

## **A CASE OF LIMITED VISION: JABOTINSKY ON CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES\***

From its inception in 1897, and even earlier in its period of gestation, Zionism has been extremely popular in Canada. Adherence to the movement seemed all but universal among Canada's Jews by the World War I era. Even in the interwar period, as the flush of first achievement wore off and as the Canadian Jewish community became more acclimated, the movement in Canada functioned at a near-fever pitch. During the twenties and thirties funds were raised, acculturated Jews adhered to Zionism with some settling in Palestine, and prominent gentile politicians publicly supported the movement.

The contrast with the United States was striking. There, Zionism got a very slow start. At the outbreak of World War I only one American Jew in three hundred belonged to the Zionist movement; and, unlike Canada, a very strong undercurrent of anti-Zionism emerged in the Jewish community and among gentiles. The conversion to Zionism of Louis D. Brandeis—prominent lawyer and the first Jew to sit on the United States Supreme Court—the proclamation of the Balfour Declaration, and the conquest of Palestine by the British gave Zionism in the United States a significant boost during the war. Afterwards, however, American Zionism, like the country itself, returned to “normalcy.” Membership in the movement plummeted; fundraising languished; potential settlers for Palestine were not to be found.

One of the chief impediments to Zionism in America had to do with the nature of the relationship of American Jews to their country. Zionism was predicated on the proposition that Jews were doomed to

be aliens in every country but their own. The United States, however, with its “melting-pot” ethos and Puritan sense of mission, proclaimed itself open to all (white) comers on an equal basis, at least in theory. In so doing, it called into question the fundamental premise of Zionism and competed for the allegiance, not only of American Jews, but of Jews everywhere. Its bounty, as opposed to the poverty of underdeveloped Palestine, made the competition most unequal.

Although their prospects in the interwar period were bleak, world Zionist leaders could not afford to ignore the United States. It had been virtually untouched by the war, while the European centres had been ravaged. American Jewry was now the largest Jewish community in the world. Not only were its communal resources greater than elsewhere, per capita wealth was also greater. No major Jewish enterprise was likely to be launched successfully without the support of American Jewry, no matter how frustrating it might be to secure that support. Moreover, the American government and public, although following an isolationist impulse in the twenties and thirties, possessed great potential power in the world’s political arenas.

Canada could offer no such prospects. Her government, although part of the British Empire and thus having a political connection to Palestine, was not a major actor in world affairs. Her few Jews, relatively recently arrived, were generally of modest means and had almost no political influence in Canada in the interwar period. And they were beset by local problems, especially in the province of Quebec, where they faced a hostile French-Canadian majority.

Nonetheless, Zionist leaders from abroad, especially the emissaries who came to North America from Palestine in search of funds and manpower for the burgeoning Zionist settlement there, invariably included Canada in their North American “tours.” Most, in fact, did so with enthusiasm. If her resources were modest, Canada still seemed to be an oasis in the American desert. In 1927, Berl Katznelson, the spiritual mentor of the Palestine labour movement, acknowledged that the purchase of land in the Hefer Valley by Canadian Zionists had been one of the only recent, positive developments in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> Kibbutz leader Yosef Baratz, making the rounds of North America at about the same time, remarked appreciatively, that he “had been received very well” in Montreal. A few years later, on another visit to Canada, he announced that he had “conquered” the country

without any difficulty. Altogether here, one feels a completely different atmosphere, more friendliness, more intimacy [than in the United States]. After the 'cold showers' of Kansas City, St. Louis, [and] Chicago, I was very much in need of the air of Winnipeg and Edmonton.<sup>2</sup>

Chaim Arlosoroff, yet another of the prominent Palestinians to tour the two countries, had an explanation for the difference between them. "I have observed," he wrote to his sister, Lise, in early 1928, an interesting phenomenon. As one travels westward and Jewish communities are further removed from the world, their [Jewish] national consciousness grows correspondingly stronger, and they see themselves as more alien to their surroundings. In the Bronx or Brooklyn, where there are hundreds of thousands of Jews who almost never leave their Jewish environment, Jews call their dwelling place 'America', and themselves, 'Americans.' And there is no one to contradict them....By contrast, in Potage-la-Prairie [sic], every Jew knows he is Jewish and in what way....<sup>3</sup>

To be sure, Toronto and Montreal, where most Canadian Jews lived, were not Portage-la-Prairie. Even in those cities, however, there were many people ready to single out Jews as less than full-fledged Canadians, and in so doing to propel them into the arms of Zionism. Whatever the explanation, there could be no doubt that American Zionism and Canadian Zionism were very different from each other in the interwar period. And it is not surprising that Zionist observers usually found the United States a discouraging place and Canada a more hopeful one.<sup>4</sup>

## I

As he did in many areas of activity, Vladimir Jabotinsky, the spiritual ancestor of Israel's right-wing Likud Party, differed from other Zionists in his relations with Canada. Although North America was not one of his major areas of concern, at least not until his last days, like other Zionists in the interwar period he found that he could not ignore the continent completely. But unlike most other European and Palestinian visitors, he was apathetic regarding Canada. The reasons

for his lack of enthusiasm cannot easily be determined, since there is little mention of Canada or Canadian affairs in his voluminous letters and writings. Still, there are some clues, and speculation about his thinking can be interesting and perhaps instructive.

Maverick, militant, and maximalist Zionist, Jabotinsky was in many ways ahead of his time, often proposing policies which others would come to adopt many years later. In other ways he was a man of his time, no more perceptive than others, sometimes less so. With regard to America, he was unusual because he was one of the few Zionist leaders who had acquired more than a passing acquaintance with matters American in his youth. Unlike them, however, he consistently underrated the potential importance of America to the Zionist cause. His interests in literature and politics made him aware of America well before he had any dealings with Americans. Like many other Europeans, even those who were well educated, Jabotinsky does not seem to have had any acquaintance with Canada before World War I. Even in 1924, after he had been to Canada, it was coupled in his mind with Manchuria. They were the two most remote and coldest locations in which he had followers.<sup>5</sup>

Until World War I, Jabotinsky had had virtually no contact with North Americans. What brought him face to face with large numbers of them was the Jewish Legion, the fighting units which formed part of the British force which took Palestine from the Turks in 1917 and 1918. The Legion, which was largely Jabotinsky's brainchild, consisted of three battalions of Royal Fusiliers, one composed mainly of British Jews, one composed mainly of Palestinians recruited as the British advanced into the country, and one composed mainly of North Americans. Of the last, some 1200 to 1700 came from the United States and about 300 came from Canada, where the group did some of its training before leaving for the Middle East. Most of the "Americans," "Canadians," and "British" were recent immigrants to those countries from eastern Europe, who had not yet been naturalized.<sup>6</sup> David Ben Gurion and Yitzhak Ben Zvi, who had headed for the United States when the Turks expelled them from Palestine at the beginning of the war, were two of the "Americans."<sup>7</sup> Bernard Joseph, ex-Young Judaea organizer from Montreal—as Dov Yosef he would go on to a distinguished career in the Jewish civil service in Palestine during the Mandate, and later in the Israeli army and government—

was among the “Canadians.” Jabotinsky, himself a Russian native, served with the “British” contingent.

In the end, the Legion proved something of a disappointment to Jabotinsky and to many other Palestinian Zionists. The soldiers grew restive when the fighting ended and sought to return to their families. The British seized every opportunity to discharge the Legionnaires, despite Jabotinsky’s pleas that the units be retained as part of the Palestine constabulary. And the fledgling Zionist communal administration had neither the resources nor the imagination to be of much assistance to the demobilized men in helping to arrange their settlement in Palestine. Most of the former soldiers returned to Britain and to North America leaving behind in Palestine a sense that “the most magnificent vision of our times had come to an end.”<sup>8</sup>

Jabotinsky might have become bitter in the face of the wreckage of his dream, but his inveterate optimism won out. In fact, he retained a special fondness for the American Legionnaires, who reminded him of rugged, American pioneers of whom he had read in his youth. He viewed them as quick-witted and “strictly practical,” eager to fight, “of a high order of intelligence, of bravery, and physical development.” The Jews of the British group, he asserted, preferred training for battle to fighting.<sup>9</sup> At this stage Jabotinsky does not seem to have differentiated between Americans and Canadians, and he probably meant to include the latter in his enthusiastic generalizations about the Americans. He had, however, acquired some minimal sense of Canadian history. When questions were raised in 1919 about the propriety of establishing a Jewish homeland by colonization, Jabotinsky sought to remind the peacemakers, that Canada, Australia, and the United States had all been established by a similar process about which no one raised questions of propriety.<sup>10</sup>

Of greater consequence than Jabotinsky’s fondness for North Americans in the Legion, was their strong loyalty to him. After returning to North America many of the former soldiers remained close to Zionism and especially to Jabotinsky. A few, such as Elias Ginsburg, eventually formed the core of his Zionist-Revisionist movement in America. Others could be relied upon to donate funds to Revisionist causes or to form an honour guard whenever Jabotinsky came to town. Even people peripherally involved with the Legion, such as Montreal lawyer Marcus M. Sperber, who had chaired the

British Recruiting Committee for the Legion in his home town in 1917 and 1918, stood ready to assist the charismatic Jabotinsky in some of his later undertakings. And some of the Legionnaires who returned to North America, such as Bernard Joseph, who came back to finish his law degree at McGill University, eventually made their way to Palestine as settlers.<sup>11</sup>

These experiences, then, constituted the preparation for Jabotinsky's first visit to North America in the winter of 1921-22. He came that first time as a member both of a five-man fundraising delegation of the Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Ha-Yesod*) and of the World Zionist Executive. As a member of the board of directors of the Foundation Fund, he shared responsibility for finding money to finance the rebuilding of Palestine, a hoped-for \$25 million by 1925. In addition, the World Zionist Organization sought \$12 million to cover its operating expenses in Palestine and in London between 1921 and 1924.<sup>12</sup>

These were sums unprecedented in Zionist fundraising. They were needed desperately and quickly, and there was little chance of finding them anywhere but in North America. As Joseph Cowen and Chaim Weizmann of the World Zionist Organization wrote to the Zionist Organization of Canada (hereafter, ZOC) in March, 1921, the Zionists would only "be able to carry out...[their] obligations even to [the Jews already living in Palestine, if ] those of our Federations whom the war has affected only in a lesser degree, and in whose countries a normal rate of exchange prevails, will help us to overcome the present difficulty."<sup>13</sup> Jabotinsky wrote to his mother in Jerusalem from the ship taking him to New York, that the Zionist Organization "would have to declare bankruptcy, if it hadn't been for the opportunity" in North America.<sup>14</sup> At least three-quarters of its budget would have to be raised there "for obvious reasons" and as large a proportion of the Foundation Fund.<sup>15</sup> Jabotinsky and the other members of the delegation spent about half a year at their task. They followed hard on the heels of Chaim Weizmann and Albert Einstein, who had devoted their efforts to the Foundation Fund just a few months earlier.

In a series of exhausting one-night stands, Jabotinsky was "received with enthusiasm," and he certainly found fundraising preferable to sitting in his London office.<sup>16</sup> He and his former superior in the Legion, Col. Patterson, another member of the delegation, were

cheered almost everywhere they went in the United States and Canada, with the exception of Toronto. There Jabotinsky was heckled by “communists” who were eventually removed from the hall by veterans of the Legion.<sup>17</sup>

In the end, donations were forthcoming, but not nearly enough. Depressed economic conditions, inner tensions in American Zionism, and problems in the methods of fundraising—which Jabotinsky himself called “without system and without understanding”<sup>18</sup>—all led to disappointing levels of financial support. Canada conducted a more successful campaign than the United States, given the small size of the Canadian Jewish community.<sup>19</sup> The seventeenth convention of the ZOC in 1921 had resolved to raise \$1 million for the Foundation, and by the end of the year \$400,000 had been pledged.<sup>20</sup> It was Weizmann, however, not Jabotinsky, who had been instrumental in Canada, and the money raised was still far from sufficient.

Besides fundraising, Jabotinsky busied himself in North America—mostly in the United States—with Zionist politics, lobbying and with putting his own financial affairs in order. He met with old friends and addressed a Legion reunion in Philadelphia. He found most Jews in North America dull and provincial, except for a few, like Louis Brandeis and his close associate, Julian Mack, and Jabotinsky did not even get along with them. He found North American Zionism disorganized, no better than what he had left behind in pre-war Odessa. And it was being destroyed by its overwhelming concern with fundraising, which was not even that successful. Jabotinsky saw no chance of North American aliyah (emigration to Palestine), the supposed goal of Zionists everywhere.<sup>21</sup> About a year after he returned to Europe, he delivered the final judgement on his trip. He declared that future visits by Zionist leaders would be “futile,” and doubted that even “a successful tournée...in America” could save Zionism for long.<sup>22</sup> If Canada made a lasting impression on him, there is no indication of it in his letters of the period. This country remained for him, apparently, just a part of America. Oddly, given his personality, his visit seems to have made little impression on Canadians. His faithful followers usually recorded with precision Jabotinsky’s movements and pronouncements. Later reports of his encounters with Canada and Canadians, however, make no mention of the 1921-22 trip.<sup>23</sup>

Jabotinsky's reservations regarding North American Jews were partly a function of his growing anxiety about the Zionist movement in general. In early 1923 he dramatically resigned not only his executive position, but also his membership in the Zionist Organization in a dispute over Weizmann's leadership. Jabotinsky subsequently added to this list of resignations by leaving his directorship with the Palestine Foundation Fund. In time, he would become the leader of the main opposition to the Zionist establishment. For the moment, however, freedom from responsibility allowed him to reassess some of his political and intellectual positions. This reassessment in the areas of economics and culture had implications for his relations with North America.

Until the early 1920s, Jabotinsky had been quite close to socialism in his economic views. Now, however, he began to appreciate capitalism and the bourgeoisie, partly in reaction to events in Russia. "The real beggars' kingdom," he came to realize, "[is] in Soviet Russia, not in England, nor in France, nor even in America."<sup>24</sup> The American business ethos looked better from this new perspective, and even Sinclair Lewis's quintessential, value-less, culture-less, American bourgeois, George Babbitt, seemed "lively, thriving, [and] vigorous."<sup>25</sup> As indicated earlier, Jabotinsky had long before come to the conclusion that the unbusinesslike behaviour of Zionist leaders and fund-raisers was unconscionable and self-defeating. Now he began to move close to the Brandeis-Mack position on financial matters, perhaps partly in the hope of joining forces with them in opposition to Weizmann.

In the realm of culture, too, Jabotinsky began to feel that America might lead the way for the Old World in the twenties. To him, America was the land of the frontier, and frontiersmen were still alive and well there. He took note of *Mantrap*, a novel of contemporary times by Sinclair Lewis set on the "northwest frontier" of North America, in Canada. (Here, too, Jabotinsky failed to differentiate between Canada and the United States.) The book's central characters, whom he greatly admired, were old-fashioned, "American" heroes, "extraordinarily brave, noble, and strong."<sup>26</sup>

America's business code of efficiency offered a valuable lesson to Zionists, Jabotinsky felt, as did her pioneering ethos. He was gaining, he said, "complete faith in 'the third generation' of the American Diaspora."<sup>27</sup> Youthful leaders of American Zionism not fettered by hidebound tradition could "play a leading part" in reinvigorating the World Zionist Organization and "not only in financial matters." Conditions in America, he thought, were now ready.

The very atmosphere of this country, the magnificent sweep of its initiative ought to prompt the American organization to lead...every movement intended to rejuvenate Zionism, to instill courage instead of timidity, to broaden the avenues we have to trudge.<sup>28</sup>

If here, too, Jabotinsky meant to include Canadians, he was seriously misjudging them. In Canada traditionalism was an important value.

By the end of 1923, Jabotinsky had returned to the political fray, and within a few months was organizing a new movement soon to become known as "Revisionist" and subsequently as New Zionism. He regarded North American support as pivotal to the success of Revisionism and quite naturally began the search for North American allies among veterans of the Legion.<sup>29</sup> Probably through the auspices of one of them, Joseph Brainin, whose father, Reuben, had been a well-known figure in the cultural world of immigrant Montreal in the years just before World War I, Jabotinsky received an offer from impresario Sol Hurok to tour North America in early 1926. The reborn politician believed his new policies would be congenial to Americans. He was, in fact, so eager to garner support in the New World, that he accepted Hurok's offer in preference to one for the same honorarium but only half as many appearances in Poland.<sup>30</sup>

During his first weeks in America, Jabotinsky sent cheery reports to his mother and sister in Jerusalem, claiming that the "lectures are going well [and] paying me well, [and the] press is treating me well," and that his appearances had "been very successful, more so than in Europe."<sup>31</sup> To his wife, however, he admitted the truth: He was being greeted by empty halls. At the opening lecture in New York only one seat in three was filled. He complained to Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, that "nobody seems to want me."<sup>32</sup>

In Canada, it seemed at first that mainline Zionists would grant

him a sympathetic hearing. In 1923, Hadassah-WIZO, the Canadian Women's Zionist organization, had published one of his articles under separate cover. Now S. J. Rodman of Montreal, the director of the Education Department of the ZOC, agreed to chair the lecture in Canada's largest Jewish community. But the "Jewish D'Annunzio"—as Hurok billed Jabotinsky, likening him to the firebrand poet-soldier of Italian nationalism—aroused little excitement. In Toronto, only some four hundred (another account claiming six to seven hundred) seats in Massey Hall, which holds 2,765, were occupied for his talk.<sup>33</sup> Hurok lost money on the tour, and Jabotinsky did not make much, which he greatly regretted. He had hoped to use the proceeds of the lectures to give Revisionism a firm financial base. In March he cabled his wife to tell his co-workers that "[there was] no money here."<sup>34</sup>

Jabotinsky's poor reception lay partly in the fact that most North American Zionists looked askance at an outspoken opponent of official Zionism. Whatever the shortcomings of the Zionist establishment, it was seen to represent the Jewish people's best hope for the future. Outright criticism, many feared, could only weaken the cause, especially in the United States, where most Jews still remained aloof from Zionism. At times, Jabotinsky complained of a "boycott." And indeed, a number of people, including the Palestinian labour leaders David Remez and Avraham Harzfeld then on their own tour of North America, lobbied against him, as did others in the United States and Canada.

Jabotinsky also came to realize that his expectations were too high as he had not adequately done his "homework" before coming to North America. North Americans were, he later claimed in a retrospective evaluation of the tour, "less Jewish" than Europeans, who understood him better, and "less Jewish" than he had expected.<sup>35</sup> North American Zionists, he decided, were either callow "youths"—such as Toronto's J. J. Glass, a young, up-and-coming lawyer and aspiring politician, who chaired Jabotinsky's session in Canada's second-largest Jewish community—or "people of the past generation." And neither the neophytes nor the older Zionists were prepared for his radical message.

Jabotinsky still seems not to have sensed any differences between the two North American countries, although other Zionist emissaries, as noted earlier, readily perceived that Canadian Jews were much less

inclined—and much less encouraged by the surrounding society—to assimilate than their American cousins. His vision may have been clouded by the one real achievement of the 1926 visit, his capture of the American Zionist fraternal order, the Sons of Zion. The order provided Jabotinsky with his first important foothold in North America, and it would soon finance his return to Palestine. It was one American Jewish group which was not active in Canada. He was also tantalized by the possibility for future political collaboration with wealthy and influential American Jews, who might turn the tide for Revisionism, people such as Mack, Wise, Silver, Brandeis, and others. For the moment, Canada seemed to offer Jabotinsky relatively little, and his lack of interest was, perhaps, understandable.

### III

Following his departure from North America in the summer of 1926, Jabotinsky's enthusiasm for the continent declined. He knew that he would have to return regularly in order to maintain his newly won position. At his parting dinner, he spoke explicitly of "next season's campaign in America," and by early 1927 he had laid out plans for apportioning the proceeds of such a campaign.<sup>36</sup> Jabotinsky never made the trip. The next year he headed for Palestine, refusing to visit North America on the way. In 1929 he once again contemplated a North American trip, but rejected the idea.<sup>37</sup> In fact, he would not touch down again on North American soil until 1935, by which time an entirely new world situation formed the background of his visit.

The reasons why Jabotinsky elected not to consolidate his 1926 victories are not clear. Undoubtedly, they have partly to do with his somewhat mercurial temperament. He optimistically began more projects than he could hope to complete. It may be, too, that he was reluctant to commit scarce funds to American travels, which had not proved lucrative. As noted earlier, he could earn in the 1920s more money and reach more people in poverty-stricken Poland than in wealthy America. In general, where Jewish life was increasingly bleak, many more people were open to the strong rhetoric of Jabotinsky and the seemingly simple solutions he offered, than in the land of the unthinking Babbitt and the Jewish "all-rightnik."<sup>38</sup> It also seems that Jabotinsky reverted at this time to some of his early

negative notions regarding America. Despite his attraction to aspects of American culture, Jabotinsky, like so many European intellectuals, tended to believe that America had no soul, where “ideas are manufactured, and vital decisions can be produced by machine methods.”<sup>39</sup> Jabotinsky claimed that Americans with Revisionist leanings did not follow their heads or their hearts, but held back, waiting “for the bandwagon.”

The American Zionist movement had much potential, but for the moment, it seemed to be realizing none of it. Canadian Zionism was more successful, of course, but Jabotinsky was not aware of that fact. By 1927, Revisionism was, he felt, nowhere in “a more...dishevelled state of no cohesion...as in America” and Canada. He knew he had a few faithfuls, such as Glass and Archie Bennett in Toronto, and a few others. But most North Americans, including even the Sons of Zion, he saw lapsing into “passivity.”<sup>40</sup> Pioneering and idealism in North America, he believed, had given way to getting ahead and hedonism.

Jabotinsky was not alone in despairing of America on the eve of the Great Depression, and he was not the only Zionist figure to consider Canada as little better. Labour leader Chaim Arlosoroff, as noted earlier, was well aware of Canada’s Zionist virtues. As he wrote to his wife in 1928, “Montreal and Toronto are among our very best cities, [but the Zionist] propaganda is so poorly organized that it rarely reaches more than a few dozen people.”<sup>41</sup>

Jabotinsky took to comforting from afar his few loyal North American supporters—who were also growing dispirited—and to urging his European stalwarts not to give up entirely on the North Americans. But he did not come to terms with the possibility that his own absence from North America might be contributing to demoralization in the ranks. At times, he grew impatient with his New World followers, who often seemed to him a whining lot. In 1927, he wrote to one of his close associates in New York that the North Americans’ troubles were

just child’s play compared to the difficulties with which we [in Europe] are confronted. Busy as all of you are, you are none of you “refugees” and if you do not realize what it means in terms of dollars and cents and every second’s worry, the better for you. Yet, we carry on....

We in Europe are doing our duty under the bitterest of

handicaps. But the worst of them, the one that paralyses [sic] our influence even in the remotest Orient, is the absence of a Revisionist organization in America.<sup>42</sup>

Jabotinsky felt strongly, then, that he needed a North American organization behind him, especially for the financial resources it could provide. But he seemed unwilling or unable to do the work necessary to establish such an organization. At the end of the twenties, he seemed not much further along with his programme in either Canada or the United States, than he had been at the start of his career in opposition half a dozen years earlier. And in light of the importance North America was assuming in Zionist affairs, he appears less farsighted in 1930 than he had seemed a decade earlier.

A wind of change was in the air, but it was generated less by the activities of Jabotinsky, than by developments in Palestine, Canada, and Central Europe. The disturbances in Palestine in 1929, which resulted in considerable loss of Jewish life and the destruction of the old community in Hebron, were followed by the White Paper of 1930, in which the British government set forth plans for what appeared to many to be nothing other than a headlong retreat from the Balfour Declaration.

Many Zionists felt that Weizmann was too passive in his response to the government proposals. Archibald Freiman, Ottawa department store magnate and president of the ZOC from 1921 to 1944, for example, saw the White Paper as objectionable in the extreme. His long-held "faith in British institutions" and his belief "that the Mandatory Power would meet its obligations" to the Jewish people were shaken. Freiman blocked acceptance of the government plans by the ZOC.<sup>43</sup> Rabbi J. L. Zlotnick, the executive director of the ZOC, demonstrated his disagreement with Weizmann by supporting the Jabotinsky forces at the seventeenth Zionist Congress held in the summer of 1931. To be sure, breaking publicly with the Zionist establishment was one of the acts which led to Zlotnick's departure from office shortly thereafter. This was not, however, because all of the lay leaders were unsympathetic to Jabotinsky's point of view, but rather because open rebellion on the part of the chief professional spokesman for the movement was not tolerable. Whatever the case, Zlotnick's support provides evidence of the accumulating appeal of Jabotinsky's message in Canada.<sup>44</sup>

Less powerful, but more militant Zionists than Freiman and Zlotnick responded differently to the crisis. Twenty-two Toronto Zionists formed a chapter of the Revisionist movement in May, 1930, with the intention of organizing a defence unit to fight in Palestine.<sup>45</sup> By 1932, a general shift in the thinking of Canadian Zionists seemed perceptible to many; the community was growing more militant, and seemed to be moving in the direction of alliance with Jabotinsky.<sup>46</sup> Accelerating the change were the growing antisemitic movements in Canada, which appeared to threaten the security of Jews in that part of the world where they had long seemed most secure.<sup>47</sup>

One of Jabotinsky's responses to the growing activity in Canada was, for the first time, to include a Canadian among his list of potential donors. In 1932, Jabotinsky sent what he called "a begging letter" to the head of the Toronto Revisionists, Mr. L. Barsel, a Hebrew teacher and sometime Hebrew-school principal. As earlier, the leader found his North American devotees wanting. He reproved the Canadians for being "either too indolent or too niggardly" with regard to fundraising, and thereby undermined the effectiveness of the movement.<sup>48</sup>

Also in 1932, Jabotinsky also planned to include Canada in further campaigns. He considered "a flying visit through five or seven cities in the USA and through the whole of Jewish Canada," as a means of stirring up protest against British Palestine policy. The protest was to be timed to coincide with the Imperial Conference scheduled for Ottawa that summer in order to maximize its impact. The visit, however, was not made, partly because of Jabotinsky's ill health, and probably because he still did not take North America all that seriously.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps because he thought them stingy, perhaps because they did not organize the mass protest, and perhaps as a matter of habit, Jabotinsky still in mid-1932 thought of his Canadian supporters as rather a "shabby" lot, certainly not "first-raters."<sup>50</sup>

Jabotinsky may well have been comparing the Canadians to his followers in South Africa, to whom Jabotinsky devoted considerable time, energy, and thought. There, by 1930, Revisionism had attracted many, including the wealthy and generous Michael Haskel, and Jabotinsky had received a sympathetic hearing from the country's foremost statesman, Jan Christian Smuts.<sup>51</sup> In the United States, he still held out hope for an alliance with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and the

Brandeis forces. The next year, the Revisionist executive in London underscored the leader's lack of confidence in the Canadian group by placing the entire North American movement in the stewardship of two somewhat reluctant Americans, Elias Ginsburg and Joseph Bader.<sup>52</sup>

As was the case everywhere, Jabotinsky's followers in Canada were dauntless and intensely committed to him. There is no indication, moreover, that they were aware of his reservations about them. During the thirties, they diligently built their organization brick by brick and gathered strength. Ginsburg wrote to Jabotinsky in April 1934, that "Canada bombards me with letters...to come there for two weeks" to assist with recruiting. He recognized that there was "fertile ground in Canada," but he felt unable to leave his "unfinished job" in the United States, even for a short time.<sup>53</sup> Ginsburg and others felt that a visit from Jabotinsky, himself, to North America was long overdue, especially in light of the new opportunities for Zionist militancy created by the rise of Hitler.

#### IV

Despite the subsequent claims of his followers, Jabotinsky did not foresee the Holocaust. Just a few days before the outbreak of war in 1939, he wrote to the Revisionist executive in London, that he did not expect a war, and if one came, it would be "a minor skirmish between minor powers."<sup>54</sup> Like many other Zionists of his day, however, and like many since the time of Theodor Herzl, he felt the clock ticking away for the Jews in Europe, especially those of Poland. The doors of both Canada and the United States were closed, as were those of most other traditional countries of European-Jewish immigration. Maximalist Zionism seemed an increasingly likely alternative to traditional policies. The politics and economics of the mid-thirties, moreover, promised good prospects for those who sought radical change. The time seemed right; and Jabotinsky agreed. A third tour of North America was planned for 1935 on the assumption that the charismatic leader would now succeed in enrolling large numbers of North Americans in the Revisionist movement, thereby turning the tide against the Zionist establishment at last.

This tour did indeed prove somewhat more successful than the

earlier two. Its Canadian leg consisted of visits to Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto, and this time Jabotinsky was well-prepared. Montreal was the first stop north of the border. His Majesty's Theatre was filled to capacity to hear the fiery Revisionist, who opened his talk in French and went on to express satisfaction, in the words of one reporter, "at being in a British Dominion, where he could spike a misconception that his revisionist movement is anti-England."<sup>55</sup> The orator played to the crowd, telling the Montrealers that Canada was "a laboratory and a university" for Zionism, because of its success in creating a bi-national political structure which worked.<sup>56</sup>

Next came Toronto, which he entered triumphantly. *The Mail and Empire* reported that "more than 400 Jewish admirers" had greeted Jabotinsky on his arrival at Union Station, and called him, "one of the most important Jews of the present generation." *The Daily Star* reported the greeting party to have numbered about one thousand, as did some of the participants.<sup>57</sup> In talks at Massey Hall and the Eaton Auditorium, Jabotinsky predicted that one-third of Europe's Jews would "of necessity" leave there in the coming few years and that Palestine would be their desired destination. But mindful of the generally pro-British sentiments of Torontonians, he assured the crowds, that Jews could "rely implicitly on the conscience of the English people" to open the gates of the Holy Land.<sup>58</sup> In Ottawa he attacked the British for not protecting industry in Palestine, but insisted he was "seeking Great Britain's partnership in [the] promulgation of a Jewish state...."<sup>59</sup>

Jabotinsky revised the opinion of Canada that he had held three years earlier. He seemed to be favourably impressed with what he saw in Canada, especially the important members of the Revisionist groups in Montreal and Toronto and with the Betar Choir in Toronto.<sup>60</sup> That his cause had gained respectability was evidenced by the presence on the platform in Montreal of Capt. Horace Rives Cohen, son of one of the city's most distinguished and prominent Jewish leaders, Lyon Cohen, and in Ottawa of B. M. Alexandor, son-in-law of Archibald Freiman.<sup>61</sup> The local Revisionists demonstrated unstinting loyalty during the visit.<sup>62</sup>

As had been the case nine years earlier, however, the North American crowds were smaller than Jabotinsky expected and smaller certainly than he could have drawn in Poland or in South Africa.

Although in Montreal and New York the halls were full, in Ottawa, Toronto, and most of the American whistle stops, they were half empty. As had also been the case in 1926, the tour was a financial disappointment.<sup>63</sup> A further discouraging event was the decision by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to speak out openly against Revisionism. North America was “improving” in Jabotinsky’s eyes, but it still seemed to him to be the “hardest field to conquer” for Revisionism, because of the superficiality and lack of commitment characteristic of the continent.<sup>64</sup> And if he was perhaps more appreciative now of the intensity of Canadian-Zionist sentiment, he still showed little eagerness to put forth a major effort to capture the country. In fact, from the scant references to Canadian affairs in his letters in 1936 and 1937, it would seem the country faded once again from his memory.

In the late thirties, the political situation for Jews worsened steadily almost everywhere. In Palestine, there was near rebellion on the part of the country’s Arabs, to which the British responded by further restrictions on Jewish immigration. In Germany, the noose was tightening, while Hitler was preparing for the war which would bring most of Europe’s Jews under his control. In North America, the Depression, nativism, and the new-born fascist movements combined to make the climate less hospitable for Jews than it had ever been. Among other activities, the New Zionist Organization responded by trying to maintain pressure on the British government to reverse its by now unequivocal stand against Zionism. In May, 1939, Revisionists in thirty-one countries published a letter to the Rt. Hon. Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer, excoriating the government for its “flagrant breach of the war-time promise made to” the Jewish people in the Balfour Declaration. C. H. Brott, a fairly well-to-do businessman from Montreal, who headed the Revisionist group there, signed for Canada, along with representatives of the other territories of the Empire and of countries from Peru to Manchuko.<sup>65</sup>

The outbreak of hostilities on a scale unexpected by Jabotinsky rendered most of his political activities of recent years inadequate, if not irrelevant. The German invasion of Poland put the majority of his supporters out of reach and in mortal danger. Not only were new sources of revenue and political support necessary for the movement, but the rescue of the Jews of Nazi Europe became imperative. Jabotinsky’s programme of 1939 and 1940 was a three-fold campaign

for the evacuation of a third of Europe's Jews over ten years to Palestine, the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, and the formation of a Jewish army to fight alongside the Allied armies against Germany. The evacuation plan was not new, and its timetable bespeaks its irrelevance to the situation. The army, of course, was a recycled version of the World War I Jewish Legion. Although all three schemes had merit, none was in any way an adequate response to the German menace. It should probably be said that no adequate response was available to Jews. After all, Britain, France, and Russia had been unprepared. European Jews, without a territorial base, financial resources, or the sheer numbers of the Allied Powers, were all but helpless.

In these new circumstances, it finally became obvious to Jabotinsky, as it had to other Zionists before, that North America was the key to the Jewish future. The political battle for the Jewish state, he now realized, could be won only with American support. Funds for the Zionist enterprises in Palestine could now only come from North America. And only in the United States could there be found large reserves of free Jewish manpower uncommitted to the war effort, at least until December, 1941. Accordingly, Jabotinsky decided to shift his base of operations to America and to make a major effort to galvanize support there. Technically stateless, he obtained a visa for the United States, where he arrived in mid-March, 1940. On the way he touched shore in Canada, where some of his earlier negative impressions of the country were reconfirmed. In Halifax, he met Jews who had been living in the country since World War I and before, but who were, he reported to his wife, still regarded as outsiders by their neighbours, placed by them, as he put it, under "total prohibition."<sup>66</sup>

As he always did, Jabotinsky plunged into a round of activities as soon as he arrived in North America, activities in which Canada figured only slightly. He had considerable difficulty securing American visas for his wife and a few essential co-workers. In desperation he appealed to Archibald Freiman, despite their "disagreements on inner Zionist matters," to try to secure visas for them to Canada, so that at least his team would be together on one side of the ocean.<sup>67</sup>

More important to him than such personal matters was the Jewish army. He sought to enlist in its support the Canadian Jewish community and government, hoping to rekindle the enthusiasm and hospitality

extended to the Legion during World War I. He turned first to Marcus M. Sperber, who, as noted above, had recruited for the Legion almost a quarter century earlier. Sperber, Jabotinsky reported to an associate, “sounded enthusiastic but hardly helpful.”<sup>68</sup> Jabotinsky considered a trip to Canada himself to speak on behalf of the army, but apparently could not get a visa.<sup>69</sup> Instead, Elias Ginsburg was despatched to Ottawa and Montreal. Ginsburg met with Archibald Freiman and felt confident that he had converted him to the army idea. Ginsburg also lobbied for support among the European diplomatic corps in Ottawa and apparently established good relations with the Polish consul general. And he met with any government official who would receive him, most notably Minister of National Defence Norman MacLeod Rogers.

Ginsburg reported to Jabotinsky on the last day of May, 1940 that Rogers had promised to place the issue of a Jewish army on the agenda of the Canadian government. Some days later, Jabotinsky wrote to one of his co-workers that the Canadians had agreed “to support the Jewish Army scheme, if the Home [that is, British] Government ask their opinion, and to grant training facilities.” Given the antipathy of the King government to Zionism and to Jewish issues, in general, and given that government’s decision to remain out of the Palestine issue by deferring to Britain, it is likely that Jabotinsky and Ginsburg were building castles in the air.<sup>70</sup> In any case, Rogers was killed in a plane crash in early June.

Two months later, Jabotinsky himself was dead of a heart attack. The leader’s unexpected death at the age of fifty-nine devastated his sympathizers. Their loss was personal, in part because Jabotinsky’s charisma had been so central a feature of his leadership of the Revisionist movement. The *Canadian Jewish Year Book* eulogized him as a “rare exemplar of Jewish versatility” and attacked those who had “considered it their sacred duty to torment him and to make his life as miserable as possible.”<sup>71</sup> Harry Frimerman, one of his Toronto followers, vowed to make an annual pilgrimage to Jabotinsky’s grave in Long Island, and did so until the body was removed to Jerusalem.<sup>72</sup> The response was not unusual even for Canadians about whom Jabotinsky was so ambivalent.

The strength of emotion generated by Jabotinsky invites speculation about whether he might have been able to do more in

Canada than he did, especially after 1930. In the 1930s, radicalism of the left, and not Jabotinsky's radicalism of the right, was more likely to appeal to Jews in North America. Canadian Jews, however, were not the same as Americans, although Jabotinsky seems never to have realized it. The Canadian community was smaller, newer, more embattled, and more alienated from the non-Jewish population. They were not much "less Jewish" than the Europeans with whom Jabotinsky felt close kinship. There was increasing acceptance of Revisionism by mainline Zionists in Canada over the years. All this would seem to indicate that Revisionism had a better chance in Canada than its leader ever realized. In fact, Canada might have become a beachhead for Revisionism in North America, as well as an example to other countries of the British Empire. Unfortunately for Jabotinsky, his perception of the country remained blurred, even after three visits. As a result, Jabotinsky's vision of Canada's potential was limited.

#### ENDNOTES

\*N.B. The author wishes to thank the America-Holy Land Foundation and the Faculty of Arts, York University, for making research for this paper possible, and Mr. Sam Shainhouse and Mr. & Mrs. Harry Frimerman for generously sharing information.

<sup>1</sup>"The Congress and its Aftermath," *Kitvei B. Katznelson* 3 (Tel Aviv, 5706 [1946]): 176 (in Hebrew). All translations are the author's, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup>Yosef Baratz in Montreal to members of the Actions Committee, Histadruth Ha'Ovdim, Tel Aviv (hereafter HVHP), 23 February 1926, Correspondence of the Actions Committee of the Histadruth, HaMachon leHeker Tnu'at Ha'Avodah 'al Shem Pinhas Lavon, Tel Aviv (hereafter LAH), File IV, 208, 66; Baratz in Edmonton to HVHP, 22 March 1931, LAH, File IV, 208, 336 (both in Hebrew).

<sup>3</sup>Chaim Arlosoroff in St. Paul, Minnesota, to sister, Lise, 6 March 1928, *Kitvei Haim Arlosoroff* 6 (Tel Aviv, 5694 [1934]): 198-200 (in Hebrew). See also, Michael Brown, "The Americanization of Canadian Zionism, 1917-1982," *Contemporary Jewry, Studies in Honor of Moshe Davis*, ed. Geoffrey Wigoder (Jerusalem, 1984); and "Divergent Paths: Early Zionism in Canada and the United States," *Jewish Social Studies* 44 (Spring 1982), and the sources cited in both.

<sup>4</sup>Compare Vladimir Jabotinsky, "More About America," *Ktavim* 7 (Jerusalem, 5708 [1948]): 200, 196 (in Hebrew).

<sup>5</sup>Id., Jabotinsky in Paris to [Avraham] Recanati in Salonika, 15 September 1924,

Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv (hereafter MJ), File 38/1153. In "The New Zionism in the New World: Vladimir Jabotinsky's Relations with the United States in the Pre-Holocaust Years," *Modern Judaism* 9 (Winter 1989): 71-99, the present author surveys the range of Jabotinsky's United States connections to 1933.

<sup>6</sup>See Yitzak Ben Zvi, *Po'alei Zion Ba'Aliyah HaShniyyah* (Tel Aviv, 1950), p. 195 (in Hebrew); Vladimir Jabotinsky, *The Story of the Jewish Legion*, tr. Samuel Katz (New York, 1945), pp. 65-66; and other sources.

<sup>7</sup>See Michael Brown, "Some Early 19th [should be, 20th] Century Holy Land 'Travellers' to America: Sources and Contexts," *With Eyes Toward Zion*, ed. Moshe Davis, vol. 2 (New York, 1986), pp. 230-50.

<sup>8</sup>N.[ahum] T.[wersky], "The Questions of Our Existence," *HaPo'el HaTsa'ir*, 12 (29 August 1919) (in Hebrew). See also, Vladimir Jabotinsky, letters, summarized in "Iggrot Zeev Jabotinsky," *Reshimah uMafteah* 1 (Tel Aviv, 5732 [1972]), (hereafter *Iggrot*), to Nahum Sokolow, 15 January 1919 (33/40), to Akiva Ettinger, 1 April 1919 (38/1056) and 19 April 1919 (38/1057), to Zionist Commission, 12 March 1919 (43), and to Harry Friedenwald, 18 May 1919 (38/1059); id., "Kol Korei," Adar I 5679 [1919] (in Hebrew); id., Ludd to Dr.[David] Eder, 7 July 1919, *Central Zionist Archives*, Jerusalem (hereafter, CZA), File L4/158; D. Yaffe, "Demobilization of the Volunteers," *HaPo'el HaTsa'ir* 13 (27 October 1919) (in Hebrew); "Legion Volunteers from the United States Who Chose Demobilization in Palestine," *Bulletin of the Veterans of the Jewish Legion* 1 (May 1976); Shimon Rubinstein, "Efforts to Settle Demobilized Soldiers of the Jewish Legion on Government Lands (1919-1923)," 43 *HaUmah* (Iyyar, 5735 [1975]) (in Hebrew).

<sup>9</sup>Jabotinsky, "Legion," pp. 21, 164-65; id.; Jabotinsky, "Autobiography," *Ktavim* 1 (Jerusalem, 5708 [1948]): 287-89 (in Hebrew).

<sup>10</sup>Id., Jabotinsky in Tel Aviv to Mr. Edlin and Mr. Ludd in Jerusalem, n. p., 2 March 1919, MJ, File 38/1054; to [Robert] Szold in Jerusalem, 27 May and 16 June 1919, CZA, File L3; draft letter to ?? in Jerusalem, 1919, MJ, File 9/2/1.

<sup>11</sup>Eli Gottesman, ed., *Who's Who in Canadian Jewry* (Montreal, 1965), p. 44; Yaacov Sharett and Nahman Tamir, eds., *Anshei Ha'Aliyah HaShniyyah* 2 [Hebrew] (n. p., 1970-72): 335; Jabotinsky in New York to Israel Trivus, n. p., 9 February 1922, *Ktavim* 18 (n. d.): 167-70.

<sup>12</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to Israel Trivus, p. 167-70; Joseph B. Schechtman, *Rebel and Statesman* (New York, 1956), p. 370.

<sup>13</sup>Joseph Cowen and Chaim Weizmann in London to Federation of Zionist Societies in Canada in Montreal, 18 March 1921, *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*, ed. Meyer W. Weisgal, vol. 10 (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 172-73.

<sup>14</sup>Vladimir Jabotinsky, aboard the RMS Acquitainia to mother, Eva Jabotinsky in

Jerusalem, 11 November 1921, MJ, File 2/37/2/1. Unless otherwise noted, Jabotinsky's letters in Russian were translated for me by Yehuda Ben Ari.

<sup>15</sup>Jabotinsky in Kansas City, Mo. to the Director of the Keren Hayesod Bureau in London, 15 January 1922, *Weizmann Archive*, Rehovot, Israel (hereafter, WAR), File 1922.

<sup>16</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to his mother, Eva Jabotinsky in Jerusalem, 18 December 1921, MJ, File 2/37/2/1; Jabotinsky in New Orleans to his mother, Eva Jabotinsky in Jerusalem, 21 January 1922, summarized in *Iggrot*, 31/61.

<sup>17</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to Israel Trivus, n. p., 9 February 1922, loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>Jabotinsky in Minneapolis to his mother, Eva Jabotinsky in Jerusalem, 6 January 1922, summarized in *Iggrot*, 31/59.

<sup>19</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to the Zionist Executive in London, 13 February 1922, CZA, File A18-47-2. Similar complaints were voiced in letters sent all during his trip: from New York to Richard Lichtheim in London, 1 March 1922, CZA, File A 4/4026; from New York to Weizmann, n. p., 15 February 1922, WAR, File 1922; from New York to Yona Machover, 9 March 1922, MJ, File 12/2/1; from New York to his wife, Johanna Jabotinsky, 5 May 1922, MJ, File 3/36/2/1.

<sup>20</sup>Leon Goldman, "History of Zionism in Canada," *The Jew in Canada*, ed. Arthur Daniel Hart (Toronto and Montreal, 1926), pp. 306-07; Weizmann in Ottawa to Zionist Executive in London, 5 May 1921, *Letters and Papers*, vol. 10, p. 189.

<sup>21</sup>Jabotinsky in Milwaukee to Minna and Bella in Berlin and Geneva, 7 December 1921, summarized in *Iggrot*, 140/26; Jabotinsky in New York to mother, Eva Jabotinsky, in Jerusalem, 10 January 1922, both in MJ, File 2/37/2/1; Jabotinsky in Pittsburgh to Minna in Berlin and Geneva, 13 March 1922, summarized in *Iggrot*, 141/26; See also, Joseph B. Schechtman, *Fighter and Prophet* (New York, 1961), p. 265; *Rebel*, p. 394.

<sup>22</sup>Jabotinsky in Berlin to [Frederick H. ] Kisch, n. p., 9 December 1923, CZA, File S28/5280.

<sup>23</sup>See, for example, "Zionist Revisionist Organization of Canada," *Canadian Jewish Reference Book and Directory*, comp. Eli Gottesman (Montreal, 1965), p. 339, where the claim is made that Jabotinsky visited Canada in 1935 "for the first and only time!," and Phil Fine, "Herut Hatcohar will hold gala to celebrate its 60th anniversary," *Canadian Jewish News*, 15 February 1990, which also mentions only the 1935 trip.

<sup>24</sup>Vladimir Jabotinsky, "We Bourgeois," tr. David Kroll, *HaRevisionism HaTsiyyoni BeHitgabshuto*, ed. Joseph Nedava (Tel Aviv, 1985, 1985), pp. 215-16 (in Hebrew), originally published in Russian in *Rassweit*, 17 April 1927. See also, Yaakov Shavit, "Ze'ev Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement," *Studies in Zionism* 4 (Autumn 1981): 219-36.

<sup>25</sup>Vladimir Jabotinsky, "What Does America Have to Say," New York *Morgen*

*Journal*, 18 June 1926 (in Yiddish), trans. Jacob Goldfein.

<sup>26</sup>Jabotinsky, "More About America," p. 200, 196.

<sup>27</sup>Jabotinsky in Paris to Dr. Samuel Perlman in Boston, 17 December 1927, MJ, File 33/188.

<sup>28</sup>Jabotinsky, "We Americans," Haifa *HaTsafon*, 4 June 1928 (in Hebrew), originally published in Yiddish in the New York *Morgen Journal*, 7 May 1926.

<sup>29</sup>Jabotinsky in Paris to [Joseph] Brainin in New York, 19 August 1924, MJ, File 14/2/1. See also, Jabotinsky in Paris to Elias [Ginsburg], New York, 18 April, 6 June, and 16 September 1925, MJ, File 15/2/1; and Jabotinsky in Paris to [Arthur] Adams in Denver, 9 July 1925, MJ, File 15/2/1.

<sup>30</sup>Jabotinsky in Vienna to his wife, Johanna Jabotinsky in Paris, MJ, File 5/36/2/1; Jabotinsky draft cable to Hurok-Universal Artists in New York, [17 October 1925], MJ, File 15/2/1.

<sup>31</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to Eva Jabotinsky and Tamar Kopp in Jerusalem, 3, 22 February 1926, and from Chicago, 21 February 1926, MJ, File 4/37/2/1. See also, Jabotinsky in New York to Johanna Jabotinsky in Paris, 3 February 1926, MJ, File 6/36/2/1.

<sup>32</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to Johanna Jabotinsky in Paris, 13, 21 February 1926, MJ, File 6/36/2/1; Jabotinsky in New York to Rabbi [Abba Hillel] Silver in Cleveland, 23 March 1926, The Temple Library, Cleveland, Abba Hillel Silver Archives, File 6, Drawer 4.

<sup>33</sup>*Palestine Post*, 6 May 1925; *Montreal Gazette*, 9, 10 February 1926; *Toronto Globe*, 11, 12 February 1926; *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 February 1926; *Kitvei Ze'ev Jabotinsky*, ed. Yisrael Yavrovitz (Tel Aviv, 1977), p. 150 (in Hebrew).

<sup>34</sup>Jabotinsky in New York, cable to Johanna Jabotinsky in Paris, 22 March 1926, MJ, File 6/36/2/1.

<sup>35</sup>Jabotinsky in Buffalo, N. Y. to Johanna Jabotinsky in Paris, 13 February 1926; Jabotinsky in New York to Johanna Jabotinsky in Paris, 12 March 1926; and Jabotinsky, n.p. to Johanna Jabotinsky in Paris, 9 March 1926, MJ, File 6/36/2/1; Jabotinsky, n.p. to Shlomo Jacobi, n.p., 22 March 1927, MJ, File 17/2/1. See also, Schechtman, *Fighter*, pp. 53-57.

<sup>36</sup>Jabotinsky's speech at the farewell dinner quoted in "Farewell to Jabotinsky," *The Zionist*, 16 July 1926; Jabotinsky in Lwow, Poland to Johanna Jabotinsky in Paris, 12 March 1927, summarized in *Iggrot*, 28/117.

<sup>37</sup>Jabotinsky in London to Marek Schwartz Jerusalem, 12 September 1929, MJ, File 2/19/2/1.

<sup>38</sup>"All-rightnik," was a term of derision used by Jewish social critics of American-Jewish-American mores to denote what H. L. Mencken called, the "booboisie."

<sup>39</sup>Vladimir Jabotinsky, "American Zionism," *The Zionist*, 25 June 1926.

<sup>40</sup>Jabotinsky in Paris to Meir Grossman in London, 14 January 1928, summarized in *Iggrot*, 34/195; Jabotinsky n.p. to Elias Ginsburg, New York, 19 August 1927, MJ, File 17/2/1; Jabotinsky in Paris to Mr. Danzis, New York, 30 November 1927, MJ, File 17/2/1.

<sup>41</sup>Chaim Arlosoroff, aboard a train between Montreal and Toronto, to his wife, Sima Arlosoroff in New York, 21 February 1928, in *Arlosoroff*, vol. 6, pp. 194-95.

<sup>42</sup>Jabotinsky in Paris to Jacob Ish Kishor in New York, 21 November 1927, MJ, File 17/2/1; Jabotinsky in Paris to Meir Grossman, London, 22 November 1927, summarized in *Iggrot*, 37/749; Jabotinsky in Paris to Mr. Danzis, New York, 30 November 1927, MJ, File 17/2/1.

<sup>43</sup>Lawrence Freiman, *Don't Fall Off the Rocking Horse* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 48-49; *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, 1 May 1931.

<sup>44</sup>See Rabbi J. L. Zlotnick in Montreal(?) to Mr. L[ouis] Rosenberg in Regina, 5 October 1931, in LAH, File IV, 208, 336.

<sup>45</sup>Interviews with Harry Frimerman, one of the founders of Betar in Toronto, 14 December 1986 and 7 January 1987.

<sup>46</sup>Compare Meyer Wiesgal, *So Far, an Autobiography* (London and Jerusalem, 1971), p. 93.

<sup>47</sup>See Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf* (Toronto, 1975), passim. On the direct connection between Zionist militancy and Canadian antisemitism, see David Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*, vol. 2 (Montreal, 1977), pp. 82-85; Lawrence Freiman, pp. 49-51, 56; Archibald Freiman, "Three Years of Achievements," *Canadian Zionist*, February, 1935.

<sup>48</sup>Jabotinsky in Paris to [Mr. L. ] Barsel in Toronto, 3 May 1932, MJ, File 1/22/3/1 (copy). On Barsel see Gottesman, *Directory*, p. 379.

<sup>49</sup>Jabotinsky in Paris to Executive Committee, Union of Zionist Revisionists, London, 25 February 1932, and to Meir [Grossman, London], 14 March 1932, MJ, File 1/22/2/1.

<sup>50</sup>Jabotinsky in Paris to Executive Committee, Union of Zionist Revisionists, London, 22 April 1932, MJ, File 1/22/2/1.

<sup>51</sup>Jabotinsky in Johannesburg to General Smuts, 21 March 1930, MJ, File 37/821.

<sup>52</sup>Jabotinsky in Paris to Elias Ginsburg and Joseph Bader, New York, 17 October 1933, MJ, File 2/23/2/1.

<sup>53</sup>Elias Ginsburg in New York to Jabotinsky in Paris, 11 April 1934, MJ, File 22/3/1.

<sup>54</sup>Jabotinsky in France, cable to Executive Committee of Zionist Revisionists in London, August 1939, MJ.

<sup>55</sup>Montreal *Gazette*, 11 February 1935.

<sup>56</sup>Ottawa *Citizen*, 11 February 1935.

<sup>57</sup>"Zionist Leader Welcomed to City," Toronto *Mail and Empire*, 13 February 1935; "Status of Dominion Idea for Palestine," Toronto *Daily Star*, 13 February 1935; Frimerman interviews.

<sup>58</sup>"Exiles Will Boost Palestine Growth," "Jewish Leader Discusses Zionism," and "Palestine Reform Urged by Lecturer," Toronto *Globe*, 13, 14, 18, February 1935.

<sup>59</sup>"V. Jabotinsky Asks New Deal Be Given Jews in Palestine," Ottawa *Citizen*, 18 February 1935.

<sup>60</sup>Jabotinsky in Toronto to Aharon Propes in Warsaw, 15 February 1935; Jabotinsky in Toronto to Shlomo Jacobi in London, 18 February 1935, MJ, File 1/25/2/1.

<sup>61</sup>"Jewish State for Palestine Urged," Montreal *Gazette*, 11 February 1935; "V. Jabotinsky in Ottawa Tomorrow," Ottawa *Citizen*, 16 February 1935.

<sup>62</sup>Frimerman interviews.

<sup>63</sup>Jabotinsky in Toronto to Shlomo Jacobi in London, 18 February 1935, MJ, File 1/25/2/1.

<sup>64</sup>Vladimir Jabotinsky, *Our Voice*, March-April, 1935.

<sup>65</sup>Letter in Public Records Office, London, File 733/407/75872. Information about C. H. Brott and his brother, Irving, also an active Revisionist, from Lewis Goelman, Toronto. Manchuko is the name given to Manchuria by its Japanese occupiers.

<sup>66</sup>Jabotinsky, on board the SS Samaria, to Johanna Jabotinsky in London, 12 March 1940, translated for me by Rahel Halperin, MJ, 12/36/2/1.

<sup>67</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to Archibald Freiman in Ottawa, 15 June 1940, MJ, 2/30/2/1 (copy). In that letter he asked to be remembered to B. M. Alexander, Freiman's son-in-law, with whom he had shared the platform in the Rideau Theatre five years before.

<sup>68</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to Benjamin Akzin in Washington, D. C., 12 May 1940, MJ, File 1/30/2/1.

<sup>69</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to Johanna Jabotinsky in London, 27 June 1940, MJ, File 12/36/2/1, trans. Rahel Halperin.

<sup>70</sup>Jabotinsky in New York to Jacob Landau in Washington, D. C., 4 July 1940, in Public Records Office, London, File FO 371/21566 (copy). See also, Jabotinsky in New York to the Consul General of Poland in Ottawa, 20 May 1940, MJ, File 1/30/2/1; Jabotinsky in New York to B[enjamin] A.[kzin] in Washington, D. C., 31 May 1940, MJ, File 1/30/2/1, and 5 June 1940, MJ, File 2/30/2/1; Jabotinsky in New York to [Abraham] Abrahams in London, 5 July 1940, MJ, File 2/30/2/1; [Elias] G.[insberg], n. p., draft cable to Jabotinsky in New York, 24 May 1940, MJ, 2/8/3/1/. On the King government and its attitude to Zionism, see Zachariah Kay, *Canada and Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1978), and David J. Bercusson, *Canada and the Birth of Israel* (Toronto, 1985).

<sup>71</sup>*Canadian Jewish Year Book* 2 (Montreal, 1940): 253-54.

<sup>72</sup>Harry Frimerman interviews.