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VOLUME I

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From the Editor:

The appearance of this journal is in itself an historic event. Some twenty-five years ago, a Canadian Jewish historical society was found to foster Canadian Jewish historical scholarship. However, the society lapsed into inactivity. This is the inaugural issue of the first Canadian periodical to be devoted exclusively to Canadian Jewish history. Although one might say that it has been twenty-five years in preparation, in fact, it was conceived only a year ago with the reconstitution of the Jewish Historical Society of Canada.

This issue is largely the product of the Society's sessions at the Conference of Learned Societies held at Quebec City in June, 1976, but we have included a number of other timely pieces which we hope the reader will find both interesting and informative. In future, the Journal will continue to publish relevant addresses, but will aim primarily to include fully documented papers on all facets of Canadian Jewish history.

This issue is our beginning.

J. V. P.

“And You Shall Tell It To Your Children”

VICTOR SEFTON

Résumé

Le président Victor Sefton souligne l'importance de la nécessité de l'établissement de l'Histoire des Juifs au Canada. “Nous avons besoin de savoir qui nous sommes et pourquoi nous sommes ce que nous sommes”, mais il est capital que notre témoignage serve à nos enfants, afin qu'ils comprennent que la réponse à nos problèmes se trouve depuis toujours dans notre religion et dans notre culture — Voilà la source de notre identité.

Canadian Jewish history is a function of Jewish life and also a function of the Canadian experience. It is obviously a function also of many other factors, and no doubt they will be exposed and described in this first issue of the *Journal*, and in subsequent issues.

It seems to me that we may look at Canadian Jewish history on many levels, and in many time frames. The first Jewish visitor to the Canadian territorial entity is significant for us, as is the most recent. The attitudes and backgrounds of early Jewish settlers are as important as those of the Jews who came later, and no less important are the attitudes and backgrounds of those who never came at all, but left their mark, intellectually and emotionally, on those who did come.

The geography and the climate, the Indians and the original immigrants from France and from other civilizations have their place in the saga of Jewish life in Canada. And through Canadian Jews, they have influenced more remotely, those in other places who have been influenced by the Canadian Jewish story.

History tends to become what someone who was not there at the time deduces from often minimal evidence. We read sweeping generalizations enshrined as historical verities, and quoted and repeated for generations, so that those who do learn from history come to the wrong conclusions based on inaccurate deductions, and then make decisions based on unsatisfactory conclusions. One has only to consider the 19th century writings of the German schools of Biblical scholarship, by Wellhausen and others, written in all sincerity and based on scholarly research of the Bible, and their effect on the relationship between Christians and Jews, as an il-

lustration of this unsatisfactory situation. It is only in the last fifty years or so, especially in the last twenty-five years, that excavations in the lands of the Bible have clearly demonstrated the inaccuracies of many of these deductions and conclusions by these 19th century scholars.

It will be seen, therefore, that it is necessary for history to be written as accurately as possible and especially to reflect as accurately as possible the facts and the circumstances, the attitudes and philosophies that actually existed around the events and the times being described.

However well trained, and however critical our historians are, and however careful in writing, it is obviously essential to begin with information and records in sufficient quantity and authenticity. It is in this area that all of us have a very important part to play.

Despite the fact that each of us has a personal history to tell, its telling is subject to the human frailties of forgetfulness and bias, and inability to understand the importance of individual events and attitudes currently held, or held at the time. Nevertheless, it is fundamentally important for the historian to have available to him as many personal stories as possible, properly recorded, so that he can obtain a reliable picture from "people who were there" even if some of their accounts are subjective, inaccurate or in some particulars, unreliable.

The sum total of Canadian Jewish history includes a significant component of individual histories, and these are largely untapped. The story of the peddler, of the survivor of the recent holocaust, and of earlier holocausts, the early professionals, and of the first union organizer; of all these and of their brilliant children, and of their hippy children; all are the stuff of which history is written.

It is reasonable to ask why we should be writing the history of the Canadian Jewish experience. Many reasons come to mind. For us as Jews many of the reasons spring from a very simple requirement, which may be expressed simply by saying: "We need to know who we are, and why we are what we are" and it is perhaps very much more important that our children should know. It is also necessary for our neighbours to know.

It may be, that if we know, and our children know, then we will have come back full circle to the imperatives laid down for us in our sacred documents, Ve-Higadtah Levinchah (And you shall tell it to your children). And we shall once more find that our religion and our culture have had the answers to our problems all the time . . . if only we had taken the trouble to listen.

The Political Consequences of The Jewish School Question, Montreal, 1925-1933*

DAVID ROME

*A fuller treatment of the subject appears in *Canadian Jewish Archives New Series*, Number 3, "On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1903-1931". Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress National Archives, 1975.

The sources for this study are listed in "Inventory of Documents on the Jewish School Question 1903-1932" in *Canadian Jewish Archives*, Number 2, 1975.

Résumé

Monsieur David Rome s'interroge sur les conséquences politiques de la question des écoles Juives de Montréal (1925-33). Faisant remonter le problème à l'établissement de la constitution, David Rome passe en revue l'histoire de la question en soulignant que l'origine du problème réside en la division arbitraire: Écoles catholiques vs Écoles non-catholiques (C'est-à-dire protestantes). Ainsi le manque de vision des chefs de l'époque (et cela inclut certains leaders de la communauté juive) finit par refouler les enfants juifs dans les écoles protestantes, avec les problèmes que cela peut impliquer . . .

Ainsi l'antisémitisme Anglo-Saxon se manifesta d'une manière explicite quand les Juifs tentèrent de faire partie de l'administration de l'enseignement. Puis le succès des écoles juives privées contribua au déclin des assimilationnistes. Mais au-delà des complexités historiques, une structure semble s'affirmer: le préjugé Chrétien.

L'opinion du 'Comité catholique' est un exemple de cette manière de penser: notre état a été fondé par des Chrétiens pour des Chrétiens; il est donc normal que ceux qui ne font pas partie de notre groupe religieux n'obtiennent pas nos privilèges. Cette attitude typiquement 'catholique de droite' finit par expliquer le manque de sympathie que les Juifs ont pour les nationalistes québécois ainsi que leur association avec les libéraux. La question des écoles juives peut alors se lire comme un signe politique.

On the assumption that the broad outline of the Jewish school question in Montreal in the 1920's and early 1930's is familiar to readers of Canadian Jewish history, it is interesting to summarize the political consequence of these developments.

It is rather striking that that issue — in its nature not particularly

central or of great scope — should have become so far-reaching in its consequences.

The seeds for this issue were planted in the confederation debate, when the Quebec educational system was founded in the Canadian constitution. When the existing rights of Catholics and Protestants were guaranteed, the place of Jews and other non-Catholics was not. How did it happen?

If the fathers of Confederation overlooked this in 1867 as a minor matter, how did it happen that the Jews of Montreal disregarded their interest in the central and decisive debate of the age?

It is not that there were no Jews in Canada at the time. There were nearly 1,300 of them in the country in 1867, twelve times as many as in 1832 when legislation was passed in Lower Canada giving them political equality with members of other faiths and three times as many as in 1857 when similar legislation was passed in the broader assembly of the United Province of Upper and Lower Canada. They had three congregations established by colonial charter, (two were in Montreal, one in Hamilton and there was a Victoria Congregation chartered under B.C. law in 1864).

The Jewish community was an old Canadian community with a longstanding awareness of constitutional rights and of the need for them. In the days of Benjamin Hart and even of his brothers Ezekiel and Moses, and of his nephew Samuel Becancour — there never could have occurred a lapse of determined assertion of full status. When, by 1846, Montreal found itself in a position different from 1829, the community sought a restatement of the position of the Spanish Congregation and an affirmation of the not yet fully-formed Congregation of English, German and Polish Jews, later the Shaar Hashomayim.

But this did not occur in 1867, possibly just because these Harts were no longer on the scene. In fact, leadership in the community was undergoing a brief crisis of transition. The 1850's and 1860's followed the peak years of the Harts — exemplified by Benjamin who left the scene after the Rebellion Losses Bill which he opposed so violently.

The name of Dr. Abraham de Sola springs to mind in a review of the successive leadership within the Jewish community, but it fades when we examine closely the implicit conditions of his long tenure, even after his marriage into the Joseph family.

Twice he nearly failed to be reappointed to his pulpit within a decade of his arrival in Canada and ever since, he remained meticulously at a distance from public concerns. The distinguished ambassador of Jewry, with

his broad concerns, ritual and cultural, did not include Canadian affairs in the periphery of his studies. That was left to the lay membership of the congregation.

By 1867, the early Lithuanian immigrants exemplified by the Cohens and Vinebergs and Jacobs families had not yet come to Montreal from their early years in eastern Ontario.

So it happened that the Jewish children automatically came to attend the English-language schools run by the Protestants without these pupils being assured of any status or the protection of law. Nor did the schools, on the other hand, have any settled instrument for the continuity of the linguistic or cultural tradition of these non-Christian children, or a clear delineation of their powers or resources in educating these children. It was never clear — indeed, not even to this day — which children they could, or had to accept.

The story of these schools, therefore, has been a century of unrest, and the story of the Jewish children has been equally restless. When the account of the other decades are detailed, the 1920's will not be exceptional.

It is a story with some stability and good will and respect. Indeed, within this history there are cases of Jewish schooling maintained by public funds. We might recall that fine moment in 1903 when the Protestants were unhappy to win their court case against young Pinsler. They moved of their own free will to have Jewish rights enacted so that there might never be another Pinsler case.

But time moved on and a quarter of a century later, crisis, anger and legal action, sprang from issues concerning the schooling of a number of Jewish children residing in parts of the city of Montreal.

Those outside the shifting ghetto were not affected; curriculum was not in question; taxation was not in question; religious instruction and proselytism were not involved; the constitutional status of the school boards or governmental organization were not involved; employment of Jewish teachers was not involved. The Protestants became suspicious of the Jews' political intentions in seeking seats in the educational structure, and of the ultimate cultural intentions and influences of the Jewish sectors on the Anglo-Saxon environment. A society that has been traditionally reserved in expression suddenly became vocally anti-Semitic. In these processes the integrationalist utopia that many Jews and Protestants had seen as an attainable objective suddenly evaporated.

The naming at the proper moment of a liaison representative of Jews to maintain communications with the Protestants might have defused the is-

sue.

This did not happen for reasons largely psychological. There were fears in the air, all about. These proved self-fulfilling, even though experienced leaders on all sides warned of the consequences. In this sense the heroes without a following proved to be the Honourable Alexandre Taschereau, Premier of Quebec, on the government side, Henri Bourassa in the Catholic Church, H. Marler among the Protestants. They did not prevail, and events took their course.

Within the Jewish community, the consequence was a conflict of ideologies that has not quieted during the scores of years since. The school question is still unsettled in the Jewish community, and it is still impossible to discuss it coolly, without strong prejudgmental emotions. There are still powerful tensions within the community in regard to the positions which Jews ought to occupy in the public education sector.

The decade of conflict between Jews and Protestants brought to the surface a grave bitterness. Many Jews came to feel that their children, as pupils, and that they, as citizens, were not welcome — and were not becoming more welcome with the passage of time — in the schools, in the administrative bodies, or in the total society which the schools represented.

Among the several consequences of the battle of those years was the establishment of the Jewish day schools. Their success has revolutionized the attitude of the Jewish community towards all Jewish education, notably towards the school system. The success of the parochial schools won respect for the values taught in these schools and helped to achieve dignity and an equality of status for the totality of Jewish culture in circles where intense Judaism had been identical with the very term “enthusiasm” in the eighteenth century. This has been particularly significant in circles which were called assimilationists by their opponents and were praised as Canadian-integrated by their friends. That contributed considerably to the factual disappearance of the assimilationist philosophy in Canadian Jewry, though other factors such as the catastrophe of Hitlerism and the later emergence of the State of Israel, were much more influential.

At first, the Catholic concern was shared with the Protestants; that nothing occur in the course of the dealings in regard to Jews that might affect the basic constitutional structure of Quebec education, the confessional system, and the rights and authority of the Catholic community and of the hierarchy.

But in the course of the discussions, an important tendency in con-

stitutional philosophy developed in the Catholic Committee. Members of the Committee began to stress that the Canadian constitution was Christian; that confessional and Christian rights are embedded in the constitution and should be confirmed in law; and that residents who are not Christian do not, in law, have the rights of Christians either as individual citizens or as groups. This was reiterated at Catholic Committee meetings, in such journals as the *Devoir*, in the *Revue du droit* and even in the opinions of the judges.

This stand — certainly it cannot be called friendly to the Jewish community or conducive to world citizenship or to a deeper concern for the welfare of fellow-humans — contributed to the near-catastrophic consequences of the positions taken soon after by Episcopal members of the Catholic Committee.

The failure of sympathy by disdainful Protestants and by hostile Catholics left the liberals alone in seeking a solution. They seemed genuinely interested in finding an answer that would satisfy all contestants, and were finding none, not even a unified Jewish community. The Jewish politicians, Peter Bercovitch and Joseph Cohen, spoke for no particular resolution of the issues, attempting as they did to be all things to all men — to their political partisan chieftains, to the rich men of their community and to the poor of the down-town voters who elected them.

Premier Taschereau found himself forced to the solution to which the Privy Council opened the door, but which did not have even the support of the Jews to whom he was closest. But he did find the Jewish panel a just solution which Protestant leaders had often agreed to, which would fulfill broad Jewish aspirations and which, after much amendment, was acceptable to the hierarchy.

Above all, he backed Henri Bourassa who spoke on this question as a Catholic: the separate Jewish panel was the only solution that protected Catholic interests. It took the Jewish pupils — their numbers, their vigor, their influence, their taxes, their political coloration out of the Protestant universe. It would enable the Protestant network to remain fully Protestant and Christian. It would ensure that Jewish schools would be fully Jewish, and therefore religious, well under governmental, and even churchly control. It would prevent the Protestant school system from becoming a virtually neutral system. For, in the presence of a neutral school system, no Christian or religious system could survive as a parallel network.

The price was to be recognition of the Jews as a group and Judaism as a

religion. Bourassa did not consider it an excessive price. It was a simple and a positive statement of a fact he was prepared to reiterate on any occasion. Bourassa had a right to speak up. As one of the most potent political figures in the nation, a great orator, a magic personality, founder and director of the *Devoir*, a member of the premier aristocratic family of French Canada, an earnest communicant of the Catholic Church, a man of piety and devotion known to the Pope, an ultramontanist and profound supporter of the Catholic position on the world arena—Bourassa the layman could credibly speak for Christian interests with an authority near that of cardinal and archbishop. Taschereau could be comforted by Bourassa's support.

It could not have been easy for the premier to guess that this issue would become the touchstone of Bourassa's career as well as his own, that the leaders of the church would so forcefully disavow both him and Bourassa. It was a remarkable failure of communication that became a fateful landmark in the history of Quebec.

It was a crucial element — certainly not the sole cause of the downfall of Taschereau's long career as leader of the province and in the introduction of a new primitivism in Quebec politics during the decades that followed.

In the partisan arena, the Conservative opposition was silent. It was a problem of the utmost delicacy and they had no alternative solution, so Taschereau had the bill passed.

Immediately the storm broke.

It is unclear whether the government had the complete consent of the churchmen to each clause of the measure as it finally passed. In any case, Taschereau was immediately attacked by the hierarchy, with the unanimous consent of all the bishops.

Presumably, because the issue was, in point of fact, confined to part of the Island of Montreal, Bishop Georges Gauthier spoke out loudest. There was all the more weight behind his words for the circumstances that he was not by character an aggressive battler in public issues, but usually a man of great reserve and of guarded speech. On this issue some of his terms and actions are surprising to readers of his record and they bespeak an explosion against a defenseless group by a man who may long have restrained expression on matters that troubled him.

His attack on the bill took several forms, each of which had far-reaching consequences. There was his very formal statement, "his sermon from the mount" (from Mount Royal), where he unleashed an attack on

the Jews in which he specifically destroyed, in the province at least, for many crucial years, the recognition that the Jewish people were a persecuted people; that their very physical safety and security depended upon the humane understanding and the support of people of good will; that Canadians were called upon by elemental conscience not to join the persecutors.

All this, Mgr. Gauthier dismissed with a phrase: Jews are already surrounded with sympathy.

With this one pregnant phrase, the archbishop administering the archdiocese of the Ecclesiastical Province of Montreal, silenced the conscience of Christians who were — or might become — aware of Jewish suffering in contemporary Europe.

The remarkable statement was echoed in April, 1933 by an extraordinary public meeting scarcely paralleled anywhere in the free world. After a protest meeting against the German atrocities, a counter protest was sponsored by a very important French-Canadian nationalistic group, les Jeune Canada, against those who had joined the Jews in this humane expression. Important thinkers in the province took part in this counter protest, and the *Devoir* supported them. Chanoine Groulx gave his considered support to these anti-Jewish protestors. Under a *nom de plume* he utilized more violent comments than the vaguer views with which he signed his own name.

In the years that followed, condemnation of Hitler's horrors against the Jews was quite scarce in Quebec. The monsignor's clarion call against the Jewish schools was not an indirect manipulation of influence through personal contact. This was power directly versus power.

The organ of expression which the church chose for this combat was *Action Catholique*, the important Quebec City daily that had been established as the authoritative, and nearly official, voice of the ancient archdiocese of the provincial capital.

It was here that the major lines of the issue were drawn, and by the same influential and literate journalists who had made that paper one of the most consistent and unrelieved anti-Semitic periodicals of the world. Gauthier's warning against too great a sympathy for the Jews needs to be taken in context with the network of anti-Jewish myths — in relation to immigration, freemasonry, communism, Zionism, exploitation, anti-Catholicism, atheism, *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, public welfare, the cinema, fashion, liberalism, compulsory education, Sunday observance and a score of other emotional issues developed in Quebec long before Hitler borrowed them for his parallel purposes.

The other medium of expression which attacked the government on this score was the Arcand's Menard press: not even the *Devoir* (also a member of *la bonne presse* club), not *La Presse* not *La Patrie*, not even *Le Droit*.

This was more than a publicity relationship. Arcand repeatedly said that it was on the invitation of the archbishop that he entered the campaign. This was his introduction to the political aspects of the "Jewish question".

We have here ecclesiastical action and responsibility for the creation of a major anti-Semitic political program. Some seven years later, when it became clear that this fascism of "the defender of the faith" was also dangerously anti-Catholic, the church issued a warning to its leaders and communicants to be wary of it. But this was dangerously late.

Taschereau became aware of the nature of this new attack from a new source. He was being opposed not by the traditional opposition but by a new, extra parliamentary force. The veteran politician knew he could not fight it, nor could he retreat. He therefore took advantage of a clause in his own law, inserted originally for other purposes, to leave the door open for those Jews who were cool to separate schools and who continued to hope for an accommodation with the Protestant authorities. The act permitted the Jewish commission to negotiate with the Protestants to this end. Now Taschereau put strong pressure upon the Jews — and presumably also on the Protestants — to reach an agreement which would obviate the need for separate Jewish schools. It was a most intense pressure. Dr. Max Wiseman told of it later. Even an activist like Michael Garber who had led the battle for separate schools was now forced to succumb, even though this left him open to charges of betrayal.

The general public could not be admitted to the workings of the political mechanism. It was puzzled by the commission's inexplicable rejection of the program which it was empowered to follow. The tensions remained for a long time; the long dramatic story of the separate Jewish panel idea came to an end.

This was the first parliamentary and legislative victory in many years for a group of Quebec Catholics who had in the past fought — and lost — against compulsory education, free text books, public charities, the cinema and a long other series of innovations which they saw as emanating from freemasonry and sometimes from Jewry. This group now became a victorious political force with a program all its own on Quebec matters, on Canadian constitutionalism, and on national and external af-

fairs.

Its immediate opponent had been the entrenched Taschereau Liberal government which had dared to defy it on the Jewish school question. The relation between church and state was coming to an end and Taschereau's days were numbered. Its successor was not the Conservative Party. It had not fought the Jews on the school issue. In fact, this was the end of the Conservative Party in Quebec, which was affiliated with the National Conservative Party.

That party in Ottawa had more than flirted with the new force, and had even raised moneys for Arcand, but it soon thought better of it and abruptly withdrew this support, forcing the sudden closing down of Arcand's newspaper for a time.

The stunning victory over the school issue encouraged Arcand to move from the journalistic to the political arena. He expended this campaign with the same instruments of annihilation, anti-Semitism and reaction — always claiming to defend faith and church — into political partnership. This was the beginning of militant Quebec fascism, the only substantial form of this black force in Canadian history.

Without detailing the history of this complex movement here, it may be noted that as Arcand entered more seriously on the political arena, he was faced with important rivals in anti-Semitism such as the group of *La Nation* which divided the extreme right in the province and in their internecine struggle unmasked the underlying weaknesses in each section. Even more important, as their loyalty to fascist ideas came to be clearer, the weakness of their religious, Catholic adherence became more obvious, to the point where the church, after dangerous years of consideration, warned its communicants about certain irreligious elements in Arcand's teachings.

In the meantime, Arcand's intense anti-Semitism, anti-liberalism and anti-democracy were injected into the political thinking of Quebec in ferment. They became the underlying premise of movements for whom *Action Nationale* and the *Devoir* spoke, often for the advancement of much more respectable causes than race hatred. It is one of the regrettable facts of Canadian history that many phases of Quebec's social, cultural and political development — including separatist tendencies — was furthered in a climate where Arcand's racism was also accepted. It is a series of strains and confusions which has not yet been completely clarified and purged.

The most authoritative *Semaine religieuse de Quebec* became but little

distinguishable from the *Goglu*. Bourassa was ejected from the *Devoir* he had founded and had turned into a great Canadian institution.

The anti-racist nationalism of Bourassa succumbed to the anti-Semitic nationalism of Abbé Lionel Groulx, with all the consequences to later development of Quebec and of Canada.

The anti-Jewish campaign that burst out at this time in Quebec — from politicians, from churchmen, from the “good press” and from all and sundry — and its importance to Canadian history has not yet been fully evaluated. In a score of ways this anti-Jewish campaign was related to the Jewish schooling issue.

This is history broader than that of Arcand’s Parti National Social Chrétien. He had hoped to mobilize Houde and Duplessis into his team. But they proved too astute to become his lackeys. Each became a great Quebec force in his own right, less vicious than Arcand would have wanted. But Houde was sufficiently Hitlerite to win a cot near Arcand in the internment camp for dangerous anti-Canadians when the test of war came, and Duplessis’ record of reaction and anti-Semitism needs no elaboration.

One of the most tragic immediate results of the political power of the anti-Semites which had been demonstrated in the school issue was the actual loss of Jewish lives brutally refused refuge by the Canadian government during the years when the pogromists and the concentration camps were becoming more and more openly a phenomenon of the century. In any integrated survey of Canadian history, the role of Canada in the era of the Holocaust must become even more central in a view of our character, our leadership, our ethic, our place in world affairs.

In this basic overview of our country during the last half century the record is brutal. The unrelieved pressure mobilized and orchestrated by the victors of the school question is documented by the hundreds of petitions from Quebec sent to Ottawa protesting the admission of even a single Jewish refugee fleeing from Hitler. They are nearly all formulated in the myth terminology of Arcand’s *Patriote*. Among the signatories are the organizations who are always dutifully echoing Menard and the German propagandists. The City Council of Montreal joined them enthusiastically to make certain that the passengers of the *St. Louis* found no refuge in Canada. In other parts of Canada the objection was more often on the basis of current unemployment and economic conditions, and it was more often anti-immigration rather than anti-refugee.

The imagery of the Jews conveyed so successfully in the campaign

about the school question became deeply rooted in the thinking and in the articulation of that nationalistic church-led portion of French Canada. It generalized from *Semaine religieuse* de Quebec to the *Devoir* (never to the circles of *La Presse*) and eventually came to complicate the thinking of this society decades later when their country was at war with Germany.

During the terrible Hitler years that immediately followed the Jewish school crisis there was strong continuity of anti-Semitism in the many issues that arose to divide the Jews from other Canadians.

One of these was the Sunday question which had been dormant for a quarter of a century. Now the victors of the battle against the Jewish schools seized the time to attack what they chose to call another Jewish privilege, namely the legislation which permitted the Jew, who observed Saturday as a day of repose, to work on Sunday under certain conditions. When victory came, the Lique triumphantly pointed out the potential of further social action by similar means.

This marked the beginning of a new political orientation by the churchmen and a new chapter in church and state relations, at a time when Arcand was formally a campaign director of Duplessis' party.

To readers of Canadian history who take into consideration the minor, but revealing Jewish motif, what seems remarkable during these several decades is the almost unprecedented unanimity of churchmen in relation to both political matters, to the Jewish citizenry of the country, and to the fact — and problems — of Jewish existence.

Unlike the situation in many other countries, even in Germany, there was no Catholic dissent from anti-Semitism; there was no Quebec condemnation of Nazism; there was no Quebec plea for the threatened, for the attacked or for the tortured of Dachau. There were no Sisters or Fathers of Notre Dame de Sion to relate love of the Christ figure with love of his people in the flesh.

Concepts that underlay the intense school campaign and the Sunday observance measure were also influential in strengthening the world view of French Canada, now invigorated by the political and social necessities on the political front even during the last years of the Liberal government. The anti-Jewish myths basic to these campaigns conformed to political and social movements in Europe, which, each in its region, were vigorously warring on the Jewish position.

Unfortunately, all these trends fitted too neatly with other socio-philosophical conceptions that were accepted and promoted by this French-Canadian society. The result: a strong anti-equalitarian and pro-

fascist orientation which was not at all restrained by the political philosophy which animated the Anglo-Saxon world and was undoubtedly at the root of Canadian democracy.

The one restraining element that was strongly operative came from the ethical-religious convictions of the activists of anti-Jewish action. Constantly we read in their own writings the reserve that justice must be done to all concerned. They truly did not see the inconsistency between their world conceptions of morality and their political alignments and programs at this time.

By the same token, they abhorred violence in any form and on any occasion. If only by omission of any call to direct action they ensured that the disdain they promulgated and the attacks on the status and the rights of Jews were not accompanied, as they were in Europe, by physical attacks on the persons or the property of Jews. (The nearest to a threat of direct citizen's action by this sector of society emanated from Abbé Groulx, under a nom de plume, and the object of his anger was the immorality being disseminated on the film screens of Quebec.)

These victories over tolerance of non-Catholics in this Quebec society destroyed the moderates who sought a secure place for others in Quebec society. One searches in vain in the copious "messianic" literature of the French-Canadian nationalism of this period for a just or a justified place even for English Canadians, let alone Jews, in the French Canada of the future.

Xenophobia became not a fear but an aggressive, violent force in the native political ideology of the province. The Island of Quebec was not even near other Canadian or western worlds. There is scarcely a nationalistic thinker after 1920, from Groulx onward, who did not express himself anti-Semiticly. At best, (as in the later thirties) the attacks are rarer or even absent. An example of nearly benevolent silence on the so-called Jewish question may be seen in *Action Nationale* after its first frenetic years of the decade. One nationalist spokesman who protested anti-Semitism, possibly the only one, was Guy Fregault.

In such a climate in the province, and in the world, it was not expected that Jews in Quebec should sympathize with the nationalism of their French-Canadian neighbours. The results were a further consolidation of their links with the Liberal Party and a further breach with the local provincial political parties such as Duplessis'—later those such as the Bloc and Credit Sociale—and from the separatist groups of various tints.

The phenomenon was not only political. It was an arresting of the process of acculturation, of the adoption by younger Quebec Jews of the culture and language of the Quebec in which they were residing, in which more and more of them were being born. Suffered to continue, it would have resulted in deeper solitudes, in higher walls.

As an indication — not a proof — of the clerical factor in this development and in this condition, this phenomenon may be seen in the succeeding decade, when, in the course of events, the clerical influence became less in Quebec political thinking and simultaneously the bars against Jews in the nationalistic circles were lowered. Now we find a nationalism and a separatism which is not anti-Semitic, which has Jews in its ranks at several levels, and which openly invites Jewish participation in its struggle for the independence still being fought for. We find Jewish participation in French literature and even in the civil service.

The consequences of the school issue of the 1920's were dissipated by the phenomenon of the Quiet Revolution.

We may note that Professor Guy Fregault was, more than symbolically, a deputy minister of that revolutionary government.

These latter phenomena were not to come until Hitler's total defeat. As long as the fascist expansionist idea had a hope somewhere in Europe, somewhere in Canadian hearts, which anticipated another outcome from the conflict of ideologies, there was unanimity about Jews in the outspoken Catholic and patriotic spheres of the province. This homogeneity may have been efficacious at the time. But when, in the course of time, the political regime fell, as it must in every democratic society, the anti-Duplessis' reversal brought in its train the reversal of all the consequences that flowed from — or were caused by — the crisis of the Jewish school question.

Thoughts On French And Catholic Anti-Semitism

CORNELIUS J. JAENEN

Résumé

Le but de cet article est de commenter brièvement les points de vue soulignés dans deux articles présentés pendant la réunion de l'Association Historique Canadienne et de la Société Historique des Juifs Canadiens.

Dans le premier article on fait relever l'importance de connaître à fond les relations entre la France et le Québec avant d'essayer d'interpréter la position des Canadiens-Français vis-à-vis des Juifs dans la province de Québec. Il semble, en effet, que les Canadiens-Français étaient opposés à tout ce qui venait de l'extérieur du Québec. D'autre part on fait relever aussi la position prise par les Juifs pour ce qui concerne les catholiques de la région et le désir de la part des Juifs de s'identifier davantage à l'élite anglophone.

Dans l'autre article il s'agit du développement de la question scolaire et de l'importance de l'interaction entre Catholiques et Protestants pour empêcher l'épanouissement des droits des Juifs.

L'investigation historique du rôle joué par les Juifs au Canada doit ainsi être conduite sur une base très rigoureuse et très scientifique. Il en suit que l'historien a encore beaucoup à découvrir.

The purpose of this paper is to comment briefly on interpretations and viewpoints advanced by Michael Brown* in "France, the Catholic Church, French Canadians and Jews before 1914" and by David Rome in "The Political Consequences of the Jewish School Question." These papers were read at a joint session of the Canadian Historical Association and the Jewish Historical Society of Canada held at Laval University in June 1976. Although one paper was more general in its purview and tended to consider the French influence more than the Canadian, while the other focused on the Jewish School Question on the island of Montreal in the 1920's, there were sufficient common elements to justify considering them together.

*We regret that Dr. Michael Brown's paper was not available for publication.

Professor Brown's thesis may be reduced to the affirmation that France since the Revolution has been generally unfriendly, not to say outrightly hostile, to the Jews, while French Canada has been even less friendly and more overtly anti-Semitic. Catholicism is seen as a key factor in both cases. Mr. Rome's paper, on the other hand, takes a specific social issue — the Jewish School question on the island of Montreal in the 1920's— to demonstrate deep-seated anti-Semitism, especially in the Catholic School Commission and the Catholic hierarchy. It provides an excellent introduction to the very complex Jewish school question. But the interesting hypothesis that the school question had an important impact on the political future of the Taschereau government is never adequately documented or fully developed. Both papers are alike insofar as they do not convincingly document the precise role and responsibility of Catholic thought and Catholic leadership in the events they review.

The attempt to link and to find common origins for the anti-Semitism of post-Revolutionary France and of Quebec is a challenging approach. To sustain such an interpretation, evidence is required that all which passes for anti-Semitism is necessarily *only* anti-Semitism and not part of a much broader xenophobia or ethnocentrism. It may not be difficult to document that republican France and ultramontane Quebec were particularly inhospitable milieux for the Jewish communities in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but such "proof" does not of itself confirm that the *manque d'accueil*, suspicion, isolation, and subtle discrimination were attributable, in the main, to a culture which was marked by its Frenchness and Catholicism. In fact, France and Quebec were remarkably different francophone cultures at the time.

It is necessary to know what the precise relationships between France and Quebec were in the 19th century and early 20th century, how these evolved or developed in very different Western European and North American contexts, and how these may have provided a common bond of anti-Semitism. Were there direct political, religious and cultural ties between the Canadian province and modern France which would nourish a common view and policy vis-à-vis the Jewish minority? The fact that both communities demonstrated no particular enthusiasm for Jews does not in itself constitute evidence that they did so in concert, much less for necessarily the same reasons. Perhaps the difficulties Jews experienced at Trois Rivières or Montreal in the mid-19th century were more closely linked to the problems their community faced in Vancouver Island at the time!

Secondly, it is necessary to obtain evidence that the Jewish community in Montreal maintained close contact with the community in France. Was there any significant sense of a universal francophone Jewish community? It is important to know how the Jewish community in Montreal saw itself and how it saw French Canada because its own world view could be the major factor in accounting for its experience in Quebec. Did the problems confronting the small Jewish community in France — the Dreyfus case, for example — have direct repercussions in Quebec? Professor Brown demonstrated that *La Presse* and *La Patrie* propagated an anti-Dreyfusard attitude. Nevertheless, it is important to distinguish between causative factors and what were simply reinforcing elements in the exercise of that, might be described as Québécois going on believing what they wanted to believe. Furthermore, I am not convinced that there is much direct relationship between attitudes in France and in Quebec, at least in a direct and causative sense. Problems in Quebec, such as the school question, did not have their roots in France. It is necessary to work out clearly the relationship between French anti-Semitism and French-Canadian anti-Semitism. If most French Canadians mistrusted France for its republicanism and anti-clericalism then it is difficult to assume a community of ideas in the francophone world.

Thirdly, is it correct to regard the Catholic component of the French Canadian ethno-cultural community or “nation” as the causative factor in anti-Semitism? French Canadians were equally unreceptive to francophone Protestants. Also, did not francophone Catholic immigrants, not to speak of anglophone Irish Catholics, find that French Canada was virtually a closed society into which integration was exceedingly difficult? In other words, there existed a certain xenophobia, or *nationalisme* bordering on racism in 19th century Quebec which was reinforced by Ultramontane Catholicism. It is by no means established that this xenophobia had a preliminary anti-Jewish impetus. French Jews were regarded in much the same light as were French Protestants, French freethinkers, and even the majority of European francophone Catholics. I have come across more than one directive that warned Québécois of the dangers implicit in European francophone immigration.

Fourthly, one must ask how virulent was Jewish anti-Catholicism? While it is possible to place incidents end-to-end, so to speak, to create a continuing current of anti-Semitism in Quebec, it is also possible to create or identify an undercurrent of anti-Catholicism in the Jewish community. The papers presented at the joint session have elements of interpretation

which might be construed as being in such a tradition. The pilgrimage literature, for example, which Professor Brown utilizes to illustrate his hypothesis can be interpreted otherwise than as anti-Semitic in motivation. The few passages which might be construed as being anti-Semitic are no more frequent or virulent than are passages which are anti-Protestant, anti-Orthodox, anti-Muslim, anti-freethinker, anti-non-practising Catholic. The pilgrimage literature reflects the prejudices, moral assumptions and values of its authors, but it was not written to promote anti-Semitism. The anti-Semitic element is so negligible as to pass unnoticed by most readers. It was meant to promote Catholic piety, and that is what it seems to have accomplished primarily. The Jewish community, with the memory of centuries of prejudicial discrimination and persecution in Europe, was sensitive to any attack, whatever the motivation for such negative statements. What does come through in Professor Brown's paper is the anti-Catholic stance of the Jewish community. Why should the anglophone Protestant community have been regarded by the francophone Jews as "closer" than the francophone host society? Perhaps this is an assumption about the Jewish community in the 1910's that reveals more about present-day interpretations and feelings than it does about the social climate of the second decade of this century in Montreal. There is evidence that the Protestants were no less anti-Semitic in Montreal, especially in the 1910's, than were the Catholics. Also, there is little evidence to suggest that at that time the Jewish and Protestant communities saw each other as minorities having a number of qualities in common.

Fifthly, there remains the crucial question concerning the effort on the part of the Jewish community to recognize the French character of Quebec. It is significant that English was employed in the Montreal-Paris correspondence of the Jewish Colonization Association. If there was more affinity felt for the anglophone community, one cannot assume, or take as proven, that this was largely because of French-Canadian anti-Semitism. Several other explanations are possible and these would each have to be documented and evaluated before arriving at any tentative conclusion. The influence of the Jewish anglophone community, which surpassed the Jewish francophone community in numbers, wealth, institutional strength and North American contacts, must be taken into account. In addition to the character or nature of North American Jewry, one must investigate the possibility of a conscious or subconscious desire to identify with the dominant élite in Montreal. Why was it easier to maintain the fran-

cophone character of the immigrant French community in New York than in Montreal, if indeed this was the case? Was it because there was more political interest in continental French affairs and because the “old country” French connection enjoyed more status in New York? It is suspected that these might have been important elements. If they were, then the whole argument of a French-Quebec connection, or common French front, is struck a rather severe blow.

Finally, the religious-based anti-Semitic strain in Western European culture should not be labelled as peculiarly or especially Catholic. It is, of course, historically true that Jews for centuries were condemned from Catholic pulpits as perverse, stubborn and ungrateful because they refused to admit the divinity of Jesus Christ, as bearers of a monstrous hereditary guilt for the murder of the Nazarene. An additional dimension of this conceptual framework must be considered. Eschatological tradition has associated the Jews with Anti-Christ himself. As early as the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era, theologians were predicting that Anti-Christ would be a Jew of the tribe of Dan, that he would be born at “Babylon”, grow up in Palestine, rebuild the Temple, and bring the Jews back together from their dispersion. This old prophecy became part of European folk-belief and its role in anti-Semitic sentiment is not limited to Catholics, much less to French Catholics. It is, unfortunately, very much part of the European Christian heritage shared by Poles, Russians, Germans, English and Spaniards and shared by Lutherans, Anabaptists, Anglicans, Calvinists and Catholics.

The issue of Jewish public schooling on the island of Montreal, when seen in the ferment of francophone America, becomes more understandable. The Jewish community shared with the Quebec Catholic community a respect for learning and a conviction that education should be religiously-oriented. But there, the common ground may have ended, as Professor Rome’s paper suggests. The Education Acts of 1841 and 1846 had established the dual confessional system and the British North America Act (especially clause 93 inserted at the insistence of the Protestant minority) merely undertook to guarantee what already existed. It was a typically Victorian concept of group rights, as opposed to a later concept of individual civil liberties, that found expression in the legislation of the period. The legal term “class of persons” could have included Jews if they had established their “denominational rights” prior to the “Union” of 1867. There is little doubt that the Jewish community lacked dynamic leadership, internal cohesion and unity at the time. Therefore the failure to

entrench its rights and privileges in the constitutional charter is historically understandable. A further complexity in the school question was the distinction between common schools and dissentient schools, with the cities of Montreal and Quebec each having two confessional school Commissions and hence no dissentient or minority schools. Only rural Quebec and smaller urban centres could have dissentient school Boards (syndics).

It was not until 1869 that the problem of taxation of non-Catholics and non-Protestants for school purposes was tackled. It was decided to establish a third or "neutral" panel. Legislation the following year made it clear that Jews could choose the panel to which they would pay their taxes and hence the school system their children would attend. Indeed, for a time a number of Jewish children attended the Catholic schools. However, as more children gravitated towards the Protestant system, grumblings arose there about the financial burden being placed on the Protestant community, special concessions that had to be made for Jewish children, and what was vaguely called the threat to the Christian character of the schools. The negative attitudes of many Protestants found expression in the school commission minutes, in the press, and even in sermons. In 1897, the Attorney-General warned that the Protestants were not obliged to accept Jewish children in their schools and he suggested that legally there was no obstacle to the establishment of a third public school system in the province of Quebec. The Jewish community seems to have been sharply divided on the wisdom of creating a third confessional public school system. The Protestants, on their part, were not entirely satisfied with the presence of a growing number of Jewish children in their schools. And it is precisely on this point that Professor Rome's paper must be read in the context of Protestant-Jewish relations, rather than in the context of Catholic-Jewish relations. The problems the Jewish community had with schools in the Montreal region resulted from the actions of the Protestant community and from the basic organizational system which the Protestants had insisted in 1867 should be constitutionally guaranteed and thereby perpetuated in the province. The most violent expressions of anti-Semitism during World War I will be found in the discussions of the Protestant School Commission and in the pages of the *Montreal Daily Herald* and the *Quebec Chronicle*. Protestants, at least since 1903, had been outspoken in their comments regarding curriculum, democratically-elected school boards, procedures for hiring and promoting teachers, etc. which Jewish parents raised as diplomatically as possible. There is no quarrel with the thesis that the Catholic community became very

implicated in the Jewish-Protestant dialogues, especially in the 1920's, and that certain attitudes vis-à-vis the Jewish community were fostered among French Canadians, notably in the Catholic hierarchy which in turn influenced its constituency. It is the comparative importance of Catholic opinion and Protestant lobbying which must be considered.

The role and influence of the Catholic hierarchy in the Jewish school question has not yet been clearly documented. To begin with, the question concerned Protestants much more than it did Catholics. Also, it still remains to be demonstrated how the school question directly and effectively conditioned later political developments in the province. The influence of Archbishop Gauthier in the question may be greatly exaggerated because there were other views expressed in the Catholic hierarchy — e.g. the position of Cardinal Rouleau must not be ignored. Precisely what the hierarchy spoke out against needs to be established; a blanket charge of anti-Semitism is rather unscholarly because an attack on what are perceived to be the rights of the established churches in education is not necessarily an attack on Jewish rights. Jewish school demands, Jewish political manoeuvres and Jewish educational philosophy might be attacked without attacking the Jewish community *per se* or even its rights to self-determination. Were Protestants and Catholics, in other words, more interested in protecting their own rights and privileges than in blocking Jewish *épanouissement*? Was the fundamental question not framed in terms of change, any change, undermining the entire educational system and its legal and constitutional underpinnings?

The link between the rightist movement of Adrien Arcand and the various anti-Semitic outbursts, including the school controversy, is an area of research deserving more investigation. It must not be imagined that the school controversy was the major issue, however, because the pattern of Jewish settlement in Montreal, its rapid growth in the 1920's, the myths surrounding Canadian Jews (e.g. their financial dominance), and the occupational profile of that community were important factors in promoting anti-Semitism. Jews may have been a scapegoat, as so often in their history, for the comparative economic lag of the French Canadian population in the development of its own province. Professor Rome's paper does attempt to bring together a number of concurrent issues and this global approach is most laudable. On the other hand, it creates as many problems of interpretation as it provides satisfactory explanations.

For example, the leap from generalizations about the Montreal school crisis to a provincial political and social arena is a very large one. There is

no doubt that increasing anti-Semitic feeling and organization, the exclusion of Jewish refugees, the enforcement of Sunday observance legislation and the school question were all linked in some way to each other and were part of a socio-cultural phenomenon. The essential task that the historian must undertake is to demonstrate how these components were related to each other. It is argued that the school controversy was at the origin of the other manifestations of what is sweepingly called (or implied to be) anti-Semitism; it can be argued that the school controversy was rendered more acrimonious because of these other issues which were brewing in the 1920's; it can be argued that they all had other common sources or origins, and so the historical hypothesis might be multiplied.

From these comments it may be concluded that historical investigation requires a very precise *problématique* at the outset, a scientifically rigorous methodology not just in research operation but especially in interpretation of the data in its global context, and a more tentative approach to conclusions than the general public expects of so-called experts. The two papers read at the joint session at Laval University made an important contribution to the study of minority rights in Canada. They dealt with subjects which many Canadians would prefer to gloss over, but which historians must be prepared to investigate methodically. Just as important, from the point of view of a professional association such as the Jewish Historical Society, is the willingness of the historian to accept the revelations of his evidence, even when some of his scholarly discoveries are not entirely reassuring to his own preconception or palatable to his reading public. It is a truism to say that we should beware of history that is painted in wide swaths of either black or white — there are many grey areas. Might it not be added that we need to examine also the kind of brush we are using?

Are Jews Of Quebec An Endangered Species?*

SAUL HAYES

Résumé

Saul Hayes se demande si depuis le 15 novembre 1976 les Juifs du Québec constituent un peuple en danger. Reprenant la suite des événements qui ont porté le Parti Québécois au pouvoir l'auteur souligne la double objection juive au nouveau régime: opposition directe à l'idée du séparatisme (très compréhensible pour ceux qui connaissent la perspective historique) et antagonisme envers un changement du libéralisme en socialisme. Saul Hayes se sert d'un certain nombre de parallèles historiques pour illustrer la complexité du problème. Ainsi bien que son étude s'appuie sur des statistiques sûres il finit par qualifier la situation de "très fluide". Aussi les conseils des intellectuels juifs ne doivent ni allarmer la communauté ni être trop optimistes. Il s'agit en somme d'être alerte et de ne pas devenir, comme dans d'autres situations historiques les victimes . . .

On November 15, 1976, the electorate of the Province of Quebec, Canada's second largest in population, spoke unequivocally from fishing village to mining areas, from small towns to large urban centres, and unmistakably turned away from the Liberal Party. It accepted the Parti Quebecois, a relative newcomer, and gave it 40% of the popular vote and 71 of the 110 seats comprising Quebec's Legislative Assembly. The polarization was at once evident. The victors received only a small percentage of the Anglophone votes but much to the surprise of many analysts triumphed overwhelmingly in the overall situation.

Rather oddly, the issue presented by the Liberal Party in justification of an election, which was the patriation of the constitution, was not brought up during the entire election period. Le Parti Quebecois, which submerged the issue of separatism, was attacked by its opponents on the issue it did not raise. The Liberals' strategy, which backfired, was evident throughout and the wisdom of the Parti Quebecois strategy was vindicated by the pre-electoral and post-electoral polls which indicated an anti-separatist attitude. Indeed, even the election results themselves showed a large majority opinion voting for federalist option apart from the analysis of what the Parti Quebecois voters themselves favoured, which was defeat of the Liberals and against separatism.

*This paper was originally presented to the Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, England.

The Jewish community of some 115,000 people, the largest in Canada, reside principally in Anglophone constituencies and are almost wholly against separatism, against the Parti Quebecois and afraid of radical social changes which it anticipates the Party will engender.

The Jewish community of Montreal being a very non-homogeneous people have one thing in common: anticipation of disaster. History has been unkind to them and the memory of abuse, degradation, pogroms lingers on.

Salo Baron several times characterized Jewish history as being lachrymose.

Now, at this juncture in Quebec's history where anti-Semitism is at a very low level, where the Jewish issue never appeared in pre-election slogans, in election rallies, etc., the community is not solaced. It fears the unknown to a greater degree than perhaps do other ethnic elements of the population. In company, however, with other Canadians it is apprehensive about the economic situation, the uncertainty of inflationary rises, the one-sidedness of our vital economy where prosperity depends wholly on the maximum success of a buoyant export market. When all of these ills coincide with the election of a party whose aims and objectives include separation, then the concatenation of all forces, even though many predate November 15, 1976 by a decade or more, makes Quebec Jews a very unhappy people.

To borrow a witticism, that though they know that every silver lining has a cloud, some clarity and precision will soon replace the murky atmosphere of guess work, imagination, emotional distress. Quebec is still a mighty civilized place.

Immediately before November 15, and certainly since, the Jewish community of Quebec (99.5% live in greater Montreal) lived up to Phillip Guedella's witty, if sad observation, that every morning Jews immediately feel their pulses.

While the initial excitement of post-November 15 excitement has somewhat abated, the mood can still be described as highly emotional, at times one of panic, and among groups whose provenance was Nazi-dominated Europe, fear-stricken and apprehensive that it can happen here!

But first, it is useful to describe some of the salient demographic composition of Quebec Jewry. It exists in a milieu where 25% of the over six million people are non-French Canadian. 65% are native born, circ. 75,000; 15,000 are victims of Nazi persecution; 9,000 are Yordim who left

Israel from 1960 and on; 12,000 are Francophones from the Mediterranean littoral — mainly Morocco; the remainder are from the United States of whom quite a number are academics and people in senior executive positions in industry. The aging population of those 65 years of age and over constitute 12% of the population though the comparable figures of the general population is assumed to be about 8%. 20% are at, or below, the poverty line, i.e., taking the accepted governmental figures of annual income of what constitutes poverty. There are many well-to-do citizens, including millionaires, and a great number in the professions. Immigration to Canada has declined in recent years. Statistics of emigration as a result of the November 15 election are difficult to estimate since emigration has always been a feature of Jewish (indeed, general) Quebec life, be it the brain-drain of intellectuals and doctors, dentists, or those who leave for the southern United States because of the harsh winter climate of Montreal or for various other reasons of which aliyah to Israel is by no means a significant factor. There has been, since the November election results, a flight of capital, which phenomenon the Jewish community shared in common with the French Canadian, Anglo-Celtic and other ethnic groups. There has also been among big business, mostly controlled by American and Quebec's Anglo-Celtic population, a cessation of normal business expansion which the Jewish entrepreneurs share. Some non-French Canadian businesses have shifted their plants to Ontario or New York State but it is difficult to assess how much of this is due to the rise of the Parti Quebecois, since it has been going on long before the Fall of 1976. Indeed, outside of Quebec, mainly Canadian businesses or new capital have migrated to the United States due to generally sluggish business activity in Canada.

One must be cautious, at this stage, of generalizations. One just does not know how many people are moving themselves, or their businesses, out of Quebec nor, of the ones known, what the motivations truly are.

While the Jewish facet of Quebec's troubled times is fastened on the issue of an imposition of French language and apprehension of troubles in the future because of the fear of a growing and more militant French Canadian nationalist movement, it is not out of place to review some history of the consistent lack of unity in Canada's political history. One can almost paraphrase Jeremiah's lament that there is no peace by encapsulating Canada's history as "unity, unity and there is no unity".

It is interesting to recall that apart from the rebellion of 1836-7 (in what is now Ontario) led by William Lyon Mackenzie, and that (in what is now

Quebec) led by Papineau, there have been other serious separatist movements. A very active movement for annexation to the United States was fostered mainly by Anglophone Montreal merchants in the middle of the last century. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick considered Confederation a disaster and the rumblings against it have not been entirely stilled with the passage of time. These are only of historic interest since the final quarter of the twentieth century in no way mirrors the nineteenth, but people should be reminded that the Canadian experience has not been one long passionate love affair interrupted only by the fretting complaints of French Canada.

In the climate of fear, the Jewish community forgets that all western industrial societies (yes, even Sweden) are facing tremendous tasks over some of which they have no control (e.g. the price of oil). It is also becoming increasingly clear that many of the future difficulties of Quebec — an increasingly aging population, an alarming emigration of the younger element (pre-dating calls for separatism), a declining birth rate, relatively low productivity, loss of a work ethos (noticeable also in many other societies), very poor worker-employer relationships, are not capable of being solved by decree. Nor would the results have been obviated by the defeat of the separatist party.

What will not disappear is the determination of a group of respected intellectuals and professionals to advocate that the management of these problems be programmed in an independent Quebec. No one should question the honesty of those who believe this nor those who are convinced it will worsen matters. The duty right now is to recognize the unequivocal mandate given to the Parti Quebecois to govern a province of Canada. Separatism is indeed a very serious issue of enormous magnitude but those who disbelieve in it and disfavour its aims will not defeat it by preventing the widely acclaimed “people’s choice” the chance to prove its worth as a Government.

The Jewish community leadership is certainly facing a difficult situation but certain postulates can be advanced.

1. Anti-Semitism has never been at a lower ebb and the Parti Quebecois leadership are for the most part a very civilized group with great intellectual attainments and standards of decency.

2. Quebec has a very advanced Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms.

Individual and minority human rights actually have been legislatively protected in Quebec since long before Confederation (1867). In 1975,

Quebec Human Rights legislation was codified and extended in the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms (Bill 50). In this Charter, the National Assembly affirmed in the preamble that "all human beings are equal in worth and dignity, and are entitled to equal protection of the law."

Article 10 provides that "Every person has a right to full and equal recognition and exercise of his human rights and freedoms, without distinction, exclusion or preference, based on race, colour, sex, civil status, religion, political convictions, language, ethnic or national origin or social conditions. Discrimination exists where such a distinction, exclusion or preference has the effect of nullifying or impairing such right."

As well, Article 43, "Persons belonging to ethnic minorities have a right to maintain and develop their own cultural interests with the other members of their group" which explicitly entrenches minority rights in Quebec. This Article of the Code provides collective rights alongside individual rights. However, history justifies cynics who assert that unless a community continuously respects law then what is given today may be removed tomorrow.

3. It is much too early to offer even an educated guess as to whether Quebec's separation from Canada is inevitable and if it be, the question immediately arises of the future for the Jewish community in an independent sovereign state. It is not Sinaitic revelation and there are no historical experiences to prove that Jews can live peacefully and prosperously only in Anglophone countries.

4. It is much too early to be certain at all of the future of the separatist movement. Jews are not alone in deploring its possibility as are — so far, the majority of French Canadians.

5. It is by no means a foregone conclusion that because the Parti Quebecois won an election that it will win the next one.

6. Experts disagree as to whether Quebec as a sovereign republic would be economically viable. It is hazardous to pursue this and to then ask even if it is an economically viable state whether the peculiar Jewish occupational classifications in which Jews find themselves will necessarily flourish. But this question worries many Jews and the individual answers to it will decide what individuals will do. The question may be premature but many members of the Jewish community are now both asking and replying to it.

7. Jews who are nationalists to the core find it difficult to deny French Canada its feelings for the retention of its culture and its dread of being

lost as a “nation”, i.e., in the French meaning of the term (common origin, common language, inhabiting the same territory).

Some of the principal issues facing the Jewish community, qua community, are presently confounded in an unreal atmosphere.

LANGUAGE

The Government has not yet pronounced itself on the language issue except in very general terms in which most Jews concur, i.e., French must be the language of official communications and of work. It is indeed presently the only official language of Quebec (however, some very respectable constitutional law experts believe this law is ultra vires Quebec’s power and if challenged could be so decided).

By the time the reader sees this article, the Quebec Government will have presented to the Legislative Assembly (Quebec’s Parliament) its views on language in a White Paper.

After the White Paper is presented it will invite the entire Quebec community to present views and oral, or written submissions. After briefs have been examined the law will be passed.

The Jewish community will present a brief through the Canadian Jewish Congress reminding the Government that the members of the Montreal Jewish community, except for the French, are the most bilingual section of the population. It will probably warn the Government that nevertheless, in general, the larger the business, the easier language changes are to effect; the smaller the business, the more difficult it becomes.

Consequently, the Government, in drafting its proposals regarding the language of business, should make this necessary distinction, and exempt small businesses from the necessity of making changes rapidly, especially in those cases where there would be little significant effect upon the ultimate goals of the Government.

SOCIAL SERVICE

The Montreal Jewish community fears that, consonant with the new Government’s priorities, diminution of services will affect all social agencies, non-Jewish, Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Greek, Ukrainian, Italian — in short, all.

AGING POPULATION

The most serious social problem facing the Jewish community is the disproportionate number of the elderly population. This has necessitated a major emphasis on community services to the aged — both preventive and institutional. Montreal Jews have developed major recreation and other

ambulatory services for the well aged, or comparatively well aged, but the critical problem is related to those who are chronically ill. In a previous report submitted to the Ministère des Affaires Sociales, the Allied Jewish Community Services referred to the hundreds of individuals who are awaiting admission to Maimonides Hospital and Home for the Aged, the largest community institution. In addition to the intensive medical and nursing care given at Maimonides, there is an urgent need for nursing home type services. The urgency of the need is indicated by the fact that the Montreal Jewish community is currently spending \$350,000.00 annually in purchasing services from private nursing homes. This situation would be relieved by using a centrally located former Veteran's hospital to unify services.

FOSTER RESIDENCES FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

As an alternative and a supplementary resource to the large apartment buildings, which require considerable time to build, there is great need for development and support of foster home accommodation for older people in private homes.

POVERTY

A study conducted for the community by the Allied Jewish Community Services in 1972 indicated that more than 15% of the Jewish population of Montreal lives below the poverty line. The report indicated a growing trend, which was validated by an independent study recently conducted by McGill University, which showed that there is now 20% of the Jewish population who are in the poverty cycle. (The Jewish population of Montreal comprises approximately 115,000 individuals.) The poor people are largely elderly and unattached individuals, or low income families, all of whom are having great difficulty in managing on their present resources. They require a variety of communal health and welfare services. (Data on Social Services derived largely from AJCS memorandum).

JEWISH EDUCATION

The prevalent universal doctrine in North America whether it be founded on Church and State philosophy, or a democratic order, is not to favour denominational or any private schools. Quebec Province because of a long and traditionally based educational system run by the clergy found it relatively easy without sacrificing democratic principles to pass legislation favouring private schooling by subventions out of school taxes.

There is very little church influence left and most, if not all, of the classical (French clerically manned schools with a highly Christological content) colleges were victims of Quebec's Revolution tranquille of the 1960's. There does remain an historic foundation for private schools being financed out of school tax revenue. As a result, since 1968 the Jewish Day Schools received about 60% of their budget for secular education from School Taxes and thus resulted in what is easily the highest proportion of children of school age in North America in attendance at Jewish Day Schools. It is perhaps close to 50% in the early stages of primary education and averages 35% of the total Jewish population of school age.

When Bill 37 was adopted a few years ago, it provided the possibility for private schools to enjoy an Associate Status with existing school boards. The Jewish Day Schools entered into such an agreement with the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal as well as with other Protestant School Boards in the Montreal region. To those unfamiliar with the unique crazy-quilt pattern of public education in the Province of Quebec one can simplify matters by stating that "Protestant" has by now come to mean all non-Catholic schools. Following the adoption of the Private Education Act (Bill 56), Jewish schools were informed that the Associate Status would be progressively phased out, and the Jewish Day Schools would have to apply for grants under Bill 56 which recommends which private schools are in the public interest and thus able to enjoy subventives from tax revenues. Under the Associate Status Agreement, i.e., Bill 37, there was little interference with the internal operation of Jewish schools by the contracting board and none from the Service Général de l'Enseignement Privé. At the elementary level, kindergarten, grades 1, 2 and 3 are under the Private Education Act while grades 4, 5 and 6 are still under Associate Status with the Protestant School Boards. At the high school level, grades 7, 8 and 9 are under the jurisdiction of the GEP and grades 10 and 11 are under the Associate Status with the Protestant School Boards. Some of our newest schools are totally under the Private Education Act.

Dealings with the Service General have, however, been difficult at times. But the difficulties predated by years the advent to power of the Parti Québécois.

Many matters are being left to the discretion of public servants and it is sometimes difficult to explain to them the "raison d'être" of the Jewish Day School Movement. This difficulty is augmented by the fact that Montreal's Jewish community has been basically an anglophone com-

munity for 150 years. Nevertheless, it has always had a high competence in French programming and is now dedicated to a bilingual program in order to render its students proficient in the French language and enable them to make contributions within the French milieu as significant as those they have already made within the English milieu.

In a recent meeting arranged by the Canadian Jewish Congress with Premier-Elect Rene Levesque there were indications of some understanding. He was apprised of these positions.

1. Given the existence of a confessional school system on the island of Montreal and the apparent desire for its retention, the status of the Jewish Day School under the law should be respected and should not be tied solely to the discretion of the Ministry of Education.

2. The acknowledgement by Jewish schools of the reality in Quebec is sincere. It is reflected in the French programming which Jewish Day Schools are adopting. It will improve with the training of adequate linguistic teachers and more experience in programming.

3. The submission further requested that some demand of permanent financial structure be guaranteed enabling schools fully to develop their potential and their programming on a long term basis.

Though the Jewish schools might be described as private schools in a highly technical sense, one would be led into semantic error in applying to them the general connotation of private schools.

Such schools are the public Jewish school system and no selection is made in accepting students. Every member of the community who desires to enter the Jewish school system, regardless of his ability to pay, is enrolled.

NORTH AFRICAN JEWRY IN MONTREAL

How does the important Jewish Francophone community respond to the changes in the political climate? A former Moroccan, well educated and successful in business, puts it this way and he may well represent the preponderant Francophone population.

“An immigrant and a Francophone originating from Morocco, I have lived through similar upheavals in my country of origin but I would like to make my feelings known as a Jew and as an active member of the community.

“It is obvious and clear to me that we are going towards a new Quebec which is not the Quebec we have known until now. How it is going to be shaped, in what political context, I am unable to describe today. But one

thing I know is that we must not disregard this problem, nor must we be panicky or fight the sentiments of Quebecers, which would only make us their enemies. Jews have been living in Quebec for many generations and have been blessed with an easy and quiet life mainly because of the good relationship with both the political parties and the politicians. It would therefore be foolish to try to fight the sentiments of a legitimate majority.

“A change in regime, a change of political parties, is the way of life the world over and the Jewish community has always paid the price whenever they found themselves on the losing side. Even in Russia where the Jews espoused the revolutionary ideal to escape Czarist oppression, they paid a heavy price in the long run. In France, Leon Blum’s Popular Front gave rise to a vicious anti-Semitic reaction. In Morocco, where it would have been better to fight against independence, to retain the French protectorate, Jews were careful not to take sides and were in a better position when the independence was proclaimed.

“It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to study the situation and to follow developments of the new Government. Each member of the Jewish community will find a solution to his own situation. As leaders, we have to counsel and guide the members of our community without giving them grounds for fear nor false appeasement.”

HOW DOES ONE SUMMARIZE A VERY FLUID SITUATION?

I — There exists fear that minority rights or customary attitudes may be eroded, not by vendetta or prejudice, but by the positive manifestations of Quebec nationalism guided by the Parti Quebecois. Jews and other minorities are comfortable with federalism and don’t want a leap into the unknown.

II — There exists a haunting suspicion that the election results are a prelude to socialism. Even if the Jews don’t know that history is replete with examples of what Judd Teller called “Anti-Semitism: The Scapegoat of Revolution.” They are not solaced by examples of Sweden, the U.K. all with Labour governments at many stages and for decades at a time. They do not analogize with Israel although the French Canadian national socialists used it as a model.

III — Jews have long memories and a very expensive education remembering Amalek by whatever name he bears. But in the short run the memory fails to acknowledge that practically all of Quebec’s ills as they affect the total population and are troublesome particularly to Jews (profound changes in social welfare, indecisiveness by authorities on the

private school financing in which Jewish Day Schools are a part, plans for making French the regnant language — francisation — other language issues) all predate the November 15, 1976 election by ten years and some by two or three.

IV — Jews are apprehensive about their children's future even when they accept their own. A very large number of Jews will remain even if their reading of the future spells radical changes. Their motto is *J'y suis, J'y reste*. But their children and grandchildren are restless and those in the process of career making are very ambivalent at this moment. If a trickle of youth becomes a flood, Montreal will become a city of older and old people.

V — Patterns of life do not change as rapidly as legislation. Jewish Montreal is in the mainstream of an anglophone world. Its connections are preponderantly with other communities of Canada and the United States and not with the francophone world.

VI — In the present uncertainty, emotional stimuli are replacing attitudes based on known facts and educated guess work. It seems that there is little comfort in the fact that most problems of dislocation and economic instability affect the total population. If it is normal to be guided by a *sauve qui peut* reaction, the Jews of Montreal show no abnormality.

It is impossible to purchase unclouded crystal balls to reply to such questions. Will French Canada itself defeat the Parti Quebecois at the next election? In the interim will irreparable damage be done to Quebec's economy? Will the hot heads and emotionally-charged members of the Parti Quebecois be a spent force as the Government faces the inexorable laws of economics and realise the coping stones of their separatist movement are lodged in sand and romanticism? Will the community leadership of Jewish Montreal be prudent but wise, be sophisticated but effective, illustrate stability and not spread panic?

Perhaps all articles on the predictions of the future of Quebec Jewry are reckless exercises and can do no more than capture a mood at the moment the words are written.

Meanwhile, the community's leadership exists and does what it deems cogent, always remembering that in such a card game, minority groups do not hold many trumps.

This writer is convinced that the Jewish community will not rewrite Psalm 137 to read, "By the rivers of the St. Lawrence, there we sat down, yea we wept".

A Look At Jewish Canadiana

B. G. KAYFETZ

Résumé

On a déjà souvent remarqué que l'histoire des Juifs Canadiens est encore à explorer. Il faut souligner pourtant que beaucoup a déjà été fait dans ce domain, non seulement par des historiens mais aussi par des représentants de différents groupes tels que les médecins, les rabbins, les journalistes etc. Parfois on découvre ainsi des détails historiques dans des textes qui ne sont pas strictement reliés à l'étude de l'histoire, et dont l'écrivain de l'article donne une liste très sommaire.

Il faut espérer, conclut M. Kayfetz, que d'autres suivront son exemple et se pencheront sur des textes non historiques mais qui peuvent être pourtant très enrechissants dans l'étude de l'histoire des Juifs Canadiens.

It has been remarked that Canadian Jewish history is still an unploughed, unexplored field and that very little has been done in this area. No doubt, very true. But over the years, this reader, a very casual amateur of Canada's Jewish chronicles, has found a sizable number of books and booklets, pamphlets and monographs relevant to the subject, not all of equal value, but altogether of surpassing interest.

Canadian Jewry has its own character and its very own special qualities. The social scientist perhaps some day will find the answer to questions that fairly jump up from the pages and that shout at the observer:

Whence the special property of "folkishness" that sets the Winnipeg Jew apart? Why is Yiddish a livelier and more durable entity there than in other cities in North America, and than other cities in Canada? Is this related to the greater presence of followers of the old Socialist Territorialist movement (ST) among its founders? Was it because its Peretz School didn't undergo the political schisms that Toronto's experienced? Why was Western Canada the locale of Canada's — indeed North America's — earliest Jewish day schools, a Talmud Torah in Edmonton and a Peretz Shule in Winnipeg? Why not Montreal as might have been expected? How does one explain the total absence of Jewish provincial hinterland in Quebec — the non-existence of organized communities other than Sherbrooke and Quebec City? Contrast this with the clusters of structured kehilloth in nearby Ontario — the Galts,

Kitcheners, Cornwalls, Bellevilles, Brantfords etc. — at one time more than 30 in number. It is noteworthy that the early *g'dolim* of Montreal's Jewry — the Vinebergs, Jacobs and Cohens — first settled in the Brockville-Alexandria-Lancaster corner of Eastern Ontario. Was the wall of Quebecois Catholicism too inhospitable a barrier to permanent settlement among the French Canadians — or was it only perceived as such?

Why did Montreal boast (and it still possesses) a Jewish Public Library such as no other Jewish community on the continent has produced? Why has Montreal not been a provincial centre but rather a major centre of Yiddish letters, with names like Reuben Brainin who, living there barely half a dozen years, left an imprint that is still felt, with Melech Ravitch who chose to live in Montreal over many other centres, and with many other figures such as poet I. J. Segal and musicologist Israel Rabinowitz. It is interesting that it was Montreal, not another centre, that produced that unique poet among poets, the late Abraham Klein. Why has Montreal specifically, and Canada as a whole, produced a Jewish-Canadian "sub-literature" that was noted by critic Claude Bissell as far back as 1957?

One may not find the answers in the historical sketches and journals that are listed herein but the actual discovery of these questions is itself an exciting experience. And these are the excitements that are in store for the dedicated reader.

There are categories of writers and writings. Benjamin Sack in Montreal and Abraham Rhinewine in Toronto were Yiddish journalists who started early in their careers to examine the record of Jews in their adopted country. Rhinewine died in his forties and no doubt would have carried it much further than he did. Simon Belkin, Joseph Kage, Bernard Figler and Abe Arnold were Jewish public servants and in a sense their historical and biographical research was an extension of their professional and personal interest, even if in some cases it was not directly related to their daily pursuits. (Of this group Arnold is a journalist as well.)

Rabbis have been, and are most productive in this field. Dr. Stuart Rosenberg's two-volume work, despite criticism, is a most ambitious undertaking and remains a valuable contribution. Arthur Chiel's studies throw light on the Western Canadian development. (His identification of Sholom Aleichem's Uncle Nissel as a fugitive from Czarist justice who landed in Winnipeg is a real find.) Dr. Jonathan Plaut recently completed his study of the Jewish history of Windsor Ontario.

Others are men and women of scholarly tastes and background: H. M. Arnoni of Ottawa, whose work appears in the Canadian-Jewish Year-

book; Dr. Isadore Goldstick, a native of Courland who taught French and German in London's high schools (and who also translated Rhinewine, translated Sholom Aleichem, edited a collection of Yiddish folk sayings); Julius Aaron Cohen, a resident of London, Ontario; Lou Kurman, who was executive director of the Council of Jewish Organizations of Hamilton, Ontario.

The memoir genre has not gone unrepresented either. As it happens, two physicians, one in Montreal, Alton Goldbloom, and one in Toronto, Abraham I. Willinsky, told parallel stories of the barriers they faced as Jews in their profession. Both were of the same generation and both books appeared within a few years of each other. Another Jewish doctor, David Eisen, kept his student diary intact after 50 years and thanks to a government grant it was published (a slice of Jewish student life in Ontario during, and in the years immediately following, the first World War). Sigmund Samuel's memoirs tell of a more sheltered life in the bosom of a Victorian Anglophile Jewish family in Upper Canada.

Sometimes one comes across bits and pieces of Canadian-Jewish history in quite unexpected places. Rudolph Rocker was a German Gentile, a libertarian socialist, an anarchist he is called by some, who submerged himself in the immigrant world of the old Jewish East End of London and emerged as an editor of a Yiddish workers' weekly. In *The London Years* he reports a trip to North America in 1913 and records his friendly polemics with the Poale Zion and the Jewish socialists of Toronto. S. Almazoff was a Communist before the Party was organized and in his memoirs he recounts the dramatic, tense scene in Montreal in 1919 at the Canadian Jewish Congress' first assembly, when his dissenting voice could have registered a negative vote at the end of the debate endorsing the Balfour Declaration.

There were probably not as many "radicals" as it seems there were among the Jewish immigrants in the earlier days. The bulk of the Jews who came to Canada were still attached to tradition and to the mitzvoh, even if they were deficient in their punctilious observance. But it was the secularized maskilim, the "emancipated" intellectuals or would-be intellectuals, the autodidacts and semididacts who did most of the writing. The literate among the religious-minded Jews were more interested in Torah than in personal memoirs or historic annotations. Rabbi Jacob Gordon was the author of *Minchas Yaakov*. He also wrote a treatise on vegetarianism and a critique of spiritualism. In our day it is the same: Rabbis A. A. Price, Gedalia Felder and others have produced voluminous

editions of responsa on religious and halachic questions.

In our time, two liberal rabbis, both natives of the U.S.A. who held the same Toronto pulpit in succession, in writing their memoirs were responsible for recording some Canadian-Jewish history — Maurice Eisendrath and Abraham Feinberg. A third rabbi, Reuben Slonim, now somewhat at odds with the mainstream of Jewish thinking in Canada, has written a volume on the recent “Family Quarrel” as he calls it, between Canada’s Jews and the United Church over the anti-Israel views promoted by the editor of its “unofficial” organ.

A People And Its Faith — Essays on Jews and Reform Judaism in a changing Canada. Edited by Albert Rose. University of Toronto Press 1959. This was issued on the centenary of Holy Blossom Temple three years earlier (1956) and contains several essays of an historical nature.

Can Faith Survive? The thoughts and afterthoughts of an American Rabbi. By Maurice Eisendrath. McGraw-Hill 1964. Experience recollected in tranquility of a rabbinical career, much of it based on events and experiences in Canada. It records the shock and trauma suffered by a rabbi raised in the Midwest in a Classical-Reform background confronting, for the first time in his career, a community of immigrant East-European Jews. It reveals much of Toronto Jewry in the 1930’s, especially from the point of view of an outsider from a contrasting environment.

Report Of The Special Committee On Hate Propaganda In Canada — Ottawa, Queens Printer 1966. Recounts the neo-Nazi activity of the early 1960’s.

History Of The Jews In Canada — By B. G. Sack. Harvest House, Montreal 1945. Reprinted 1965. Also in Yiddish. Geshikhte fun di Yidn in Kanada. Goes to the end of the 19th century. The pioneer work in Canadian-Jewish history. Sack’s history, for all its faults, is still a basic requirement.

Toronto’s Jewish Doctors — By Dr. David Eisen. Canadian-Jewish Congress, Toronto 1959. The history of the medical profession among Jews in Toronto. Reprinted from the Jewish Standard

Stars Of David — By Hye Bossin. Jewish participation in the Toronto theatre with a special chapter on the Yiddish stage. Published by the United Jewish Welfare Fund of Toronto, Canadian-Jewish Congress, and the Jewish Standard, 1957. Tells of individual Jewish actors and impresarios who were active in Toronto and of the heyday of Yiddish theatre at the Lyric and Standard Theatres.

The First Two Years — By David Rome. Privately published in

Montreal, 1942. This monograph deals with the events of the first two years of the Jewish community of Victoria 1958-1959, which were also the first two years of the general settlement of this part of Vancouver Island. Excellent detail on what was literally a pioneer Jewish settlement.

Der Yid In Kanada — By Abraham Rhinewine (Yiddish) Toronto. Vol. 1 1925, Vol. 2 1927. An early effort by a Canadian-Yiddish journalist to assemble sources and record events.

De Poalei-Tzion Bavegung In Kanada (1904-1920) — By Sh. Belkin published by the Labour-Zionist Movement in Canada, Montreal 1956. Includes material on early beginnings of Canadian-Jewish Congress, the Yiddish secular schools in cities across Canada, early ideological conflicts; it covers Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Vancouver and other centres. The Labour-Zionist participation in the formation of the Canadian-Jewish Congress is included; the *Sprachenfrage* which caused dual and multiple school systems and which at one point brought Ber Borochov to Canada to elicit his aid in settling the *disputat*.

Jewish Life In Canada — By William Kurelek and Abraham Arnold. Hurtig 1976. An interesting marriage of text and illustration. The paintings are by a Canadian of Ukrainian parentage and are inclined to be idealized in their concept. The text has managed to condense a vast material into a parsimony of words.

Tzvey Hundert Yor Fun Yiddisher Imigratzie In Kanada — By Joseph Kage. Montreal 1960. History of Jewish Immigration to Canada from the period 1759-1959. *With Faith and Thanksgiving* by Joseph Kage. (English version of above-named book.)

The Jews In Manitoba — By Arthur A. Chiel. University of Toronto Press 1961 (issued under the auspices of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba) with a foreword by W. L. Morton. Essays on earlier Jewish days in Western Canada: the first farm colonies, the beginnings of Jewish education, the proliferation of synagogue and early attempts at cultural advancement, Zionist work, etc.

Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada — By Louis Rosenberg. Published by Canadian-Jewish Congress, Montreal 1939. It is the most authoritative and informative source of information of Canadian-Jewish demography in the 1930's. Its detail is overwhelming. It provides exact data on deaf-mutism, blindness and insanity in the Jewish population, vocational and occupational data of all kinds, a list of all towns and villages in Canada with only one Jewish resident in 1931, and a list of towns and villages which had no Jews in 1931

but which had Jewish residents at some time prior to 1931. In each of the former lists the Jewish population of each place is given for each decennial census year from 1891 to 1931. The book is invaluable for its account of the Jewish farm settlements in Western Canada, for its analysis of the immigration laws of the 1920's and 1930's as they affected Jews and for its general all-round thoroughness. It is regrettable that a similar study was not prepared from at least one or two of the later decennial censuses.

Diary Of A Medical Student (1917-1922) — By David Eisen, Toronto 1974 (Canadian-Jewish Congress). A day-by-day account of Jewish student life in Toronto in the years of World War I and after. The influenza epidemic, controversy on the new post Balfour Declaration Palestine, Hart House debates and inter-collegiate wrestling, the two Jewish student organizations, Zionist Conferences, anti-foreign riots in downtown Toronto by returned soldiers, Galician Jews as "enemy aliens", Orthodox versus Reform — these are some of the themes covered, all put down with a sense of direct immediacy. A literal cross-section of Jewish student life against the background of an immigrant community.

Toronto Jewry — (mimeographed) Canadian-Jewish Congress Central Region 1957. An article from the Mail and Empire — 1897 taken from a series "Foreigners Who Live in Toronto" by "A Reporter". The writer is the young W. L. Mackenzie King, then a part-time reporter. The article is well written, objective and a good piece of reporting. The series was a "spin-off" from young Mackenzie King's series on sweating by government contracted firms which propelled him into public service and eventually a political career. The young Mackenzie King — he was 23 at the time — makes some shrewd observations in the Jewish population of the day. It is an excellent picture of an immigrant community in Canada in Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee year — also the year of the first Zionist Congress and the establishment of the Bund in Russia.

The Swastika And The Maple Leaf — By Lita Rose Betcherman. Fitzhenry and Whiteside, Toronto 1975. A much needed account of the recent past: fascism in Canada in the 1930's. The role of Adrien Arcand, his early associations with leading Canadian politicians, his ties to Duplessis. Fascism in English-speaking Canada, its link with Quebec. The paradox of pro-Germanism linked to Imperialist chauvanism. The Swastika gang in Toronto. Dr. Betcherman makes the point that in both English and French Canada the nazi-fascists had only one major commodity to sell — anti-Semitism.

Looking Back A Century — on the Centennial of Jewish Political

Equality in Canada. By Abraham Rhinewine. Translated, revised and enlarged by Isadore Goldstick with an introduction by Dr. Goldstick, Toronto 1932. Abraham Rhinewine died before the book's appearance. It is a detailed study of the Ezekiel Hart case. The least valuable aspect of this otherwise valuable book are the tributes by premiers and politicians that were included.

Through Narrow Gates — A review of Jewish Immigration Colonization and Immigration Aid Work in Canada (1840-1944). By Simon Belkin, Montreal 1966. An absorbing story told by someone intimately involved in the activity. The title is symbolic of the restrictions that were imposed especially in the 1930's.

YEARBOOKS AND DIRECTORIES

Yoivel Buch — (Jubilee Book) Talmud Torah Eitz Chaim, Toronto 1943. Issued on the 25th anniversary of the institution. Yiddish, Hebrew and English. Edited by Nachman Shemen. Chronicles of Jewish Orthodoxy and traditional education.

Canadian-Jewish Year Book — Vol. I 1939-1940, Vol. II 1940-1941. Editor: Vladimir Grossman. A valuable compendium of Canadian Jewry at the beginning and in the early years of World War II, especially on its organizational physiognomy. Contains articles on the community by leading figures, biographical sketches, general surveys, lists of agencies and organizational officers, etc. The editor, Vladimir Grossman, who died in Geneva recently in his 90's, was a most interesting figure. He was a Jew from the interior of Russia (far from the Jewish Pale) who was a polyglot journalist writing in numerous languages including Danish, a devotee of Jewish agricultural settlement and of industrial retraining (hence his dedication to ORT). A refugee from Europe, he found himself in Canada in the years of World War II and, a newcomer and stranger to the country, succeeded in producing 3 volumes which survive today — a mirror of Canadian Jewry of that period.

The Jew In Canada — A. D. Hart, Toronto-Montreal 1926. Known in the trade as a "mug book", this volume more than 50 years later contains valuable information despite some inaccuracies and also lapses in taste to be expected from the nature of such a book. It has a day-by-day account of the proceedings of the first Canadian-Jewish Congress assembly of 1919, a history of Canadian Zionism, and a major segment of B. G. Sack's researches later to be published as a book.

Canadian-Jewish Reference Book And Directory — Edited by Eli Gottesman. Contains histories of Canadian-Jewish movements, agencies and institutions, and accounts of numerous communities including many sm-

aller towns.

Who's Who In Canadian Jewry — Edited by Eli Gottesman. Montreal 1965. Biographies of Canadian Jews.

Canadian Jews — Edited by Zvi Cohen, 1932. Biographies.

MEMOIRS

In Return — The Autobiography of Sigmund Samuel. University of Toronto Press 1963. With a foreword by J. Keiller Mackay. The life story of a man whose father established Toronto's first synagogue and whose life spanned almost a century. A dual and paradoxical thread runs through it: one strand which recounts that he came up against no bias in his lifetime; the other which deplors the anti-Semitism prevalent in the city.

Small Patients — The Autobiography of a Children's Doctor. By Alton Goldbloom, M.D. Longmans Green, Toronto 1959. The Odyssey of a Jewish medical pioneer and his struggle for recognition in a day when bias ruled. A childhood that started in the Canadian West and, contrary to the norm, moved to Kovno in the Czar's realm, returning to Montreal.

A Doctor's Memoirs — This book is the Ontario counterpart of Alton Goldbloom's. A. I. Willinsky graduated in the horse and buggy days and died in the jet era. He too, a gifted practitioner, was confronted by barriers in his profession, barriers which he eventually overcame.

The preceding aggregation is by no means complete. It is a totally subjective one and clearly leans on the side of Ontario. It does not include, for example, *Montreal fun Nechten* (Montreal of Yesterday) by I. Medres nor the various biographies by Bernard Figler of such Canadian notables as Archie Freiman and Louis Fitch, nor H. M. Caiserman's biographical sketches of Lyon Cohen and Archie Freiman. Saul Hayes, in a recent article, has surveyed much of the historical writing on Jewish Montreal. The Selected Bibliography of Jewish Canadiana compiled by David Rome (Montreal 1959) is, of course, an important source for further research and study as is Shulamis Yellin's syllabus "The Jew In Canada: 1760-1960", though it needs a considerable supplementary bibliography, mainly on Ontario. The recent admirable study by David Rome on the Quebec Jewish school question is invaluable.

All this is to indicate that this essay is not meant to give an official or complete listings of sources in Canadian-Jewish history. It reflects what the reader has come across in years of only semi-attentive research. It is hoped this may encourage others to uncover additional sources of material in their reading, which often emerges from pages not otherwise linked with Canadian-Jewish history.

Book Reviews

JEWISH LIFE IN CANADA

Paintings and Commentaries by William Kurelek.
A Historical Essay by Abraham Arnold.

Reviewed by: LIONEL STEIMAN

Résumé

L'ouvrage *Jewish Life in Canada* d'Abraham Arnold est passé en revue par Lionel Steiman de l'Université du Manitoba. Ce livre contient en outre des reproductions de peintures de William Kurelek ainsi que quelques commentaires du célèbre peintre Canadien. Steiman souligne, dès le début de son article, que le travail qu'il analyse constitue un bel exemple de coopération culturelle entre deux Canadiens: l'un Juif, l'autre d'origine ukrainienne. Mais, au fond, l'oeuvre d'Abraham Arnold, de même que les commentaires et les peintures de William Kurelek, indiquent que l'avenir des Juifs au Canada dépasse les limites nationalistes. C'est en effet au niveau de l'histoire mondiale qu'il faut s'interroger. Rappelant ainsi les mots de Moses Hess "Les Juifs sont le levin du monde occidental", Arnold se demande: "Jusqu'à quand pourra le levin juif faire son travail dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, dans lequel l'occident (et cela inclut le Canada) est seulement un membre, n'étant désormais plus le plus grand dans la famille de l'humanité?"

It is both instructive and heartening in this time of national doubt to encounter a book which is the fruit of Canada's national maturity and positive, multi-ethnic experience. The collaboration of William Kurelek and Abraham Arnold has produced a survey of the history of Jewish life in Canada written by a Jewish-Canadian historian and illustrated by a Ukrainian-Canadian artist. This, to my knowledge, is a unique event in the recording of Canadian cultural history.

The manner in which the work of these two distinguished Canadians is integrated — or, to be honest about it, not integrated — is for me the key to its strength and charm. For here is not a case of author or publisher commissioning an artist to provide a graphic dimension to a text. Nor is it

a matter of an artist having found a historian to provide background comment for his paintings. Both Arnold and Kurelek speak their own individual idiom and sing their own particular song. The one is a meticulous historian who writes as a Jew introducing his fellow Canadians to the main themes of the Jewish experience in Canada. The other, an artist, faithful to his creative vision, with the eye of a Ukrainian prairie lad who first saw Jewish life on the farm and in country towns and, later, in Toronto as an art student. It is the eye of a sensitive man who ponders the meaning of anti-Semitism and seeks, as a Christian, to achieve some measure of atonement for its evils through the understanding of Jewish life.

William Kurelek painted these pictures during a pilgrimage to Lourdes, the same little town in the southeast of France where, in 1940, Franz Werfel, a Jewish writer in flight from the Nazis, found temporary refuge. There, Werfel had become fascinated by the story of the town's most famous personage, St. Bernadette, the little girl whose simple innocence, he believed, had occasioned divine intercession through the miracles popularly associated with Lourdes. Subsequently upon his safe arrival in America, Werfel wrote what became a famous novel and award-winning Hollywood film, "The Song of Bernadette". This celebration of pure, Christian faith was a Jewish writer's call to a civilization about to destroy itself. Thirty-five years later William Kurelek, a devout Christian who remembered that the Mother of his Saviour was "a Jewish maiden", sojourned in Lourdes creating these sixteen scenes of Jewish life in Canada as his contribution toward "undoing some of the injustices Jews have suffered at the hands of Christians." (page 7).

Although Kurelek's paintings are "realistic" in that they represent the activity and detail of daily life, they in no way attempt to be a photographic record. The artist is not bothered by his little daughter's objection that his kittens look like mice; he includes power machinery in the same picture with an ox-drawn plough not in ignorance or defiance of reality but in order to include the widest historical experience within one picture; and he readily admits that he chose to portray an Orthodox Seder in Halifax not as an accurate representation of Jewish life there, but rather as a demonstration of how widespread and varied are Jewish settlement and customs. The commentaries Kurelek has provided to accompany his paintings enlighten the viewer on a variety of matters from turn-of-the-century agricultural techniques to details of Orthodox ritual. But his modest and engaging voice never competes with his pictures. His

words tell us only enough to forestall any inordinate perplexity that might hamper our enjoyment and appreciation of his art. Apart from that, his comments are personal and anecdotal. My favourite tid-bit was how the settlers along Carrot River solved the problems of what to name their colony. They favoured “Jewish Bridge” but thought that the postmaster might not. Observing from the postal guide that the name “Eden” was popular, and noting how similar it sounded to “Yidden” — a similarity the good postmaster would likely miss — they decided upon “Edenbridge”, a compromise satisfactory to all.

For most of his pictures Kurelek relies on personal recollection, photographs, and the diaries and reminiscences of the people whose life he is depicting. Sometimes he combines recollection of some experience of his own with a corresponding Jewish experience he sees in a photograph. For example, the painting “Jewish Separate School in Winnipeg” is based on a 1922 photograph of the Talmud Torah School and the artist’s own experience of a one-room schoolhouse in rural Manitoba. This blend of personal experience and creative empathy with that of others has given the artist, whose children attend a Catholic separate school, increased insight into the character of Jewish separate schools.

The comprehensive portrayal of Jewish life by Kurelek the artist is followed by an equally comprehensive survey by Arnold the historian. In view of the old quip about a picture being worth a thousand words, Arnold was working at an inherent disadvantage. In a half dozen chapters relating to the most crucial or characteristic themes in Jewish life — Immigration, Earning a Living, Peddling to Politics, Synagogue Development, Education, Community Organization, The Jewish Community Today — he provides the chronological and geographic framework, the intellectual, sociological, and political content necessary to add proper historical understanding to the aesthetic appreciation offered in the first half of the book. Arnold refers to his contribution as an ‘essay’, but it is not the impressionistic and discursive ramble too often bottled under that label. It is rather a sober and satisfying blend of fact, narrative, and interpretation. He highlights relationships that are significant and asks questions that are important, even if not always presuming to have answers to them.

The dominant impression left by Arnold’s account of Jewish immigration and settlement is of the importance of two crucial factors: Jewish initiative and resourcefulness throughout the entire process; and the prejudices and stereotypes of Canadian authorities in hampering or directing that process. The organs and institutions of community self-government

which Jews had been forced to develop in Europe stood them well in Canada, even though they were not forced to recreate them here. Similarly, where in Europe Jews were legally excluded from high status occupations in land, government, or the military and had been forced into various marginal activities soon held to be “natural” to them, less formal, though not less effective, pressures on Jewish immigrants in Canada quickly swelled their numbers on that despised periphery of established commerce: peddling. But just as in economic life Jewish experience in Canada moved from peddling through store-keeping to all manner of large-scale commercial and industrial operations, so in political life Jews emerged from *de facto* proscription and have risen to an impressive prominence in all levels of government. Yet Arnold does not create myths or pander to the prejudices of the complacent. Canada was no simple haven for the oppressed. Traditional anti-Semitism has operated not least in the highest places, John A. Macdonald and Mackenzie King being only the most notorious examples. For their part, the Jewish immigrants were not always overflowing with solicitude for their persecuted brethren in Europe, and the secure and established were not always ready to extend a welcome to those who were not. As for the proverbial progression from peddler to politician, doctor, or entrepreneur, Arnold reminds us that almost 20% of Montreal’s Jewish population, the major Jewish population centre in Canada, are living below the official poverty line of \$5,000 per year for a family of four.

Jews have survived as Jews because of their devotion to something far more powerful than Mars or Mammon: their Book. The fundamental importance of the Book, which is the foundation of all the institutions of family and community life, of intellectual exercise and aspiration, of religious ritual and devotion, is sounded in the long and central chapter on Synagogue Development and is sustained throughout the succeeding chapters on Education and Community Organization. It is especially important for the non-Jewish reader to appreciate the role of ritual and belief, and Arnold makes this role clear as he surveys the establishment of congregations and the building of synagogues. Questions often asked about the meaning of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform are answered not in abstract delineation of dogma, but in terms of the European historical context from which they derived and in relation to the altered conditions of their new environment in Canada. Testimony to the depth and centrality of religion in Jewish history is the fact that despite the freedom from persecution and the relative lack of external social con-

straints and political pressures experienced by Jews in Canada, “at least half of all observant religious Jews describe themselves as Orthodox to this day.”

Half of Arnold’s concluding chapter, “The Jewish Community Today”, recounts the frustrated efforts of Canadian Jewish organizations to persuade the government to open Canada to Jewish refugees from Nazi-dominated Europe. At first glance, this length appears disproportionate in view of the contemporary focus suggested by the title. It is not. Rather, it is a measure of the importance the author attaches to the trauma of the 1930’s and 1940’s in determining the political and cultural psyche of Canadian Jews today, and their relationship to a country whose actions indirectly consigned untold thousands of their brethren to perdition. With that as a basic fact in the relationship between Canada and its Jewish community, the question of the future security of that community should not be dismissed as academic. Not that Arnold is about to stir up dying embers. While acknowledging the historical justification for “the feeling of insecurity among many Canadian Jews”, he points to the political prominence attained by individuals such as Barney Danson and Senator Sidney Buckwold to suggest that that feeling is no longer warranted.

In any case, the question of the future of Jews in Canada is really part of a much larger and ultimately more important question. Here Arnold invites the reader to think beyond himself as Jew or Canadian and to consider a Jewish future in terms of the changing shape of world history. Recalling the words of Moses Hess that “Jews are the yeast of western humanity”, Arnold asks: “how long can Jewish yeast work in today’s world, in which western humanity (Canada included) is but one member, and no longer superior to any other members, of the family of humankind?”

CANADIAN JEWS — EARLY IN THIS CENTURY

B. G. SACK

Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1975
(Canadian Jewish Archives New Series, Number Four)

Reviewed by: STEPHEN A. SPEISMAN

Résumé

Monsieur Stephen A. Speisman fait le compte rendu de l'un de nos plus importants ouvrages. Il s'agit du livre de Benjamin Sack: *Canadian Jews — Early in This Century*. Le texte couvre la période allant de 1900 à la deuxième guerre mondiale, donc les années qui virent la naissance de l'essor de la communauté juive au Canada. Mais l'érudit Benjamin Sack mourut en 1967 et cette traduction anglaise de son oeuvre, comme l'indique Saul Hayes dans son introduction, ne peut que constituer la meilleure approximation de la pensée du savant. Mais pour l'historien d'aujourd'hui l'étude est incomplète, se limitant souvent à la province de Québec pour n'aborder que superficiellement le reste. Cependant le livre est valide en tant que lecture générale, tout en ouvrant la voie à des recherches historiques plus poussées.

Benjamin Sack was a man of many talents. Self-educated scholar of high quality, playwright, translator of French classics into Yiddish, associate editor of the *Kanader Adler*, he is best remembered by the English-speaking public for his *History of the Jews in Canada* which appeared three decades ago and has been subsequently quoted and plagiarized by a generation of "historians". Sack's *History*, justly acclaimed as a major contribution to Canadian Jewish historiography, closed at the end of the Nineteenth Century, but there was the promise of an additional volume which would carry the narrative into our own time.

The present publication has some claim to be that second volume, at least in part. It covers the period from the turn of the century to the outbreak of World War I, formative years for the Canadian Jewish community. Here appear the major issues of the day: the impact of mass immigration from Eastern Europe and the reaction of the established community to it; the founding of Canadian Jewish religious, Zionist, cultural

and philanthropic institutions; the struggle for acceptance by non-Jews and the attempted defense against anti-Semitic attack; the gradual movement of Jews into the universities and the professions.

The volume is based upon Sack's unedited Yiddish manuscript and consequently presents a dilemma for the reviewer. It is perhaps unfair to offer a critique when the author has no opportunity to respond; Sack died in 1967. Indeed, as Saul Hayes remarks of Sack in his preface, "Meticulous as he was in his writing and acutely sensitive to what was published over his name, we find it hard to tell whether he would have wanted to have this incomplete draft appear".

A few comments, however, are in order. For one thing, this work exhibits many of the strengths and weaknesses of his earlier *History*. Considering that he worked under conditions which most researchers would have found overwhelming — his own illness which seriously reduced his physical mobility, the obscurity and scattered nature of the primary sources, the absence of reliable secondary material — Sack produced historical narrative that is astonishingly accurate. Few statements he made in his earlier work have been refuted by newly-discovered sources, and we might reasonably expect the same in this instance. Moreover, one cannot but be grateful to Anne Glass for her masterly work of translation and editing which makes the book eminently readable.

Nevertheless, as it stands, the volume is of only limited use to scholars. As in his previous work, Sack's almost total reliance upon journalistic sources, and his scanty documentation even of those, is irksome. So, too, are some generalizations which require substantiation in the text. For example, "Jews adapted themselves more rapidly to the democratic way of life than new arrivals of other ethnic groups" (P. 2) or his attribution of anti-Semitic incidents in Toronto during 1907-8 to the influence of Goldwin Smith (P. 53). The book, in addition, concentrates overwhelmingly on events in the province of Quebec, understandably so, considering that the sources most accessible to Sack were in Montreal. He whets the reader's appetite about events elsewhere in Canada, but leaves him in suspense. One would have liked to hear more, for instance, about the origins of the Kingston community.

In total, however, this is a book to be welcomed as a popular survey long overdue and as a basis for further research. One can read it with the assurance that much of what Sack described was part of his own experience and that his insistence upon accuracy has already been demonstrated. It is unfortunate that the final product did not have the

benefit of his own sensitive hand. And perhaps even more to be deplored is the fact that this incomplete work should come closest to being the definitive survey of the period. Its appearance points up the need for an expansion of Sack's capable pioneering work by trained historians, utilizing primary sources at government and Jewish archival institutions across the country.

The Constitution Of The Jewish Historical Society Of Canada

1. NAME

The name of the Society shall be, “The Jewish Historical Society of Canada” — Société de l’Histoire juive canadienne.

2. PURPOSE

The Jewish Historical Society of Canada shall be a national organization, established to serve as a federation of existing regional and local Jewish historical societies and archival groups, and of individuals interested in the aims and objects of the Society.

3. OBJECTS

The objects of the Society shall be: (a) to promote the collection, preservation, publication and popularization of material of every kind relating to the settlement, history and life of Jews in Canada; (b) the promotion, encouragement in research and the study of Jewish history in Canada; (c) the implementation of the foregoing by the Society’s promotion and participation in such programs or through existing organizations.

4. The Society shall be affiliated with the Canadian Jewish Congress and shall assist and work in close consultation with regional or local Jewish historical societies and archival groups which may from time to time be in existence.

5. MEMBERS

Any individual, organization, community institution, subscribing to the objects of the Society, or any local or regional Jewish historical society, may be eligible for membership by applying for membership upon payment of the prescribed fee, whereupon the application shall be considered by the membership committee.

There shall be the following categories of members: (a) individual persons; (b) community institutions; (c) local or regional historical societies or archival groups; such other categories or classes of membership which may from time to time be designated by the membership committee in consultation with the executive committee.

6. OFFICERS

The officers of the Society shall be the president, immediate past president, four vice-presidents, one from each region as follows: Eastern (Que-

bec and Maritimes), Central (Ontario), Western (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta), Pacific (British Columbia), a treasurer and a secretary.

If a vacancy shall occur in any of the offices of the aforementioned, it shall be filled by election at the next regular meeting of the executive committee, and the person so elected shall hold his/her office for the unexpired term of the person vacating the same period.

Executive Committee — The executive committee shall be composed of the officers plus the chairmen of the following standing committees: (a) publications; (b) membership; (c) finance; (d) program; (e) academic advisory.

Board of Directors — The Board of Directors of the Society shall consist of the Executive Committee plus Board members at large including a minimum of three from each region (any region with more than one province shall be entitled to at least one representative from each province). The total membership of the board shall include officers, standing committee chairmen and members at large.

ARTICLE II

Section 1

All officers of the Society shall be elected from amongst the members of the Board of Directors at its first meeting following the annual meeting of the Society, and they shall each serve a term of three years, or until their respective successors have been elected.

Section 2

The term for which members of the Board of Directors shall be elected is three years, or until their successors have been duly elected.

Section 3

Where a member of the Board of Directors resigns or is unable to fulfill his obligations, the executive committee may, by a majority vote, select another person to hold his office for the unexpired term.

ARTICLE III

Section 1

There shall be held not less than two meetings of the Society in each fiscal year. There shall be held an annual meeting of the Society, of which notice shall be given to all members, and there shall be at least one executive meeting. The annual meeting shall be held in different cities in alternating regions in consecutive years with at least 60 days notice given

to all members.

Section 2

Five members of the executive committee shall constitute a quorum.

Section 3

Ten members of the board of directors shall constitute a quorum.

Section 4

Fifteen members of the Society shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1

Standing committee chairmen shall be appointed by the president in consultation with the regional vice-presidents, immediately following the regular annual meeting and each chairman shall hold office for three years, or until their successors have been appointed. The chairman of each standing committee shall select the persons for that committee from the membership.

Section 2

A committee on nominations shall be appointed by the president at least 90 days before the triennial election meeting, such committee to consist of no less than three members. It shall be their function to nominate candidates for the position of directors to serve on the board of directors and to be elected at the annual meeting. Other nominations may be submitted for election by petition to the secretary of the Society not less than 20 days prior to the annual meeting, such petition to be signed by not less than 15 members in good standing of the Society. The committee on nominations shall report all nominations in addition to its own, to the members of the Society at the election meeting.

Section 3

The membership committee shall consist of at least three members. It shall receive and pass upon applications for membership in the Society.

ARTICLE V

The fiscal year of the Society shall be the calendar year. The prescribed fee for membership shall be fixed by the executive committee from time to time. The dues of the Society shall be payable annually in advance, the first day of January of each year. Any member whose annual dues shall remain unpaid for two successive years after they have become payable,

shall forthwith cease to be a member of the Society.

ARTICLE VI — AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, providing that such notice of amendment must be given in writing to the president, at least 45 days prior to the annual meeting. Notice of these amendments must be circulated 30 days before the annual meeting. At the annual meeting there shall be an appointment of auditors, in addition to the election to the board.

ARTICLE VII

The registered office of the Society shall be located in the city of Montreal.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. SAUL HAYES, O.C., Q.C. LL.D. — was the Director of the Canadian Jewish Congress from 1940-1974 and is presently a consultant. He was a founding member of the Conference for Material Claims against Germany and is the Regional Chairman of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism. Mr. Hayes is an Officer of the Order of Canada and holds Honorary Doctorates from McGill University and Concordia University, Montreal. He is Honorary President of the Jewish Historical Society of Canada.

DR. CORNELIUS J. JAENEN — is a full Professor in the Department of History at the University of Ottawa. His most recent publications are, *The Role of the Church in New France* and *Friend and Foe; Aspects of French Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, which was awarded the Sainte Marie Prize in History.

MR. BENJAMIN G. KAYFETZ — is the Executive Director of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region. He has contributed to *A People and its Faith* and written articles on "Toronto Jewish History" for *Tradition*. He is most active in communal and national affairs and has a keen interest in Canadian Jewish history.

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MR. VICTOR SEFTON — is a consulting engineer practising in Toronto. He holds a Master's Degree in Civil Engineering from the University of Toronto. He has written many technical papers published in Canada, the United States, United Kingdom, and Israel. His paper on "Growing up Jewish in London, England 1920-1950" appeared in *Cultural Life of the Jews in England*. He is the President of the Jewish Historical Society of Canada.

DR. STEPHEN SPEISMAN — received a Ph.D. in History from the University of Toronto. He is Director of the Canadian Jewish Congress Central Region Archives. He has written on various aspects of the history of Toronto with special emphasis on the Jewish community.

DR. LIONEL STEIMAN — received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania and is currently Assistant Professor in European History at the University of Manitoba. He has published an article "The Agony of Humanism in World War I: The Case of Stefan Zweig" in *Journal of European Studies*. His field of research is German-Jewish literary exiles in the era of Nazism and he is presently involved in the cases of Franz Werfel, Alfred Döblin, and Joseph Roth.

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