian Jewish Chronicle wrote on August 6, 1937: "Hoodlums in the province of Quebec have once again advertised their presence in a manner which threatens to become an annual nightmare.

"It will be recalled that last summer an ugly condition arose in one of the resorts in the Laurentian Mountains, where the Jewish inhabitants were terrorized to an alarming degree.

"The immunity with which the rabble worked has emboldened them to carry their crusade still further, with the result that the village of Ste. Adèle staged a miniature pogrom last week.

"We have become somewhat accustomed to the anti-semitic technique in Quebec; but the sheer savagery and barbarism which attended the situation in Ste. Adèle makes us rub our eyes in amazement. We begin to wonder whether we are living in Rumania or Poland, or is this actually British territory? It has come to a pretty pass when the very mountains are being denied us."

The Congress formally notified Mr. Duplessis,

"We have also learned that the Mayor of Val David has, through two of his representatives, denied a Jewish family the river rights of the cottage occupied by them."

Peter Bercovitch wrote to Mayor Dufresne on July 27, 1937,

"We have received instructions from Mr. William H. Brooke to take legal proceedings against you for your unwarranted interference with the rights of our client. The facts are these:

"Mr. Brooke, who has been owner of a cottage in Val David for almost 20 years, has seen fit to rent the said cottage, with all its rights and appurtenances, to a Jewish family by the name of Glazer.

"The description of the deed shows clearly that the property is bounded in the rear by the North River, and, by unrestricted usage for over 30 years, the occupants of this immoveable, both in accordance with their deed and in accordance with the law, have the right to make full use of the bathing privileges which exist in conjunction with the said cottage.

"For some reason, the motives of which we strongly believe are based on religious bigotry and narrow prejudice, you have seen fit, as Mayor of Val David, to prevent the exercise of certain rights which unquestionably Mr. Brooke had the right to transfer. Mr. Glazer has made a written protest stating that he was prevented by two of your paid representatives from using the river rights.

"Please be advised that such unauthorized interference is not to be tolerated in this civilized age and, unless you see fit to relinquish and refrain in the future from interfering with rights of persons over whom you have no control, whether you be mayor or privy councillor, we will see to it that proper proceedings are taken against you."

The Congress wrote Premier Maurice L. Duplessis, K.C., who was also Attorney-General.

"We feel greatly alarmed that the constituted civil authorities in Ste. Adèle and Val David have tolerated such vandalism and have not arrested the guilty parties to account for their activities of religious bigotry and narrow prejudice, and for their challenge to law and order."

That year the Val Morin synagogue was besmeared and vacationers there were terrorized. (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, May 20, 1938)

Nighttime rumbles by a trio of brothers and a local taxi driver continued to attract ruffians. A straw man was left at the door of a Jewish hotel. A car outside another hotel was vandalized.

The Jewish Chronicle reported the unpleasantness of 1937,

"When swastika-intoxicated hoodlums terrorized the homes of Jews and besmeared the little synagogue, it has caused no small perturbation to the authorities. His Worship, Mayor Legault makes it clear that during his administration the people of Val Morin parish have never shown any prejudice against race or religion.

"This is a very gratifying clarification, but it must be remembered that, while the administration's record is blameless, it does not take much on the part of a band of wayward yeggs to bespot the reputation of the entire parish. The result is that many Jews have decided to think twice before summering in that part of the Laurentians.

"A tendency has grown up among the Jews to be somewhat unduly self-critical whenever anything happens. Maybe we are to blame, is the latest explanation. It is good to know that a little feeling of circumspection can assert itself once in a while, but there is the danger of carrying it a little too far. Why make ourselves out to be altogether culpable and think of others as saints?

"A suggestion has been made in some quarters that Jews refrain from operating little stores in the country places where the natives conduct their business the whole year round....If a business is conducted with propriety and with a sense of civic obligation, it would seem that any honorable person is entitled to operate a business. The trouble begins when on the one hand, businesses are conducted on the wings of the summer business and then fly away, while on the other hand, malicious trouble-makers in the vicinity itself, spread the germs of race-hatred and glower at every new-comer as if he were an intruder." (May 20 and Aug. 7, 1938)

The Congress was able to supply the superintendent of the R.C.M.P. in Ottawa with the names of the ring-leaders responsible for the disturbances in 1938 and for the 1939 antisemitic posters so characteristic of totalitarian states. (Letter from Congress, Dec. 22, 1939)

In the spring of 1938 Mr. Peter Bercovitch, M.L.A., had occasion to write to Premier Maurice Duplessis,

"I have some personal knowledge of what has been going on in the Laurentians since the early part of last summer. At that time I had about half a dozen people who came to see me complaining bitterly about the hooliganism that prevails at Val David and Val Morin and other places in and near Ste. Agathe. Women and children have been frightened, attacks have been made on the menfolk, and property damage caused to their homes by the smashing of window-panes and in other ways -- to say nothing of the desecration of Jewish places of worship.

"In the years it has been my privilege to know you, I have always admired the great respect you have for law and order in this Province. Our people, I am sure you must know, are a very peaceful group, and have invested considerable sums of money in summer homes in the Laurentian Mountains.

"That they have a right to be left in peace goes without saying; that they have a right under our law to observe their religion is also true -- and I appeal to you, as one who respects all races and religions in this Province, to see that steps are taken by your Government to prevent a repetition of what occurred last summer.

"The Jews who spend their summers in the Laurentians are consumers of farmers' products of every kind, and make their purchases from the farmers and dealers who live in the neighbourhood, most of whom are French-

Canadians. If my people, because of prevailing conditions, should start an exodus from the Laurentians because of the unwarranted attacks upon them, it would cause a loss during the summer months of some hundred thousands of dollars to the French-Canadian farmers and others in the district with whom they do business.

"I have reasons to believe that the cause is due to anti-Semitic agitators inciting ruffians in the neighbourhood to disturb holy worship by the Jews and to attack their person and damage their property.

"This is a matter of great public interest. I am sure it will have your usual prompt and vigorous attention.

"May I hear from you as quickly as possible, that you will see to it that law and order are maintained in the Laurentian Mountains, so that our people may be permitted to enjoy their citizenship in peace and quiet?"

These unpleasantnesses and menaces continued every summer and even into the 1939 winter of the war. That December the Gazette reported posters in Ste. Agathe des Monts warning Jews to "avoid purge and publicity by staying away." (Dec. 19, 1939)

The very wording of a News Report in the Devoir conveys the tone -- the cause -- and the grimness of the resort situation.

"Ste. Agathe des Monts, the population of which is normally three thousand, doubles during the summer. Half of this increase is Jewish. There are two Jewish hotels, a kosher meat market, a delicatessen, a Jewish taxi company and a Jewish cinema.

"Two years ago Val David began a drive against the Jews. Val Morin followed the example.

"The other Sunday Mr. Adrien Arcand, ardent antisemite, spoke at St. Faustin on the Jewish menace. Some 2,000 people heard him. On Friday night posters were placed on telephone poles saying that Ste. Agathe does not want Jews and that they had better leave before there are disorders.

"The other Sunday also, Mgr. J.B. Bazinet, curé of Ste. Agathe, mentioned the presence of Jews at Ste. Agathe and in the Laurentians.

"Yesterday Abbé J.B. Charland, vicaire of Ste. Agathe, also spoke of the Jews from the pulpit. He first said that a number of messages of congratulations had been received on the sermon of Mgr. Bazinet and that all parishioners and tourists have indicated their satisfaction with it. Below is a summary of Abbé Charland's remarks:

" We have not inspired the posting of placards on telephone poles at Ste. Agathe. Following the sermon of Mgr. Bazinet, villagers and tourists have thanked us and said that they now hope to be able to stay at Ste. Agathe, which is after all, a French-Canadian village. We do not need to be ultra-nationalistic, but we must be masters in our own home.

"There is no question of recourse to violence, but of a campaign based on justice. A campaign of education among our own people who rent and sell properties and homes to non-Aryans, a campaign warning Jews. Nor is it a question of stirring up hatred of Jews, but one of protecting our traditions.

"Unfortunate and regrettable concessions have been made to the Jews. This must end. In each country the Jews run counter to the national population. Why? Because they lack propriety. Christians are right in protecting themselves against the Jews. When we know the control they exercise over commerce -- if we rise against them, it is because we have the right to protect ourselves. The Jewish problem should also be seen from the spiritual and national view.

"We must teach our people to rent their places in the summer to other Christians and not to Jews....

"You must not hate this race, he continued. Our Lord cried over them. But if we mustn't hate them, neither must we give up our best traditions. There are some unfortunate concessions now being made. These should stop. We must fight in the best interests of all.

"The Jews, the preacher added, had been persecuted down through the ages because they had not recognized Jesus Christ and they must be shown today that the Church must be respected.

"Why do the Jews always meet with opposition from people of other nationalities? he asked. Because they always work aside from other groups, and because of that they don't deserve the sympathy of those who would work in the common weal.

"Christian solidarity was needed in this matter," he stated, We must have Christian collectivism with a firm basis of religious conviction, he declared."

Three days later a bridge leading to a Jewish-owned hotel in the area was set on fire.

A leading churchman preached that the faithful must remain mâitres chez nous. He was thanked for his sermon, for else "we would have been obliged to align ourselves with Adolph Hitler."

From the broader historic record it should be noted that Canon Charland emphasized, in his inflammatory sermon, that violence must be avoided in the anti-Semitic drive "to keep the Laurentides truly French-Canadian". This reservation, nearly universal in the voluminous anti-Jewish harangues, was more than a hypocritical phrase. It seemed to be serious in intent and not ineffective in the totality of anti-Jewish activity in the province.

Another aspect of the situation came to the fore when hotel owners and merchants, many of whom depended almost entirely on Jewish trade during the summer, announced that they would protest to the town council against any action which would tend to restrict trade. Others in the same lines of business, however, supported the anti-Semitic movement, believing that if the Jewish element were reduced Christians would replace it.

Mgr. Bazinet reiterated the remarks he and Rev. J.B. Charland made in sermons that "the invasion of the Jews" must be withstood at all costs. The struggle was just beginning, he said.

Of the Canon Charland sermon, Rev. Canon E.G. May, of the Anglican Church, thought "no good can come from such diatribes." At the same time he felt that, perhaps, the Jewish population of Ste. Agathe "had not used their freedom quite in the way they should have." Canon May made no reference to the matter in his sermon.

Chief of Police Albert Bergeron said that permanent Jewish residents were quiet and well-behaved; most of the trouble was caused by Jews who came up from Montreal and elsewhere.

"If they come here and behave themselves, no one will say anything," he added, "But when they congregate on the street and behave noisily, obstructing the sidewalk, they must be stopped. They must observe the by-laws the same as everywhere else."

The campaign was on. The priest preached along these lines from the pulpit. A civic committee to prevent sales of properties to Jews was formed, headed by a high city hall official and including a local contractor and a bank manager, to study the situation of the Jews there, and to take the necessary steps to correct it. Several of them may have hoped to be able to buy Jewish-owned properties at panic prices.

Antisemitic locally-printed posters and stickers appeared all over Ste. Agathe, put up by Montrealers, including the nephew of a local hotel keeper, and the sons of the director of a funeral parlor. The local police paid very little attention to this agitation; they appear not to have been encouraged unduly by the officers of city council. As Caiserman wrote to the commissioner of the provincial police, "It would be a simple matter to find who the offenders are by carefully watching for one or two nights, and thus bring order to the community." (Sept.1, 1939)

Louis Fitch, Jewish member of the legislature, sitting on the Duplessis Union Nationale side, confirmed that the posters had been printed in Montreal and had been put up by Montreal men. He accepted Mgr. Bazinet's disclaimer of responsibility for them.

The police chief had expected trouble as rumors flew that bands of youthful French-Canadians were set to "do a job on the Jews" if they persisted in obstructing the traffic, a custom frequently attributed to them in this mountain region.

Heavy downpours of rain, however, kept most people indoors and Police Chief Bergeron reported "all quiet" after curfew. He had taken no chances, however, and constables patrolled the main streets on which there were several Jewish stores until a late hour. (Gazette, July 31, 1939; Star, Aug. 2, 1939)

Two days later someone set fire to a bridge leading to a Jewish island hotel.

Legislator Herman Barette, M.L.A., from Terrebonne County said that the Jews of Ste. Agathe have no reason to complain if the French locals and the English vacationers no longer appreciate their presence. They get only what they provoke by their attitudes. Young Jews and their companions obstruct the roads, not only at Ste. Agathe but also at Prefontaine, at Prévost and at Val Morin. This has been going on for the past five or six years, and they do it in contempt of the population. Unless they mend their ways, he said, he would lead a campaign against them himself....

"I am having roads built here for our people and not for Jews to walk four in a row." (Devoir, Aug.1 and 4, 1939)

Peter Bercovitch, now member of the Commons, was revolted by the anti-Semitism of both the French and the English Canadians of the area. "The law provides sanctions against anyone who violates municipal, provincial or federal laws, but no person can make his own laws. I very deeply regret that certain members of the clergy have taken part in this, and failed to advise their followers to submit their complaints to the courts of the province."

A factual press report in Le Devoir recorded that Jews are known to make unnecessary disturbance such as blocking traffic on the roads and on sidewalks. They consider themselves master of public places.

A Montreal Jewish businessman who refused to be harassed by the local police on the sidewalk where he was accused of blocking passage was brought before Judge Lalonde at St. Jerome. The judge affirmed the supreme importance of everybody observing the laws strictly and recalled his own observation of road blockages in the countryside, particularly at Prévost near Shawbridge. He regretted the widespread publicity about the case and permitted the charges to be withdrawn, after payment of $15 in costs.

Another occasion for tension was the summer wear of the vacationers, at beaches and elsewhere, which was resented by the very conservative religious native population.

Some hotels, the Devoir reported, have begun to announce that they would not accept Jewish guests. In others they are admitted but are charged higher rates. "Jews are ticklish when it comes to money," the reporter wrote. (July 31, 1939)

At the height of the agitation the Jewish guests at hotels managed by Christians checked out.

For the first time, one of the larger hotels publicly announced that it will not receive Jews. There was a sign on the reception desk, put there only a few days earlier, that read: "This hotel has a reciprocal agreement with two Jewish hotels whereby we recommend them to prospective Jewish guests and they, in turn, recommend our hotel to Christians."

Louis E. Parent, Member of the House of Commons for the constituency, declined to intervene in the problem. He was against racial trouble, and did not wish to see any expulsion movement go any further. However, he did not think it would.

Each person, he said, should understand that he should not live in a milieu where he is not well regarded and received. "If Jews do not think they are well received here, they had better stay out."

They were Canadians, he added, and had a right "to come into our towns so long as they observe the rules and regulations." It was up to the municipal authorities to have the by-laws observed, and if any outsiders did not behave, he thought, they were not likely to be desired. (Gazette, Aug. 1, 1939)

In mobilizing anti-Jewish sentiment, the anti-Semites pointed to the losses of tax revenues which Catholic school commissions suffered when a property was transferred from Catholic to Jewish ownership; Jews paid their school taxes to Protestant commissions by virtue of the law enacted by the legislature which had a Catholic majority.

The Jewish community sought to minimize this irritation.

Jews who had purchased properties from local Catholic owners were induced to relinquish their ownership, thus assuring the church of these school tax revenues.

According to the Congress report prepared for the Board of British Jews -- for news had spread around the world -- the situation had been seized upon in one resort area by a politician's ambition to wrest the mayoralty from the incumbent of many years.

In his search for a political issue the candidate learned that the mayor had sold a property to a Jew. He exploited the ideology of the "achat chez nous" and began to agitate against the Jews. He convinced the aging local church dignitary that the parish lost revenue from such sales to Jews.

At one point during this anti-Jewish campaign residents of the area who were not Jewish received circulars in the mail urging them to awake before it is too late for the problem is more serious than is generally believed. They were urged to boycott municipal officers who will not listen to reason. There is occasion to believe that some councillors are traitors, the circular stated the mayor had himself recently sold property to a Jewish man. It also blamed the police of the town for removing anti-Semitic placards that had been placed on telephone poles.

Retail trade in the area slumped with the campaign, but Bell Telephone Co. reported increased Montreal-Ste. Agathe traffic.

There was more than a little truth in Fitch' affirmation that "basically reactions to the Ste. Agathe troubles were greatly exaggerated. Generally the French-Canadian population bears no antipathy towards their summer neighbours. Indeed, merchants, hotel keepers and farmers benefit by hundreds of thousands of dollars a summer from this neighbourliness. In fact, during this year's troubles a number of French Canadians called on their Jewish friends to reassert their goodwill."

The leftist Canadian Jewish People's Committee, not affiliated with the Jewish Congress, chose this unrest to urge Prime Minister King to outlaw anti-Semitism and all efforts to raise racial prejudice by special legislation. They said that the Ste. Agathe incidents are the work of an organized group which has ramifications across the entire country and which concentrates in Quebec with the aim of fostering racist prejudice and racist intolerance.

"We do not believe that the incidents in Ste. Agathe originated in that area, nor that the Catholic church is responsible for them. On the contrary, we believe that fascist groups are at the root of this new plague which threatens Canadian democracy." (Canadian Press Toronto dispatch, Aug. 5, 1939)

As a parting shot, after the mountain community quieted down, the Devoir reported, "Snatched victory from the events, traffic is now normal and we no longer have mobs of young Semites blocking passage of cars."

Mgr. Bazinet sermonized, when all was quiet, "The Jewish question has become a national question, of interest not only to our city but to our province and to the province near ours, to all Canada. I have even received messages from the U.S.; some congratulations, very few criticisms. I cannot tell you how I rejoice over what the entire matter brought us.

"I call on all who find themselves involved in the affair to be very conscientious and prudent in word, in writing in the press, in magazines and in their conversations; that all, whether they are with us or against us, observe the same loyalty that we do, and then all will see how our claims are justified.

"There is no place for hate, mischief or rancour in the heart of a priest." He recalled how deeply touched he was three years earlier, during a very severe illness, to learn that prayers for his recovery were said in a Montreal synagogue.

"It comes down to this: we are chez nous and we wish to remain chez nous; the sale of our properties may appear to some as a question of profit, but there is more to it, for we are about to lose our national entity, our economic entity, our racial qualities, and that we may fail in our patriotic qualities in the face of these attacks."

Each locality with its story -- St. Faustin.

On Jan. 9, 1939 H.M. Caiserman, general secretary of the Canadian Jewish Congress, wrote to Louis Fitch, then sitting as Union Nationale member of the provincial legislature,

"There are four hotels in St. Faustin operated by Jews in which a great deal of money and energy have been invested and which support many inhabitants of the community. Recently they organized a Laurentian Ski Zone Club and the first thing the club did was to post a sign reading: No Jews Allowed. I enclose a photograph of the sign.

"The effect of this was that many Jewish guests, who had intended coming to the hotels at St. Faustin for the Christmas and New Year week-ends, cancelled their reservations on account of the atmosphere created in the community."

Even when Canada was at war with Nazism overseas, Caiserman had occasion to write Fitch again,

"I have written to Col. Piuze, Commissioner of the Quebec Provincial Police. It so happens that the fellows arrested in St. Faustin are socially well connected and an effort is being made to whitewash the whole matter.

"I trust that the Provincial Police who have done a good job, will not permit that the matter be hushed up for they have really done a marvellous service to the province by having at last found the leaders of the band that has terrorized the Laurentian mountain communities for a long time.

"I hope that you will use your influence with the Attorney General to see to it that the case scheduled for the 27th of September in St. Jerome should have before it all the evidence necessary to convict them, and at the same time uncover all their affiliates in the Province of Quebec.

"I am convinced that their affiliates will be found in Mr. Adrien Arcand's boards, committees and sub-committees."

The Chambre de commerce of Ste. Agathe des Monts passed a resolution on May 23, 1940, "Whereas newspapers inform of the intention of the Mizrachi organization to hold its National Meeting at Ste. Agathe des Monts, on August 16th next;

"Resolved that Mizrachi organization be requested to reconsider said decision and to hold their meeting elsewhere than in our town". (Letter from Chambre secretary J.-D. Martin to J. J. Albert, president of the Mizrachi, May 24, 1940.)

The Congress watched over the situation as closely as it could. Their call to the provincial police was well received; men were sent in to prevent incidents. A discreet, on the spot investigation and an examination of the pro-Nazi materials distributed in the area for some time led to a recommendation to the attorney general that Arcand be prevented from convening "political" meetings while this climate persisted.

But it could not be aggressive in defending Jews' claim to full rights in the countryside.

In Quebec, Congress sought to pacify the situation by an appeal to Jewish groups for order, for greater consideration of the customs of the Canadiens. The Chronicle considered the pros and cons of "the Jews refraining from operating little stores in the country places where the natives conducted their business a whole year round.

"On one hand, a Jew has as much business to seek a livelihood in the Laurentians as the French-Canadians have in Vermont and New Hampshire on the other side of the border. If business is conducted with propriety and with a sense of civic obligation, any honorable person is entitled to operate a business. Trouble begins, on the other hand, when business is conducted on the wings of the summer and then flies away. Malicious trouble-makers in the vicinity itself spread the germs of race-hatred and glower at every newcomer as if he were an intruder." (May 20, 1938)

In Ontario, Congress issued a printed appeal to the community to avoid congregating in certain areas where the conditions were sensitive -- probably one of the few retreat documents in the annals of Jewish civic rights on the continent.

In Toronto, summer resort unrest became epidemic.

Signs appeared on City property, especially on the island parks, discriminating against Jews, but these were taken down by order of the Parks Commissioner.

In June, 1931, discussion in Council took place over a discriminatory sign placed on a building on Lakeshore Road, leading into the city (without the jurisdiction of the city). A motion was passed by Council and sent to the Municipality of Etobicoke, the District in which the sign appeared.

"Whereas the attention of Council has been drawn to a sign painted on a building on the Lakeshore Road leading to the City of Toronto, which is offensive to Jewish citizens particularly; be it therefore resolved, that Council records its disapproval and condemnation of all racial and religious prejudice, and that this Council requests the Council of the municipality in which this sign is situate to take steps to remove the same, and that the notice required by the 32nd Rule of this Council be dispensed with so far as relates to this motion, which was carried."

The Toronto Star of June 16, 1932 reported that Alderman Siberry, who operated a summer hotel in the Muskoka District, advertised "Patronage exclusively gentile."

Council, though it was not within their jurisdiction, disapproved of his actions, especially as Siberry himself had moved in Council, a year before, a motion censuring a firm for similar advertising; which motion was passed unanimously.

A Huntsville, Ontario, resort hotel wrote to a long-time client, a Mr. King of Whitby, to confirm reservations for his Toronto friends, the Kaufmans and the Kahns, but asked him whether these friends "are Jewish. If so, we could not accommodate them; if not, they are very welcome, as we cater to Gentiles only." Mr. King was indignant. "You may erase my name from your mailing list as I, too, am Jewish."

The German swastika suddenly blossomed at Balmy Beach in 1933 on the chests of local youths harassing the Jewish vacationers. They clashed with young Jews in violence not seen in Quebec, accusing Jews of not keeping the beach clean and of objectionable practices in the vicinity of the beach; a group of young hoodlums attempted to take the law in their own hands and rid these beaches of the Jews. They used the emblem of the swastika and generally raised a cry against the Jews. This spread to other parts of the city, due to the great publicity given to it by the newspapers; and fighting took place around Willowvale Park so that many were injured; several gentile youths were arrested and some convicted.

There were attempts at controlling hostility and a delegation from the Swastika Club met with Mayor W.J. Stewart, A.B. Bennett and Rabbi Samuel Sachs at City Hall.

Through the stand taken by the Mayor, as well as by the efforts of the Committee for the Defence of Jewish Rights, the trouble subsided.

As Stephen A. Speisman records,

"In July there had been a few clashes between Jews and non-Jews on the beach, but all had been minor. The Jews were disturbed, however, at the prominent display of the swastika, the harassment of Jewish women on the neighbouring streets, and the fact that youths would drive by the homes of Jewish residents and fling garbage on the porches while shouting Nazi slogans. The police apparently refused to take the matter seriously, especially in light of statements by the Swastika Club denying anti-Semitic motives; but the Jew were horified.

"Matters came to a head early in August, when the club organized a dance at their meeting house on the beach and erected swastika signs on the building. At this juncture, about fifty Jewish youths took matters

into their own hands and marched on the clubhouse, where they were met by club members armed with broom handles and lacrosse sticks. Fortunately, the club had gotten wind of the raid and had hastily removed the signs. The police also suspected trouble and arrived in full force. Consequently no violence ensued, but the club members cancelled their dance and marched off down the boardwalk, taunting the Jews to the tune of 'Home on the Range':

> "'Oh give me a home where the Gentiles may roam,
> Where the Jews are not rampant all day,
> Where seldom is heard a loud Yiddish word
> And the Gentiles are free all the day.'
> (Toronto Star, Aug. 2, 1933)"

(The Jews of Toronto, A History to 1937. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1937, Pp. 332-33)

Mayor Stewart averted what might have been serious disturbances by his threats of punishment, and had the police investigate promptly. The Mayor issued a statement on August 1st, after the anti-Jewish demonstrations started in the beach, which read in part,

"Let it be understood with the utmost clearness that we administer our land through the police courts, and not through private groups, clubs or demonstrations. We have an abundance of British ideals which our people might emulate and follow: we need no inspiration from foreign sources and foreign issues, but simply a proper respect for law and order and British traditions...In these times one cannot lightly contemplate the actions of those who set race against race and raise the disturbances and animosities of a racial character. As Mayor and and Chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners, I will not tolerate nor countenance any group taking the law into their own hands."

But, as the Canadian Press wrote on August 10, 1934, there was "no disposition on the part of the Swastika representatives to alter their name or emblem unless requested to do so by a resolution adopted by the entire city council."

A week later the Canadian news agency reported,

"Hundreds of infuriated Jewish and Gentile youths clashed, and a mob of 10,000 surged riotously around Willowvale Park tonight after a large swastika emblem painted on a white quilt had been displayed on the side of a hill.

"One Jewish youth was struck over the head with a baseball bat, dozens of others received less serious injuries; fist fights and free-for-alls raged all over the park, and order was finally brought after police reserves rushed to the park.

"In one confused mass, a section of the crowd numbering more than 3,000 surged across the park and over the hill toward the emblem. Fighting broke out as Jews recognized Gentiles.

"A group of more than 100 Jewish youths chased angrily after the four youths who had displayed the emblem. Immediately after unfolding the quilt and showing it to the mob in the park, the four youths, each holding an end, beat a hurried retreat.

"The mob surged over the hill and overflowed into Bloor Street. The Jewish youths overtook the four boys with the quilt, and proceeded to beat them and tear the flag away. Half the flag was torn to shreds. The other half was seized by a youth who tried to hold it in defiance of the crowd. He was saved from violence only by the arrival of two officers who drew their truncheons and escorted him to a police car.

"The rioting broke out at the close of the baseball game between Harbord and St. Peter's junior teams at Willowvale Park, which is situated in the north-western section of the city. The teams were playing their third game in the park and the initial engagement a week ago, had been marked by a similar but smaller demonstration."

Four leaders of the youth gang who incited the riots were released, since the judge regarded their swastikas "all a joke." (Betcherman, Pp. 53-59)

As Speisman tells this story,

"The fighting, which continued for six hours, spread to the surrounding streets. Jewish shops along Bloor Street were vandalized, while members of the 'Pit Gang' roamed the area looking for Jews, whom they accosted and sometimes attacked. One resident stated that his Jewish neighbours were afraid to walk several blocks to shop. Police were stationed at the entrances to the park, warning Jews not to enter.

"Few agreed with the magistrate when he dismissed charges against those involved in the Christie Pits incident on the grounds that the provocation of the Jews was intended as a joke. Violent incidents tended to peter out, especially after the swastika gangs discredited themselves by harassing non-Jews at Riverdale Park in search of 'Reds.' However, a national swastika association 'to defend Gentile Rights' was formed and soon spawned the Union Party, a group sympathetic to Hitler. The result was a consolidation of

the Jewish community behind the League for the Defense of Jewish Rights and its successor, Canadian Jewish Congress; a trend strengthened further by discrimination against Jews in the Toronto Island parks and on the beaches in the western part of the city, by vandalism at the Jewish cemetery on Roselawn Avenue, and by threats to the life of Rabbi Sachs." (Pp. 334-35)

At the East End Beaches a few weeks later, scrawled across a breakwater, in letters three feet high, appeared the words: "Britain gave you Jerusalem -- for God's sake leave us this beach."

The incidents with the Swastica Clubs in Toronto were seriously noted in Montreal by Le Devoir's Georges Pelletier. His conclusions after surveying the facts struck where the harm to Jews would be most serious.

As he saw it, the Toronto incidents reflected the wide ethnic variety of immigrants admitted without careful examination from all parts of the world. "We wanted numbers. We got them. Who ever wanted to come nearly always succeeded. What saved the original Canadians against definitive submersion was that a good number of these people only passed through here on their way to the United States, months after their landing at Quebec, Montreal, or Saint John. However, a substantial element stayed with us. Sometimes they were desirables, sometimes not.

At the present moment, when a strong propaganda for a renewal policy of such immigration is upon us, it would be of immediate value to have a broad enquiry on the different aspects of our immigration in the past.

What we have in Toronto is an exchange of blows by two groups: Jews who were born here or arrived during the past thirty years, whose families came from Russia, Germany, Poland and Galicia, to whom the very sight of the swastika brings shudders because of what it represents in Europe; and on the other hand, young Canadians of Anglo-Saxon origin who propose to display

whatever patterns they wish, whatever they may represent there. Hence the serious riots of these past days whence there may develop a violent antisemitic movement extremely dangerous for all and almost impossible to repress if the present situation continues to intensify.

The Canadian Jew has not renounced his Judaism. The Anglo-Saxon Canadian does not propose to let the Jew displace him. These events add to the understandable sensitivity of the Jews in Canada even while they fan the racism of some Canadians. We are not in Germany, but the Saxons of Toronto are reacting like their comrades in Berlin and in Munich. Where can this lead?

This is one of the many manifestations of the lack of foresight of our governments in the past when they invited all Europe and some of Asia to cross the ocean and to make of Canada a sort of promised land. (Aug. 19, 1933)

When similar activities took place against the Jews in Kitchener, Ontario, the City Council on August 15th soon passed the following Resolution, proposed by Aldermen Mullins and Hearn,

"That this Council looks with disfavor upon any organization that among their aims and objects brings oppression and discrimination upon any sect or creed; and that they call upon all public servants and citizens in general to discourage and prevent, as far as they are able, the fostering of such an objective by any club, body or organization."

The motion was carried with Alderman Eby in opposition because he doubted the necessity of the resolution, and was satisfied to allow the Mayor and Police Department to use their judgment.

From Galt came echoes of Hitlerism when the mayor called an alderman "a bloody Jew" and declared "I have no more respect for a Jew than Hitler has. It is time he was told he was a Hebrew, and what a Gentile thinks of a Hebrew."

The Public Relations Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress reported in 1937,

"A large number of advertisements for hotels and lodging houses appeared in the press this summer indicating that 'Gentiles only' would be accepted. The Jewish community received the cooperation of a number of the newspapers in Toronto and throughout the Province which refused henceforth to publish advertisements containing discriminatory restrictions. Similarly, a number of other publications, including the year book of the Ontario Motor League, promised their cooperation in this respect.

"The hotels situated on property leased from the Ontario government are refusing to accept Jewish patronage. This matter has been discussed with the Department of Lands and Forests.

"This summer has been marked by the erection of an astonishing number of anti-Jewish signs to indicate that certain semi-public parks and beaches did not wish the patronage of Jews. Unfortunately, the owner of private property has the legal right to display such offensive signs. When such signs have been erected in public places, however, their immediate removal has been secured. A number of individuals conducting private parks and beaches have been approached and a request for the removal of offensive signs has been made as diplomatically as possible. Our requests have rarely been granted.

"Public officials, on the other hand, have usually shown every desire to cooperate. For example, the Parks Department of the city of Toronto has, at our request, removed immediately from concrete pillars, off the lake front near Sunnyside, painted swastikas and the words 'No Jews.' These inscriptions were painted on the same wall twice within the past few months.

"Another instance of interest is the appearance at Lake Wilcox of signs reading: 'Our slogan for 1938 -- No Jews Allowed.' Public officials of the township in which Lake Wilcox is situated refused to take action because they claimed the signs were posted on a private road not within their jurisdiction. More probably there was a strong desire not to offend the voters. The signs were finally removed through the cooperation of the provincial Hydro-Electric Department on whose poles the signs were fastened.

"The Rosedale Tennis Club in Hamilton refused Jews as members, but this situation was rectified by Congress intervention," the 1937 report continued.

Toronto M.P.P. John J. Glass had occasion to write to the Ministry of Lands and Forests, on July 7, 1937,

"I understand that Timagami and Algonquin Parks are under your administration and jurisdiction. I have received several complaints against the action of the Highland Inn in Algonquin Park advertising in the daily press that this hotel is restricted to 'Gentiles only,' and Camp Ogama and Timagami Lodge in Timagami advertising in their literature as 'Gentiles only.'

"Needless to say, no self-respecting Canadian Jewish citizen would think of seeking accommodation in any hotel where he was not welcome on the same terms as any other guest. Nor do I intend to enter into the merits of this policy on the part of many hotels. Advertising the fact that they discriminate against Jews generally is most offensive and insulting to Jewish communities throughout Canada, and the last place anyone would expect this sort of discrimination is on Government property and Government parks."

The Deputy Minister replied two days later,

"I have pointed out to the Highland Inn and also Timagami Lodge the objections raised and have intimated to them that an explanation is in order.

"I cannot associate Camp Ogama with any lease or rights held from the Crown, but it may be that this is a local name and we have not used it. But if I find that this hotel is on land leased by the Crown, I shall likewise write in respect of the complaints transmitted by you."

A camp at Port Loring, Ont., advertising the excellent fishing in its area in the Cleveland press, noted that its facilities are restricted to "Gentiles only." Richard E. Gutstadt of the Bnai Brith in Chicago was not exuberant in his hopes of converting the management to accept Jewish patrons; as the Canadian Jewish Congress was informed, they had persuaded many such hotel keepers to use less objectionable terms. The term "Restricted" he felt is much more acceptable.

Nevertheless, he wrote to Port Loring, "It is not our purpose to criticize your policy, since we freely admit that every resort has a right to cater to that type of clientele which it finds most acceptable. We do, however, feel that a generalization which includes all of the people in one minority group as undesirable is hardly fair. We realize that there are many Jewish people who are ostentatious or in other ways objectionable to people of refinement and discrimination. There are also an equal, or perhaps greater, number of Jews who are quiet, well-bred and pleasant, just as there are a large number of Gentiles who may be objectionable. May we suggest that the Hon. David Croll is only one of many highly esteemed gentlemen who are, perhaps unconsciously, stigmatized as inferior and undesirable through the type of phrase contained in your advertisement....

"We have had in our experience many instances where resorts such as yours have found it expedient, for many and varied reasons, to advertise as you do. However, when we have called to their attention the injustice done to a whole group of people through this type of advertising, the great majority have wholeheartedly agreed to substitute such phrases as 'Restricted Clientele' or 'Select Clientele.' They have agreed with us that in this way the desired purpose would most probably be accomplished without any undesirable effects upon any of the citizenry."

When the Jewish tennis club made application to the Toronto Tennis League it was refused. Apparently a few clubs in the league had given notice that they would withdraw if the Jewish club was admitted, and the others agreed to turn down the application.

According to the Globe and Mail, "The executive of the Jewish club accepted the situation philosophically and unanimously voted not to capitalize on the discrimination against them, even agreeing to explain the situation to the members by word of mouth, and urge them to avoid precipitating any crisis in the League.

"St. Andrew's Golf Club, one of the few Toronto clubs with Jewish members, was the scene of the next incident. A large sign suddenly appeared at the entrance reading: 'After Sunday, June 20, this course will be restricted to Gentiles only. Please do not question this policy.' The ban applied to green fee players, as well as to members and guests. The secretary explained, 'We had to protect our business. The great majority of our people are Gentiles and we had to respect their wishes.'" (Betcherman. Pp. 99-100)

UNIVERSITY GRADUATES

The inflammatory agitation on the political and journalistic level could not but find translation on the social, professional level.

Following the European model, university students took the initiative in attacking Jews, particularly in areas within their ken.

In his examination of the Toronto social scene Stephen A. Speisman noted,

"Before the war and into the twenties, anti-Semitic sentiment, while usually veiled, appeared also when Jews attempted to seek employment outside the factory. Jews were seldom hired as sales staff at the major department stores or as clerks in local banks. Jewish university graduates who wished to become teachers found acceptance in Toronto schools impossible, and frequently sought careers in law or medicine as a result. Even independent professionals found Toronto rife with discrimination. Lawyers and engineers could not find employment with Gentile firms. Moreover, Jewish medical graduates were refused as interns in local hospitals, found it difficult to locate their offices in fashionable districts, and sometimes had to disguise the fact that they were Jews in order to secure desirable accommodation. Admittedly, in the war years Dr. Abraham Brodey was appointed Acting Head of the Department of Pharmacology at the University of Toronto, a position he held until 1919, and during the 1920's two other practitioners held posts at the Western Hospital; but for the most part, Jewish doctors were excluded. Indeed, no Jewish doctor was to have a clinical appointment at the university or an indoor staff position at a teaching hospital in Toronto until after the Second World War.

"Jews encountered difficulty in some public hospitals and schools as patients and students as well. Nurses often treated immigrants with indifference." (The Jews of Toronto, A History to 1937. Pp. 120-21)

In June, 1934, Montreal witnessed an anti-Semitic scandal whose repercussions are not yet stilled.

When Palestine-born Samuel Rabinovitch, a young Jewish medical student, was accepted as intern in Montreal's Hôpital Notre Dame in June 1934, the interns in four French-Canadian hospitals in the city walked out in a protest strike.

Rabinovitch had led his class at the Université de Montréal and had been appointed after it had become clear that there was no French-Canadian candidate to fill the vacancy.

The circumstances about the tragic case were formally narrated by René Laporte, superintendent of the hospital,

"On February 14, 1934, the Medical Council of Notre Dame Hospital considered applications addressed to the secretary for positions as internes during 1934-35, to commence June 15. The council accepted all applications received from French-Canadian medical students. One alone remained on the table, that of a Jewish student. As there were still vacancies to be filled, the council recommended that the Jewish student's application be accepted. There was not at the time, nor has there been since, any new application from a French-Canadian student. On the contrary, there have been three resignations on the part of French-Canadian students who had already signed their agreements, but who left the hospital on a question of remuneration.

"These nominations have been sanctioned by the Bureau of Administration. They have been well-known to everyone from that date until the present.

"At the beginning of June, the French-Canadian internes made a request to the medical bureau in which they expressed their dissatisfaction at the engagement of a Jew in Notre Dame Hospital. They suggested that his services be dispensed with, notwithstanding the contract which the hospital made with him. This communication went before the council, which decided, after considerable deliberation, to respect the contract which it had undertaken with this doctor. The council sent this resolution to the Bureau of Administration, furnishing the explanation as requested in the case. The bureau, after further consideration, unanimously resolved to abide by the contract made by the hospital with this student, insisting that this contract had at no time interfered with the rights of any French-Canadian candidate.

"Following these different resolutions, the student internes maintained their opposition. In the face of this insubordination, the council delegated one of its members to convey to them what would be the consequences of their attitude, as much from the hospital point of view as from the public standpoint in the circumstances.

"After this interview, the internes still persisted in this attitude toward the hospital authorities. On June 15, the date of commencement of their duties, they were asked to take up the positions to which they had been assigned. At midnight, June 14, all work ceased, and they refused to assist the surgeons in emergency operations that took place that night. They also refused to answer ambulance calls, etc.

"Faced with this attitude, the council again met at 11.30 a.m., June 15, when the members resolved to have the internes brought before them with the purpose of urging them to reflect on the hospital's situation. The internes were to be called before the council in two separate groups. The first included student internes, under the authority of the Faculty of Medicine, University

of Montreal, which was represented by its dean at the meeting. When this group was asked to appear before the dean, who wished to give them a full explanation of the matter, they refused to appear, aligning themselves with the graduate internes, who formed the second group.

"Against the refusal of each group to appear singly, the Council of Notre Dame Hospital in its turn aligned itself with the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, and refused to hear the internes en bloc, because the two groups were not under the same authority. Student internes are under the exclusive authority of the dean, who represents the Faculty of Medicine, and the graduate internes are under the exclusive authority of Notre Dame Hospital, which was concerned in their case only.

"In view of the internes' attitude which could only be considered as an act of serious insubordination, the hospital authorities requested them to resign." (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, June 22, 1934)

Peter Bercovitch, M.L.A., addressed himself to his prime minister on the Rabinovitch case on June 19, 1934,

"Episodes of avowed militant antisemitism are ever to be condemned when they occur socially or in commerce -- and are usually set down to lack of education and understanding.

"But I do not believe that it has ever yet been witnessed in a British Dominion that an entire body of university-trained medical men should declare their oath violate and their duty derelict; should even refuse to attend the sick and dying of their own kind and kin in emergency, on the flimsy pretext of racial antagonism.

"Evidently the Goglu, Patriote, Sécurité, the Restaurateur and the brood of dirt-sheets have borne fruit. And this among the younger generations.

"Most of the older generation, nurtured on the Liberalism of Laurier, have watched this unprecedented strike aghast. The senior members of the medical profession and the Board of Notre Dame have condemned it and refused to lend it countenance, and they deserve the commendation of every decent thinking human being for their stand.

"But evidently the younger men have drunk deeply at the fountain of scurrility of the Goglu. Evidently the poison has been and is being quietly and efficiently disseminated among French Canadians of all ranks and stations. Is Hitlerism going to triumph in Quebec?

"And those in authority, those in power in the last few years, who by their refusal to curb by adequate legislation this growing Frankenstein of intolerance and race-persecution, are by the fact of their refusal to create a remedy condoning this evil."

Thus Mr. Bercovitch nailed down the political and social victory of the antisemites.

In a crisis atmosphere Dr. Rabinovitch submitted his resignation, giving three reasons for his action,

"First, the direct insult which the Jewish race had just received; Second, the plight of those unfortunate and suffering patients of this and other hospitals, who are suffering through lack of proper care occasioned by the strike of the internes; Third, the embarrassing position in which the directors of the hospital, who have stood so nobly by me and behaved so decently towards me, are finding themselves in."

Dr. Rabinovitch told journalist Israel Medres of the Eagle that "he would not have tendered his resignation if he had felt that the leaders of the French-Canadian population were with him. Since to them it was merely a matter of indiscipline and insubordination, he felt that his duty to the patients in the hospital wards required his resignation.

"Dr. Sam Rabinovitch was aware, before the strike, that the other internes were opposed to his selection. A few days previous, his brother, Dr. Pinchus Rabinovitch had visited the authorities of Notre Dame Hospital, offering to release the board from his brother's contract, asking that they see he was placed in another hospital. The board after a meeting decided that Dr. S. Rabinovitch should remain.

"Another factor leading to the resignation was the astounding situation whereby the striking internes slept and ate at the hospital during the 90 hours of their strike, yet they refrained from aiding the sick that were in the same building."

Few Jews have been named to French-Canadian hospitals in the four decades since, and the position of Jews in the complex social structure of Quebec medicine bears the marks of the sad events of 1934 to this day.

As the Canadian Jewish Chronicle wrote on June 22, 1934,

Few Jews have been named to French-Canadian hospitals in the four decades since, and the position of Jews in the complex social structure of Quebec medicine bears the marks of the sad events of 1934 to this day.

As the Canadian Jewish Chronicle wrote on June 22, 1934,

"It was a painful awakening the Jews of Montreal had when they suddenly discovered in their midst a display of antisemitism which would have done credit to the Nazi hospitals of Germany. Because a Jew was placed on the staff of internes at the Notre Dame Hospital, the others, thirty-one French Canadians, declared a strike and 'downed their tools.' As if to accentuate this unity, they quickly whipped up the strike fever among their confrères, until five Catholic hospitals succumbed.

"The Jews of Montreal have been treated to several examples of antisemitic demonstrativeness during the past year or two.

"We have had samples of loutish yeggery, confined for the most part to street-corner hangers-on, and we have had samples from the upper strata, from newspapers and a mayoralty candidate. With this medical display of race prejudice we come across something new. Here we have men, some of whom have not yet graduated, starting their career by besmirching one of the noblest professions.

"This was not a sporadic attempt nor was it hatched in one minute. The hand of agitators and trouble-makers is to be discerned in this.

"This incident can hardly be treated as a freak event; because the unanimity with which it was effected, to say nothing of the spontaneity with which the internes of other hospitals rallied to the call, show conclusively that the whole affair is the effect of a cause working for subversive purposes.

"As for Notre Dame Hospital, we can readily appreciate its quandry; and in spite of Dr. Rabinovitch's desire to release them from their embarrassment, the authorities manfully tried to maintain their tradition of placing alleviation of human suffering above everything else.

"Meanwhile the striking internes have won a 'victory' with a loss of moral and ethical decency of which they can be heartily ashamed."

In Le Canada of June 20, 1934, Edmond Turcotte declared, "We have been stupefied to see the noblest of professions reduced to 'a job', to see them shamelessly abandon their past, betray their most sacred duty -- justifying their conduct in the name of France which has for centuries been the synonym for generosity, tolerance and enlightened humanity.

"The Goglu-type press and the slimy spiritual abortions who hire it bear a terrible responsibility for the nature of the sickliness which sane and lucid eyes see invading the centres of the legitimate defence of the French Canadian national organism. The poison is injected in a continuous stream. It has begun to poison the feeble in spirit, the ignorant and the credulous mass... We would have expected greater vigour in the circles where humanist culture should defend the spirit against antisemitic aberrations; especially in that profession of the objective

study of the phenomena of body and of intelligence in the profession of unbiased observation par excellence by the severest methods of scientific experiment.

"If the élite of our thinkers follows the irrational allurements of the mob, where are we at?

"Race hate and religious persecution are death principles for a society where the religion of love taught by Christ is the light and the life at the point our people is threatened...

"It is with pride and gratitude that we saw some hundreds of nurses on duty, untroubled by the agitation about them, faithful to their duty towards their state and intact in their dedication -- the hereditary mark of the true nobility of the Canadian woman.

"There is consolation and hope in a reasonable future in the stand of Le Devoir whom noone suspects of greater sympathy for the Jews than a Christian with a well-born heart need have; this paper reproached the mutineer against the Medical Council with insubordination and desertion...

"Antisemitism is a social monster that appears in troublous times, when men are unhappy, insecure, when physical and moral misery is the lot of very many, when the social struggle becomes embittered and cruel, when peoples vow hatred unto death because the struggle for survival is more deeply underlying than human society and the laws that govern it. Even the most civilized man accepts only the law of the strong and of the many, the law of the pack.

"This is what happened in post-war Germany where defeat and despair are translated into a tremendous catastrophe of the intelligence, into a collective collapse into a bastard paganism which swallows the Jews' God and the Christians' God into the same persecution of hatred...

"The progress of an epidemic does not justify the healthy abandoning the fight. The west is the depository of an ideal of humanity, of justice and of tolerance, of sympathy between men of diverse faiths... We in French Canada participate in this heritage, and true patriotism for us consists in keeping it intact and in making it fruitful for our children.

"It is a more obscure type of patriotism, less attractive than the sensational one which strikes the imagination of the vulgar, but it is much more stirring. In any case, it is much worthier of the name of man and of Frenchman."

In L'Ordre we find that fighter for liberalism, Mr. Olivar Asselin, devoting two articles in which he subjects the episode to a keen analysis.

Asselin revealed that far from taking the place of a Canadien applicant, the hospital had recourse to an American from Chicago to fill one of the vacancies after the appointment of Rabinovitch.

He also pointed out that initially the protesters had objected to Rabinovitch's "nationality" but at a meeting with the journalist they expressed their fear of competition: they had no racist prejudices, it was "only a matter of French Canadians defending themselves against the eventual competition which had already appeared in the establishment of a Clinique Ste. Thérèse in a French Canadian district by a Jewish doctor who had received his training in another Catholic hospital."

But when the students protested that they would not work with him because he was Jewish, or live with him in the hospital, the administration buckled and accepted his dignified letter of resignation. This even though the hospital was beneficiary of a bequest from Sir Mortimer Davis and of generous gifts from Lyon Cohen. (Olivar Asselin. "La grève des internes," in L'Ordre, June 1934; and in his Pensées françaises, pages choisies. Montreal, Editions de l'A.C.-F., pp. 184-96)

He speaks of the delegation of doctors who voiced their complaint against the presence of a Jew on the staff and who declared they have "no prejudice against Jews, but that they refuse to live a year with a Jew under the same roof." Mr. Asselin cuttingly reminds his readers of the $100,000 which was left by a Jew, Sir Mortimer Davis, to the hospital. The Notre Dame Hospital receives $25,000 a year with the possibility of a million dollar endowment, from the Rockefeller Foundation, and the head of the Medical Council which makes these disbursements is a Jew, Dr. Flexner.

"Several years ago a French Canadian doctor from Notre Dame Hospital wished to further his studies in diabetes. He was graciously admitted into the General Hospital clinic of a Dr. Rabinovitch, close kin of the young intern of Notre Dame, and benefitted from eight months of study under this master who is universally recognized as an authority....

"The crafty spiritual sons of the Jesuit Fathers, Les Jeunes Canada, inspired the interns to strike... The chaplain of the Catholic Association of Commercial Travellers could tell us who gave the signal as a number of organizations began to protest against Dr. Rabinovitch as intern: Order of Native Sons of Canada, several sections of the Société St.-Jean Baptiste, the Chevalliers de Carillon, the Grocers -- Butchers (catholic?), the Red Maple Leaf, etc.

"A notable part of our youth confuses anti-Semitism with patriotism. Every enlightened French Canadian who bears in his heart the dignity and honour of his race will recognize that it is not by such shameful exploits as this strike that the many national deficiencies will be remedied...It is not by the not very glorious attitude of the administration of the hospital and the faculty of medicine that the French Canadian will wash out the shame that action bring upon it."

Several months earlier the Canadian Jewish Chronicle had noted Premier Taschereau "had sought to unmask Jeune Canada as a society of fanatics who are exploiting religion for political purposes. At the time the Jewish weekly recalled "that the poison darts of Jeune Canada have been directed against the Jewish people more than against anyone else. We are not so naive as to believe that the organization consists of only 17 members, nor are we ready to believe that there is no higher organization behind them. Le Patriote the mouthpiece of that body, bespeaks a well-organized and substantially subsidized movement, and the material that appears in that miserable rag often betrays the masterhood of informed minds who cunningly distort their information for subversive purposes." (Dec. 22, 1933)

Rabbi Charles Bender wrote of Asselin and of Turcotte,

"Of the French newspapers, only two rose above the spirit of chauvinism and realized the harm that had been done to the name of their compatriots.

"All the other papers were discreetly silent on the matter, or else they covered the shame with supine excuses.

"One paper discovered that Dr. Rabinovitch is a Turk, having been born in Palestine when that country was under Ottoman rule.

"Another paper revealed that Dr. Rabinovitch had ingratiated himself too much with the hospital authorities, and that he had demanded a bursary with which he could study in Europe. A third paper made the discovery that the Jews of Montreal were arranging a monster protest meeting.

"This brings us to one more aspect of the case: who is the power behind the movement? The strike was not the sporadic effort of a few youths. They are but the echo of a call which goes back still further and possibly still higher.

"The Dominion has been awakened to a new paradox in life, a minority pleading for fair play and tolerance while browbeating a still weaker minority." (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, June 29, 1934, p.5)

Nor was this solely a Quebec situation.

In Regina the General Hospital in 1934 was told by the superintendent that a radiologist who was Jewish would not be acceptable to the staff or to the public, and a doctor with an Anglo-Saxon name was preferred at a higher salary to Doctors Teitelman and Friedman. (Regina Leader Post, Feb. 28, March 14, 1934)

The library school at the University of Toronto rejected the highly recommended application of a Jewish man frankly because, upon graduation, he would have difficulty in finding a position in the profession, and this would spoil the placement record of the school.

During the very days of the Rabinovitch scandal it proved necessary to defend the Université de Montréal against its antisemitic calumniators.

As far back as Nov. 20, 1928, the Chevaliers de Colomb threatened to bar Université de Montréal students from their swimming pool unless Jewish students are kept out of the club house, for they inconvenience the members and threaten the Catholic character of the association.

The following March the General Association of students at the Université de Montréal voted for the exclusion of Jews from the university as undesirable.

The preamble of the resolution, as proposed by the Quartier latin, which has always refused Jews' advertising, and seconded by the medical students: The Université must be Catholic; the presence of Jewish students prejudices the free exercise of the rights and privileges of Christian students; the Université enables Jews to compete on the professional level and can thus hamper Christians later in life; Canadian and American universities are already attempting to deal with this problem; McGill University is seeking each year to reduce the proportion of Jewish students; Hôpital Ste.-Justine has named a Jew as chief intern that year; the patients at Catholic hospitals are "suffering" from the presence of Jewish students at clinics, dispensaries, etc.; each student is the occasion of deficit for the empoverished Université, already forced to deprive its children from necessary progress and improvements. (Serviam, vol. 3, no. 5, Aug. 1968, pp.9-10)

Adrien Arcand incited further with an article in the Miroir, "The Jews at the Université" (Sept. 20, 1931)

The question of admitting Jewish students to the Université de Montréal had been placed before the council of bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Montreal as early as 1929. (Patriote, Aug. 1934)

On Jan. 22, 1932 the Chameau devoted its editorial to "The Imminence of the Jewish Menace; The Université Should Shut its Doors to Them." On May 11, 1933 the Patriote wrote on "The Université and the Jews," and on Sept. 21, "Our Université is Still Jewish." On Oct. 19, "The Université Sheared for the Jews' Benefit."

Like Ménard's Patriote Anatole Vanier noted that 92 non-Catholics were registered at the Université de Montréal, 82 of them Jewish; "29 non-Catholic strangers in pharmacy, 39 in law;" and thought wistfully of the restrictions on Jews in eastern Europe, the numerus clausus. It may soon be necessary to apply this in our teaching institutions and elsewhere to protect our Catholic atmosphere and our French Canadian progress.

"The Palais de justice of Montreal sometimes looks quite oriental because of the presence of many Jewish barristers, and the tide is always rising." ("Les Juifs au Canada," in Action nationale, vol. 2, Sept. 1933, Pp. 9-10)

The Devoir wrote on its front page of Jan. 8, 1934 on the slightly diminishing number of Jewish students at the Université de Montréal; down from 82 to 76 out of 7,438 students. All the Jewish students are in law and pharmacy. "McGill had closed its school of pharmacy, possibly because of the Jewish invasion."

In its defence Prof. Langevin wrote in the Devoir, "If we do not admit them, they will establish a university for themselves, and we shall have to pay for it." (Reprinted in Patriote, Nov. 2, 1933)

An unsigned statement sought to dissociate itself from the Jewish question which, in general, is a phase of immigration policy... The university authorities impose on Jewish students maximum requirements as candidates for admission, maximum requirements in tuition fees, as well as intellectual qualifications required by the bureau of registration... Jews enroll largely in the faculty of law in order to learn the French language and the civil code which is French in origin and in spirit... They also enroll in the school of pharmacy, the only one in Montreal. They are guided by all our disciplinary regulations... In certain faculties they are even more rigidly applied... In some cases, after being refused admission, they return with the professional requirements and the academic equivalence of the rhetoric year. (Patriote, July 5, 1934)

The fear of the antisemites was so deep that the Devoir distorted the application of Sir George Williams College (now Concordia) for a provincial charter into a story headlined, "Une université juive dans la Province de Québec." (Nov. 9, 1934) A similar report appeared in Action catholique.

Early in 1934 the Arcand movement reached a milestone which was menacing for Canada: on Feb. 1, 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 Illustration and by the Patriote (March 8 and 15, 1934: "Bravo, M. Gobeil!") 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 antisemitic 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.

This was not the first time that Quebec's Catholic universities needed to be saved from the devil. Fifty years earlier, Bishop Bourget went to Rome to explain to the highest authorities of the church that Laval University was falling under the influence of the freemasons. At that time, Tardivel contradicted the pope when the Pontiff failed to find the enemy hiding under the bed. "The Pope is mistaken on this question," Tardivel wrote, and Bishop Laflèche was certain that the Holy See can be led into error, above all for a certain time, on questions of fact and on questions of doctrine. (cited by Sergent in his thesis on Mgr. L.A. Paquet, pp.90-92)

The Université reacted almost defiantly to the vulgar attentat. Sen. Raoul Dandurand, a symbol of resistance to bigotry, was named president of the University in February.

Edmond Turcotte sought to put the "Jewish threats" to the Université in another light in an editorial in Le Canada.

"The Jew is said to be utilitarian, materialistic and devoid of a homeland. He would therefore be disposed by character and interests to turn to McGill which would open the doors to fortune most surely and rapidly. Nevertheless, he seeks learning at the Université de Montréal.

"Instead of being concerned, we ought to be gratified. His worst enemy does not accuse the Jew of lacking intelligence. In registering at the Université de Montréal instead of McGill he compliments the Université for its teaching and the learning of its teachers. This is more gratifying than if all the non-Catholic foreigners, to use Mr. Anatole Vanier's term, avoided the Université as a nest of ignorance and a home of obscurantism.

"Let us also rejoice that the deserved good name our Université enjoys among 'the non-Catholic foreigners' provides us with such a fine opportunity to spread French culture beyond our own ethnic group, to make us better known, and to destroy the legends that are current about French Canadians." (Oct.7,1933)

The matter was not allowed to lapse. In 1936 Lucien Duchaine, speaking at an anti-Jewish meeting at the Maisonneuve Market, criticized the Université, "a Christian university, allowing Jews within its portals. If the Jews want a university, let them build their own place outside of Montreal, outside of Canada... "

At the same meeting Salluste Lavery, K.C., said "The Université received nothing because it harbored the Jews, and it will get nothing for that." (Gazette, March 16, 1936)

Earlier the politician Lavery had demanded the exclusion of Jews from the Université and the establishment of ghettoes, as part of his total Nazi electoral platform in the mayoralty elections. His extremism did not prevent his nomination in 1955 as candidate for a Montreal seat in the Commons on the platform of H.H. Stevens' respectable Reconstructionist Party.

The Rector of the Université de Montréal and members of the faculty protested strongly against the accusations of Mr. Gobeil.

In the provincial legislature Prime Minister Taschereau expressed himself in the same vein. Even Duplessis, leader of the opposition, called the Gobeil speech as reported in the Hansard, regrettable and reprehensible.

Joseph Cohen, M.L.A. for St. Laurent, condemned the classification of legislators by religious or racial distinction. "When we sit as chairmen of committees, it is not as Jews but as members of this House and as members elected by our constituents, whether they are French Canadian, Irish, English, or whatever."

S.W.Jacobs defended the Université de Montréal against the slurs of the Commons member. He spoke as a devoted alumnus of the university and charged that the accusations of the antisemite were without any foundation.

In Le Devoir, editor Omer Héroux criticizes Jacobs for not defending the university by stilling the agitation evoked by the Gobeil statement.

As late as March 18, 1936 Le Canada had occasion to write contemptuously of these sheepish and confused useless gentlemen who pretend to teach the ecclesiastical directors of our university, who work under the direction of the Archbishop of Montreal, how the Jews ought to be treated there in the light of Christian principles. "Let us simply recall that some persons would rise in public esteem by raising odious prejudices."

Much later Le Jour reported that fascists of the Arcand type prevented the very distinguished professor of literature, Gustave Cohen, from coming to teach at the Université de Montréal. (Le Jour, May 6, 1944)

A year later, having occasion to mention the name of Brazilian visitor, Prof. André Dreyfus, in a press release, it made it a point to note that there was nothing Israelite about the name. (April 14, 1945; cited by Gagnon, P. 172)

SABBATH REST

Published in

CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

NEW SERIES NO. 8

In lieu of a preface to No.8

REFUGEES KEEP OUT

Saul Hayes, National Executive
Director, Canadian Jewish Congress,
(Before Senate Standing Committee
on Immigration and Labor on the
operation and administration of the
Immigration Act, etc. June 31, 1946)

The Jews of Canada are among the most enthusiastic and appreciative upholders of the liberties and opportunities of this country. We treasure each of its traditions and would give much to have the same principles of equality and decency rule in other countries as they do in Canada. Most of us stem from lands of continuous oppression, and many members of our community would certainly not be alive today if it were not that they or their ancestors had found a new home in Canada. I believe also that it is common knowledge that the presence of Jewish people in Canada has contributed materially to the development of this country in every field. It is therefore very natural for us to wish that some of our fellow-Jews who are suffering so much in other lands be given the opportunity to enter this country. That is why the Jewish citizens of this country take so keen an interest in the Immigration Act and its operation. It is the instrument which determines the extent to which this fervent wish of the united Jewish community will be met in practice.

When we read the Immigration Act from this point of view we find that on the surface of things the Act treats Jewish applicants for immigration in precisely the same manner as others, and there is not anything in the Act itself which might be characterized as discriminatory against Jews; and since our community seeks no special privileges for ourselves or for our kin, that might be considered a satisfactory state of affairs.

However, when we come to examine the law and the procedures which have been existing for the past several decades in regard to immigration -- in other words, the actual records -- when we look to see how these procedures have worked out in actual practice during this period of time in regard to the immigration of our co-religionists, we do not find much cause for satisfaction. In the past twenty years -- and I must say here parenthetically that these have been years when the Jewish people in other lands were more in need of a refuge than at any time in the past two thousand years -- the statistics issued by the Immigration Branch indicate that the actual number of Jewish immigrants has been very small. I am forced by the facts to state to this committee that this is a cause for much pain and embarrassment to the Jewish community in Canada, which has seen its own flesh and blood persecuted, shamed and decimated for lack of a more sympathetic immigration policy in this country.

The simple facts of Jewish immigration into Canada are that from the years 1931-1937 only 4,487 Jews entered the country or 4.75 per cent of the total immigration, and from 1937-1943, 4,381 Jews entered the country or 5.76 per cent of the total. In addition there was a number -- fewer than 3,000 -- who were admitted for temporary asylum and who therefore do not appear in the statistics.

There is another fact emerging from the statistics issued by the department which I would place before you: the immigration of Jews into Canada has not been motivated only by the economic opportunities which our vast and beautiful country has always offered. Jewish applicants for admission have sought the liberties which are our Canadian heritage even more assiduously than non-Jewish settlers; thus the graph of Jewish immigration during the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century showed that during the periods of increasing oppression and persecution overseas the proportion of Jews coming in had been higher than during the intervening years. However, after 1926 this law ceased to operate just at the very time when persecution in Europe was at its most severe! In spite of the peaks and the hollows of Canadian immigration graphs in recent years, in spite of the growing severity of the persecution of Jews in Europe, the percentage of Jews among the immigrants has been consistently low. The least that this indicates is that our dominion has not done its humane duty to the persecuted Jewish people during their worst time, even within the limits of the written immigration law of our country.

When we come to examine the causes of this situation in law, we find ourselves stumped to a considerable degree. The Immigration Act as it stands on the statute books is, in effect, a non-Immigration Act. It lists a very few and restricted categories of immigrants and delegates considerable authority in admissions to the department. This policy is not a public document, but we have good reason to believe that in so far as its application to Jews is concerned their submissions have been considered in a class by themselves. Whereas other applicants for admission are classified by citizenship, Jewish citizens of these countries have not been considered together with all their other fellow-citizens who have applied for admission, but as a group apart, and this Jewish group has received very low priority in the unusual scale that was thus arbitrarily and secretly set up. Charges that this procedure has been set up have been made on various occasions and have never been forthrightly denied. The contrary will never be proved until the policies governing admission by the department, to whom so much authority is given by the Act, are made public and subject to general examination. I would not appear before this committee simply to mention charges that have been made if we had not seen documents that tend to substantiate this. A Special Committee on Immigration of the House of Commons which was set up in 1928 to study the workings of immigration into Canada has elicited this information and I am placing before this committee a transcript of that part of the record. Furthermore, a member of our staff has seen mimeographed instructions in which it is stated distinctly that in accordance with the terms of the railway agreements made with the government

the arrangements for the admission and the sale of tickets to immigrants from central and eastern Europe are not to apply to Jewish immigrants from those countries; Jewish immigrants or their Canadian relatives who wish to purchase tickets should be instructed to apply to the Canadian Department of Immigration for a special permit in each case. This is a chapter in the history of Canadian administration which must be cleared up in the interest of the good name of this country lest we find ourselves continuing to practise racial discrimination.

In other words, as I understand the situation from indices that have been given to me, in the twenties and prior thereto when people came in under the terms or the railway agreement, the railways and their officials had the right to give people passage under the general law, but there appeared to be some orders that Jewish persons could not be given tickets unless they first applied to the Immigration Branch and got special permission. To put it a little more graphically: if a non-Jewish Pole, a farmer or agriculturist, desired to come to Canada and had the minimum amount of money required, he could come here merely because (a) he was an agriculturist and (b) he had sufficient cash; but if he happened to be Jewish his application would not come under the regular administrative practice of the railway companies but would have to be referred to the Immigration Branch for special attention.

Louis Rosenberg, research director of the Congress, added,

The situation that I describe existed up to 1931 when, because of the depression, an order in council was passed which cut off the actual working of the railways agreement. That has remained cut off until the passing of the new order in council which sets back things exactly as they were before 1931. In other words, since the government has not withdrawn its previous procedure and since the situation now goes back to exactly what it was in 1931, one may assume that we are faced now with the same situation as we were up to 1931. From 1922 to 1931, according to evidence given before the special committee of the House of Commons by the Deputy Minister at that time, Jews, no matter in what country they were living unless it was Great Britain or the United States, did not come under the general regulations applying to other citizens of the same countries, but were treated specially. They could not come in under the same terms as citizens, but had to apply for a special letter of admission in each individual case.

Any person in Central Europe who was not a Jew could merely apply to the nearest steamship ticket office and buy a ticket, but when a Jew applied to purchase a ticket -- whether he applied himself in Europe or a relative in Canada wished to buy a prepaid ticket for him, as was usually done -- then before a ticket could be sold to him by the railway company he had to produce a letter of admission from the Department of Immigration. Since we have gone back to the situation exactly as it was prior to 1931, and since

the previous procedure as admitted in the evidence has not been changed, I think it is fair to assume that the same procedure is now in force.

Most of you are aware that there was an administrative regulation whereby all immigrants to this country were divided into four broad categories. First, of course, British; second, preferred countries; third, nonpreferred countries; fourth, those not specifically named but listing all persons from southern Europe, such as Greeks, Italians, Turks, Syrians and Jews. But the difference was this. Whereas Italians covered persons from Italy, Greeks from Greece, and so on, so far as Jews were concerned, regardless of their citizenship or origin, they were treated as Jews. Here is the point. The railway agreement was a special arrangement between the government and the railway companies which applied to Central Europeans, and the railway companies were allowed to recruit such immigrants as long as they were coming to farm employment. But that was limited solely to non-Jews from the countries of Central Europe; Jews were not allowed to enter. Since no Jewish immigrants could come into Canada under any circumstances except by special letter of admission from the government, unless they were first-degree relatives, such as fathers and mothers and minor children, it meant that the admission of Jews was limited to a very small group.

The annual report of the Department of Immigration for 1941 states, "Canada, in accordance with the generally accepted practice, places greater emphasis upon race than upon citizenship."

This shows that the trend has been, not to regulate immigration so far as ability or personal character, or even so far as citizenship or country of birth is concerned, but upon racial principles. There is no classification by religion in the immigration records. The Jews are the only group singled out. Instead of being classified according to their country of citizenship or origin they are classified separately.

Mr. Hayes continued,

We have laid such stress on this fact -- and I make it quite clear because nowhere will you find it in the act -- that the practice and the regulations do indicate a system of preferred countries, non-preferred countries, and then another non-preferred category which requires special permits. The article which Mr. Blair prepared in 1941 is one of the elements of proof of that situation to which we advert.

To continue with the formal brief:-

Needless to say, this situation is causing great concern to the Jewish community, since this is an approach to human beings quite contrary to Canadian or British philosophy and is reminiscent of race theories which have a very tragic connotation.

There is one other thought which I would wish to leave with this Committee. The immigration law as it stands today gives valuable preference to prospective settlers who have had farming experience and who state that they propose to engage in farming in Canada. Such statements in

reality are valueless because no follow-up action is taken by the government. It should be unnecessary for me to say that I have nothing but the highest regard for the farmers of Canada, among whom are many esteemed members of the Jewish community. But I submit that the incorporation of this thinking into the law of Canada is seriously outmoded. There may have been a time in Canadian history when primarily agriculture was the backbone of the economy and its greatest need. During those days -- and I emphasize that I leave room for doubt even at this point -- there may possibly have been some justification for the formulation of such a law. However, in recent years with the complete transformation of Canadian economy, with the great variety of our industrial and cultural life, with the intensification of all stages of the exploitation of the country's resources, and with Canada about to take an increasingly important place in the world's manufacturing and trade economy, an immigration policy which gives preference to farmers to the exclusion of those engaged in the processing, manufacturing, distributing and the cultural phases of our life is seriously outmoded and outdated and must hamper the balanced development of the country. I take time to say these rather elementary economic truths now because it so happens that the picture of the Jewish communities from which we would like to see a reasonable immigration into Canada is quite different from the economic position of Canadian Jewry. Many of them could contribute greatly to Canada's economy through their training

and experience in other equally useful phases of Canadian life. We have here, therefore, an example of immigration laws and procedures which are intrinsically out of date and not well-founded and which operate to the detriment of the wishes of the people of Canada in regard to the admission of Jews into this country.

I would like to advert to another immigration regulation which is outmoded and without much positive value. Many years ago there was enacted an order in council forbidding entry to immigrants who did not have direct passage from the land of their origin to the shores of Canada. The intent of this order, if I am correctly informed, was to keep British citizens from India from settling here. The Order did not fulfill its purpose and ultimately other arrangements had to be made towards the same end. Yet this order still remains in effect and could hamper many of our people, from entering because so many of them have been displaced persons who, by definition, cannot come to Canada directly from their original homes. If it is not set aside this Order can be an obstacle in the way of effecting humanitarian plans for the relief of the problem of the displaced persons or the utilizing of their great talents and abilities for the benefit and development of Canada.

If I left it at this I would not be quite fair to the Immigration Department with respect to the way in which it has handled the refugee movement to date. I am glad to say that it

has not allowed this formal order in council to militate against the movement of certain refugees to Canada, as witness those from Spain and Portugal and other countries who were away out of "continuous journey", yet the immigration officials winked at this and allowed them to come in. But I should like to lay stress on this, that while the regulation is there it can always be invoked, and immigration officials, not those on the high levels, but those on the intermediate or lower levels, have used the continuous journey clause as an instrument to bar someone who otherwise would come in. From our particular point of special pleading, the position of the refugee -- a large number of the people we are thinking of are displaced persons -- is such that there can be no entry into this country if the order subsists regarding continuous journey. Very large numbers of refugees by the very fact that they are displaced persons cannot come from their country of origin, and that is why we think it important to point out the danger of this rule being invoked by immigration officials in the lower levels of authority.

Another regulation governing immigration into Canada states that immigrants must pay their own passage and must in some cases have certain not inconsiderable sums of money to show at the port of entry. I believe that the intention at the time of issuing these orders was to prevent labour contractors from importing batches of workers and to make certain that all immigrants have sufficient funds to tide them over their period of readjustment. I submit however that

these regulations, laudable as their intent may have been at the time, are quite out-dated. The world immigration picture today is such that there isn't any question of contract labour moving around in batches. On the other hand, it is universally known that many of the most desirable immigrants for any country today are people without funds for their own trans-Atlantic passage. There are private, governmental and inter-governmental agencies in Canada and outside the Dominion who are prepared to assist such immigrants to the shores of Canada and to guarantee to the authorities that they will never become public charges. I submit that in at least those cases the regulations governing passage and funds in hand be set aside.

I think I should stress the point that this whole picture of immigration possibilities at the present time must be considered in the light of the world cataclysm and the large number of people who because of the transformation ot their lives and economies due to the war are not in any position now to pay their own passage. In fact the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees, to which Canada contributes and UNRRA, to which Canada also contributes, spend large sums of money just doing that very thing, that is, helping to pay the passage of such people. This is a striking example of how people who normally were in comfortable circumstances are now un-able to defray their travelling and other ex-penses. When the Immigration Act was conceived this clause might have served a useful purpose, but it cannot be of much use today under these changed conditions.

There is not a Canadian citizen who is not aware that certain important safeguards will have to be provided during the coming period of immigration and I wish to place myself squarely with them on this point. We like to use the term "selective immigration" when we think along those lines. But it would be helpful if we keep our thinking on this point clear. What basis of selection shall we follow? I hold no brief at this juncture for or against any particular set of categories such as occupations, country of origin, education, etc. But I strongly suggest that in the enunciation of this program there be no secrecy. Let there be no secret formulations secretly arrived at. No good can come from having the policy of our government on such an important point hidden from Canadian citizens and from those seeking admission. I am also aware that a basis of selection can be worked out which would appear quite innocent on the surface but which could in effect be quite mischievous.

I would also suggest that the right of Canadian citizens be broadened to include the right to have his kin in Europe join him here, particularly when he is in a position to sponsor him and to guarantee that the immigrant will not become a public charge or in cases when a reputable institution can be found to offer such guarantees.

While on the subject of the more general policies governing the admission of immigrants, I would like to present before you another opinion. We in Canada have always been in the position of being able to offer inestimable treasures of liberty and of opportunity

to immigrants. There has almost always been a knocking at our gates and we have always been free to choose and pick those whom we would admit. This is till true to a very great extent but I would regret if this situation made us blind to certain underlying truths in the world immigration picture. The simple facts are that it is not possible today for our country to pick and choose immigrants to the same extent as it was true in the past. The facts about birth and death rates in certain European countries, the labour markets, the exit and exchange regulations existing there and the reconstruction needs of some of those countries have altered the picture materially and have removed from the practical realm of consideration many groups of applicants whom possibly every section of the people of Canada would have been glad to admit. Furthermore some countries of development and reconstuction have been quick to take advantage of their opportunities and to give homes to some of the most desirable human material in the migration picture. Human beings, it is increasingly recognized, are a valuable commodity which is rather short in the market, if I may speak in such heartless terms, and if Canada is to carry out its policies of development it will need to be very realistic in its immigration policy. Obviously in such a situation the policy which is least blinded by prejudices and false standards is likely to benefit the most. From the history which we have read we know how much France has lost and England gained from the prejudice against the Huguenots in their own land. The German democrats of the 1840's who have settled so much of

Nova Scotia and Ontario are another important example. On the other hand we know that the practice of narrowness as was evidenced in Acadia nearly 200 years ago makes for the loss of valuable stock and creates bad blood which tends to disunite the people of a country for centuries. I daresay that among the most fateful conclusions to emerge from the development of atomic energy is what happens to a country which drives out its Lisa Meitners and its Fermis.

With the world migration picture more or less like this, I would like to bring to the attention of this committee an emergency situation in Europe today in terms of human beings which anyone who considers the immigration policy of this country must take carefully into account. To deal specifically with the considerable Jewish aspect of that problem, I would like to summarize the situation as follows: During the past decade a vast slaughter of our people has taken place; I emphasize, of our people, because although all European nations have suffered during the years of war, occupation, and rehabilitation, none has had the percentage of losses that the Jewish people have suffered. Over six million Jewish civilians have died violently and unnecessarily as the result of the preachings of Hitler and of the latent spirit of anti-Semitism which permeates the continent of Europe. It is my duty to say that the number of these victims could have been very much smaller and very many of their lives could have been saved if such countries as Canada would have paid due heed to the requests and

pleas of their kin and of Jewish citizens to grant a refuge to some of them while there was still time. It is a simple and truthful fact that because the applications made to the Immigration Branch on behalf of many of them were not favourably acted upon, their ashes and bones today lie in Buchenwald and soap had been made of their bodies instead of their being free and useful citizens in Canada life today.

Today the survivors of European Jewry are very largely in the category of so-called displaced persons. They are homeless victims of Hitlerism who find it impossible to return to the homes where they were born because their birth places have been literally turned into the graveyard of their kin and of their parents. Their only hope is to find new homes in free lands. Many of them are in special camps in Germany, Austria and Italy, but it must be fully recognized that thousands of Jews in otner countries are equally in need of new homes. It is estimated that the totality of the problem affects some 350,000 Jewish survivors in Europe. In describing them I would like to emphasize the following characteristics that seem to be common to them all. They are hardy and steadfast and unexpectedly healthy. Their hatred of oppression and their devotion to democracy can well be imagined and they are prepared to leave behind them all attachments and loyalties and to give their all to the country which gives them a new opportunity.

Today they constitute a difficult problem in the maze of European complexity. It has been stated by each of the statesmen of the United Nations who are coping with these problems that this problem must be resolved in practice only by each of the countries that have not been ravaged by war giving a home to some of these displaced persons. As a matter of fact the Prime Minister of this Dominion has on numerous occasions promised that when the time came Canada would certainly offer hospitality and opportunity to these displaced persons. I happen to be somewhat familiar with the problem and I state boldly here that if ever there was a time for Canada to act quickly and generously in this matter now is the time. I must state that to date the record of Canada in this case is not among the brightest, and does not match the glory which the Dominion has won for itself during the years of war. Such countries as the United States and Great Britain have admitted such large numbers of Jews who were fleeing Hitlerism that the Canadian record pales by comparison. During the very days of Dunkirk when Great Britain was struggling for its very life and when its all too few motorboats were mobilized to save the servicemen of the Expeditionary Force in France, when all the resources of British shipping were proving insufficient to save all the arms or even all the men of that force, British officers still found room on their boats to rescue some of the refugees who were on the beach, nearly in the jaws of the Nazis. Even such smaller countries as the Vatican, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland have a record which is incomparably more impressive than Canada has.

The people of Canada are certainly just as humane as those of any other country. We know that through every instrument of expression they have evidenced their sense of horror at the cruelties inflicted upon the Jews of Europe and have voiced their sympathy for the victims. The press of Canada in all the languages which it speaks has been unanimous on this point. Influential organizations including national veterans and labour groups have spoken out forcefully for the relief of refugees. Each ot the few refugees whom Canada did admit tells of nothing but kindness, generosity and hospitality on the part of Canadians in every province and every racial and religious denomination. The refugee farmers, whom our organization helped to settle in Ontario and elsewhere, have the most neighbourly relations with their communities. The small group of Polish and Czech refugees who were admitted at the request of their governments have contributed unusually to the life of this country. The government was generous in the praise that it extended to those and other refugees who were admitted under special and temporary conditions into the Dominion and whose immigration status was later regularized. When several hundred Jewish refugees from Spain, Portugal and Shanghai were admitted, the press of Canada was not only unanimous in welcoming them -- and I speak all this time both of the French-language press and the English-language newspapers -- but newspapers across the country criticized the government for admitting too few refugees. In the face of this warmth and

unanimity I regret that I must state that the government has not hitherto given expression to the demands of Canadian citizenry and of the world-wide situation by opening the gates of Canada sufficiently widely for them.

IMMIGRATION IS COMMUNITY

In a sense, the story of the organized community beyond its synagogues is the story of immigration -- of the immigrants, of their departure from their homes, of the baggage they brought with them, of their settlement, of their striking roots; and the story of those who received them, how they aided the newcomers, how they were enriched in the processes of giving this aid; how the charitable and the homeless together built a sector of Canadian society; how this entire process was in fact a central chapter in the history of the western world -- a chapter of twentieth century horror, but simultaneously a story of firm construction and creativity on every level.

Readers of the Canadian Jewish Archives have had a suggestion of the ramifications and import of the movement of Jews to Canada and to other areas of the New World.

It can be read in the context of European history as formulated by the International Refugee Organization (Geneva, 1951):

"Overpopulation has been a major problem for Europe ever since the beginning of the last century...The population of Europe, which had been 187 million in 1800, increased to 401 million by 1900. Emigration drained off only one fifth of the total increase of Europeans during that century; it made a significant contribution to the solution of the problem by alleviating the pressure of excess population in Europe...Overseas emigration, therefore, constituted a safety valve to ease the pressure of overpopulation which, as in the period after the First World War, might otherwise have become the cause of grave political disturbances.

"The whole period preceding the first World War was characterized, as far as migration movements are concerned, by the virtual absence of restrictive immigration legislation on the part of receiving countries. This made it possible for the vast flow of European emigrants to establish themselves overseas. However, the movements were slow to gain momentum, and, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, averaged no more than a few thousands per year. It was only in the middle of the century that the hundred thousand mark was reached and exceeded, but the last ten years before the first World War brought an average yearly emigration of nearly one and a half million persons from Europe.

"The inhabitants of the vast, sparsely-settled overseas countries...did everything possible to encourage the immigration of friends and relatives from their countries of origin...

"Towards the end of the century there occurred refugee movement which was large numerically. This was the emigration from Russia of Jewish refugees, which set in on a large scale after pogroms broke out in 1881. . .

"As soon as these groups of selected immigrants... had arrived and found a possibility of subsistence, they were allowed to send for their family members. On this basis, many hundreds of thousands of additional Jewish refugees from Russia followed those who had come originally through the intermediary of voluntary organizations. A special fund for Jewish agricultural colonization was established through which many thousands of European Jewish peasant families were settled on land of their own in Argentina.

"Overseas migration from Europe went on without noticeable restrictions on the part of immigration countries until the first World War, which checked the stream of migrants just as it reached its greatest strength...A major consequence of every war is a strengthening of nationalism and xenophobia, which usually outlasts the war itself. A need for controlled selective immigration, and anti-foreign sentiment gained powerful backing in the trade unions."

As A. Tartakower describes the migration of this period, the 50,000,000 Europeans who crossed the Atlantic in the decades before the first World War constituted one of the great peaceful population movements in history. It was caused by the growth of European population because of increasing production, improved sanitation, etc., by the displacement of farmers and middle class cadres, by the higher economic and political expectations of the age, especially among oppressed people, and by the improved inland transoceanic transport. It affected many people, but none as much as European Jews. A fifth of European Jews of 1900 migrated during this period, as compared to a tenth of Italy's population, 3% of Britain's and 2% of Germany's.

The Jewish phase of this migration was vital and life-saving for the migrants, and, as we shall see, for the continued eternity of Israel. But it was also vital for the health of the Jewry which remained in the lands of emigration. The emigrants sent back from their new homes not only steamship tickets for kin to join them, but also a continuous flow of money to maintain their relatives who were to remain. Such moneys sent by the emigrants and by their landsmannschafften became an important economic income which was to rise in value with time. These remittances were more important to European Jewry than even to Italy, the next most significant group to participate in this aid to the old country.

Also the emigration of this manpower relieved the unemployment picture in the pauperized Jewry of eastern Europe, and made the air a bit more breathable.

Of the Jews migrating practically none returned, whereas Hungarians and Italians in many cases went back to their native lands after saving enough from their labor in the New World to establish themselves back home. (Idishe Emigratzie un Idishe Emigratzie Politik. Vilno, Kletzkin, 1939. Pp. 5-15)

But the impact of these movements on the story of Judaism and of Canada was of a far different character.

The coming of the Englishmen, Czechs, Italians and Poles may have meant as much for American and Canadian history as the coming of the Jews with them. The proportions may have been similar. But the effect of this migration on the histories of Britain, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy was minimal. In the history of Judaism this migration was revolutionary and life saving.

The coming of a large number of Jews in the 1880's was a milestone in the world history of the Jewish people and was intimately related to a vast movement in the annals of the continents.

I. Dijour disposes, in one set of figures, of the common impression that Jewish migration was only a function of the total migration from eastern Europe; in fact, it was a living Jewish dynamic with a life of its own, a function of an autonomously living Jewish history. In an article in Die Yiddishe Emigratzion of Berlin (Feb. 1928, quoted by Hyman Perelmuter), he points out that before World War I emigration from Russian-held Poland was 30% Jewish. Of the 250,000 emigrants annually, 55% were Poles and 15% were Ukrainians. After the war, as long as Polish Jews could find a haven of immigration, they formed 70% of the emigration from Poland.

They came in their thousands after 1881, growing to a Jewish population in Canada of 100,000 in 1914 from 2,500 in 1880. This growth was almost entirely by entry from ocean ports, immigration from the U.S. during those decades being almost entirely balanced out by emigration to that country. Natural increase accounted for but a third of growth. (Rosenberg. Immigration and the Canadian Jewish Community. MS)

During these four, five decades the community grew from a microscopic one-hundredth of one percent of the country's population to a tiny 1.5% in 1939. In the four decades since then, this small percentage has become even smaller.

This migration grew from 10,000 a year during some years between 1900 and 1914, to a peak of 20,000 in 1913, until this migration was cut drastically by the government in 1922.

But driblets dropped off from the giant fistful of Jews fleeing towards the United States and fell on the lands in between: Germany, the Lowlands, France, England, Canada, South Africa, Australia, South America. In each of these secondary destinations the relatively few that thus befell these lands overwhelmed by their sheer number and energy the existing tiny Jewish communities which had been settled there for some time, perhaps for decades. Henceforth the basic Jewish histories of each of these countries -- like that of Canada -- are the substantially identical histories of the coming, the adjusting and the further development of these immigrants on the way to Golden America, without quotation marks.

Canada was part of the Jewish hope "and occupied great space in the imagination of the Jewish masses."

As early as 1904 the leading littérateur J.L. Peretz published a Yiddish translation of a lengthy official pamphlet on "Canada", with a wealth of information on urban and rural life in the colony, in his Warsaw monthly, Die Yiddishe Bibliotek. (no. 4, Pp.70-78, and earlier issues)

America was the master image of their migration's end, often identified with the United States. It can be argued and illustrated that, out of their vague geography, some of these happenstance immigrants to Canada, once here, were not even sure that they had not reached the United States.

Some arrived in Montreal certain that they were minutes away from their real destination of Chicago. They were not to be blamed if their geography schooling was imperfect.

The papers of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society tell of Mr. Lebovitch, destination St. Louis, who landed in Montreal because U.S. law forbade entry of paupers. (Cited by Jonathan D. Sarna. "Jewish Immigration to North America: The Canadian Experience, 1870-1900" in Jewish Journal of Sociology, vol. 18, no. 1, June 1976, Pp. 31-41)

Sarna also notes that "others went to Canada when President Harrison quarantined immigrant vessels in order to prevent the spread of epidemics. The Dominion was then desperately in need of new settlers; it could not afford to be too selective."

In 1878 the Montreal Jewish Benevolent Society felt aggrieved because it had to assist immigrants in Canada who thought that they were on the way to New York.

In the framework of the Jewish migration movement of the age, Canada played a minor role: it had only a twentieth of the migration to the United States. In the Canadian framework, over the years, Jews constituted only a fortieth of total immigration into the country during the first 35 years of the century. (A. Tartakower, "Jewish Immigration into Canada," in Yiddishe Economie, vol.1, 1937)

Contemporary documentation records the attraction of Canada for these wanderers. Out of their internally motivated compulsion to leave, parallel to the pressure of hatred and persecution, the image of Canada they had constructed was of a place where land was free, where one can suddenly turn into an idyllic farmer.

The simple refrain was echoed many times. The London St. James' Gazette wrote, "What has proved Roumania's bane will be readily taken upon British shoulders. Unless we are much mistaken, Canada will welcome such colonists. In the wide domain of Our Lady of the Snows and Wheatfields not sixteen thousand but a hundred thousand Jews will find room and to spare, and will find also that religious freedom and civil liberty which distinguish Anglo-Saxon government from its most backward European copyists. It will doubtless be a long day before the people, not the Government, of civilized Europe lay aside their anti-Semite fear and prejudice."

It was an image quite incoherent with homestead realities, with Canadian government planning and with the procedures of Jewish philanthropy. All the problems inherent in the back-to-the-land movement, in official immigration policies, in mass migration, surfaced to plague the wanderers and those who had assumed responsibility for them.

The London Times at century's end describes one of their moments of odyssey at Vienna,

"A considerable number of the increasing stream of Jewish emigrants from Roumania, which has been passing through the Dual Monarchy for weeks past, intend to settle in Canada as labourers. This circumstance, together with the natural sympathy excited by these poor people, of whom it is estimated that 16,000 have been obliged to leave their homes within the last six months, gives a special interest to the character of those who have recently passed through Vienna.

"They have come here in batches of forty to eighty, comprising women and children. They include members of all classes, such as professional men, shopkeepers, etc., but the majority are artisans. Many of them speak three languages -- French, German and Roumanian. Their poverty is such that they are forced to camp in the open air, being unable to pay for the poorest lodgings.

"Both here and at the Hungarian frontier town of Orsova their coreligionists have come to their assistance. In Vienna the manager of a steam-tug company has afforded them shelter for the night on board his steamers. In the daytime, while awaiting means for continuing their journey, the women and children crouch under the arches of one of the bridges across the Danube, while the men camp in the adjoining fields. These groups elect one of their number as president to manage their affairs. They are usually men of some education and position, many of whom share the misfortunes that have overtaken the bulk of the Roumanian Jews. The president of the last party which left Vienna passed his examination as a teacher in Paris and had kept a private school at Bucharest, while one of his companions is a doctor of medicine who studied at the Bucharest University.

"All complain bitterly of the action of the Roumanian authorities, which has been systematically directed towards rendering the continued residence of the Jews in Roumania impossible. Thus encouraged, the anti-Semitic prejudices of the population deprive them of all means of earning a livelihood.

"It is characteristic of the spirit of the officials that they refuse to give passes to intending emigrants except on condition that they sign a declaration stating that they are vagrants without any means of subsistence. One of the emigrants in Vienna explained this proceeding by saying that the Roumanian authorities were ashamed of themselves in the face of European public opinion.

"The large number of these emigrants who are flying from their native land has obliged Austria-Hungary to take precautionary measures. The Austro-Hungarian authorities have informed the Roumanian Government that Jewish emigrants who are not provided with railway tickets as far as Hamburg, Paris or London, will not be permitted to pass the frontier. Consequently, instructions have now been given to the Roumanian authorities not to grant passes to anybody who cannot produce one." (Quoted by Jewish Chronicle, July 6, 1900)

Another journalist in Vienna describes the confusion of this vast migration which assumed a scope far beyond the capacity of Jewry of the time.

Later in the decades ahead, the development of the concept of organization of Judaism would enable Jewry to cope with these processes and would express, in concrete and in sublime form, the familial emotions of Ahavat Israel. But in the nineteenth century Jews could not do what Jews did later for the innocent war-uprooted displaced persons in Canada in 1945 or with the Jews of Palestine in 1948.

So the reporter in the Chronicle tells us,

"The past week witnessed the arrival here of more emigrants from Roumania. Day by day they came in large and small groups, and often only in couples of families. And then began a game of see-saw. These people were sent from one place to another -- from the Offices of the community to the Alliance, and from the Alliance to the Zionist Congress Bureau. In many instances the way was reversed. It is an utter confusion and had it not been for the presence of the Zionists -- this must be emphatically recognized -- it would simply have become impossible to evolve order out of this confusion.

"The Vienna community does nothing; and as for the Alliance, it does not know what to do, and is not equal to the duty incumbent upon it. Thus the most grotesque things occur. Often, the Alliance does not know what has become of a group of refugees, and not until a telegram arrives from some town or the other, or delegates return to the Alliance because a group has stuck somewhere, deliberations are resumed, the poor people are sent again a few miles further, and the Alliance authorities as a rule are ignorant of what else is going to happen.

"The emigrants often came in large bands, and it is possible to form an idea how they grow from the fact that in one town alone (Jassy) nearly 1,500 passports were

issued to emigrants. On all these passports are to be found the ominous words: 'Good for going away,' and on the back is the stipulation that a return to the country is not permitted.

"The Alliance, to which the direction of relief measures has been left, is surprised when another emigrant ship arrives or the leaders of small groups enter its office. Things have come to such a pass that individual applicants are no longer given a hearing; but it is not so easy to get rid of groups of one and two hundred persons or more. These remain in Vienna, and in order to avert police intervention, the wanderers are sent -- after ridiculous measures have been taken here from which they have to suffer -- to Frankfort or Nuremberg, leaving to the Almighty and to the Jews in these places the further care of these unhappy beings. It thus happened that 200 of the Roumanians who came here owed it to the kindness of the Christian Harbour Master and representations to the authorities, which did not emanate from the Alliance, that they were allowed to remain on empty ships and to camp out under a large bridge. A high official declared it to be a disgrace that he, a Christian functionary, should be asked to assist Roumanian Jews, while there were in Vienna and Austria generally many rich Jews on whom they had a prior claim. (This official energetically interested himself on behalf of the emigrants).

"Four hundred persons passed through Vienna last week; a hundred and fifty more have arrived, and other groups are on the way. The movement has become so extensive that even the Liberal newspapers have abandoned their usual friendly attitude, and content themselves with very meagre announcements. The groups camped out in the open have even aroused the pity of the anti-Semitic population of Vienna, and they have compelled the newspapers to take notice of the incident.

"Unhappily, the Jews of Vienna, particularly the wealthy circles, hold aloof. How far they ignore the situation may be gathered from the following occurrence.

"While the Jews were encamped under the bridge, forming a species of gypsy camp, a well-known Jewish citizen passed by and inquired into the circumstances. He then went to one of the most influential members of the Executive of the community and told him what he had seen. But the gentleman declared that he knew nothing about the affair and that it was the first time he had heard of the emigration. He would not fail to inform himself of the state of affairs, which appeared to him to be interesting.

"It is no wonder then that the emigrants had bitter experiences. They cannot relate of Vienna what they told about smaller communities where they had been received and looked after in the most friendly way.

"It is true they are helped here but not efficaciously and sympathetically. They are treated as though they were professional beggars, instead of unfortunate human beings, who have left everything behind in order to find a spot in the world where they can earn their bread and eat it in peace." (Ibid.)

Their migration into the Dominion is told eloquently in the London Jewish Chronicle of July 3, 1908, of "the ever-growing fascination which the Dominion has exercised over the minds of the oppressed Continental Jewries. The Russian Jew, starving and stifling behind the gates of the Pale, has scented from afar the great destiny of the colony. His Roumanian co-sufferer has longed with even greater ardour for the opportunities and freedom of the Dominion. When, some eight years ago, there came a wild rush of Roumanian Jews into London, the persistent cry on their lips was 'Canada'. With the pogroms of 1905 and the Japanese War came an in-flow from Russia, and again Canada was the refuge. The uprising of the Roumanian peasantry and the expulsions from the villages brought a fresh crop of Jewish emigrants to the Dominion, and their journeyings were duly noted as they halted in this country on their way to the West.

"Mr. Zangwill has sought to locate his Ito-land in the same territory, and there prominent Jews have sought opportunities for colonization. Even Jews in London have endeavoured to follow in the track of the little army, and some months ago a movement spread in the East End for organising emigration to the Colony -- a movement which seems to have died away from lack of the motive-power of hard cash.

"From time to time, Lord Stratcona (the High Commissioner in London), the late Inspector of Emigration Agencies (Mr. W. Preston) and Sir Wilfrid Laurier have spoken to intending immigrants. Several of these authorities have been guarded in their utterances. Lord Strathcona, e.g., whil declaring that the Colony would receive with wide open arms any immigrants from abroad who were suitable to the conditions of the country, warned our co-religionists that what were primarily wanted were men who were engaged in agricultural pursuits, and who were also provided with at least £50. We pointed out that it would be difficult for Canada to absorb a great number of artisans. Much the same caution was exhibited by Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

"Mr. Preston, who paid a special visit to Roumania in 1900 in connection with this subject, went so far as to say that fully 25,000 families, or some 50 per cent of the Roumanian Jews, could do well on the land in Canada.

"The Roumanian Jews have not been seriously deterred by the cautious words of Canadian statesmen. Montreal is the Mecca of all persecuted Jewry, in particular of Roumanian Jewry. Great batches of Roumanian Jews were continually on the road to Canada. Less than half-a-dozen years ago, there were scarcely 5,000 Jews in Montreal; today, their numbers are not far off 40,000. The same tale is told by the official statistics of the Jewish Colonization Association."

B.G. Kayfetz reminds us that it was the Roumanian Jews who walked barefoot across central Europe to Hamburg ("the fussgeir") who founded the First Rumanian Congregation Adath Israel in Toronto in 1902; a synagogue now the 401 Highway. (Canadian Jewish Chronicle Review, Nov. 24, 1967, P.24)

The Jewish migration into Canada was more of a family type than that of non-Jews. This is reflected in the percentage of women among the immigrants. Unlike other continental migrants, there were more women than men among the Jewish immigrants while among the others men outnumbered women by two and even three to one. This is also seen in the age distribution of the immigrants. In 1928, for example, Jewish immigrants brought nearly twice the proportion of children 10 to 17 and three times the proportion of persons over 50. (Tartakower in Yiddishe Economie)

In the middle 1880's the small stream of immigrants which had marked the slow growth of the Jewish community suddenly became a great flood, as East European Jewry suddenly commenced its march westward. Montreal was faced with the workings of a world process. The city became the focus of action on the Canadian aspect of the great epic of modern Judaism.

The 1300 Jews in Canada in 1871 received 15,000 immigrants in the next thirty years; actually many more, for the 15,000 are the net population increase. The bulk came to, or at least through, Montreal.

The story of Canadian Jewry really begins at this time. Structurally, it is the story of this growth, of this migration, of the effort to prevent this migration, of the effort to stop the stopping of this migration, of the welcoming of these immigrants, of their absorption into evolving Canadian life, of their experiences during their arrival and this adaptation, of the new society they created for themselves, and of the mark they have made upon Canada and upon the world.

It is the story of a graph, a basic pattern composed of a wavering upward line. This pattern can well serve as the symbol-design-flag of Canadian Jewry, and it is against this line that everthing in Canadian Jewry is to be measured: each community, synagogue, movement, education, fund raising, economic progress, literature, **the demographic graph of Jewish immigration.**

With the coming of these groups we have their scattering across the Canadian expanse being opened up by the course of history and by the larger movement of immigration into Canada. It is substantially at this point that the Canadian Jewish story ceases to be the Montreal story only, and becomes the parallel of a myriad Jewish settlements from Cape Breton to Vancouver Island, and by an easy extension to Valparaiso, to Johannesburg, to Liverpool, to Philadelphia.

When we note that at the beginning of this century Jews were residing in 150 Canadian centres, we need to remember that this spreading is not a dispersion into more areas **where they chose to settle, but rather** that there were more Canadian municipalities to settle in than before. With the opening of Ontario and the west, there were fewer new settlements without their quota of Jews than in older Quebec and the maritimes.

In Toronto the Ladies Montefiore Benevolent Society, later with its Dorcas Society and its Sewing School, pioneered in 1878.

Before the end of the century, Ottawa had its Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society (1898), Hamilton its Deborah Ladies Aid Society (1878), Montreal its Hebrew Ladies Sewing Society (1896); Toronto its Austrian Ladies Aid Society, Polish Ladies Aid Society, Ezras Noshim Society and its National Council of Jewish Women (1897).

For Montreal, as its historian Cooper notes, the migration was particularly notable: for the first time the city was receiving a population of some thousands that were neither French nor British nor Christian.

The Montreal story remains somewhat different, as New York's is different from Chicago's because New York is not America, and because it is the gateway. Montreal, too, was the gateway to Canada, and its tiny community acted for Canada as New York acted for the world.

New York is not America, and Montreal is not Canada, what with Quebec having a constitution and a society differing from the rest of Canada -- and from the other countries of Jewish migration. In a sense, Montreal's Jewish history is unique, a function of world historical forces in an ambience different from any other, and seeking to retain its quiddity.

The tiny Y.M.H.B.S. was the sole agency to receive these immigrants and to assist them. In point of case-work-fact, the surviving record tells of a few thousand cases over the years, and annual budgets rarely exceeding a thousand dollars.

This tells us much of the vigor and initiative of the immigrants. In so completely strange a new land, so destitute, their lips so sealed by lack of language, they managed in all but relatively few cases to make their own way -- or with each other's help. Indeed, the assistance budget went mostly for transportation further west, and often for the assistance of the native indigent. It may well be, upon analysis, that the proportion of those requiring assistance among the newcomers was no greater than among the long settled Canadians.

Yet it was a large scale movement which challenged the Jews of Montreal. The benevolent men of the city did give it their attention. The relief committee heard the pleas of the needy. In some cases they extended help. They ensured some education -- Jewish and civic -- for the children. They helped them to secure employment.

The flood mounted. The reception of new Canadians was on so large a scale that the society needed to rent three warehouses on St. Peter St. for dormitories in 1880.

But Montreal Jews were not alone in their absorption with the problem of receiving the newcomers. What had begun as a social forum for the young men to meet at became an overwhelming strain upon the few communally minded Jews in Canada, as it did in New York and elsewhere.

In Halifax, too, a Baron de Hirsch Institute functioned since 1892 to receive immigrants and Jewish transients, some from as far afield as Buenos Aires.

The Jews of Quebec City had postponed the acquisition of a second Scroll of the Law until 1895 because of the heavy costs to the community of receiving incoming immigrants. (Yiddishe Gazetten, Oct. 27, Dec.29, 1893)

Stephen A. Speisman writes of the Anglo-Jewish Association, a British-based institution which was quite active wherever Queen Victoria's flag waved.

"In the summer of 1882, when the great mass of East European Jews began to reach North America, the Association leased an old hotel, the National, on Bathurst Street, and offered a night's lodging and a warm meal to the refugees before they were sent westward. On at least one occasion the basement of the Richmond Street synagogue was used as a shelter. In June 1882 alone, seventy immigrants were cared for, a mammoth task considering that there were only about five hundred Jews in the city. Of the seventy, twelve remained in Toronto and, being destitute, had to be found accommodation and employment. 'The members of the Jewish community here are doing all in their power to provide for the immediate wants of the people,...' the Globe observed" on May 27, 1882. (The Jews of Toronto, a History to 1937. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1979. P. 58)

The records of century's end portray the confusion of this spontaneous wandering.

The tiny community at Halifax was called upon to assist 150 Jews aboard a ship that arrived suddenly, all of them fleeing Russia, they knew not where -- to Canada? to Argentina? Even food was needed by these passengers. (Yiddishe Gazetten, Dec. 8, 1893)

Three years later Rabbi Eliezer Drucker was being consulted: twenty families in Montreal were asking him whether they should accept the invitation of a Brazilian agent to settle in Sao Paulo to work on the coffee plantations. They were promised transportation, land and work.

Troubled, the Montreal rabbi consulted the editors of the New York Yiddishe Gazetten who secured further information from the Brazilian government representatives in the U.S. They confirmed the Latin American government offer of a house, equipment, tools, food, seed, 4,000 coffee trees and $200 annually, with freedom to develop the land as they pleased.

But the editor was not impressed with the sincerity of the offer, all too easily given during those decades, but less frequently fulfilled. He advised the Montreal families not to accept the offer from so distant a land where they will be alone, alien, without a language, and at work to which they are not accustomed. The Canadian government, too, did not encourage the Brazilian offer.

Nevertheless, when the S.S. Moravia left for Brazil she carried 1,000 from Canada, driven so far by unemployment in the dominion. There is no record of whether any of these migrants were Jewish. (Yiddishe Gazetten, July 24, Sept. 18, 1896)

Since the coming of the first sizeable groups of Jewish immigrants the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society (and then its successor, the Baron de Hirsch Institute) assumed its place as the heart of the Canadian Jewish community, with the welcoming and absorption of these new Montrealers.

This immigration work was central in its program, so that all its other important activities became equal elements of its life which centered on immigration: immigrant reception, local relief, refugee settlement, contacts with European Jewry, elementary and adult education, farm settlement, combatting anti-Semitism, medical services, defence of the Jewish constitutional position, legislative action, etc. Even in distant Paris, its associate, the Jewish Colonization Association, became involved in all the activities of the Montreal institute. Its report said, "The Institute has not ceased to develop its activity in all directions during 1904. We are interested in all these efforts, and the support of our Association has not failed in any of these enterprises. The energy and the devotion of its committee members, and particularly its president, D.A. Ansell, have surmounted all difficulties and assured the reception and placement of Jewish immigrants into Canada, who were particularly numerous last year.

"The society found work for the new arrivals in Montreal and in the interior; it taught the immigrants, initiated them into the language of the country, into the habits and customs of their new homeland. It continued its educational work, preparing Jewish children for Canada very effectively, with results which were widely appreciated." (Rapport pour l'année 1904. Paris, 1905, Pp. 55-56)

The Canadian Department of the Interior found support for limiting the entry of Jews in an unlikely quarter, the Jewish charity institution of New York City,

Citing the American Jewish report that "the evil conditions of the houses, and the deteriorating influences of the sweat shops of the great Ghetto soon work havoc among these people, and after an interval of two or three years they come to us in numbers for relief. Furthermore, in line with our belief that the ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, and that as law-abiding citizens of our country, we should not run against public sentiment nor pose as violators of the law, we have come to an understanding with the London Board of Guardians whereby the unwise shipment of Jewish immigrants, who are not adapted to conditions of life in this country, will be stopped."

The Canadian Report on Immigration (Sessional Paper, no. 25, Pt. 2, P.133) stated,

"It would appear that some special provisions by Order in Council might be made by which all steamship lines and booking agents of European ports would be notified not to give passage to poor immigrants unless they have shown, to the satisfaction of an officer approved of by the Minister of the Interior, that they are in the possession of enough money to maintain them until the spring season, when outdoor employment becomes abundant. This crowding of the poor of foreign countries into Canadian cities must of necessity not only create temporary burdens upon the charitable, but also produce harassing problems which our municipalities will soon find great difficulty in coping with, as has been the case in the United States and elsewhere."

When the Toronto Jews came to consider action in this field, they delegated Rabbi Jacobs and J. Cohen to consult with the board of the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal.

"Rabbi Jacobs stated that he found that in many cases the immigrants sent to Toronto were undesirable and in some cases unable to maintain themselves or their families, and he would like to know if arrangements could be made to prevent this in the coming Spring.

"The President informed the visitors that it was the intention of the Board of Directors to form a branch of the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Toronto and asked the Rabbi if, in his opinion, in the event of this project being carried out they would be able to get the different charitable organizations of Toronto to amalgamate and thus form one strong body which would be able to cope with the entire Jewish charity of the city. He thought that a city of the size of Toronto should be able to take care of its poor and that this Institution might be able to subsidize them to the extent of the subscriptions they collected themselves. The President further stated that it was the intention of the Board of Directors to send a few speakers to Toronto, call a mass meeting of Jewish citizens and invite their cooperation in the case. He asked the Rabbi's opinion of the feasibility of the plan.

"The Rabbi replied that whilst he was firmly convinced that the Toronto Committee would never be able to persuade the other Societies to join them; yet he thought the idea of a mass meeting, as outlined by the President, with speakers from Montreal in both English and Yiddish, would have a good effect, and under those conditions there was no reason to doubt that the scheme could be brought to a successful issue. In his opinion they should be able to collect about $3,500 a year and with the offer made of an equal amount from Montreal he felt sure they would be able to organise a strong body. He would like to know if in the event of such an amalgamation an expert would be provided to place the men who were sent to work. The President promised that such a man would be provided." (Minutes of Baron de Hirsch Institute, Jan. 19, 1908)

By 1916 the Toronto United Jewish Unions were deeply concerned with Jewish immigration and a special committee to aid immigrants functioned in 1916. (Belkin, P.99)

In poorly organized Vancouver the name etched into this history is that of Rev. N. Pastinsky. There the officials abused their rights to demand bonds even from immigrants permitted to land.

In Saint John the name since 1910 is A.L. Kaplansky whom Belkin calls the first Jewish civil servant in immigration work. In that port the officials refused to permit local volunteer workers to serve Passover food to the detained -- a privilege accorded the prisoners at St. Vincent de Paul, Kaplansky told them.

Indeed, the Saint John record is so un-Canadian (we trust this is the mot juste) that it was enshrined in an affidavit sworn in Ottawa for the federal authorities.

Mackenzie King's Labor Gazette noted that in 1904 the Jewish Immigration Society of Saint John had worked out detailed arrangements to aid "all deserving immigrants for the following year." (P. 641)

In August, 1907 Alexander Harkavy returned to Montreal on behalf of an American Jewish immigrant aid group. The distinguished lexicographer had been teacher in the Shaar Hashomayim a decade earlier where he had founded the first Zionist organization in Canada, long before Herzl.

Now he found a United Russian-Jewish Emigration Society, with H. Leinman of 180 St. Norbert St. as secretary

In Quebec City he visited "the U.S. Immigration Office, a small wooden structure. Arrangements inside copied from Ellis Island.

"Interview with Frank Sargent, Commissioner-general of Immigration, and Mr. Clark, commissioner for Canada. Mr. Sargent complaining of leniency of Canadian immigration authorities...

"Assistance for immigrants, about $250 collected every season by Rev. Moses Eliasoph, Schochet; 'Hachnossas Orchim,' Hebrew Immigration Relief Society organized about 8 years ago. Shelter in synagogue building. Contribution from Baron de Hirsch Institute of Montreal at one time $30, at another $100." (Library of American Jewish Historical Society)

A Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society functioned at North Bay in 1910. (Eagle, May 18, 1910)

There were many Jews aboard the S.S. Empress of Ireland when she suffered a collision which resulted in many casualties in June 1914. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society sent M.L. Brown and another delegate to the Quebec City Morgue to help identify the dead and to supply help for the Jewish survivors. (Eagle, June 4, 1914)

M.L. Brown was later to figure prominently in the annals of the Jewish Public Library.

The Jewish community sought to save whom it could. Lawyers' offices, the ministries in Ottawa, leaders of parliament and whoever could possibly be helpful were besieged for cooperation in securing admission for cousins, uncles, nephews, teachers, rabbis, friends.

Immigration became the major preoccupation of the community. The recently arrived were clamoring for refuge for their kin. The established leading citizens sought to help their fellow-Jews; in this common effort they found kinship with the newcomers, a kinship that was bolstered by the very resistance they encountered.

The Jewish community needed to be vigilant for decades to keep the gates open for their co-religionists who desperately had to have the Canadian haven.

S. Belkin has compiled a list of some twenty-five orders-in-council dating 1910-31 each of which is in the category of the evil decrees (Gezerot) which speck the annals of Jewish martyrdom -- in this case stumbling blocks before the Canadian gates of refuge.

In Winnipeg, Joseph Goodman, Grodno-born farmer at Sonnenfeld, contributor to the Hebrew Hazman, co-editor with A.M. Mandelbaum of the monthly Birger ("The Citizen"), editor of Viderklang of Winnipeg (probably the first Canadian Yiddish periodical), was connected with the government immigration office in Manitoba (1905-13).

The first two decades of the century saw the birth of Canada's Yiddish periodica, notably in Winnipeg and in Montreal, and Goodman contributed to many of the pioneering journals. He had begun with Hebrew, but he turned to Yiddish first with a poem in the New York Gazetten American readers of the Forward and the Wahrheit continued to read him, but his historic role is in such Canadian papers as the Kundess, the Kibbitzer, Canader Yid, Toronto's Hebrew Journal and Das Yiddishe Vort of Winnipeg.

His novel of Jewish farm life in Canada ran serially in his Mazik in 1912. In 1913 he settled in Montreal to contribute to the Eagle and to edit its Toronto edition, and later to Brainin's Der Veg and the Toronto Yiddish Leben. Like Gurofsky, he set up a travel agency.

His Collected Writings (Winnipeg, 1919. 144 p.) is one of the earliest Canadian Yiddish books. The combination of Zionism, Yiddish journalism and immigration work is characteristic of the decades. (H.L. Fuchs, MS on Yiddish Literature in Canada)

Goodman visited Montreal in June 1914 on behalf of the Jewish Aid Association and delivered two lectures on immigration issues in the Canadian metropolis. (Eagle, June 7, 1914)

Early in 1910 a further restrictive regulation: immigrants had to have a minimum amount of money of their own before being admitted.

This provoked a protest from the populist Jewish Independant Citizens League at a meeting called primarily to deal with the unfair treatment of Jewish workers following a recent strike. (Action sociale, March 29, 1910)

A protest meeting against the immigration rules was convened at the Labor Temple on Apr. 3 by A. Blumenthal, the moving spirit behind the League, who said,

"Jews are in a particularly vulnerable position when the gates of any country are shutting, for we are constantly being driven from land to land. If the gates of the American countries will be shut to us, where will our brothers and sisters go?" (Eagle, Apr. 5, 1910)

Characteristic of the anxieties arising to worry Canadian Jewswas a Jan. 1914 matter which troubled Winnipegers M.J. Finkelstein, H. Weidman and E. Cherniak.

On May 9, 1910 the government had issued Order-in-Council P.C.918 which provided "That no immigrant shall be permitted to enter Canada if he or she, being a subject or citizen of any country which issues a passport and penal certificate or both to persons emigrating therefrom, fails to produce such passport or penal certificate or both upon demand by the Immigration Officer in charge, and whether coming to Canada directly or indirectly from any such country."

The Winnipeg men wrote to the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal in 1914,

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

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

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

(a) Owing to the numerous restrictions under which the Jews live in Russia, they are constantly compelled to transgress and break some minor police or government regulations affecting the Jews in particular, and upon such transgression being made, the transgressor has committed a misdemeanour under the Russian law and is therefore unable to obtain a passport.

(b) Many of our co-religionists are constantly escaping from the Russian army and also leaving the country on account of complicity in radical propaganda. In each of such cases the passport would be refused.

> (c) It is a well known fact that when the Russian Government is aware that a Jew wishes to leave his home for the purpose of settling in Canada or elsewhere, a passport will be refused, because the emigrant intends to leave Russia for good.

"Many other reasons can be cited why this regulation on the part of our Dominion Government will result in excluding about ninety percent of the Jewish immigrants who leave Russia for the purpose of seeking a new home where they can live under a flag of freedom.

"Prompt, energetic and united action should be taken by our brethern in Canada for the purpose of pointing out to our Dominion Government the injustice of this regulation as it concerns our co-religionists." (Jan. 20, 1914)

The Baron de Hirsch Institute acted vigorously, through Louis Gurofsky, old friend of Mackenzie King. It also had the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society of Toronto intervene with the Superintendent of Immigration. The support of Mr. Edmund Bristol, M.P. for a Toronto riding, was secured. A mass meeting expressed the anxiety of the Jewish citizenry of Toronto.

Within two weeks the Baron de Hirsch Institute was assured by Superintendent W.D. Scott that "there has been no recent change in our application of this Order." (S. Belkin. Through Narrow Gates. A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada, 1840-1940, with Foreword by Samuel Bronfman. Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress and Jewish Colonization Association, Pp.47-48)

The name of Gurofsky in this context illustrates the role of the populist spokesman of the immigrant community in this cause, a totally different quality of leadership from those on the Canadian committee of the J.C.A. His story has been told in our record of the Mackenzie King story. (Canadian Jewish Archives, no. 12)

In 1905 Gurofsky had protested immigration restrictions in a letter to Laurier.

In 1906 he intervened again with some success before Laurier in the cases of several Jewish immigration victims of the direct voyage regulations. (Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 13. P. 142)

Late in 1908 we find Gurofsky engaged in a series of related commercial activities which were commonly joined in this period in the annals of the immigrant society; his advertisements in the first issues of the Montreal Eagle describe him as ticket agent, insurance man, mortgage negotiator and advisor on legal documents, marriage licenses, etc. -- clearly the literate man in an active environment with many problems. (Eagle, Oct. 1908)

In Jan., 1909 we hear of Poale Zionist Gurofsky addressing the Toronto Bnai Zion. (Eagle, Jan. 6, 1909)

When the persistent Ontario problem of teaching religion in the schools arose again 1909, L. Gurofsky was a member of the committee named at a public meeting of protest, on Jan. 20, to make representation to the authorities. (Eagle, Jan. 24, 1909) Prominent citizens associated with Gurofsky in this proposal to have Jewish children excused from New Testament instruction included Rabbis Weintraub and Jacob Gordon, Lawyer Singer, and Messrs. Cash and Levinter.

His photograph appears in the Montreal Yiddish daily of Oct. 4, 1908.

Another Toronto name in this category, is that of fellow Poale Zionist, Yiddish journalist Abraham Rhinewine, published his Yiddish The Jew in Canada, from the French Period to Modern Times. Toronto, 1925-27. 2 volumes simultaneously with B.G. Sack's "History of the Jews in Canada" in A.D. Hart's The Jew in Canada, Toronto, 1926.

Rhinewine also compiled Looking Back a Century on the Centennial of Jewish Political Equality in Canada which also appeared in Toronto, revised and enlarged by Isidore Goldstick, from the Kraft Press, in 1932. Earlier, in 1921, he published Eretz Israel in Jewish Life and Literature (Toronto, 147 p.) In 1928 the Zionist Organization of Canada reprinted as a pamphlet his articles in the Yiddish Journal on Zionism and the Jewish Question, Old Truths Newly Told (16 p.) Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, nos. 10, 13)

When the Jewish Relief and Immigrant Aid Society was organized in 1920, Rhinewine was its president, with Rabbi Jacob Gordon vice-president, and H.S. Rosenberg secretary. (Letter from Rosenberg to Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, Nov. 29, 1920; YIVO Archives.)

THE WORLD AFTER THE WORLD WAR

After the world conflict of 1914-18 the constant flow of news from Europe told not only of the scars of the past war, but of growing poverty caused by the intensifying anti-Jewish policies of the succession states. This was the more galling because the statesmen of Canada and of the world had foreseen this development and had sought to forestall it by provisions in the new constitutions of these restored nations as agreed upon at the Versailles peace conference. The basic guarantees, which Canadian Jewry had helped to formulate and to ensure were promptly ignored as nationalism came to be equated with antisemitism in Poland, Lithuania and Rumania. The group and minority rights of Jews were whittled away. The status of the community and Jewish schooling and language rights were ignored. Tax legislation and other economic policies were directed against the Jews in those countries. Violence was increasing. Coloured shirts were becoming a symbol of antisemitism. The long brown shadow which turned into Germany was rapidly becoming harder and more menacing over all of central Europe.

On this date there begins the tragic saga of non-immigration or anti-immigration, the theme of the inter-war period.

The Canadian experience, and the immigration chart, must therefore be examined from the victory days of 1918. The history of the Jewish community since that date consists to a large extent of the effort at salvation, the keeping open of the slowly -- then rapidly -- closing doors; even as in Poland and Rumania, not to speak of Soviet Russia, conditions for Jews were posing the alternative: leave or die. The German threat was but a further tragic point on this continuum.

One of the major intentions in convening the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1919 was to express this concern for Jewish immigration into the country.

A heritage of Congress which continued into the years ahead was the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada, formed by the Congress at a conference of organizations in June 1920. The institution sought to rescue whom it could in these conditions of descending barriers to flight and to resettlement.

It was therefore most natural that, when Canadian Jewry first assembled in formal congress to deal with the problems all of them held in common, immigration and Palestine stood at the head of the agenda.

"As the body which represents Canadian Jewry, we feel that it is our duty also to intervene on behalf of people of our race seeking admission to Canada.

"Jewish immigrants consist largely of the families and relatives of those who came as immigrants and who wish to be reunited on Canadian soil with those they love.

"Such immigrants will prove an asset to Canada. The Jewish immigrant possesses some peculiar characteristics which emphatically speak in his favor:

(1) The Jew is a permanent settler.

(2) His is a family immigration movement. Immigration statistics prove that a large proportion of Jewish immigrants are composed of women and children who do not become competitors for jobs.

(3) The return movement of Jewish immigrants back to the old country is by far the smallest of any.

(4) The Jewish immigrant has managed to create fields of economic opportunity for himself without competing with the native-born worker or other immigrant groups, thereby producing employment for himself as well as for other workers and enriching the industrial possibilities of Canada.

"It was through the creative activity of the Jew that two of the largest industries Canada possesses, the needle trade and the cigar industry were built up. The

Jewish skilled immigrants represent the largest proportion of skilled workers in these trades which are non-competitive with the native-born worker or other immigrants from other religious or racial groups. The unskilled Jewish workers coming into Canada represent a mobile element which could also easily adapt itself to Canadian conditions.

"A number of such Jewish immigrants have settled on Canadian farms. Thanks to the activities of the Jewish Colonization Association very encouraging results have been obtained. The Jewish Colonization Association, having at its disposal the funds left by the late Baron de Hirsch, is working in Canada through a Canadian Committee presided by Sir Mortimer Davis and by Mr. Lyon Cohen. The Jewish Colonization Association has been increasing its investment in Canada each year by tens of thousands of dollars. It has now adopted a decision to extend its philanthropic work in Canada and hundreds of thousands of dollars will be placed at the disposal of the Canadian Committee to settle as many of Canadian Jewish immigrants on farms as will be possible.

"Having gone through immense sufferings which were caused by the great war and the events which followed it, the Jewish immigrant of today represents a settler who is very eager to be engaged in productive work and above all in agriculture. When people leave their homes in order to save their lives, they cannot be expected to stop and wait until they secure proper passports from their Government, particularly when practical anarchy prevails in that country and no government is recognized to be in existence there. These victims of unfortunate circumstances cannot be denied the ordinary human sympathy which they deserve. The Privy Council Order which automatically bars them from entering Canada must be amended so that those of them who would comply with all other clauses of the Immigration Law should be able to come to our shores and establish themselves in our land of liberty and opportunities.

"We respectfully submit that the Government in order to solve the problem of immigration, shall inaugurate the following measures:

(1) The Government shall introduce a policy of selection instead of restriction of immigration. Canada to open her doors widely to all people who are in good health physically, morally and mentally.

(2) Assistance should be given to the urban elements landing in Canada to settle on farms. The Goverment shall establish a better rural banking and credit system, which will, through easy loans secure the immigrant a farm and the necessary material, buildings, etc.

(3) The P.C. 23 shall be abolished.

(4) Preliminary examination of immigrants at the ports of embarkation should be abolished.

(5) The P.C. 2668 should be amended reducing money requirement to $50.00 only, etc.

(6) The P.C. 2669 should be amended to give consideration to refugees from countries of oppression provided they comply with all the rules and regulations of the Immigration Act.

(7) The work of the Jewish Colonization Association which is assisting Jewish immigrants to settle on land shall receive the consideration and encouragement of the Government."

This resolution was accompanied by a memorandum.

"The Canadian Jewish Congress speaking in the name of Canadian Jewry takes the liberty of respectfully submitting its views to the Government of Canada on the problem of immigration.

"As devoted and loyal Canadian citizens, we consider this problem to be the most important one in the life of our Dominion. We feel that a country of such a vast geography, a country possessing 39,000 miles of railroads with a population of only eight and one half million overburdened with $2,372,000,000 of national debt or $275 per capita --- such a country cannot and must not remain sparsely settled. Canada is staggering under the large national debt and the enormous deficits of her railways. Our natural resources represent no doubt ample security for our indebtedness, but the possibility of discharging that debt is entirely dependent upon the development policy to be adopted by the Government. The development of Canada into a great nation depends upon the development of our agricultural, mining and manufacturing industries and the expansion of our domestic and foreign commerce. These problems can be solved only by a substantial increase in our country's population -- by a larger immigration.

"It is assumed that Canada needs only an increase in her agricultural population, but the possibility of getting large numbers of such qualified immigrants from Great Britain is very limited. The number of people engaged in agriculture in Great Britain is only 400,000. The same may also be said of the Scandinavian countries which do not suffer from overpopulation. The only element that can be secured from Northern Europe represents the surplus of the city population. These elements require training before they can settle on Canadian soil and till its vast virgin lands.

The expectations that the United States will furnish a number of desirable settlers for Canada are for many reasons exaggerated. The people who come from the United States are a speculative element who sell their farms at high prices and come to the north seeking adventure. Their desirability therefore is questionable. The number of even these immigrants from the United States would not, however, be as large as Canada would need.

The available immigrant material is therefore to be found mostly in the old country. It is largely industrial in character and the task of the Government would be to transform the city element into agriculturists by inaugurating measures which would make farming attractive and economically promising.

"Canada nevertheless needs not only an increase in her farming population, but also an increase in the population of her cities. It is feared that the new arrivals will contribute to unemployment. But immigration follows the opportunities for employment, and in years of economic depression produced by modern organization of industry and finance, the waves of immigration are abating. In our opinion, unemployment in a country like Canada is due to the absence of consumers of the products of industry. On the other hand, Canada has a small agricultural population because there are not sufficiently large home markets for agricultural products.

H.M. Caiserman appealed to J.A. Calder for understanding of the Jewish cause in the face of the world-wide affliction. He offered to go to Europe to interpret government policy in funnelling Jewish immigrants to Canada in accord with regulations, and thus to minimize disappointment. (Apr. 13, 1920)

Mr. Calder assured Caiserman,

"At the outset I would like to disabuse your mind of the impression that the Immigration department regards Jewish immigration as undesirable. The fact is that the immigration law and regulations are being applied to all peoples irrespective of nationality, race or creed. Jews are in no sense discriminated against." (P.A.C. RG 76, vol. 54)

The Congress proposal had been reported in the Morning Citizen of Nov. 20, 1919.

"It was urged upon the government that these dependents and relatives of Jews now in Canada were exposed to persecution in Rumania and Poland, and the request was made that the government give credentials to a committee which would consist of three men named by the C.J.C. which would also meet their expenses, to go to these countries and seek out the dependents in question. The delegation also asked that when these relatives and dependents were found, the government should, on being satisfied that they meet the requirements of the Immigration Act, grant permits which would enable them to leave the countries in which they at present are."

The very active Union of Ukrainian Jews in Canada urged Acting Prime Minister George Foster on Oct.12, 1919 that (1) the government sponsor a group which would investigate problems of Jewry in the Ukraine with responsibility of emigration (if possible), (2) that the government supply necessary documentation for relatives of Jews already in Canada, (3) that government provide aid in transportation. "In the name of 2000 peoples assembled, we humbly pray that the Canadian government grant these

requests to extend its assistance to our persecuted and massacred brethren in Europe." (P.A.C., R.G.,76, vol. 199)

Civil servant Blair sought to be helpful to his superiors with a memo of expert advice:

"With regard to the general subject, I may say that unless the government is prepared to make Canada a haven of refuge for the war stricken of central Europe, great care will have to be exercised in dealing with the four requests made by the Ukrainian Jews of Montreal."

From the beginning JIAS was, like the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society all over the world, an important and populist body incorporating the vital concern of the Jewish people with migration, increasingly identified with rescue and with family integration. Significantly, the organizations that stood at its cradle, at conferences convened by Lyon Cohen and H.M. Caiserman, president and secretary of the Congress, were the Rumanian, the Polish and the Ukrainian landsmanshaften -- together with the Congress, of course -- sensitive as they were to the cosmic aspects of the migration of these European Jews.

Its first president was Louis Fitch, aided by Lionel Coviensky, Rabbi Hirsch Cohen, and Caiserman. In November the presidency and vice-presidency were taken by the Jewish members of the provincial legislature, Peter Bercovitch and Joseph Cohen. In May 1921, S.W. Jacobs, M.P. became president. (S.B. Haltrecht. "History of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada," in The Jew in Canada; A Complete Record of Canadian Jewry from the Days of the French Régime to the Present Time, edited by Arthur Daniel Hart. Toronto. Jewish Publications, 1926, pp. 490-95; Joseph Kage. With Faith and Thanksgiving, the Story of Two Hundred Years of Jewish Immigration and Immigrant Aid Effort in Canada, 1760-1960. Montreal, Eagle Publishing Co., 1962. Pp. 66-69)

Progeny of the short-lived Canadian Jewish Congress as it was, the J.I.A.S. (later the Jewish Immigrant Services) was completely without the resources, manpower, experience, connections or any other of the almost governmental elements required to acquit itself even in part of its task which could brook no compromise or even fractional failure. Even the Congress did not begin to acquire any of these resources in Canada until two decades later.

A particular development in Jewish migration at Canadian ports at this moment led the young Montreal committee to hope for support from its American counterpart, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society at New York, (the HIAS).

A letter from the Winnipeg administrator of the Canadian Committee of the Jewish Colonization Association, Leon J. Rosenthal, to the HIAS dated Sept. 3, 1920 reported that "during the preceeding period of approximately ten weeks, more than three thousand Jewish immigrants had arrived at the port of Quebec. The majority of these immigrants are young men from Poland, and approximately eight out of every ten of them are destined for the United States, where they have relatives. It appears that it is impossible for this class of immigrant to have their passports viseed by the American consuls abroad, whereas they can have their passports viseed by the British consuls to enable them to enter Canada. Most of these immigrants are practically penniless when they arrive at Quebec and, not having any relatives in this country, they are totally helpless. Practically none of them wish to remain in this country, being anxious to get to their relatives in the United States as soon as possible. As there are only a few Jewish families in Quebec and as there are no Jewish institutions or public buildings where these immigrants can be cared for, they are immediately forwarded to Montreal.

"From information which we had available some months ago, we did not expect any appreciable immigration of Jews into Canada during this year, and for this reason, as I intimated to you in my former letter, we were unprepared to handle the situation when the influx began of Jewish immigrants destined to the United States. However, as the immigrants began to arrive in ever larger numbers, a Jewish Immigration Aid Society was formed in Montreal. This society could not raise any funds to speak of. All the work was done by volunteers and necessarily in a rather haphazard and inefficient way.

"Finally, without financial assistance from other organizations, matters came to such a pass that the Immigration Aid Society could not carry on its work, and they appealed to us for funds. This happened while I was abroad and, when I was apprised of the situation, I obtained from our Central Administration in Paris a rather small subsidy for immigration work for the balance of the current year. We thereupon arranged to provide a monthly subsidy to the newly organized Immigration Aid Society, but we are only too well aware that the funds at our disposal at the present time are totally inadequate for carrying on the Immigration work properly.

"What I wish to point out particularly is that the appropriation for immigration work was placed at our disposal on the distinct understanding that it was to be used for the benefit of immigrants arriving in Canada with the intention of settling here. At the present time, however, we are obliged to use all our available funds for the benefit of immigrants who are really destined for the United States and are in Canada only as transients. The activities of the organization, which is now charged with immigration work, are primarily these:-

"1. To get the immigrants in touch with their relatives in the United States in order to obtain, if possible, financial assistance for them.

"2. To obtain for the immigrants American visas, the Fees for which amount to more than $10.00 in each instance.

"3. To lodge and board the immigrants while waiting for their American visas which involves at least a period of two or three weeks.

"4. To pay, in some instances, for the transportation of the immigrants from the port of entry to their destination in the United States.

"You will appreciate that work of this kind, to be carried on efficiently requires a strong organization and well organized machinery. For this, much larger funds are necessary than those which we now have at our disposal. Much to my regret, I cannot give you just now any definite estimate of the funds that we require. Our requirements will vary in accordance with the number of immigrants that we will have to handle. I do know definitely that the funds now at our disposal are not sufficient for our requirements and we are perforce unable to do the work as fully and as well as it ought to be done.

"I have tried to outline to you our problem, but you will understand that it is very difficult for me to present a specific memorandum at this juncture when the work is so new to us and when we ourselves do not know exactly what is ahead of us."

This was confirmed to the HIAS by its vice-president M. Myerson in his report,

"During my stay in Warsaw I learned that many immigrants, particularly young men who could not secure American visas, went to Canada instead. At that time the Canadian immigration laws were not very stringent and immigrants were admitted without being in possession of visas. As a consequence, immigration to Canada became heavy, making the establishment of an Immigrant Aid Society in that country urgent."

S.B. Haltrecht, secretary of the Montreal society, explained to the N.Y. HIAS that "agents of the White Star, Cunard, and Canadian Pacific Steamship lines in Europe are misinforming immigrants as to the conditions existing on this side of the Atlantic. They give immigrants wrong addresses and tell them that when they get to Canada they will have no difficulties of proceeding to United States. They also tell them that it is very easy to get into the country and induce them in every possible way to buy tickets and come over here.

"I trust you will take this matter up immediately with your representative in Antwerp and see to it that the agents of the steamship companies are made harmless." (Letter of Oct. 15, 1920. YIVO Archives)

Caiserman appealed again to the HIAS on Oct.8, 1920, "Nearly 75% of all immigrants arriving in Canada through Quebec have as their destination United States of America.

"The fact that our organization has only been organized in the month of July will demonstrate very clearly why we have not the funds necessary to cope with the immigration problem on the large scale in which it presents itself, we feel therefore that your organization with its tremendous experience and larger means should share proportionally our burdens here." (YIVO Archives)

Faced with these problems, president of the Hebrew (sic) Immigrant Aid Society Fitch appealed for Jewish Colonization Association's intervention on Oct. 11,

"Our organization is a young one, and it is doing its very best, and you will agree with me that it has done wonders, considering the short period during which it exists, and the handicap under which it operates.

"We have however, reached the stage where we must go on or go under. The latter will be very regrettable, and would result in one-half the Jewish immigrants landing

in Canada being deported. 90% of our immigrants land at our ports accidentally as they are destined for the United States, and in nearly every case there is a legal difficulty because we find as a rule that where an immigrant can go direct to an American Port, he does so, and that they come to Canada only because they cannot comply with some American regulation. In other words, we stand open to a large volume of immigrants intended for the United States, and which in my opinion is the work of the United States Immigration Aid Society.

"We do not complain of this fact and did not as long as we could cope with it; but in my opinion we have reached the parting of the ways, and I urge you to write the officers of the New York Society and inform them that it is absolutely necessary for us to discuss the matter with them at length, immediately. There are many difficulties put in the way of Jewish immigrants proceeding to the United States from the American Authorities, which we as Canadians cannot deal with. This matter is one for American attention, and if we are to be their agents here, we are not doing the work properly." (Letter to L. Lewis. YIVO Archives)

Lewis sought to explain the Montreal situation to the HIAS.

"When the newly-formed Society started their work, they did not know what was awaiting them and occupied only very small quarters. Since the beginning to the present time they have moved no less than three times. The Superintendent informed me that this was why telegrams and letters were delayed and mislaid.

"In addition to this the Jewish residents in Quebec, who were occupied in a philanthropic way to assist newly-arriving immigrants, had practically no organization, and it was impossible for the Montreal Society to receive

from them any information regarding detained immigrants in Quebec. In this way some answers to United States inquirers have been either delayed or neglected. As informed you in my letter of this morning, the new office, which is not better than the last ones, is situated at 900 St. Lawrence Boulevard....

"We asked Mr. A.L. Kaplansky who is thoroughly conversant with immigration matters to go to Quebec and make applications for all detained immigrants for United States visas. Since then we have appealed to men of prominence in political affairs to interview some high Officials of the Government to see if it would not be possible for the Government to make an exception in their new order of refusing to accept bonds for those waiting here for United States visas....

"Mr. Kaplansky returned from Quebec yesterday morning and reported that he had succeeded in stopping all deportations and is assured that no deportations will take place of any immigrants that are detained at Quebec, all of whom are destined for different parts of the United States, until the United States Government will inform their Consul here that visas have been granted. As soon as these visas are granted, they will be sent to their relatives in the United States...

"Owing to the fact that the Government was not prepared for such an enormous influx of immigrants of all races at the port of Quebec a large enough staff was not appointed to examine them. As a result, a great many immigrants have not been examined." (Letter to HIAS, Nov. 1, 1920. YIVO Archives)

Not for the last time the American colleagues of the Montreal immigrant aid group were unable to come to its support and to enable it to perform its tasks with full institutional independence. The cause is probably to be found in the position and in the status of the HIAS and of its later affiliations on the American scene.

J.L. Bernstein, president of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America, told the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada on Nov. 24, 1920.

"Our committee has at last had an opportunity to go very thoroughly into the matter of the immigration to Canada. We have considered the matter from every angle and as you know, we have had every opportunity to gather and consider the facts.

"We have come to the conclusion that our Society cannot be of help to those now coming to your country. Nearly all of the arrivals are male immigrants who cannot enter the United States. A great many of them have no relatives here, and while many immigrants state that they have connections here, it is not always correct. Even in cases where the immigrants have relatives here, we can be of no help to them if they have no visaes of their passports.

"We have taken the matter up time and again with the State Department, and they will under no condition grant visaes in cases of immigrants who have landed in Canada without obtaining abroad the necessary passports and visaes. The only way we can be of help is to correct the trouble at its source, and we have a number of times cabled to our people abroad, asking them to warn all immigrants not to endeavor to come to America by way of Canada. Our representatives have gone further and have seen to it that those agencies which encourage emigrants to go by way of Canada are prevented from doing business.

"The situation, it goes without saying, is indeed a very sad one, but it is one in which we cannot be of any help. If we were to send a representative, it would only give false hope for, as we told you, the Department of State is determined not to give visaes to those who arrive into Canada and give United States as their destination. It becomes therefore, a question of

sheltering them. This we cannot and are not in a position to do for several reasons. We are sure also that, where the immigrants have relatives in the United States, if a wire is sent to them, these relatives would send them sufficient money for their upkeep and other expenses. We cannot maintain these male refugees now in Canada any more than we can provide for such refugees as are now scattered in many countries.

"To shelter them would cost thousands of dollars. We have not the funds. The greatest help can now be done abroad, and we have to do this in as an effective manner as it can be done. Even for this we have not sufficient funds.

"We believe that the situation in Canada is simply one of relief; that nearly all of those in your midst are war refugees, and that money for their care should properly come from relief funds. The Jews of Canada raise thousands of dollars annually for relief purposes, and we understand that at least part of this money is sent to the Joint Distribution Committee. We therefore suggest that you take this matter up with your own relief committees and with the Joint Distribution Committee.

"We hope that our efforts to prevent these people from coming to Canada will bear fruit. In fact, our people abroad have already issued several warnings that no one should go to the United States by way of Canada. Even on the other side, we are chiefly concerned with those who have relatives in the United States, having in mind particularly women and children. The number of such immigrants by way of Canada, you will agree, is negligibly small." (YIVO Archives)

At this critical point there came to the rescue that too little known instrumentality of world Jewry whom Canada in particularly owes so much: the Paris-based, Baron de Hirsch-endowed, Jewish Colonization Association.

This great institution and its parent the Baron had made possible the reception of refugees in Montreal and Winnipeg, had established Jews on farms and built Jewish farming towns, financed their religious as well as their social life, paid for aid to Montreal poor, transportation to their further points of settlement west and south, established free day schools, social and cultural centres, etc., endlessly. Above all, it had established a standard of administration, control, relations with the authorities -- in the decades before the State of Israel, before the Jewish Agency, the Joint Distribution Committee and the Zionist movement -- which was not matched in world Jewry for many decades.

Not being democratically or even communally structured, the Canadian Committee of the J.C.A. is to this day not fully appreciated as the central instrument of community decision and action for many years. It enjoyed the leadership of that remarkable harmonious team of Lyon Cohen and S.W. Jacobs who functioned as one person, at least since 1897 when they jointly published the Jewish Times for seventeen years. They were backed by a staff team which included Louis Rosenberg and S. Belkin. The Committee worked comfortably under the close supervision of the French headquarters of the Association; this provided Canadian Jewry and its leadership personnel with remarkable training in administration and in the safeguarding of profound Jewish interests which becomes evident from a close examination of the procedures and the documentation of community action.

During the first years of the J.I.A.S. the J.C.A. Committee kept a very close watch upon J.I.A.S. activities, particularly on relations with government and on expenditures, and subsidized it to the extent of tens of thousands of dollars. (Belkin, Pp. 123-24)

While Canadian Jewish philanthropy was in its infancy the J.C.A. financed major community requirements and housed community institutions -- from literary society and library to the Canadian Jewish Congress -- in its building on Bleury St. near Ontario. These calls for capital came to include bonding and legal costs for immigrants questioned and detained by the Ottawa authorities.

RE POLAND, ETC.

It has always been difficult to analyze exactly the lands of origin of Jewish immigration into Canada because of the shifting of national borders, and because within the limits of any given source nation -- even the German and Austrian -- many of the Jewish emigrants originated or were culturally allied with the neighbouring country. It would be helpful if we could examine carefully the Yiddishland origin of many of the immigrants, especially since 1880.

To be told in 1913 that an immigrant carried a Russian passport was not to inform us whether he was from Rostov, Vilno or Kremenchug. But clearly after 1917 few of the immigrants brought Russian passports, except as the few émigré refugees before 1928. Even Rumanian passport holders were few. In consequence the largest citizenship group after World War I was the Polish.

Starting later historically, and therefore with less of an accumulated basis of earlier settlers than Montreal for instance, Toronto has always been the centre of the Polish-Jewish tradition in Canada, a sociological fact that is manifested in very many forms. As Louis Rosenberg puts it,

"The only province in which Polish born Jews form the largest Jewish groups born outside of Canada is Ontario, and the only city in Canada with population exceeding 30,000 in which Polish born Jews form the largest Jewish group born outside of Canada is Toronto. More than half of all the Polish born Jews in Canada live in the city of Toronto, and 60.61% of the Jews resident in Canada who were born in Poland live in the province of Ontario." (Canada's Jews, A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada. Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939, P.77)

Whereas Russian Jews (whatever the term means) formed 27% of Quebec Jews in 1931, with Polish Jews 10%, in Ontario Polish Jews led with 24% and Russian Jews were less than 21%.

The condition of the Jews in Poland and Canadians' concern with joinder of their kin there was very intense; it could be localized in intensity in Toronto.

Even as the existence of a sovereign Poland was being considered by the western world at the international peace conference, the new nation was proving its unworthiness to the name of a civilized nation.

On Dec. 10, 1918, B. Sheps of the western Canadian Jewish Congress telegraphed his Prime Minister Robert Laird Borden,

"In the light of the latest antisemitic atrocities committed in Polish territories against the Jews, we demand that the Canadian delegation to the peace conference, before giving approval to the complete national sovereignty of Poland, should insist on satisfactory international guarantees that the Jews in Poland will receive adequate protection, and that they will secure equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness with untrammelled opportunities for national development." (P.A.C., Borden Papers)

Similar telegrams of protest against the measures in Poland and the Ukraine were sent by the Vegreville community. H. Bloomfield urged that peace conferences make it clear that "national liberty can only be granted on the guaranteed assurance that the rights of national minorities must be respected and barbaric cruelties must cease." (May 13, 1919, Pp. 41950-51)

Marcus Hyman informed Ottawa of the resolutions of public meetings convened by the Western Canada's Jewish Fund for the Relief of War Sufferers following the butchery of 56 Jews while they were occupied in relief work in Pinsk. The conference demanded of the Peace Conference the cessation of pogroms in Poland. "We consider the Conference responsible for any future pogroms." Poland is unworthy of recognition. (May 13, 1919, P.41953)

A Vancouver meeting coupled the protest with support for a Jewish national homeland under British protection. (P. 41956)

In Hamilton, the Canadian Committee to Protest against Jewish Massacres in Eastern Europe was presided over by Rabbi Julius Berger.

Mayor H.P. Stephen of Niagara Falls forwarded the view of the Jews of Welland, St. Catharines and Niagara Falls on June 16, 1919.

The Halifax protest was signed by Charles Zwerling, veteran worker in aid of immigrants in that port city. (June 24, 1919)

Winnipeg was not going too far in placing responsibility for Poland at the doorsteps of the victorious western democracies. When the Canadians put the protest of the Hamilton committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress before the British delegation at the Paris peace conference, Downing Street informed Prime Minister Borden that the "reports of pogroms and persecutions are greatly exaggerated, but that an American commission is making an investigation." This report was based upon information from Mr. P.H. Kerr of the British delegation at Paris. (Pp. 41971-72)

Ottawa persisted as Jewish protests continued to pour in. The governor-general wired to the colonial secretary on Feb. 11, 1920,

"My Ministers would be glad to have as soon as possible a report giving latest information concerning the treatment of Jews in Poland and the Ukraine. Enquiries have already been made concerning this matter and it is anticipated that further questions will be asked when Parliament meets at the end of this month."

To which the colonial secretary replied on March 2,

"The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs regrets unable at present provide information as regards Poland, but Sir Stuart Samuel has recently specially investigated position of Jews in that country and his report it is hoped will be available before end of this month.

"As regards Ukraine, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs states that, greater portion of South Russia now occupied by Bolsheviks, it is impossible to obtain impartial report on present condition of Jews there. Leaders of anti-Bolsheviks Army allege that many of the massacres said to have taken place during advance of Red Armies have been instigated by Jews, while Jewish Societies in this country assert that Jewish Pogroms are continually taking place and that over 100,000 Jews have lost their lives. Question further complicated by fact that many of these Pogroms are alleged to have been committed by brigands commonly known as green guards who acknowledge neither Bolsheviks nor Denikin. In spite of efforts made by His Majesty's representatives in South Russia, difficulties experienced in obtaining evidence of atrocities committed on Jews and of ascertaining who are responsible have so far proved insuperable.

"Correspondence has recently passed between Foreign Office and Joint Foreign Committee of Jewish Board of Deputies and Anglo-Jewish Association in which latter ask whether His Majesty's Representatives in Palestine and Constantinople can take depositions from Jewish refugees there. Committee have been informed that it is impossible for representatives to undertake this task, but that if Committee decide to make enquiries, His Majesty's Govern-

ment will be prepared to assist in any matter of detail. Meanwhile British Consul at Novorossisk has been instructed to supply any information obtainable regarding conditions of Jews in territory not occupied by Bolsheviks. Canadian Government will be kept informed regarding any report received on this question." (Pp. 41999-42001)

The community was keenly aware that not protests but migration was the proper response to the massacre and holocaust facing the Jews of Europe. It is in this light that we can understand that practically the only achievements of the Canadian Jewish Congress of 1919 was the organization of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada and a mass registration of prospective immigrants.

On Oct. 9, 1919 H.M. Caiserman wrote to all the delegates to the March session,

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

"Firstly, we must ascertain how many dependents of Canadian residents are abroad and can be brought back to the shores of our Dominion. We must, furnish our intended commission to Ukraine, with lists of all dependents of Canadian residents, and make it possible for them to find those who are still alive. For this purpose, the Canadian Jewish Congress undertakes a registration of all Canadian Jewish residents, having dependents abroad."

He emphasized that "the registration aims to put before our Government, the indisputable proof that thousands of dependents of Canadian residents are still 'over-there', and to also show to our Government the exact number of dependents of Canadians, whom we demand to be brought to our shores before it is too late."

As early as Sept. 1919, with the armistice ending World War II not yet a year old, S.W. Jacobs, M.P., had occasion to remind the House of Commons that since that "armistice has been signed, outrages of an unparalled character have been perpetrated upon Jewish citizens in Poland. The latest figures, which have been carefully compiled by a commission which visited that country from the United States, are that about 100,000 people were massacred in cold blood by this 'free and independent' nation which has, within the last few months received its charter from the Allied powers....representations have already been made to the Polish Government and that a reply has been received from M. Paderewski, the head of that Government. This has been considered so unsatisfactory that, speaking in the British House of Commons a few days ago, Sir Hamar Greenwood, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, declared that the British Goverment intended to have a special commission appointed to investigate into the serious charges made against this new government.

"When the Minister of Justice suggested that the sooner we get through with these different treaties and the sooner the League of Nations gets into operation, the sooner shall we have an effective method of enforcing compliance with these obligations."

Jacobs asked prophetically,

"In the meantime, until the League of Nations is constituted, does the minister propose that the whole of the Jewish race in this 'independent' country of Poland shall be annihilated?"

The Hon. Mr. Doherty: "I do not quite understand the suggestion."

Jacobs drew the attention of the Canadian Commons to a Warsaw report in the New York Nation of Aug. 30, 1919 describing "the massacres, the wailing of Jewish women whose husbands were murdered, children compelled to dig graves for their fathers; hundreds of respectable Jewish citizens jailed, denied food, starving to death or dying of typhus; children unable to stand on their feet for lack of nourishment.

Mr. Jacobs: "Sometimes one cannot wait. The Government is probably aware that within the last two or three months there have been held throughout Canada meetings of protest against those outrages, and that the results of these meetings of protest were delivered to the present Government, through the Prime Minister, who undertook to see that these protests were forwarded to the proper places. The Government must be fully cognizant of what has transpired, and what Canada's obligations as a member of the League of Nations would be under the circumstances."

"This is only a sample of what is happening daily in that country; and I would point out that these incidents have taken place since the 24th of June, when this Treaty was signed."

Some other members expressed their indignation.

Mr. W.F. Maclean (Cons., York): "I should like to say that the Prime Minister of Poland, M. Paderewski... must know that if he wishes to enjoy the good opinion of the people of America, including both the United States and Canada, he must live up to the professions that have been made, and there must be the fairest and most just treatment to all races within the State."

Mr. D.D. McKenzie: (Lib., Cape Breton) "If we start dealings with a man whom we recognize as a gentleman of his word, and upon whose ability to carry out his contracts we rely, we are willing to go to the end of the road with him and finish the contract; but if in the middle of negotiations we should find we are dealing with a fakir, a murderer, a thief, a scoundrel, who is absolutely incapable of fulfilling the obligations he has undetaken, and who does not wish to fulfil those obligations, we stop dealings with him."

There was a basic failure of understanding between Jacobs and his interlocutors because Jacobs shared the knowledge of post-war Poland that was common to the Jews of Canada, many of them recently residents of that unhappy land. It was so commonly shared that it underlay conversation; it did not need to be stated.

Typically a Canadian recalled moments in his life as a ten-year-old in Vilno.

"In the come-and-go of war fronts, the Poles had occupied the city which was the traditional capital of Lithuania, and then were forced out by the Communist forces. As they left they promised to return and to take it out on the ancient Jewish community.

"They did return in Succot, 1920, disguised as Central Lithuanians, led by a General Zheligovski, pretending to be a rebellious dissident from the Polish army on whose staff he was an officer, and acting on his personal authority. But he kept the Polish promise of a pogrom.

"I remember when the troops attacked homes in the Jewish quarter. The people in the houses screamed;

the cries were taken up by their neighbours and their neighbours' neighbours until a whole population was screaming in terror as I do not know how many were massacred."

For Jews everywhere those screams became the sound of Polish national anthem; Paderewsky's music did not harmonize as well as he pretended.

The reminiscing continues,

"I recall walking on a Vilno downtown street in the middle of the day. A beautiful high school girl was walking along, in her gymnazistka uniform carrying her books. As a ten-year old I was struck by the freshness of her cheeks, by her white pleated skirt.

"An army officer came walking, swaggering, in the opposite direction along the broad, nearly empty sidewalk. As they came close he deliberately lurched against her, knocked her violently to the ground. She did not arise; blood streamed from her nose and mouth, stained her blouse and dress. The officer did not appear to notice, walked on. No one on the street approached the girl. In a horror I ran home."

Not one Canadian Jew was surprised that in due course Hitler chose the ready soil of Lublin and of Auschwitz as the locale for his horrors.

An interesting record exists which illuminates a fundamental internal division in the community on the Poland question, a division which was for long to run through a gambit of issues before the community for two-score years.

In Winnipeg the Jewish socialists, including the Poale Zion, sponsored a protest march against the pogroms in Poland, urging the western powers to pressure the new government there to end the bloody violence against the Jews. The pupils of the Jewish People's Schools also paraded, but were sent home half-way because of the notorious December weather in the western metropolis.

But the prospect of this march, and the public meeting in the Board of Trade Hall which followed it, created apprehension among some leading members of the community.

S. Almazov, one of its more radical organizers, recalls that one evening wholesaler Weidman called on the family home to appeal that the march be cancelled as constituting a danger for all Canadian Jews. (Canadian Jewish Archives, New Series, no. 10) Drawing attention to the pogroms in Poland can awaken interest among Canadians and possibly lead them to emulate the Polish example. In addition, such a demonstration may antagonize the British government, an ally of Poland.

A similar appeal was later made by Mr. Churchill. Eventually agreement was reached when leading citizen Max Steinkopf was named chairman of the mass meeting.

Almazov also recalls serving on a committee to write a memorandum to urge the Canadian labor federation to enlist the Canadian and British governments' intervention on behalf of Poland's Jews. (S. Almazov Pearl. Mit dem Wart tzum Folk. New York, Ikuf, 1947, Pp.35-42, 320)

An observation on the Jewish conditions in Poland comes from a Canadian traveller in Palestine who may not have been very well informed. But Charles A. Wilson had a glimpse of "the Valley of Kichon outside Jerusalem where Polish Jews, men and women, were macadamizing the road. There was quite a colony of them living in tents. These women, built like Hercules and beautiful as love handled the heavy masses of steel and split the rocks in their turn... the most beautiful arms you may wish to see.

"It is for this work that they migrated! What must it be like in Poland, then?..." (Voyage autour du monde. Montreal, La Compagnie d'imprimerie moderne, 1923. Pp. 328-29)

The attacks on Jews on the streets of Warsaw were seen differently by individual spectators, and at different times. By 1945 the iconography of the twentieth century has placed in the centre of its awareness the photograph of a group of German army officers amusing themselves no end with a bearded Polish Jew.

In 1925 a leading Quebec priest came to see this in another perspective. Noting the persecution of Catholics in Mexico, Abbé Groulx, director of Action française, remarked that "it is a little humiliating for us and for the human conscience that the bullying of thousands of our brethren only stirs our feelings slightly, whereas the cutting of the beards of some thirty rabbis for a joke in Warsaw is the occasion of talk of a frightful pogrom and the rousing of the choir of an angry press on five continents." (Jacques Brassier, nom de plume of Abbé Lionel Groulx, in Action française, vol. 16, Pp.118-22 The outstanding leader of Quebec nationalism and revered clergyman was insensitive and unrepentant enough to reproduce this passage many years after the holocaust in his Mes Mémoires, vol. 4, P. 335)

Whatever the centrifugal whirlpool of history will cast out as the future of the Rumanian people, there is a Montreal document affirming a perpetual blot on their honour. It is a 14-page Memorandum on The Anti-semitic Movement in Rumania issued in 1927 by the Montreal Jewish Conference of Protest in Defence of Life and Rights of Roumanian Jews (printed at 953 St. Urbain St.).

The horror story begins,

"Rumania gained her Independence in 1878. Due to the influence of Disraeli, a clause was inserted in the Treaty of Berlin, which was made in that year, providing for equal rights to the Jewish citizens of Roumania. Roumania violated that Treaty. The Jews of Roumania have been proclaimed non-citizens and were therefore subject to discriminations. The suffering which she has caused to be inflicted upon the Jews in the years following the Treaty have aroused the profound sympathy of the civilized world."

After the World War students receiving advanced education in the universities in the traditions of Rumanian civilization were the gangsters who led the pogroms. The minister of alleged education supported these patriots in parliament.

"The Roumanian Government not only tolerated the anti-Semitic movement, but a policy of discrimination was adopted with regard to Jewish students to satisfy the demands of the Cuzist party in matters of education. A certain form of Matriculation examination has been introduced with the questions framed so that Jewish and students of other minorities should fail, thus automatically reducing the number of Jewish students admitted to the universities.

"In the examinations which took place in Chernowitz last summer over 75% of the students failed....Following the congress of Roumanian students, which took place, in Jassy, a number of pogroms and serious assaults were perpetrated against the Jewish population."

The Memorandum reprints pages of 1926 reports:

"On their way from the congress, the students attacked a number of Jewish passengers on trains. Several were wounded. Amongst them the brothers Hiamovitch. Excesses took place in the Medical College in Bucharest. Jewish students were driven from the lecture hall.

"At the railway stations of Focsani, Puzen and Ploesto, Jewish passengers were brutally beaten and robbed by students and then thrown out of the trains. In the Bucharest University five Jewish students were fatally injured during the lecture of Professor Pelastra. The victims were taken to a hospital.

"Many Jews were attacked and robbed on Roumanian trains, including the passengers Marc Rosenberg, Samuel Jancovit and Gedalia Bercovitch. Roumanian students attacked a Jewish family on the train who were on their way to America. The head of the family is a Roumanian war veteran. All the Jews were forced to leave the train.

"Anti-Semitic students have now set up a guard in a law school charged with the task of preventing Jewish students from entering the lecture hall. In Jassy, Roumanian students, followers of Cuza, mistreated the Jewish students yesterday. Jewish passersby were attacked.

"120 armed Roumanian students stormed a Jewish ball on Tuesday night at the Hotel New York, Clausenbourg. The ball was given for the Jewish Orphan Asylum.

"A band of 200 students surrounded the northern depot conducting an attack for many hours on Jewish passengers who arrived on trains...."

IMMIGRATION IS COMMUNITY

In a sense, the story of the organized community beyond its synagogues is the story of immigration -- of the immigrants, of their departure from their homes, of the baggage they brought with them, of their settlement, of their striking roots; and the story of those who received them, how they aided the newcomers, how they were enriched in the processes of giving this aid; how the charitable and the homeless together built a sector of Canadian society; how this entire process was in fact a central chapter in the history of the western world -- a chapter of twentieth century horror, but simultaneously a story of firm construction and creativity on every level.

Readers of the Canadian Jewish Archives have had a suggestion of the ramifications and import of the movement of Jews to Canada and to other areas of the New World.

It can be read in the context of European history as formulated by the International Refugee Organization (Geneva, 1951):

"Overpopulation has been a major problem for Europe ever since the beginning of the last century...The population of Europe, which had been 187 million in 1800, increased to 401 million by 1900. Emigration drained off only one fifth of the total increase of Europeans during that century; it made a significant contribution to the solution of the problem by alleviating the pressure of excess population in Europe...Overseas emigration, therefore, constituted a safety valve to ease the pressure of over-population which, as in the period after the First World War, might otherwise have become the cause of grave political disturbances.

BNQ
000 323 783