

Richard Menkis

**“There were cries of joy, some of sorrow”:  
Canadian Jewish Soldiers and Early Encounters  
with Survivors<sup>I</sup>**

*A close study of the early contacts between Canadian Jewish soldiers and survivors reveals many of the features largely associated only with the "liberation" of the camps in 1945. Already in 1944, in France, Belgium and the Netherlands, Canadian soldiers had encountered evidence of the Holocaust, especially the stories of deportations, deprivation and loss told by Jews emerging from hiding. Many soldiers heard the stories, were deeply affected by them, and reached out to the survivors and wrote about their experiences to family members. Some accounts of these encounters appeared in the Canadian Jewish press. These accounts fed into a homefront discourse and strategy, encouraged by the Canadian Jewish Congress, which sought to demonstrate to both Jews and non-Jews the role of Canadian Jews in the war effort and the need to help European Jewry.*

*Une étude attentive des premiers contacts entre les soldats juifs canadiens et les survivants révèle plusieurs des caractéristiques associées en grande partie seulement à la «libération» des camps en 1945. Déjà en 1944, en France, en Belgique, et aux Pays-Bas, les soldats canadiens avaient été confrontés à des signes de l'Holocauste, en particulier les histoires de déportations, de privations, et de pertes racontées par les Juifs qui sortaient de la clandestinité. Beaucoup de soldats ont entendu ces histoires, ont été profondément émus, ont tendu la main aux survivants, et ont écrit à propos de leurs expériences aux membres de leur famille. Certains récits de ces rencontres ont été publiés dans la presse juive canadienne. Ces récits nourrissaient un discours et une stratégie sur le front intérieur, encouragés par le Congrès juif canadien, qui cherchait à démontrer aux juifs et aux non-juifs le rôle des Juifs canadiens dans l'effort de guerre et la nécessité d'aider la communauté juive européenne.*

In 1947 and 1948, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) released the two-volume *Canadian Jews in World War II*, to enumerate, celebrate, and memorialize Jews who wore Canadian uniforms during the Second World War. The first volume was for decorated soldiers, from Flight-Lieutenant Sidney Simon Shulemson who earned both the Distinguished Service Order and Distinguished Flying Cross and was Canada's most decorated Jewish soldier, to the seventy Jewish soldiers who were "mentioned in dispatches." The second volume was dedicated to casualties, providing information on the 420 Canadian Jews who lost their lives or were presumed dead, the 334 wounded, and the eighty-five prisoners-of-war.<sup>2</sup>

These volumes were both testament and afterword to Congress' work during the Second World War. CJC had encouraged Canadian Jews to enlist, offered support to soldiers, and looked to demonstrate publicly to non-Jewish Canadians that Jews were shouldering their burden and serving overseas with distinction.<sup>3</sup> The volumes were also a memorial that families could hold in their hands and keep in their homes. In subsequent decades, however, the enthusiasm for the stories of Jewish soldiers

in Canada (and in other diaspora communities) dissipated. Perhaps some objected to the celebratory and patriotic tone of the stories, especially in decades of antiwar activism. And perhaps, as historian Derek Penslar has stressed, communal identities based on Holocaust awareness as well as the heroism of the Israeli military have displaced the memory of Jewish soldiers in their diaspora communities.<sup>4</sup>

Recently, however, historians have wrested the stories of Jewish soldiers from both oblivion and celebratory volumes like *Canadian Jews in World War II*. They are, instead, critically examining the history of Jewish soldiers in terms of their significance in modern Jewish history generally, and more specifically for our purposes, in understanding the actions and attitudes of Jewish soldiers during the Second World War. Deborah Dash Moore, in her examination of American Jewish soldiers during the Second World War, views their battles on and off the battlefields as transformative both for the Jewish community and American society more generally.<sup>5</sup> Derek Penslar has turned the Zionist myth of diaspora powerlessness on its head and has shown that modern Jewish involvement with the military did not begin with Zionism, but rather that Zionism and the fight for the State of Israel drew from a multifaceted Jewish involvement with the military since emancipation. As with the case of *Canadian Jews in World War II*, communities and individuals could use commitment to the military to identify their attachment to the nation-state and demonstrate their worthiness for citizenship and freedom from prejudice. Moreover, a transnational military commitment existed independently of militarization on behalf of Zionism. In fact, Penslar argues that “the 1918–1948 period must be seen as one of nearly constant Jewish involvement in global conflicts in the name of causes that explicitly or implicitly served Jewish communal interests.”<sup>6</sup>

We have good reason, then, for studying Jewish soldiers in their diaspora communities. We must tread carefully, however, in depicting the attitudes of the Jewish soldiers as homogeneous and unchanging. Even for the Second World War, the issue of the motivations of Jewish soldiers in the war against Nazi Germany and its allies is vexing. Reviewing the motives for enlisting, historian Gerald Tulchinsky found strong claims by Jews that they wanted to join because of Hitler’s treatment of the Jews. He also noted, however, that “there were those with little concern for the fate of European Jews and no strong enthusiasm for fighting Nazis.”<sup>7</sup> New research has also examined the attitudes of soldiers at the end of the war, especially with the discovery of the camps. Jewish soldiers – many of whom had previously given little thought to the fate of the Jews – now saw themselves as warriors for a Jewish cause. They faced, moreover, new challenges. They struggled to believe what they saw, to voice what seemed beyond expression, and to find useful ways to aid the victims in the short and long terms.<sup>8</sup>

And what of the lives and attitudes of soldiers between the time that they enlisted and the discovery of the camps? The movements of Canadian soldiers in Italy and

northwestern Europe after D-Day led to encounters with Jews who had survived in hiding. The stories of their liberation have not been adequately told and analyzed. On the occasion of the conference and this special issue on Canadian Jewish life in 1944, I will describe and analyze early encounters of Canadian Jewish soldiers with survivors and thus offer a more granulated study of Canadian encounters with the Holocaust. The paper will link the military movements of Canadian soldiers with the encounter of survivors and will illustrate how soldiers engaged with the harrowing stories of the survivors and how many soldiers felt compelled to bear witness to and repeat those stories and to reach out to the survivors in order to offer aid. The stories, moreover, may affect the soldiers' understanding of why they were fighting the war.

## Encounters

Although Canadian Jewish soldiers encountered evidence of the persecution of European Jews before D-Day, there has been little work done on the Jewish soldiers who fought in Italy, beginning with the Allied invasion of Sicily in July 1943. When Ottawa-born Chaplain Isaac Rose arrived in Italy in the summer of 1944, there were, according to his estimate, about seven hundred Canadian Jewish soldiers in Italy.<sup>9</sup> With Allied victories in the south of Italy in late 1943 and early 1944, a number of internment camps were liberated. These camps held numerous Jews, including Jews from Yugoslavia who had survived the brutal Nazi persecutions and escaped to Italy. Jewish soldiers from Canada serving in Italy spent time with Jewish soldiers from Palestine (not formally established into the Jewish Brigade until September 1944) fighting under the British flag, and those soldiers were reaching out to survivors. In March 1944, the chaplain of these Jewish soldiers, E.E. Urbach (later renowned as a scholar of Rabbinics) spoke to Canadian Jewish soldiers around Purim. It was thus an occasion to reflect on the tenuous survival of Jews, especially because Urbach was also deeply engaged with the issue of refugees and the role of Palestine as a Jewish homeland.<sup>10</sup> Lethbridge-born RCAF Flight Lieutenant Herbert J. Ludman was also in Italy during the Allied invasion, encountered refugees and worked with the Jewish soldiers from Palestine to serve their needs.<sup>11</sup>

After the D-day invasion of June 6, 1944, the Canadians fought along with their Western Allies to push the Nazis out of northern France, Belgium, and the Netherlands on their way to the final goal – Berlin and the end of the Nazi regime. As the Allies advanced, Jews emerged from the ordeal of hiding. Within weeks of the invasion, Toronto-born Chaplain Gershon Levi used a dilapidated shack in Normandy for Friday night services. An elderly Jewish woman from Paris, who had been in hiding, lit the candles. Interviewed shortly after the war, Levi underlined the event's significance to Jewish soldiers, as paraphrased by the reporter: "... she was a symbol of Jewish suffering and martyrdom – the first Jewish person they liberated in Europe."<sup>12</sup> Six weeks after D-Day, Winnipeg-born Sergeant David Heaps attended

a British service in Caen, which had been captured after fierce resistance from the Nazis. Heaps wrote to his father, the well-known politician A.A. Heaps, that he “met a girl there, the only Jew left in Caen. They had either fled or the Nazis had exterminated them. She hid with a friend and fled as they approached. ....”<sup>13</sup> In Rouen, liberated by the Canadians on August 30, 1944, Levi found only devastation: “The community has disappeared entirely, probably deported to Poland. The synagogue is in ruins, with only part of a wall and the roof still standing.”<sup>14</sup>

Much of the contact between Jewish soldiers and survivors took place on Jewish holidays, most notably, for the period under investigation, Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, and Chanukah. Unlike the soldiers’ experiences with the discovery of the camps, when non-Jewish and Jewish servicemen were simultaneously affected, the contact with survivors in this period would be by Jews during Jewish holidays and in Jewish settings. In September, Jewish servicemen who attended High Holiday services had poignant encounters in newly-liberated areas. In Senigallia, Italy, in the province of Ancona, Chaplain Isaac Rose led the High Holiday services. For the occasion, the servicemen converted an old theatre into a synagogue. Not only did Jewish soldiers from many countries attend the service, but also, according to a newspaper report, “a few civilian Jews who had escaped from German concentration camps.”<sup>15</sup> Jewish servicemen went to services in Brussels and Antwerp and spoke directly to survivors. Pte. H. Wisenthal of Montreal attended the overcrowded Brussels synagogue on Yom Kippur, and he wrote: “These Jews have been in hiding for two years. Every one of them has a sad tale to tell...Only a quarter of the original population survived. The whereabouts of the rest is a further mystery. Our people in Europe have indeed suffered miserably.”<sup>16</sup> David Heaps wrote to his father about the Jews of Antwerp: “Apparently they are practically exterminated. The men and women were taken out and tortured and shot – and many others who escaped this were thrown into the water and drowned. A few escaped by remaining indoors, hidden for almost the entire time since 1940. Children were snatched from their mothers and shipped away with no traces left.”<sup>17</sup>

In the fall of 1944, the Canadians succeeded in the difficult task of making the port of Antwerp secure by seizing control of the Scheldt estuary from the well-entrenched Germans. From there, they made inroads into the southern Netherlands. These advances brought Canadians into contact with more survivors. Arriving in Belgium on October 23, 1944, Toronto-born Chaplain Samuel Cass served the Jewish soldiers in northwestern Europe, after Gershon Levi was appointed chief chaplain based in London. In late November, Cass encountered his first group of Dutch Jews in Breda. They had been liberated only three weeks earlier by the 1<sup>st</sup> Polish Armoured Division under the command of the First Canadian Army. Only thirty survived in hiding out of a community of over two hundred, and, in his words, “the rest have been deported and not heard from again.”<sup>18</sup> Recently-discovered photographs show a sombre scene, with Canadian and Polish soldiers standing with survivors in Breda’s vandalized

synagogue.<sup>19</sup> Once the Canadians had completed their crucial victory of the Scheldt estuary and cleared away the mines by the end of November, they settled into the Nijmegen area for a period of three months when they would be engaged in no major offensives. It was also a time when Cass and his Jewish soldiers continued to meet with Dutch survivors.<sup>20</sup>



A service held the first day of Chanukah, 10 December 1944, somewhere in Holland [Breda]. Jews of the Polish Division [Polish 1st Armoured Division, under command of the First Canadian Army]. This was held in a synagogue which had been desecrated by the Nazis. These photos were included in a letter from Samuel Cass to the Religious Welfare Committee, 14 January 1945. Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives (Montreal), CJC War Efforts Collection, DA 18.1 Box 18, file 15.

## Intertwined Lives

Although Canadian soldiers encountered the evidence of the mistreatment of Jews in labour and prison camps, and they saw the physical evidence in the destruction of synagogues, in this period, Canadian soldiers especially encountered the harrowing stories of Jews in hiding. For some, what they saw was not easily put into words. In a letter to his wife, Cass thought – as did those who later encountered the camps – that “the stories of these people will never adequately be told.”<sup>21</sup> One soldier who met survivors at *Kol Nidre* service in Antwerp wrote in a published letter that “we *cannot conceive* the full tragedy of the Jews of Europe and the bestiality of the enemy.”<sup>22</sup> Others, however, did try to express the anguish of the survivors. Pte. Philip (aka Feivel) Madras (aka Medres), the son of the well-known Yiddish author Israel Medres, conducted interviews with the chaplains and wrote detailed letters to his parents of some of his experiences and the activities of Cass and Levi. They became the basis for articles in the Jewish press. In one of them, he tries to convey the experiences of the survivors he met in Belgium:

For the past two years, these people, like other Jews, were kept in hiding, in cellars, in attics, in barns, anywhere. Every minute was a day, every hour was a week, every day a month and every month was a year. When the Germans were finally beaten these people came out of hiding. For some of them it was the first time in two years that they saw actual sunlight, and breathed fresh air.”<sup>23</sup>

Another soldier recognized what many others would learn afterwards: that “liberation” brought both joy and pain to survivors: “Friends and relatives were seeing other for the first time in years, as all came out of hiding. There were cries of joy, some of sorrow, as some found their loved ones, others learned that their hopes are in vain.”<sup>24</sup>

Beyond the telling of the stories, soldiers found themselves drawn into the lives of survivors in more tangible ways. Soldiers who met survivors were inundated with desperate requests to help find relatives. Gershon Levi wrote to his brother that when he attended Sabbath services in Brussels in late September, “it was pitiful the way people crowded around me, pressing letters on me to relatives in the United States, Canada, South America, Palestine. I had to explain that I couldn’t send them, but would write on their behalf.”<sup>25</sup> Chaplain Samuel Cass was keen to hear the stories of survivors, but as he wrote to his wife, they kept him busy with requests about possible relatives in Canada. However, he understood what he called “the great hunt” and he did his best to answer the many requests, either directly or indirectly.<sup>26</sup> By early December, his work was so well-known that a Jew in London wrote to him because “I have heard of your good work helping trace Jews in Liberated countries....”<sup>27</sup>

Under the direction of the chaplains, the soldiers offered money and food to the survivors, and helped in the rebuilding of synagogues. As Cass indicated in his correspondence with Congress officials, the Jewish communities of Belgium and especially the Netherlands were in dire need of aid. Jewish aid organizations, such as the Joint Distribution Committee, were not yet able to offer support, and there would be no centralized Jewish community in the Netherlands until early 1945. The survivors emerging from hiding were often far from home and without roots in the community in which they lived, including many of the Jewish refugees from Germany who had hoped (as during the First World War) for a safe haven in the Netherlands. Especially around the holiday of Chanukah, the chaplains and Canadian Jewish soldiers tried to connect with Jewish children to arrange parties for them and give them gifts. Canadian soldiers interacted with children in Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Tilburg, and Nijmegen, and the official photographers captured a number of scenes.<sup>28</sup> Canadian Jews in the RCAF, stationed at the RAF Flying Station set up in the southern province of Eindhoven, also held a party for Jewish children. One of them took a photograph of the event, which he saved for years. The inscription on the back read: "Jewish servicemen in Eindhoven Holland, December 10, 1944. We made a Chanukah party for Jewish children that were hidden out. We brought foods and gifts for the kids."<sup>29</sup> For Canadian Jewish soldiers, the celebrations and the images were statements that Canadians, in general, were building a new future for these children. Moreover, at a time when there were questions about whether Jewish orphans had to be returned to Jewish families, these images proclaimed them as Jewish children.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to the physical liberation and support, Canadians saw themselves playing a role in freeing the Jews psychologically. The Star of David (*Magen David*) became a symbol of the transformation from servitude to self-pride. One Canadian serviceman told the following story: "One old man and his wife were still wearing that shameful badge of yellow with the insignia 'J'. I approached them telling them they were 'free' and started to rip off the star with my service knife. The old man fell to his knees crying like a child...I told him 'I am a Jew, you need not fear any more.'"<sup>31</sup> In late October, Samuel Cass was stopped by Jews who saw the symbol on his vehicle. One of them, Cass wrote his wife, Annabel, "expressed amazement that I should display the Mogen Dovid which they had to wear as a yellow badge of shame."<sup>32</sup>

### **Why fight? The war and the fate of the Jews**

As there is no way to quantify the evolving motivations of Jewish soldiers, it is perhaps wiser to acknowledge and discuss the variety of responses that one can find in the correspondence of soldiers. There were soldiers who demonstrated concern for the Jews, but in a restrained fashion that did not seem to colour their view of why they were fighting the war. Captain Joseph Greenblatt of Ottawa was a physician



who enlisted with the Royal Canadian Army Corps on June 30, 1942. He crossed over with the Canadians on D-Day and travelled with Canadian troops through France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and ultimately Germany. In one of his many letters to Francis Trachtenberg, he expressed interest in the High Holiday services where there were survivors, although he could not attend. However, in response to a friend's remarks about High Holidays in a synagogue in Ottawa, Greenblatt offered extended, and articulate, reflections on his own attitude towards religion while on the front. What is striking was how he did not fold the experiences of the Jews during the war into his musings:

I really do believe .... that I have faith in an immaterial being as a protector. That having that faith I am able to perform my labour as necessary without too much concern about my own well-being, thereby giving all my undivided attention to the work at hand....I also sincerely believe that such faith is followed by a righteous way of life not expressed by devout prayer in synagogue...but by a set of rules such as is laid out and understood as a proper way of life without humans.<sup>33</sup>

This is not to say that Greenblatt was unconcerned about the fate of the Jews. When he did meet two survivors at a Chanukah party in 1944, he found out that they had been in hiding but did not hear much of their stories. He did hope to see them again, and he also intended to bring surgical equipment to help one of the survivors, who was a physician.<sup>34</sup> In general, however, the war against the Jews did not explicitly impinge on Greenblatt's outlook on the war.

Pte. David (aka) Tevy Devor's views were different in purpose and tone. Born in 1924, he was one of four sons of Kate and Harry Devor. His three brothers also served: Tevy enlisted in April 1943, and in less than a year later he was in Italy with the Irish Regiment of Canada.<sup>35</sup> His Jewishness was visceral rather than intellectual. He seems truly surprised that Italy was overtly Catholic, as in his description to his mother Kate: "Although this country is really religious you don't know the half of it old Yosky<sup>i</sup> on every wall and ceiling churches everywhere."<sup>36</sup> His reasoning for fighting the war was also visceral, and without reporting on any direct contact with survivors or evidence of the Holocaust, he told his mother: "Just remember [that all] I'm fighting for are people in revenge in the way the German treated the Jew in Europe." After describing how a recently killed fellow Jewish soldier had "bagged" more than twenty Germans, he made his own promise of retribution: "Ma, I promise you that I'll attempt [to] get five Gerrys for you, in fact one for each one in the family..."<sup>37</sup>

Other soldiers made the direct link between what they were witnessing and their purpose. David Heaps enlisted in the army on 22 April 1942 (several months before his brother Leo), was promoted to sergeant in January 1943, and served with an anti-tank Battery of the Royal Canadian Artillery throughout the campaign in

northwestern Europe.<sup>38</sup> Heaps, who had attended High Holiday services in Belgium and described the experiences of Antwerp Jews (see above), also wrote to his father of his strong feelings that the people behind the suffering of the Jews must be treated harshly: "I would have no mercy on these swine and would kill them all. They are sub-human brutes and sadists. ... as soon as possible they must be completely ferreted out and punished."<sup>39</sup> Another soldier who heard firsthand the stories of the surviving Jews of Brussels decided that even if his repatriation came though, he would turn it down. "I want to be in Berlin. I wish to be with the troops who repay these inhuman hyenas."<sup>40</sup> The chaplains also encouraged their soldiers to remember to fight as Jews, and they placed their actions within the framework of Jewish history. Thus, at Chanukah, Cass called on his flock to remember "the glorious heroism and unconquerable spirit of the Maccabees who, like us, were fighters for liberty and freedom of religious expression."<sup>41</sup>

## Home Front

Many of these stories of encounters with survivors were collected by the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), which disseminated the stories to the press. The circulation of narratives of Canadian Jewish soldiers was also central to the public relations campaign of CJC towards non-Jewish Canadians. In response to charges that the Jews were not enlisting,<sup>42</sup> or that Jews were profiteering from the war,<sup>43</sup> these accounts emphasized that Jews were indeed involved in the military. In addition to deepening the roots of CJC in the Jewish community, the circulation of these stories served several purposes. Norman Erwin has argued that the Jewish press gave prominent coverage to the uprisings in the ghetto, and to the role of the Zionists, in order to challenge the Jewish sense of impotence in the face of the Nazis.<sup>44</sup> The stories of Canadian soldiers improving the lives of European Jewry could also offer a partial antidote to a sense of powerlessness.

There were potential pitfalls, as the stories of the aid to survivors could "prove" to some anti-Semites that the Second World War was a Jewish war. One of CJC's responses was to insist that the fight was for all. In early 1944, in the first of three comic books that CJC published on "Jewish War Heroes," the emphasis is on the service of Canadian Jews, but the message is broadened to emphasize the importance of the battle within the wider Jewish world, and in the non-Jewish world:

Jews everywhere have declared war on Hitler, war to the death, without reserve and without compromise. They know and the whole world now knows that Hitlerism is the enemy of all civilization. Men cannot live free and decent lives if Hitler remains on earth or if his ideas remain. Jews and all civilized mankind are fighting this war to destroy Hitler and his evil ways.<sup>45</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that Congress was very appreciative when Mackenzie King's Minister of National Defence not only addressed High Holiday messages for Canadian Jews in uniform for the first time in 1944, but also openly acknowledged the special concerns of Jews within the broader fight.<sup>46</sup> The Minister of National Defence for Naval Services pointed out that:

There are many causes for which this war is being fought. Not the least of them is the vanquishing of those forces, physical and intellectual, who would exploit racial and religious prejudice for their own unworthy ends...

Another Minister was more explicit:

The Jewish race has had good reason to battle the Nazi beast with all its energy. In Hitler's Germany, the Jew has been chosen as the prime target for the barbarous cruelties that seldom have been equaled in the history of mankind....Jewish or Christian, [Canada's soldiers] fight shoulder to shoulder that they may live side by side in peace and harmony.

The explicit reference to the suffering of the Jews, and the assumption of a conjuncture of aspirations of Jews and non-Jews, was both remarkable and uncommon.

A close study of the early contacts between Canadian Jewish soldiers and survivors allows for a more granulated study of Canadian Jewish soldiers and Canadian responses to the Holocaust. Already in 1944, months before the dramatic liberation of the camps in Germany, Canadian soldiers had encountered evidence of the Holocaust, and more specifically the stories of Jews in hiding. The soldiers heard the stories, were affected by them, and wrote about their experiences to family members, which occasionally appeared in the press. Most of the contact at this point was during Jewish holidays, and thus the encounters with survivors were largely experienced by Jews, unlike the later liberations of the camps, which were experienced by both Jews and non-Jews. Some of the soldiers worked to reverse the physical and psychological oppression experienced by the Jews under the Nazis. While some Jewish soldiers seemed primed to put on a uniform to fight against Hitler because of his treatment of the Jews, for others, the encounter with survivors would deepen their resolve to defeat the Nazis. The reports of these encounters fed into a broader discourse on the home front, especially under the guidance of Canadian Jewish Congress, which sought to demonstrate to both Jews and non-Jews the role of Canadian Jews in the war effort generally, and the need to help Jews more specifically. There are, in short, a number of reasons why we should continue to wrest from oblivion the stories of Jewish soldiers in general, and – more specifically – of the activities and attitudes of Canadian Jewish soldiers over the course of the Second World War.

**i**

A somewhat derisive Yiddish name for Jesus.

**1**

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**2**

*Canadian Jews in World War II. Part I: Decorations* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1947); *Part II: Casualties* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1948). Curiously, the casualty figures in *Part II* do not exactly match the information given on the inside cover of *Part I*.

**3**

Gerald Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 371-6; for the views of a Yiddish journalist supportive of CJC's efforts, see Israel Medres, *Between the Wars: Canadian Jews in Transition*, translated into English by Vivian Felsen (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 2003), 114-117, which retrospectively summarized his reporting for the *Keneder Adler*.

**4**

Derek Penslar, *Jews and the Military: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 1-2.

**5**

Deborah Dash Moore, *GI Jews: How World War II Changed a Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

**6**

Penslar, *Jews and the Military*, 14.

**7**

Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 374.

**8**

Mark Celinscak, *Distance from the Belsen Heap: Allied Forces and the Liberation of a Nazi Concentration Camp* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); Dan Stone, *The Liberation of the Camps: The End of the Holocaust and its Aftermath* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

**9**

Ontario Jewish Archives, Blankenstein Family Heritage Centre (Toronto) (hereafter OJA), Devor family fonds. Letter from David Devor to Kate Devor, 28 August 1944.

**10**

E.E. Urbach, *Reshimot bi-Yeme Milchamah: Yomano shel Rav Erets-Yisraeli ba-Tsava ha-Briti, 5702-5704, 1942-1944*, ed. by Chanah Urbach et al. (Tel Aviv: Misrad ha-Bitachon, 2008), 252. On one of those occasions, Urbach led services at the Canadian Base Reinforcement Depot (CBRD), relocated from North Africa to Avellino, Italy, on January 1, 1944, where soldiers received additional training before heading to the front. For other evidence of interaction between Canadian (and other) Jewish soldiers with Jewish soldiers from Palestine, see *Palestine Post*, 22 September 1944, 4.

**11**

As quoted in the press and reproduced in *Canadian Jews in World War II, Part 2*, 126.

**12**

"An interview with Rabbi Levi Shortly After World War II," reproduced in S. Gershon Levi, *Breaking New Ground: The Struggle for a Jewish Chaplaincy in Canada*, ed. David Golinkin (Montreal: National Archives Canadian Jewish Congress, 1994), 65.

**13**

OJA, Heaps family fonds, David Heaps to A.A. Heaps, 30 July 1944.

**14**

*Congress Bulletin* (November 1944), 9.

**15**

*Ibid.*, 5.

**16**

*Ibid.*

**17**

OJA, Heaps family fonds, David Heaps to A.A. Heaps, 26 October 1944.

**18**

Library and Archives Canada (Ottawa) (hereafter: LAC), Samuel Cass fonds, MG 30 D225, vol. 3, file 5, Samuel Cass to Annabel Cass, 25 November 1944.

**19**

The photographs, taken on the 1<sup>st</sup> day of Chanukah, 10 December 1944, are included in a letter from Samuel Cass to the Religious Welfare Committee, 14 January 1945, Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives (Montreal), CJC War Efforts Collection, DA 18.1 Box 18, file 15.

**20**

For more details on the interaction between the chaplains (especially Cass) and survivors in the Netherlands, see Richard Menkis, "But you can't see the fear that people lived through": Canadian Jewish Chaplains and Canadian encounters with Dutch survivors, 1944-1945," *American Jewish Archives* 60, no. 1-2 (2008): 24-50.

**21**

LAC, Cass fonds, vol. 3, file 5, Samuel Cass to Annabel Cass, 25 November 1944.

**22**

The emphasis is mine. *Congress Bulletin* (November 1944).

**23**

*Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, 3 November 1944.

**24**

*Congress Bulletin* (November 1944).

**25**

Gershon Levi to brother [unnamed], 28 September 1944, reproduced in Levi, *Breaking New Ground*, 63-64.

**26**

LAC, Cass fonds, vol. 3, file 4, Samuel Cass to Annabel Cass, 31 October 1944.

**27**

LAC, Cass fonds, vol. 6, file 31, Isaac Cohen (in London) to Samuel Cass, 11 December 1944.

**28**

These photographs were widely reproduced, and soldiers were encouraged to purchase them; as LAC, Cass fonds, vol. 7, file 30, in Jewish Chaplains' Letter, 15 May 1945.

**29**

Photograph and inscription reproduced in *Canadian Jewish News*, 22 December 2014, 3.

**30**

In the fall of 1943, the army added still photographers to the already existing Canadian Army Film Unit to create the Canadian Army Film and Photo Unit (CFPU). See Dan Conlin, *War through the Lens: The Canadian Army Film and Photo Unit, 1941-1945* (Niagara Falls, ON: Seraphim, 2015), 46. On the issues regarding children in the first months after liberation, see Chaya Brasz, *Removing the Yellow Badge: The Struggle for a Jewish Community in the Postwar Netherlands, 1944-1955* (Jerusalem: Institute for Research on Dutch Jewry, 1995), 43-47; in that same book, see chapter 3 for the later developments.

**31**

*Congress Bulletin* (November 1944), 10.

**32**

LAC, Cass fonds, vol. 3, file 4, Samuel Cass to Annabel Cass, 31 October 1944.

**33**

Canadian War Museum (Ottawa), J. Greenblatt fonds, Accession number 19990209-002, file 58A 1 155.3-6, Joseph Greenblatt to Francis Trachtenberg, 17 October 1944.

**34**

Canadian War Museum, Greenblatt fonds, Joseph Greenblatt to Francis Trachtenberg, 13 December 1944.

**35**

*Canadian Jews in World War II, Part 2*, 21.

**36**

OJA, Devor fonds, David Devor to Kate Devor, 4 November 1944. I have retained the original spelling.

**37**

OJA, Devor fonds, David Devor to Kate Devor, 5 June 1944. The soldier was likely Pte. Simon Isenstein, of Calgary, who died on 3 June 1944; see *Canadian Jews in World War II, Part 2*, 35.

**38**

*Canadian Jews in World War II, Part 1, 22.*

**39**

OJA, Heaps family fonds, David Heaps to A.A. Heaps, 26 October 1944.

**40**

*Congress Bulletin* (November 1944), 10.

**41**

LAC, Cass fonds, vol. 7, file 30, Samuel Cass, mimeographed circular letter, 29 November 1944.

**42**

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