

The Prehistory of the Founding of The Canadian Jewish Congress 1897-1919*

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Résumé

Dans ce premier document sur l'historique de la formation et de la création du Congrès juif canadien (CJC), Judith Nefsky, Directrice du Service National des Archives du CJC, s'est inspirée de documents d'archives déposés dans son Service de même que sur l'interprétation qu'en donne deux historiens réputés MM. David Rome du CJC de Montréal et le Dr. Stephen Speisman du Service d'Archives du CJC région Ontario qui ont respectivement publié deux volumes importants, soit *Early Documents on the Canadian Jewish Congress 1914-1921*; et, *The Jews of Toronto, a History to 1939*.

Ce document s'inspire des procès-verbaux de réunions de même que des traductions de précieux documents Yiddich. J. Nefsky retrace les événements sur une période de 20 ans, soit depuis les débuts d'un rapprochement d'organisations juives aussi diverses que différentes jusqu'à la première création du CJC en 1919 (mars 16-19). Cela donna lieu à de nombreuses tâches qu'il dût assumer dont entre autres: l'immigration (JIAS), la défense des droits de tous les Juifs quel que soit le pays où ils résident, défense des droits nationaux c'est à dire égalité des droits pour les juifs, etc. Cependant, malgré les bonnes volontés réunies, la fondation définitive du CJC n'aura lieu qu'en 1934 soit 15 ans après les premières entatives de fondation.

The Canadian Jewish Congress met for the first time in March, 1919, 65 years ago. This paper is based on documents in the National Archives of Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal and their interpretation by historians,

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two of whom are Mr. David Rome of CJC in Montreal, and Dr. Stephen Speisman of Canadian Jewish Congress Ontario Region Archives who touches on this subject in his book *The Jews of Toronto, a History to 1937* (Toronto; McLelland & Stewart, 1979). I have used Mr. Rome's volume entitled *Early Documents on the Canadian Jewish Congress 1914-1921* extensively, and the English translations of Yiddish documents which I'll be referring to come from that volume. I would also like to thank Mr. Rome for his assistance in helping me clarify the story and make sense of the many events in it.

In March of this year, we marked rather quietly the 65th anniversary of the founding of the Canadian Jewish Congress. The establishment of any institution does not come about easily or quickly, particularly when it is established at the grass roots level, without funds or political or institutional force behind it. The story of the establishment of the CJC is no exception. Today I will trace the events over a 20-year period which led to the establishment of the organization which attempted what no organization had previously tried to do: to represent on a democratic basis, all the Jews of Canada and act on their behalf.

The story begins around 1897, at the time of the first Zionist Congress in Vienna. It was in these last years of the 19th century that the idea of a congress representative of all members of a community first struck the Jews of Western Europe. Traditionally, Jewish community leaders were those powerful and influential men who chose to speak for their communities, but who were not necessarily chosen by the members of their communities.

The concept of a congress of Jewish people to represent their constituents and to meet to solve their collective problems was a novel idea which soon spread to Eastern European Jews.

Jews discovered that organization in itself is a powerful tool and that it was not necessary to have wealthy or politically-connected people to speak for them as long as there was a representative universal structure through which they could speak.

After the 1897 Zionist Congress, Jews recognized that the concept of organization could be usefully applied to other matters besides Zionism. This idea took hold in Canada, in the minds of a few forward-thinking people who pushed for its implementation. They encountered strong opposition and some hostility but eventually the two factions recognized that their goals were almost identical even if their means of achieving them differed, and they were reconciled.

Meanwhile, until a representative body of Canadian Jews was established, other organizations that were locally based took on a national or at least a wider

scope when matters out of their immediate jurisdiction arose that required external assistance.

As soon as the first wave of Jewish immigrants came to Canada in 1882, there was a response in the small Jewish community — which for the most part had been established only 20 years or so earlier — to help them to settle and to integrate into Canadian society. When British Jews sent refugees to Canada in 1882 they were received by a Montreal Committee of the Anglo-Jewish Association which was formed in 1881 with branches in Montreal and Toronto. (See G. Tolchinsky, “Immigration and Charity in the Montreal Jewish Community before 1890” in *Histoire sociale — Social History*, vol. XVI, no. 32, Nov. 1983: 359-80).

The second group which arrived in Canada was settled by another organization, the Young Men’s Hebrew Benevolent Society of Montreal.

In the next few years the Baron Maurice de Hirsch became involved in immigration as a solution to the problems of Eastern European Jewry. In 1891 he founded the Jewish Colonization Association or JCA to settle impoverished Jews in agricultural colonies around the world. In Canada, the JCA acted through the Baron de Hirsch Institute of Montreal, (formerly the Young Men’s Hebrew Benevolent Society) until a separate Canadian committee of the JCA was established in 1906.

By the 1890’s there was a steady flow of refugees who had to be settled across the country. The Baron de Hirsch Institute acted as the distributing agency, dispersing the immigrants throughout Canada.

It should be added that at this time the immigrants acted as much on their own as with the assistance of the Institute. The problem for the historian is that he or she can only learn from the records that exist of the past. Whatever was not recorded and kept does not remain in our historical consciousness so we are left with a distorted vision of past events. With the story of early Jewish immigration to Canada what we have in our archives are the records of the organizations that assisted immigrants. What we don’t have, or only have to a very limited extent, are the personal records of individual immigrants and their families, with their perceptions and experiences told from their perspective. We therefore are liable to exaggerate the role of institutions in the settlement and integration of immigrants and not give enough credit to the immigrants themselves. That being said, our story is about the creation of national Jewish institutions in Canada, so we will put aside the perspective of the individual immigrant.

The Baron de Hirsch Institute organized and financed the reception of refugees in ports other than Montreal and organized receiving committees at

each location. In the early 1900's the Institute established a legislative committee to deal with such problems as the Sunday Observance legislation of 1906. This was a national issue that was a major challenge to Canada's Jews for whom hindrance to religious observation was a deep concern. The campaign for Sunday observance became anti-Jewish.

In order to counter this legislation Jews from several Canadian cities formed a committee to make presentations to the government. After parliamentary debate a solution was arrived at whereby provinces were granted the authority to pass their own legislation should they choose to differ from the federal law.

The legislative committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute continued to act on national problems such as the Plamondon libel case in Quebec City, and the discriminatory charter of Queen's University in 1913.

Throughout these early years of the century, the leadership positions in Canadian Jewish institutions continued for the most part to be held by the wealthier "uptown" members of the older Jewish families who had established in Canada one or two generations before. They spoke English and were well integrated into Canadian society. The immigrant generation of "downtown" Jews who were Yiddish-speaking, poor, and tied by heart and soul and blood to their relatives and friends in Eastern European communities, were numerically dominant but without power in decision-making positions. The outbreak of World War I, however, pushed them to take a more prominent position in community affairs and to clash head-on with the "uptown" Jews.

The dominant organization of the "uptown" Jews was the Federation of Canadian Zionists which functioned well but was not democratic in its structure. From the 1890's to 1917 Clarence de Sola held the presidency of this organization.

When the war broke out in 1914 both groups were deeply affected. The Yiddish-speaking community feared for their families and friends who were dispossessed of their homes on the front and with whom they had lost contact. Although the tragic state of the displaced European Jews was a concern to the uptown Jews, their primary concern was the local relief needs of the poor members of the community. They were, however, able to raise more funds for overseas relief among their ranks, than the poorer, but more numerous "downtown" Jews. It was during the war years that both groups engaged in fund-raising campaigns that were to be the backbone of a single community institution. Dr. Speisman examines the organizing of fund-raising efforts of the two groups in Toronto which paralleled the developments in Montreal and elsewhere in his book *The Jews of Toronto, a History to 1937*.

In Montreal the "downtown" group adopted Reuben Brainin as its leader. It

would have been more likely that Brainin, the articulate scholar, writer and Hebraist from Vienna, would have been taken into the "uptown" group with which he had more in common; however, they showed but little interest in his talents and wisdom, and Brainin developed a following amongst the Yiddish-speaking people, for whom he worked very devotedly.

David Rome in his volume entitled *Early Documents on the Canadian Jewish Congress, 1914-1921* refers to Belkin's analysis of the division between uptown and downtown Jews on local and overseas relief.

"A difference in emphasis developed as early as 1914 between the "Up-Town Jews" and the "Down-Town Jews" as to the relative importance of aiding, on the one hand, Canadians who were suffering from the effects of war-caused dislocation and, on the other hand, sending relief to Jews in the war zones stricken by the conflict.

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

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

"The invitation reads,

"As you doubtless know, we were absolutely ignored in the distribution of the Assistance Fund to which each of us has contributed his share. Thus the voice of those who are suffering was mercilessly suppressed. But the situation is too terrible for us to cease our efforts, as have our Up-Town benefactors. Something must be done. It is our obligation to ensure that the cry of the hungry and of the suffering shall not be a voice calling in the desert. Send your delegates so that together we may develop plans to help those who seek help." (Rome, p. 2)

Rome goes on to translate the Yiddish minutes of this meeting, which he says is of fundamental concern because it is out of this conference that the Canadian Jewish Congress was born.

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

"The delegates to the conference protested against the unjust distribution of the funds of the earlier relief committee. It was proposed that a tax be imposed on all organizations in aid of the suffering, that a one-cent stamp be printed for the same purpose, and that women in particular be organized for collection of relief funds." (Rome, p. 3)

A man by the name of Welicovitch proposed that the conference declare itself a permanent body and Judah Kaufman proposed that the gathering should issue an appeal to all Jewish organizations in the community to meet in

conference on March 7 of that year. The name given to the meeting was the Canadian Jewish Alliance. A "Call to all Jewish Organizations" was printed in the press in advance of the March 7 conference in which the conference convenors outlined the huge tasks before the Jews of North America:

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

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

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

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

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

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

"These are great tasks before us: economic, political, cultural." (Rome, p. 4a)

Rome translates a Yiddish document entitled "To all Jewish organizations in Canada" printed on the letterhead of the Canadian Jewish Alliance, signed by Rueben Brainin and dated March 23, 1915 and remarks on its prophetic quality.

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

"At this Congress there shall be heard the cry of a people long robbed of its human rights. At this Congress the nation will declare openly to the entire world that, in spite of all persecutions and humiliations of centuries and of millenia, it has not ceased to exist as a people and still believes in its right to such an existence.

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

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

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

"We have therefore come to feel that we must unite all these single trends into one

mighty stream which will bear all classes, all parties, all movements in Canadian Jewry to one great political-national act.

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

“The Alliance seeks to unite Canadian Jewry in the interests of the communal, political and economic responsibilities of the present moment so historic for the Jewish people.” (Rome, pp. 6-7)

Brainin goes on to appeal to people in each city and town across Canada to convene a conference for all Jews in the community for the purpose of joining the Canadian Jewish Alliance and preparing for what he called the “Convention of all Canadian Jews.”

We have papers documenting the meeting of a “Toronto Conference of All Jewish Institutions in aid of those of our people suffering from the war”, which convened and voted on August 22, 1915 to become “to all intents and purposes a branch of the Canadian Jewish Alliance.”

Rome cites A. Rhinewine’s comments on the difficulties of creating the Canadian Jewish Alliance.

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

“This letter refers to the difficulties encountered by the Alliance from not having its own periodical. He notes that ‘the Montreal Yiddish *Eagle* is closed to the Alliance. If you wish to accept my proposal, you may utilize the *Journal* in the interests of the Alliance insofar as space will permit. I am anxious that you should not suspect that I am seeking to benefit for my paper. As you see, for my part I write on behalf of the Alliance at every opportunity. If my proposal appeals to you, please let me know.’ ” (Rome, pp. 13-14)

In a report from Goldstick to Kaufman, Goldstick describes the problem between the Alliance and Zionist movements:

“It is the sincere wish of the Conference that you enter into negotiations with the Federation of Canadian Zionist Societies having as their object the creating of a better understanding between the Federation and our Alliance. The chief object of such negotiations to be that the Federation should give up its plan for a competitive convention which the Federation has decided to convene . . . We shall visit all Zionist organizations to insist that the Federation give up the competitive scheme.” (Rome, p. 14)

Some correspondence from Hamilton exists in which the division between the two movements is echoed. Rabbi J.S. Minkin wrote to the Alliance in April 1915:

“No prominent names of Montreal men who are leaders in Jewish affairs, with the exception of Kaufman and Brainin appear in the circulars; and the members thought this very strange . . . We have received instructions (from the Zionist Federation) that as a Zionist Society we cannot take an active part — that is, as a body. Besides, the Federation is considering the advisability of taking up the work in due course.” (Rome, p. 15)

Correspondence regarding the organizing of the Canadian Jewish Alliance

exists in our records from various other communities such as London; Chatham; North Bay; Quebec City; Saskatoon; Edenbridge, Sask.

Meanwhile, as the movement was strengthening, the Zionist disapproval of the Alliance was becoming more vocal and widespread. Rome states that the difference was not ideological and that the men on both sides were Zionists. He describes it as an institutional rivalry and says "The Zionists, the only national Jewish organization in the dominion, feared the rise of a second." (Rome, p. 17)

Rome, and Caiserman before him, point to a letter from Leon Goldman, Chairman of the Zionist Bureau, in the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* of December 27, 1918 as the explanation of the Zionist stand:

"The Zionist Federation had strong reasons for abstaining from taking any official part in organizing a Congress until after the signing of the treaty of peace. Negotiations that were at present being carried on with European Governments by the Zionists were of too delicate a nature to admit of the Zionists running the risk of jeopardizing their position by being compromised by possible inimical or unwise resolutions that might be passed by the Congress." (Rome, p. 18)

While the organizing of the Canadian Jewish Alliance was progressing, on the other side, Clarence de Sola, Lyon Cohen and S.W. Jacobs formed the "Organizing Committee of the Conference of Canadian Jews" also known as the Canadian Jewish Committee (p. 19). This was to have basically the same objectives and goals as the CJA.

In a letter which the Zionist group sent to the Mizrahi Society in Montreal, they state:

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

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

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

"If you are in sympathy with this idea, will you please call together a meeting of your society (when we shall be pleased, if you so desire it, to send someone to elaborate on the objects of the Conference) and elect from among yourselves a delegate whose name you will kindly mail to our secretary as soon as possible." (Rome, p. 20)

As Rome notes, the date of November 7 was chosen to coincide as nearly as

possible with the date of the national convention of the CJA.

The following letter was sent from the Montreal office of the Zionist Federation to Zionist societies in regard to an upcoming Alliance conference:

“As we understand that invitations have been sent out without our authority to some of our organizations by self-constituted parties who do not represent the community and who have no authority to represent us; Zionists are requested to be on their guard, to send their delegates only to the Conference summoned by the Zionist Federation and to pay no attention to invitations received from any other source.

“We trust that you will see that all other Jewish bodies in your city join you in this and give you their adhesion to the Conference called by this Federation and not to any other call, in order that our Conference may be thoroughly representative.” (n.d.) (CJC collection, series ZA, 1915)

Mr. Fitch of the Conference committee received a letter from Marcus Hyman of Winnipeg remarking on their community’s response to the two almost concurrent invitations:

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

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

“We, at this juncture, therefore, demand from Montreal unity — no more and no less.” (Rome, pp. 21-22)

There were a number of failed attempts to unite the two leading groups in Montreal before the FCZ finally conceded to the Alliance its place as the representative body of Canadian Jewry.

We have an undated document, probably from late 1916 or 1917 in which it is reported that men from both movements met to discuss the necessity of forming a Canadian Congress distinct from the American Jewish Congress then in formation.

CJA in Toronto called a meeting on May 21, 1916 and had invited two men from New York to address the group. But when the men learned of the divided state of the community they refused to address the CJA and demanded instead to have representatives of all groups in Toronto attend a special meeting and there they put forward the following resolution which were reportedly “heartily approved”:

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

“2. The said Committee shall, as soon as possible, submit to the British Government a memorandum through the Canadian Government with reference to the condition and situation of the Jewish people, and the said Committee shall also immediately communicate with representative bodies of Jews in the other British Dominions and Colonies urging upon them similar action.” (Rome, pp. 29-30)

Thus a momentum developed pulling the two groups together on the stronger base of the CJA.

When it was apparent that the war was drawing to a close and the parties would be meeting in a Peace Conference the Jews of the world began debating what their role should be in the peace negotiations.

The two groups of Canadian Jews both wanted the same things, but differed in their choice of action. Whereas the CJA/Congress group wanted to demand minority rights for Jews in the emerging post-war nations as well as recognition of Palestine as the national Jewish homeland, the Zionist group was not hopeful of the course of protecting Jewish communities in Eastern Europe and preferred to stake their hopes on Palestine.

In late 1918 we begin to see signs of the Zionist Federation moving toward the congress.

A document dated December 4, 1918 from the “Council of Zionist Federation” resolved:

“That the Council appoint a committee to watch and keep informed on the Congress question in conjunction with Congress Committee now existent, and that at some future date after the signing of the treaty of peace; the time should prove right in the opinion of the Federation for a Congress, the Federation will then take steps to cooperate with the Congress Committee to call a Congress, the action of the Committee of the Federation be, of course, subject to the approval of the Council. (Rome, pp. 40-41)

In January 1919 the Montreal Conference for the Jewish Congress took place as a pre-conference gathering at the Baron de Hirsch Institute.

An appeal for electing representatives by popular ballot states the purposes of the newly-born CJC:

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

“Its significance will, for the Jews living in the Dominion, be tremendous; for issues bearing upon our rights as a national minority, will be raised and resolved upon; vital issues, for us in Canada. As well, the question of immigration shall form part of the proceeding of the Congress.” (Rome, p. 49)

The first Canadian Jewish Congress met March 16-19, 1919 at the Monument National Theatre in Montreal. At the opening session Rabbi Dr. Abramowitz welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Jewish community of

Montreal.

He stated that the gathering:

“ . . . reminded him of the injunction of our sages — he who sees a multitude of Israelites should pronounce the blessing: ‘Blessed be the wise Knower of Secrets, for just as the faces of these do not resemble each other, so also are their minds dissimilar . . .’ So the beauty of this Congress is in the fact that it is representative, not only of the masses, but also of the classes and of every school of thought, and of all the elements that constitute our varied Jewish population. And the blessing of this Congress lies in the fact that we who are assembled here feel that greater than the things which divide us, are the things that unite us.” (CJC collection, series A, 1919)

Two hundred and nine delegates attended the Congress who elected by ballot Lyon Cohen as President and H.M. Caiserman as the permanent General Secretary; officers were elected to represent Eastern, Central and Western Divisions of Canada.

The important resolutions passed at the Congress dealt with the following:

1. *Permanency of Congress* — that the CJC was declared a permanent body with its members to be elected from time to time on the universal suffrage system,
2. *Immigration* — that Canada should maintain an open-door policy — and that CJC should establish an immigration bureau with branches in all cities and ports to give assistance to immigrants — thus was JIAS born.
3. *Palestine* — That CJC should join with the World Zionist Organization and other Jewish Congresses in support of the Balfour Declaration at the Peace Conference.
4. *Relief and Rehabilitation* — for Jewish communities in war zone — that governments where Jews suffered compensate their Jewish citizens on the same basis as non-Jews. — that CJC regards relief not as charity but as a national duty of constructive relief to rebuild those communities.
5. *National Rights* — that in the creation of new or enlarged states and in the admission of all states into the League of Nations, all civil, political, religious, and national disabilities be removed by constitution, that is — equal rights for Jews.

The Zionists, despite their reservations about getting involved in debates over minority rights, were swayed and all resolutions passed.

The Congress, having resolved to make representation at the Versailles Peace Conference regarding minority rights of Jews in Eastern Europe and Palestine as a homeland for the Jews, wired Judge Mack of the AJC who was in Paris:

“Canadian Jewish Congress decided to present Jewish rights and Palestine resolutions,

and protest treatment Eastern European Jews to Peace Conference. Kindly advise if necessary to send special committee or will you undertake to act in our behalf." (CJC collection, series ZA, 1915)

Though it was resolved that CJC be established as a permanent body, it was not to be so for another 15 years.

Following its convening in March, the CJC continued to act on its resolutions for a short time. Specifically, it established the JIAS and submitted a memorandum to the Canadian Government on proposed amendments to the Immigration Act; it continued with fundraising for overseas relief. But essentially it lay dormant for 15 years.

It was only in 1933, when Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and the threat of virulent anti-Semitism in *Western* Europe hit the consciousness of Canadian Jews that the CJC was reconstituted in 1934. But that is another chapter in our story.