

**Canadian Holocaust Literature /
Littérature canadienne sur l'Holocauste**

Ruth Panofsky and Goldie Morgentaler

Introduction

Writers in Canada have always been drawn to the Holocaust. Among the first to respond to the subject were the poets A.M. Klein, Irving Layton, Eli Mandel, and Leonard Cohen, and novelists Mordecai Richler and Adele Wiseman. Distant witnesses, they wrote of the Nazi genocide from the vantage points of Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg—Canadian cities with the largest Jewish populations—and in English, a language that set them apart from European Jews. Despite this geographical and cultural “distance from Europe and the Holocaust,” their work reflected the feelings of fear and rage, despair and hope experienced by those who lived during this shattering period in world history.¹

This early group was followed by a wave of writers, each of whom had experienced Nazi persecution, later finding refuge in Canada. Among them were the Galician-born poets Melech Ravitch and Rokhl Korn. Ravitch escaped to Australia and Korn fled to the Soviet Union; both would immigrate to Montreal and write in Yiddish. Novelists included Henry Kreisel, who was born in Vienna, before escaping to England, and Canada. There he would be interned as an enemy alien in New Brunswick, where he began to write in his adopted language of English. Another was Chava Rosenfarb of Lodz, Poland, who survived Auschwitz, Sasel, and Bergen-Belsen, immigrated to Montreal, and wrote in Yiddish. Two others worth mentioning were Monique Bosco, who left her native Vienna and went into hiding in Marseilles, and Régine Robin, who hid in Paris during the war. Bosco and Robin both settled in Montreal and wrote in French.

Literary exploration of the Holocaust grew proportionally as children of survivors came of writerly age. Notable among this group of authors are poets Isa Milman and Merle Nudelman; prose writers J.J. Steinfeld, Judith Kalman, and Lilian Nattel; memoirists Eva Hoffman, Elaine Kalman Naves, and Bernice Eisenstein; and children’s author Kathy Kacer.

As the catastrophic event that “persistently defies closure,” the Holocaust calls out continually to subsequent generations of writers whose “Holocaust narratives remain a crucial agent of remembrance.”² In her memoir *Between Gods* (2014), Alison Pick, who was raised Anglican in Kitchener, Ontario, recounts her personal journey to uncover her father’s suppressed history, which leads her to the shocking discovery of European relatives who were lost during the Holocaust. Menachem Kaiser’s *Plunder: A Memoir of Family Property and Nazi Treasure* (2021) tells of his attempt to reclaim his survivor grandfather’s home in Sonowiec, Poland. Gary Barwin’s novel, *Nothing the Same, Everything Haunted: The Ballad of Motl the Cowboy* (2021), features a Jewish protagonist from Lithuania, the birthplace of Barwin’s grandfather, who survived the Holocaust.

Much Canadian fiction, written by authors not touched directly by its horrors, invokes the Holocaust. Such works include *The Butterfly Plague* (1969) by Timothy Findley; *The Pagnitz Junction* (1973), a novella by Mavis Gallant; *Daniel's Story* (1993) by young adult author Carol Matas; *Fugitive Pieces* (1996) by Anne Michaels; *Beatrice and Virgil* (2010) by Yann Martel; *Half-Blood Blues* (2011) by Esi Edugyan; *The Imposter Bride* (2012) by Nancy Richler; *The Dutch Wife* (2018) by Ellen Keith; and *The Ghost Keeper* (2018) by Natalie Morrill.

This limited overview, which references literary work and excludes the survivor memoirs published by the Azrieli Foundation, is enough to suggest the extent to which the Holocaust has informed writing produced in Canada from the mid-twentieth century onward. Given this continuity, the relative lack of scholarship aimed specifically at the Holocaust focus of so much Canadian literature is all the more striking. Unlike the United States, where the study of American Holocaust literature is a separate and established field of scholarly inquiry, in Canada the field is still emerging, and Holocaust writing has yet to receive sustained scholarly attention. As Jordan Anthony Berard noted in 2016, “as of yet, no work of criticism has attempted to examine a comprehensive body of Canadian Holocaust literature, leaving this area of Canadian literature largely unexplored. The work that has been done on Canadian Holocaust texts tends to focus on the works of a single author, on works within a single literary genre, or on works from a certain period of time.”³

This special issue, which marks the first-ever gathering of scholarly articles that treat Canadian Holocaust literature, is therefore a singular achievement. Through a series of nine articles in English and French by scholars in Canada and the United States, this issue seeks to investigate literary work across a range of genres and galvanize further scholarship on Holocaust writing in Canada.

~ ~ ~

In the 1940s, as details of the plight of European Jews made their way overseas, Montreal was the cultural hub of Canada and the locus of much literary experimentation. Writers and critics gathered to revitalize Canadian writing through modernist techniques that had just entered the literary imagination, later than they had in either the United States or Britain. Local critics Louis Dudek and John Sutherland, for example, were among the first to attend to the poetry of Irving Layton and Miriam Waddington, whose earliest verse—some of which reflected their Jewish heritage—appeared in the little magazines based in Montreal, *First Statement* (1942–45), *Preview* (1942–45), and their amalgam *Northern Review* (1945–56).

In the 1950s and early 1960s, the seeds of a mature literary criticism took root, heralded by figures such as Northrop Frye, Desmond Pacey, and Malcolm Ross. As professors of English, their criticism showed a cosmopolitan and incisive understanding of the efforts of emerging Canadian Jewish writers. Frye and Pacey were the earliest critics to laud the direction of Waddington's socially conscious verse of the 1950s. Ross, through his criticism and his teaching, was especially supportive of aspiring writers. He taught Adele Wiseman when she was an undergraduate student at the University of Manitoba. His support led to the publication of *The Sacrifice* (1956), Wiseman's first work of fiction and the first Canadian Jewish novel to become an international sensation. *Crackpot* (1974), Wiseman's second novel, introduces a Holocaust survivor as a key character who serves a redemptive function.

Canadian literature was given a meaningful boost by the heightened nationalist sensibility that took hold during the 1960s, in anticipation of Canada's centenary in 1967, and was further encouraged by federal initiatives to foster arts and culture and support domestic publishing. To accompany the general rise of Canadian writing and university courses on the subject, the scholarly study of Canadian literature grew exponentially. During the 1960s and 1970s, when Jewish writing became the subject of analysis, it was subsumed under the broad category of Canadian literature, since so much of it, like its American counterpart, was preoccupied first with the experience of immigration and settlement in a new and often hostile land, and later with immigrant entry into the cultural imaginary, however marginally. Generally, Jewish works were read and interpreted alongside other texts that also responded to the trials of adapting to life in Canada as expressed through the varied voices of poetic personae and fictional characters.

The first focused analyses of the work of Canadian Jewish writers were produced by Eli Mandel and Miriam Waddington, poets who went on to become professors of English. Mandel wrote the earliest monograph on Layton published in 1969, and Waddington's first study of Klein appeared the following year.⁴ The McGraw-Hill Ryerson Critical Views on Canadian Writers series included volumes on Klein, Richler, Cohen, and Layton.⁵ With the exception of two additional books on Klein that appeared in 1975,⁶ however, Canadian Jewish writing did not receive sustained critical treatment until the 1980s.

Klein has long been admired as one of Canada's most accomplished writers and is now recognized as the "founding father of Canadian Jewish literature."⁷ He was also the first Canadian writer to respond to the Holocaust through poetry, fiction, and essays. The editorial project, *The Collected Works of A.M. Klein*, attests to Klein's canonical status and helps contextualize his Holocaust writings, although focused examination of that body of work would come later.⁸

When it did emerge in the 1980s, scholarly analysis of Canadian Jewish literature was led by the pioneering scholar Michael Greenstein. Greenstein soon turned his attention to the Holocaust and to Klein. In his 1987 article, “Canadian Poetry after Auschwitz,” Greenstein reads the poetry of Layton, Mandel, and Cohen against that of Klein. Greenstein insists that Klein was too close to the Holocaust when he wrote and published *The Hitleriad* in 1944. As a result, the work’s “satiric, Augustan rhyming couplets proved inadequate to this unparalleled tragedy.” In contrast, Klein’s successors, “with their advantage of historical distance . . . achieved some of the means of expression for arriving at a phenomenology of the Holocaust.”⁹ In an earlier article, Greenstein contends that novelist Henry Kreisel deliberately seeks narrative separation from the Holocaust. In *The Betrayal* (1964), Kreisel deploys “techniques of dreams, displacement, disguise, and indirection” to “distance himself from the subject matter and to involve the Canadian reader who seems so far removed from the European tragedy.”¹⁰ In contrast, *The Rich Man* (1948), Kreisel’s previous novel, is set in the Jewish community of Vienna in the mid-1930s and points directly to the terror of Hitler’s reign.

Greenstein’s articles were revised for inclusion in *Third Solitudes: Tradition and Discontinuity in Jewish-Canadian Literature*. Published in 1989, this was the first book-length study devoted to Jewish writing in Canada, with an emphasis on the subject of the Holocaust.¹¹ Here, Greenstein discusses authors whose literary preoccupations and styles mark them off as Jewish and he counts writers whose work invokes the Holocaust—poets A.M. Klein, Irving Layton, Eli Mandel, and Leonard Cohen, and novelists Henry Kreisel and Monique Bosco—among those who formed a “third solitude” alongside the works of anglophone and francophone Canada.¹²

Another groundbreaking scholar was Rachel Feldhay Brenner, who in 1986 wrote a doctoral dissertation on the influence of the Holocaust on Richler.¹³ *Assimilation and Assertion: The Response to the Holocaust in Mordecai Richler’s Writing*, the 1989 monograph that emerged from Brenner’s research, laid the groundwork for her career-long investigation of Holocaust writing.¹⁴ Brenner’s interest soon included Klein. In an article published in 1989 on Klein and Richler, she discerns “a gradual progression [in their work] towards loss of hope in humanistic ideals,” which she traces back to the Holocaust.¹⁵ A critical article on Klein’s *The Hitleriad* followed in 1990, the same year Brenner published *A.M. Klein, The Father of Canadian Jewish Literature: Essays in the Poetics of Humanistic Passion*.¹⁶

In the 1990s, Greenstein’s emphasis would shift away from the Holocaust to a postcolonial analysis of Canadian Jewish literature while Brenner’s attention turned toward European, especially Polish, writing of the Holocaust. Other scholars also emerged to move the field forward in diverse ways. Norman Ravvin completed a doctoral dissertation in 1994, in which he explored the ethical response to the Holocaust in Ca-

nadian and American fiction. Ravvin centres his study on the ways in which novelists write “around” the subject of the Holocaust “in order to create an ethic of humane community as a counter to the Nazi world view” and includes chapters on Klein’s *The Second Scroll* (1951), Cohen’s *Beautiful Losers* (1966), Richler’s *St. Urbain’s Horseman* (1971), and Rosenfarb’s *Der boym fun lebn: trilogye* (1972) (published in English as *The Tree of Life* in 1985).¹⁷ In his 1997 monograph, *A House of Words: Jewish Writing, Identity and Memory*, Ravvin draws on his earlier research, but foregrounds the matter of cultural identity that is so central to contemporary literary discourse. Here, he investigates “the cultural landscape” of the verse of Eli Mandel and the fiction of Cohen, Richler, and Rosenfarb, all of which “includes the experience of life in the New World setting and memories of Europe and [the] Holocaust.”¹⁸

A further avenue of scholarship also opened in the late 1990s, with the publication of a special issue of the journal *Canadian Children’s Literature* devoted to “Children of the Shoah: Holocaust Literature and Education.” The issue featured first articles by Vicki Zack and Adrienne Kertzer on Holocaust writing for children. In “Surviving the Holocaust: The Ordeal of the Hidden Child,” Zack situates *The Last Enemy* (1989) by Rhoda Kaellis within the two emerging corpuses of “Holocaust fiction for young people that deal[s] with the child in hiding” and “first-person documentary material.”¹⁹ In the same issue, Kertzer uses her personal experience as the daughter of a mother who survived Auschwitz as the basis for “My Mother’s Voice: Telling Children about the Holocaust.”²⁰ In “Do You Know What Auschwitz Means?: Children’s Literature and the Holocaust,” she draws on the examples of two titles, *Vanished in Darkness: An Auschwitz Memoir* (1984) by Eva Brewster and *Daniel’s Story* (1993) by Carol Matas, to challenge the notion “that hopeful lessons drawn from Holocaust material are what young children require.”²¹ Both articles appeared in 1999 and heralded a period of intensive publishing by Kertzer on the subject of Holocaust representation and children’s literature, which culminated in her award-winning book of 2002, *My Mother’s Voice: Children, Literature, and the Holocaust*.²²

Kertzer was also one of the first scholars to examine *Fugitive Pieces*, the breakthrough novel for Toronto author Anne Michaels. Published in 1996, it soon prompted a dramatic rise in scholarship on Holocaust fiction. Kertzer’s response to the novel and its literary protagonist Ben, who is a child of Holocaust survivors, was informed by her own experience. Her article, which appeared in June 2000,²³ is one of numerous studies that have since been published on this celebrated work. Other Canadian scholars who have studied Michaels’s novel include D.M.R. Bentley, Connie T. Braun, Meira Cook, and Sara R. Horowitz. The work has also garnered the attention of international scholars, among them Susan Gubar and Dalia Kandiyoti in the United States, Marita Grimwood and Coral Ann Howells in Britain, and Barbara Korte and Fabienne Quennet in Germany.²⁴

Fugitive Pieces marked a watershed moment for Holocaust literature and its scholarly study, both inside and outside of Canada. It was the first Holocaust novel written by a Canadian to reach an international audience and achieve immediate acclaim. Its critical success brought recognition to Michaels; its renown also intensified global awareness of the Holocaust and deepened existing debate around the ethics of Holocaust representation, in particular the literary aestheticizing of so barbarous an event. At the same time, its publication seemed to herald an international boom in Holocaust literature. By September 2007, when director Jeremy Podeswa's film adaptation of *Fugitive Pieces* premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival, Holocaust fiction had become a popular literary genre.

The body of scholarship on Canadian Holocaust literature has also grown considerably since the turn of the century, observable first in the number of theses and dissertations written on the subject. This expanded interest on the part of graduate students shows the degree to which Canadian Holocaust literature has entered the academy as a field of study.²⁵ A number of scholars, through their careful interpretation of the layered complexities of Holocaust texts, have helped generate this surge in attention. First among them is Goldie Morgentaler, whose expertise in Yiddish informs her extensive work on Chava Rosenfarb. In her articles and books, Morgentaler has both expounded upon, and translated into English, Rosenfarb's short fiction, poetry, and novels, much of which would not be accessible to a wider audience if not for Morgentaler's intervention.²⁶ That Rosenfarb is now recognized as a preeminent Yiddish writer of the second half of the twentieth century and one of the most important writers of the Holocaust is due, in large part, to the efforts of Morgentaler. The special section on Rosenfarb in the 2010–2011 double issue of this journal devoted to "Yiddish in Canada," with Morgentaler's article on Rosenfarb's verse, as well as other studies by Jordan Paul, Rebecca Margolis, and Ekaterina Pirozhenko, is also noteworthy.²⁷

Recent scholarship by Esther Frank and Rachel Seelig has highlighted the work of Rokhl Korn, whose Yiddish verse has been selectively translated into English by Rivka Augenfeld, Seymour Levitan, Seymour Mayne, Miriam Waddington, Shulamis Yelin, and others.²⁸ While Frank examines the fusion of "village" and "love" themes in Korn's poetry, which allows the poet "to recapture and reconstruct the dislocation, destruction, and despair that had marked much of her life," Seelig tracks Korn's perceived "transformation of Yiddish from an organic, indigenous aspect of interwar Poland to its uprooted, moribund condition in postwar Canada."²⁹

Julie Spergel's 2009 study of fiction by Canadian Jewish women writers, which is based on her doctoral research, also turns to the subject of the Holocaust. Spergel devotes much of her book to Rosenfarb and includes chapters on Anne Michaels's

Fugitive Pieces and Régine Robin's *La Québécoise* (1983) (published in English as *The Wanderer* in 1989).³⁰ Kathleen Kellett and Catherine Khordoc are two other scholars who have looked specifically at Canadian Holocaust literature in French. For Kellett, Robin's biofiction becomes "an unceasing iteration of the grieving process, an examination of the vagaries of memory and history, and the arbitrary accidents in time that led to the deportation to the Nazi death camps for some and survival and a future life in North America for others."³¹ Khordoc, who has published widely on Monique Bosco, interprets the "disjointed fictions" of both Robin and Bosco as the work of "dislocated subjects."³²

Life writing is of particular interest to several scholars. Sarah Phillips Casteel offers a foundational reading of the memoir *Lost in Translation: Life in a New Language* (1989), in which Eva Hoffman's "opaque" and "troubling depiction of Vancouver"—where she and her family arrive in 1959 from Kraków—is "fundamentally bound up with the problem of traumatic memory that haunts her both as an immigrant [to Canada] and as a child of Holocaust survivors."³³ Pioneering scholars Susanna Egan and Gabriele Helms have studied Holocaust auto/biographies by Hoffman, Elaine Kalman Naves, and Lisa Appignanesi, among others.³⁴ Dagmara Drewniak of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland has concentrated on memoir. Her research has led to several scholarly articles on the work of Hoffman and Naves, as well as the graphic work of Bernice Eisenstein in *I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors* (2006) and *Correspondences* (2013).³⁵

Although it cannot offer the comprehensive analysis that is still wanting, this special issue represents an important contribution to the scholarly examination of Canadian Holocaust literature. Five of the articles published here began as papers presented in October 2018 at "Canadian Holocaust Literature: Charting the Field," a conference co-organized by Rebecca Margolis, Seymour Mayne, and Ruth Panofsky. The first scholarly gathering devoted to Canadian Holocaust literature, it was co-sponsored by the Vered Jewish Canadian Studies Program at the University of Ottawa, the Department of English at Ryerson University, the Association for Canadian Jewish Studies, the Azrieli Foundation, the Soloway Jewish Community Centre, and Library and Archives Canada, where the watershed event was held.

To some degree, this special issue confirms one pattern of scholarly publication on Canadian Holocaust literature identified by Berard—the frequent focus on a single author. This includes two articles on the prose of Chava Rosenfarb, as well as an excerpt from Rosenfarb's last novel *Briv tsu Abrashn* (*Letters to Abrasha*) in English and French translation; an article on *I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors* by Bernice Eisenstein; and two articles on *Fugitive Pieces* by Anne Michaels. Though Rosenfarb, Eisenstein, and Michaels have already received considerable scholarly attention, each of the featured pieces provides a new window into the work of these writers.³⁶

Norman Ravvin focuses on an extract (available in English translation) from Rosenfarb's novel *Briv tsu Abrashn* (1992), which he compares to French writer Patrick Modiano's award-winning novel *Dora Bruder* (1997). In juxtaposing the divergent ways in which these two novelists depict the Holocaust—the Rosenfarb extract describes the arrival of the Jews in Auschwitz, whereas Modiano's book, a mixing of fact and fiction, is set in Paris during the war years—Ravvin points to the similar ways in which both writers recreate the past in the present.

Jesse Toufexis takes yet another approach to Rosenfarb's Holocaust fiction when he discusses her long short story "Edgia's Revenge" (which first appeared in English in 1994)³⁷ in terms of its portrayal of mountains. In this tale of the afterlife of Holocaust survivors set in Montreal, Mount Royal, at the heart of the city, plays a role almost as important as that of the characters themselves. Toufexis reads Rosenfarb's Mount Royal as an otherworldly "zone of alterity" that links it to the mystical imagery associated with mountains in Jewish religious thought and culture.

In her French-language study of *Eva et Ruda: récit à deux voix de survivants de l'Holocauste à Montréal* (2010), Nathalie Dolbec revisits the question of resistance and how this plays out in the dual autobiography of two Holocaust survivors, Eva Vonchovska and Rudolph (Ruda) Roden, a married couple who settled in Montreal after the war. Eva and Ruda's horrific accounts of surviving the various Nazi death camps incorporate many instances of resistance that Dolbec analyzes in terms of the literary theories of Philippe Hamon and theorists on the Holocaust, including Terrence des Pres and Eli Wiesel. The French-language translation of Eva and Ruda Roden's memoir, which originally appeared in English in 1984, represents the first publication in French by a Québécois publisher of the personal accounts of Montreal Holocaust survivors.³⁸

While Eva and Ruda Roden published their dual autobiography in English first, Monique Bosco wrote her Holocaust novels in French. A Holocaust survivor who spent most of her life in Montreal, Bosco was prolific, publishing books of poetry, short stories, and novels. Towards the end of her life, Bosco turned to writing essays. In her study, Catherine Khordoc focuses on these essays, which have received less critical attention than Bosco's fictional writing. Highlighting Bosco's use of intertextuality, Khordoc traces the theme of lamentation as both a secular and biblical leitmotif through several of the essays, emphasizing the diverse yet shared cultural heritage from which Canadian Jewish writers could draw.

For Lucas F.W. Wilson, Bernice Eisenstein's graphic memoir *I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors* shows how members of the second generation often are "dressed" in their postmemories. Wilson claims that the hand-me-down clothing in Eisenstein's memoir, while serving as a physical link between the narrator, her late father, and

his Holocaust past, also reinscribes or reinforces the Holocaust trauma she inherited from her parent.

Sara Monahan reads *Fugitive Pieces* through the critical lens of trauma theory. In excavating language and memory, the novel “seeks to reinterpret ideas of place, geography, the body, absence, and displacement in its characters’ attempt to heal themselves, and by extension becomes part of a larger narrative of the possibility of healing for the novel’s readership.” The concept of readership forms the core of Brenda Beckman-Long’s argument that *Fugitive Pieces* creates a community of readers as witnesses: “Through the figure of the reader represented by the narratees Bella, Michaela, and Naomi, as well as the narrators Athos, Jakob, and Ben, Michaels engages us in acts of reading and interpreting the ongoing effects of the Holocaust.”

Each of the two closing articles examines work that is less familiar. Expounding upon the earlier scholarship of Adrienne Kertzer, Joanna Krongold addresses the emergence of a canon of Canadian Holocaust literature for young readers. Krongold focuses on the work of Carol Matas and Kathy Kacer, authors who explore the possibilities of multifaceted, educational, and engaging texts about the Holocaust for young people while preserving the “open hearts” of the characters at the centre of their stories. Finally, Anne Quéma considers the poetry of Louise Dupré, Chus Pato, and Erin Moure, who write as inheritors of necropolitical violence, yet at a remove from the Holocaust. Quéma argues for Dupré, Pato, and Moure as “witnesses *in absentia*” who generate a biopoetics of testimony that engenders a tension between dispossession and regeneration.

As Amanda George notes with respect to A.M. Klein’s novel *The Second Scroll* and Art Spiegelman’s two-volume graphic memoir *Maus: A Survivor’s Tale* (1986; 1991), two vastly different though leading examples of Holocaust literature, “there is an inherent paradox in searching for the past in the present. The more the past is explored, the more complex it, and the present, become.”³⁹ A similar claim can be made for scholarship that investigates Holocaust literature. The more scholars attend to the nuances of Canadian Holocaust texts, the more these texts resonate with readers and critics, who are led to expand the field. It is our hope that this collection of articles will advance the scholarship on Canadian Holocaust literature.

1

Jordan Anthony Berard, "Estimate Your Distance from the Belsen Heap: Acknowledging and Negotiating Distance in Selected Works of Canadian Holocaust Literature," PhD diss., (University of Ottawa, 2016), 2.

2

Amanda George, "Ethical Form: Representation, Identity, and Responsibility in A.M. Klein's *The Second Scroll* and Art Spiegelman's *Maus*," MA thesis, (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2007), ii.

3

Berard, 4.

4

See Eli Mandel, *Irving Layton* (Toronto: Forum House, 1969); and Miriam Waddington, *A.M. Klein*, Studies in Canadian Literature 10 (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970).

5

See Tom Marshall, ed., *A.M. Klein*, Critical Views on Canadian Writers 4 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1970); G. David Sheps, ed., *Mordecai Richler*, Critical Views on Canadian Writers 6 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1971); Michael Gnarowski, ed., *Leonard Cohen: The Artist and His Critics*, Critical Views on Canadian Writers (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976); and Seymour Mayne, ed., *Irving Layton: The Poet and His Critics*, Critical Views on Canadian Writers (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978).

6

See Gretl K. Fischer, *In Search of Jerusalem: Religion and Ethics in the Writings of A.M. Klein* (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975); and Seymour Mayne, ed., *The A.M. Klein Symposium*, Reappraisals: Canadian Writers (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975).

7

Michael Greenstein, "Jewish Canadian Writing," in *Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada*, ed. William H. New (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 549-52, at 549.

8

Nine volumes issued between 1982 and 2011 by the University of Toronto Press that comprise Klein's poems, short stories, the landmark novel *The Second Scroll*, essays, editorials, reviews, notebooks, and letters. See A.M. Klein, *Beyond Sabbath: Selected Essays and*

Editorials 1928-1955, ed. M.W. Steinberg and Usher Caplan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); *Short Stories*, ed. M.W. Steinberg (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); *Literary Essays and Reviews*, ed. Usher Caplan and M.W. Steinberg (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); *Complete Poems*, 2 vols., ed. Zailig Pollock (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); *Notebooks: Selections from the A.M. Klein Papers*, ed. Zailig Pollock and Usher Caplan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); *Selected Poems*, ed. Zailig Pollock, Seymour Mayne, and Usher Caplan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); *The Second Scroll*, ed. Elizabeth Popham and Zailig Pollock (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); and *A.M. Klein: The Letters*, ed. Elizabeth Popham (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

9

Michael Greenstein, "Canadian Poetry after Auschwitz," *Canadian Poetry: Studies / Documents / Reviews* 20 (Spring-Summer 1987): 1, <http://canadianpoetry.org/volumes/vol20/Greenstein.html>. See also Cameron Anstee and Robert David Stacey, guest eds., "Proceedings of the Irving Layton Symposium, University of Ottawa, 2013," *Canadian Poetry: Studies / Documents / Reviews* 73 (Fall-Winter 2013); and Seymour Mayne, guest ed., "Irving Layton: The Jewish Poems," *Shirim: A Jewish Poetry Journal* 37, no. 2-38, no. 1 (2019-20): 5-71.

10

Michael Greenstein, "Perspectives on the Holocaust in Henry Kreisel's *The Betrayal*," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 23 (Spring 1982): 97-106, at 97.

11

Michael Greenstein, *Third Solitudes: Tradition and Discontinuity in Jewish-Canadian Literature* (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). For overviews of the field, see Michael Greenstein, "Jewish Canadian Writing," in *Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada*, ed. William H. New (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 549-52; Alex Hart, "Scrolls, Scrapbooks, and Solitudes: An Overview of Jewish Canadian Literature," in *Canada's Jews: In Time, Space and Spirit*, ed. Ira Robinson (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2013), 361-411; Rebecca Margolis, "Across the Border: Canadian Jewish Writing," in *The Cambridge History of American Jewish Literature*, ed. Hana Wirth-Nesher (Cam-

bridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 432-46; and Norman Ravvin, "You Say You've OD'd on Leonard Cohen: Canadian Jewish Writing and the Mainstream," in *The Oxford Handbook of Canadian Literature*, ed. Cynthia Sugars (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 602-18.

12

The idea that the English and French in Canada lived as separate communities with distinct identities was popularized by Hugh MacLennan's 1945 novel *Two Solitudes*.

13

See Rachel Feldhay Brenner, "The Formative Influence of the Holocaust in the Writings of Mordecai Richler," PhD diss., (York University, 1986).

14

See Rachel Feldhay Brenner, *Assimilation and Assertion: The Response to the Holocaust in Mordecai Richler's Writing*, American University Studies 19 (New York: Peter Lang, 1989).

15

See Rachel Feldhay Brenner, "A.M. Klein and Mordecai Richler: Canadian Responses to the Holocaust," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 24, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 65-77, at 65.

16

See Rachel Feldhay Brenner, "A.M. Klein's *The Hitleriad*: Against the Silence of the Apocalypse," *Studies in American Jewish Literature* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 228-41; and Rachel Feldhay Brenner, *A.M. Klein, The Father of Canadian Jewish Literature: Essays in the Poetics of Humanistic Passion* (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen Press, 1990).

17

Norman Ravvin, "Countering the Concentration Camp World: Ethical Response to the Holocaust in Canadian and American Fiction," PhD diss., (University of Toronto, 1994), ii.

18

See Norman Ravvin, *A House of Words: Jewish Writing, Identity and Memory* (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 5. See also Norman Ravvin and Sherry Simon, eds., *Failure's Opposite: Listening to A.M. Klein* (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); and Krzysztof Majer, Justyna Fruzińska, Józef Kwatorko, and Norman Ravvin, eds., *Kanade,*

di Goldene Medine? Perspectives on Canadian Jewish Literature and Culture / Perspectives sur la littérature et la culture juives canadiennes, Francopolyphonies 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

19

Vicki Zack, "Surviving the Holocaust: The Ordeal of the Hidden Child," *Canadian Children's Literature* 95, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 81-88, at 85.

20

See Adrienne Kertzer, "My Mother's Voice: Telling Children about the Holocaust," *Canadian Children's Literature* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 13-28.

21

Adrienne Kertzer, "'Do You Know What 'Auschwitz' Means?' Children's Literature and the Holocaust," *The Lion and the Unicorn* 23, no. 2 (April 1999): 283-56, at 242.

22

See Adrienne Kertzer, *My Mother's Voice: Children, Literature, and the Holocaust* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2002). "The Emotional Impact of Researching and Writing about the Holocaust" is the subject of a recent issue of *Canadian Children's Booknews* 43, no. 3 (Fall 2020).

23

See Adrienne Kertzer, "Fugitive Pieces: Listening as a Holocaust Survivor's Child," *English Studies in Canada* 26, no. 2 (June 2000): 193-217.

24

See D.M.R. Bentley, "Anne Michaels's *Fugitive Pieces*," *Canadian Poetry: Studies / Documents / Reviews* 41 (Fall-Winter 1997): 5-20; Connie T. Braun, "Anne Michaels and the Affirmation of Being in the Poetics of Suffering and Trauma," *Renascence: Essays on Values in Literature* 62, no. 2 (Winter 2010): 156-73; Méira Cook, "At the Membrane of Language and Silence: Metaphor and Memory in *Fugitive Pieces*," *Canadian Literature* 164 (Spring 2000): 12-33; Sara R. Horowitz, "The Geography of Memory: Haunting and Haunted Landscapes in Contemporary Canadian Jewish Writing," *Studies in American Jewish Literature* 35, no. 2 (2016): 216-23; Susan Gubar, "Empathic Identification in Anne Michaels's *Fugitive Pieces*: Masculinity and Poetry after Auschwitz," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 1

(Autumn 2002): 249-76; Dalia Kandiyoti, "'Our Foothold in Buried Worlds': Place in Holocaust Consciousness and Anne Michaels's *Fugitive Pieces*," *Contemporary Literature* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 300-30; Marita Grimwood, "The Poetic Novel: Anne Michael's *Fugitive Pieces*," in *Holocaust Literature of the Second Generation*, by Grimwood (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 109-32; Coral Ann Howells, "Anne Michaels: *Fugitive Pieces*," in *Where Are the Voices Coming From?: Canadian Culture and the Legacies of History*, Cross/Cultures 73, ed. Howells (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2004), 107-17; Barbara Korte, "'God Keeps Disappearing': Anne Michaels's *Fugitive Pieces*: The Imperatives of Love and Beauty after the Holocaust," in *But Vindicate the Ways of God to Man: Literature and Theodicy*, ed. Rudolf Freiburg and Susanne Gruss (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2004), 519-32; and Fabienne Quennet, "Between Earth Science and Language / Writing Imagery: How to Render the Workings of Memory in Anne Michaels's *Fugitive Pieces*," *COPAS: Current Objectives of Postgraduate American Studies* 1 (2000), <http://dx.doi.org/10.5283/copas.57>.

25

See, for example, George; Patricia A. Kelly, "Born into Absence: Transgenerational Trauma in Anne Michaels' *Fugitive Pieces*," MA thesis, (University of British Columbia, 2007); Julie Spergel, "Canada's 'Second' History: The Fiction of Jewish Canadian Women Writers," PhD diss., (Universität Regensburg, 2009); Maya Hajdu, "Fragmented Memories in the Graphic Novel: Miriam Katin, Bernice Eisenstein, and Miriam Libicki," MA thesis, (Concordia University, 2012); Berard; and Simon P. Vacca, "Echoes of Entrapment: Aesthetic Representation and Responsibility in Mavis Gallant's *The Pognitz Junction*," MA thesis, (McMaster University, 2018).

26

See, for example, Goldie Morgentaler, "Land of the Postscript: Canada and the Post-Holocaust Fiction of Chava Rosenfarb," *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought* 49, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 168-81; "Chava Rosenfarb: The Yiddish Woman Writer in the Post-Holocaust World," *Canadian Jewish Studies* 11 (2003): 37-51; "The Prayer House of Chava Rosenfarb: Poetry, Religion, and the Shadow of the Holocaust," *Literature and Theology* 24, no. 2 (June 2010): 161-74; "'I am still there': The Recreation of Jewish Poland in the Canadian Novels of Chava Rosenfarb," *Studies*

in American Jewish Literature 35, no. 2 (2016): 187-99; Chava Rosenfarb, *Survivors: Seven Short Stories*, trans. Morgentaler (Toronto: Cormorant Books, 2004); Chava Rosenfarb, *Exile at Last: Selected Poems*, Essential Poets Series, ed. Morgentaler (Toronto: Guernica Editions, 2013); and Chava Rosenfarb, *Confessions of a Yiddish Writer and Other Essays*, ed. Morgentaler (Montreal / Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019).

27

See Goldie Morgentaler, "The Poetry of Chava Rosenfarb: The Joyful Drabness of the Everyday"; Jordan Paul, "'This Was the Human Course': Gender, Holocaust Scholarship and the Literary Work of Chava Rosenfarb"; Rebecca Margolis, "Chava Rosenfarb's Yiddish Montreal"; and Ekaterina Pirozhenko, "Gendered Experience in the Concentration Camp and the Construction of the Kapo Identity in 'Edgia's Revenge' by Chava Rosenfarb," *Canadian Jewish Studies* 18-19 (2010-2011): 207-23, 121-57, 159-77, 179-206. See also Pierre Ancetil, Norman Ravvin, and Sherry Simon, eds., *New Readings of Yiddish Montreal / Traduire le Montréal yiddish*, International Canadian Studies Series (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2007).

28

See Rokhl Korn, *Generations: Selected Poems*, ed. Seymour Mayne (Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 1982); Rokhl Korn, *Paper Roses: Selected Poems*, ed. and trans. Seymour Levitan (Toronto: Aya Press, 1985); and rachelkorn.com.

29

Esther Frank, "Home and Homelessness in the Poetry of Rokhl Korn, 1898-1982," *Canadian Jewish Studies* 18-19 (2010-2011): 3-13, at 5. Rachel Seelig, "Like a Barren Sheet of Paper: Rokhl Korn from Galician Orchards to Postwar Montreal," *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History* 34, no. 3 (Spring 2014): 349-77, at 351.

30

See Julie Spergel, *Canada's "Second History": The Fiction of Jewish Canadian Women Writers* (Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2009).

31

Kathleen Kellett, "A *Kaddish* for the Father: Régine Robin and the 'Impossible Work of Mourning,'" *Studies in American Jewish Literature* 35, no. 2 (2016): 200-15, at 200.

32

See Catherine Khordoc, "Dislocated Subjects, Disjointed Fictions: Régine Robin's and Monique Bosco's 'Biofictions,'" in *Textualizing the Immigrant Experience in Contemporary Quebec*, ed. Susan Ireland and Patrice J. Proulx (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004), 187-99.

33

Sarah Phillips Casteel, "Eva Hoffman's Double Emigration: Canada as the Site of Exile in *Lost in Translation*," *Biography* 24, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 288-301, at 280.

34

See Susanna Egan and Gabriele Helms, "Generations of the Holocaust in Canadian Auto/biography," in *Auto/biography in Canada: Critical Directions*, ed. Julie Rak (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 31-51.

35

See, for example, Dagmara Drewniak, "Changing Traditions in Non-Fictional Jewish-Canadian Writing: The Study of Selected Texts by Eva Hoffman, Elaine Kalman Naves, and Bernice Eisenstein," *Archiwum Emigracji* (2016): 154-67; "Addicted to the Holocaust: Bernice Eisenstein's Ways of Coping with Troublesome Memories in *I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors*," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 50, nos. 2-3 (2015): 39-50; and "'And Yet, What Would We Be Without Memory?': Visualizing Memory in Two Canadian Graphic Texts," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 53, no. 1 (2018): 5-24.

36

In addition to Drewniak on Eisenstein, see Miriam Harris, "Releasing the Grip of the Ghostly: Bernice Eisenstein's *I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors*," in *The Jewish Graphic Novel: Critical Approaches*, ed. Samantha Baskind and Ranen Omer-Sherman (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 129-43; Aleksandra Kamińska, "The Witness of the Unspoken Experience: Postmemory in Bernice Eisenstein's *I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors*," *Crossroads: A Journal of English Studies* 3, no. 14 (2016): 57-66; Jean-Philippe Marcoux, "'To Night the Ensiled World': Intervocality and Post-memorial Representation in the Graphic Novel about the Holocaust," in *Visualizing Jewish Narrative: Jewish Comics and Graphic Novels*, ed. Derek Parker Royal (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 199-212; Lizy Mostowski, "Postmemory in Canadian Jewish Memoirs: The Holocaust

and Notions of a Jewish Homeland," *Israelis* 8 (2017): 155-87; Victoria Aarons, "'Replacing Absence with Memory': Bernice Eisenstein's Graphic Memoir *I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors*," in *Holocaust Graphic Narratives: Generation, Trauma and Memory*, by Aarons (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2020), 85-124; Victoria Aarons, "'Sometimes Your Memories Are Not Your Own': The Graphic Turn and the Future of Holocaust Representation," *Humanities* 9, no. 4 (2020): 136, <https://doi.org/10.3390/h9040136>; and Ruth Panofsky, "The 'Nu World' of Toronto in Bernice Eisenstein's *I Was a Child of Holocaust Survivors*," in *No Better Home? Jews, Canada, and the Sense of Belonging*, ed. David S. Koffman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021), 135-46.

37

See Chava Rosenfarb, "Edgehs nokome," *Di goldene keyt* 126 (1989): 38-87; and "Edgia's Revenge," trans. Goldie Morgentaler, in *Found Treasures: Stories by Yiddish Women Writers*, ed. Frieda Forman, Ethel Raicus, Sarah Silberstein Swartz, and Margie Wolfe (Toronto: Second Story Press, 1994), 243-311.

38

See Eva and Ruda Roden, *Lives on Borrowed Time*, Hearststone Book (New York: Carlton Press, 1984).

39

George, 84.