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None Is Too Many and Beyond:
New Research on Canada and the Jews During the 1930–1940s

Au-delà de *None Is Too Many*:
Nouvelles recherches sur le Canada et les Juifs dans les années 1930 et 1940

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Front cover photograph/photographie de la page couverture:

Albert Featherman with his son Sidney Featherman, DP camp at Bergen Belsen, 1948. Rose Featherman (Albert's wife and Sidney's mother) can be seen in the background. Courtesy of Saint John Jewish Historical Museum.

Albert Featherman avec son fils Sidney Featherman, camp DP de Bergen Belsen, 1948. On peut voir en arrière–plan Rose Featherman (la femme d'Albert et la mère de Sidney). Avec l'aimable autorisation du Saint John Jewish Historical Museum.

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The Association for Canadian Jewish Studies (ACJS) was founded in 1976 as the Canadian Jewish Historical Society. The original aim of the society was to promote and disseminate historical research concerning the engagement of Jews to Canadian society. It did so via the publication of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal (1977–1988), an annual conference held in conjunction with the Canadian Historical Association at the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences (CFHSS) Congress, and through occasional papers and lectures.

In 1993 the Canadian Jewish Historical Society began publishing a new annual scholarly journal, *Canadian Jewish Studies*. In 1996, in an attempt to broaden its research scope, the Society changed its name to the Association for Canadian Jewish Studies.

In addition to history, the new association encouraged research on the Canadian Jewish experience through the disciplines of political science, sociology, economics, geography, demography, education, religion, linguistics, literature, architecture, and performing and fine arts, among others. This journal is a vehicle to promote this new multidisciplinary approach to Canadian Jewish Studies.

The ACJS is a national organization with headquarters in Montreal. Since the 1970s the Association has been affiliated with several local Jewish historical societies and organizations throughout Canada. The ACJS holds its annual meetings and conference at the CFHSS Congress.

The ACJS gratefully acknowledges the ongoing support of the Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies at Concordia University. The association is also pleased to be affiliated with The Israel and Golda Koschitzky Centre for Jewish Studies at York University, the Jewish Studies Program of the University of Toronto and Vered Jewish Canadian Studies Program at the University of Ottawa.

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L'Association d'études juives canadiennes (Aéjc) a été fondée en 1976 sous le nom de Société d'histoire juive canadienne. L'objectif initial de la Société était de promouvoir la recherche historique relative à l'engagement des Juifs dans la société canadienne et d'en diffuser les résultats, ce qui fut effectué par le biais de la publication du Journal–Société de l'histoire juive canadienne (1977–1988), d'un congrès annuel tenu conjointement avec la Société historique du Canada au Congrès des sciences sociales et humaines, ainsi que par la publication de documents hors–série et par des conférences.

En 1993, la Société a lancé la publication d'une nouvelle revue scientifique annuelle, Études juives canadiennes. En 1996, pour souligner l'élargissement de son champ de recherche, la Société a remplacé son nom par Association d'études juives canadiennes (Aéjc).

En plus de l'histoire, la nouvelle association a encouragé la recherche sur l'expérience juive canadienne dans les domaines tels que la science politique, la sociologie, l'économie, la géographie, la démographie, l'éducation, la religion, la linguistique, la littérature et l'architecture, les arts du spectacle et les beaux–arts. L'Aéjc a continué de publier le journal et en sert comme outil de rayonnement pour sa nouvelle approche multidisciplinaire des études juives canadiennes. L'Aéjc est une organisation nationale dont le siège social se trouve à Montréal. Depuis les années 1970, l'organisation s'est associée avec plusieurs sociétés d'histoire juive locales et des organisations à travers le Canada.

L'Aéjc est reconnaissante de l'appui soutenu de l'Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies de l'Université Concordia et est heureuse d'avoir comme associés l'Israel and Golda Koschitzky Centre for Jewish Studies de l'Université York, le Jewish Studies Program de l'Université de Toronto et le Vered Jewish Canadian Studies Program de l'Université d'Ottawa.

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None Is Too Many and Beyond:
New Research on Canada and the Jews During the 1930–1940s

Au-delà de *None Is Too Many*:
Nouvelles recherches sur le Canada et les Juifs dans les années 1930 et 1940

Book Reviews/ Comptes rendus

Antoine Burgard et Rebecca Margolis

Introduction : Un « tsunami historiographique » laissé sans suite ?

L'historiographie du Canada et de la Shoah est singulière et pourrait presque être réduite à un seul ouvrage : *None is Too Many* d'Irving Abella et d'Harold Troper, paru en 1982. Véritable « tsunami historiographique[1] », sa publication a durablement ébranlé un pays qui faisait de son internationalisme et son humanitarisme précoces un des piliers de sa « mythologie nationale[2]. » Projetant l'ouverture d'esprit et le multiculturalisme canadien dans le passé, beaucoup de lecteurs ont été surpris et choqués de découvrir l'intransigeance et l'antisémitisme latent de l'administration fédérale du Canada, l'hostilité de sa population et l'impuissance de sa communauté juive. L'ouvrage, « dont le titre est devenu le qualificatif de l'ensemble des politiques migratoires canadiennes d'avant les années 1950[3] », a donc créé une véritable onde de choc bien au-delà de la seule sphère académique. Il est devenu l'unité de mesure de la responsabilité morale du pays en matière d'immigration (« *ethical yardstick* ») et est régulièrement mobilisé pour appeler le pays à retenir « les leçons de [son] histoire[4]. » Ainsi, en mars 2015, Justin Trudeau dénonçait la position du gouvernement conservateur sur la question des réfugiés et accusait Harper d'utiliser « la même rhétorique qui a conduit à la politique migratoire 'None is Too Many' à l'encontre des Juifs dans les années 1930 et 1940[5]. » En dénonçant l'intransigeance coupable du gouvernement canadien nourrie par l'hostilité de l'opinion publique, et en soulignant les divisions de sa communauté juive et la faiblesse de ses représentants, Abella et Troper ont donc amené à une profonde reconsidération de l'histoire juive et de l'histoire nationale canadiennes.

Plus de trente ans après sa publication, cet ouvrage fait toujours figure d'autorité sur la question. Sa place et son impact ne peuvent être compris sans souligner le relatif vide avant et – plus surprenant – après sa parution, une faiblesse de l'historiographie canadienne d'autant plus exacerbée par l'ampleur de la production et la violence des débats chez son voisin américain[6]. Avant 1982, les travaux sont rares et peu diffusés[7]. Après sa publication, il a longtemps été laissé sans suites. En 1995, Patrick Reed regrettait ainsi que « ce sujet ne [soit] plus abordé, la responsabilité du gouvernement canadien semblant avoir été définitivement démontrée[8]. » Il faut en effet attendre la fin des années 1990 et la parution d'ouvrages de synthèse sur la politique migratoire pour que les restrictions des années 1930 et 1940 soient inscrites dans un temps beaucoup plus long, permettant ainsi de renouveler notre compréhension de la période[9]. Bien que l'histoire de la genèse des discours et des politiques anti-immigration au Canada et au Québec doive encore être écrite, plusieurs travaux ont donc repris certaines assertions de Dirks mises de côté par Abella et Troper, en particulier concernant le contexte entourant les représentants politiques et les fonctionnaires impliqués dans la construction de la politique migratoire de l'après-guerre. D'autres études plus spécifiques, que cela soit sur les politiques d'internement pendant la guerre ou sur l'antisémitisme dans la société canadienne des années 1930 et 1940 ont également permis d'affiner notre connaissance du contexte de *None is Too Many*[10]. Malgré l'apport et l'originalité de ces travaux, l'ouvrage d'Abella et Troper n'a presque pas été remis en question. La nouvelle édition de 2012, publiée aux Presses de

l'Université de Toronto, ne comporte d'ailleurs aucune modification majeure. Pourtant, les zones d'ombre et les fragilités sont encore nombreuses et certains aspects de leur recherche doivent maintenant être reconsidérés, réactualisés et approfondis.

C'est l'ambition de ce numéro spécial de *Canadian Jewish Studies/Études Juives Canadiennes*. L'idée d'un tel numéro est née lors la 39e conférence annuelle de l'Association d'études juives canadiennes (AÉJC) qui a eu lieu en mai et juin 2015 à Ottawa. La tenue du panel « Le Canada et l'immigration juive dans les années 1930 et les 1940: politique migratoire, discours politiques et mobilisations communautaires » a ainsi mis en évidence l'obligation pour tout-e jeune chercheur-e de se positionner par rapport à *None is Too Many* et la nécessité de reconsidérer certaines de ses conclusions[II]. Avec le soutien et l'aide précieuse de Stephanie Schwartz, David Koffman et Elizabeth Moorhouse-Stein, ce projet a donc abouti un an plus tard. Les contributions de Pierre Anctil, Simon-Pierre Lacasse, Lillooet Nördlinger McDonnell, Justin Comartin, Norman Erwin, Sheena Trimble et Jason Chalmers questionnent, enrichissent et reconsidérent différents aspects de *None is Too Many* et la section *Les Archives Importent* dirigée par Janice Rosen permet d'envisager les pistes possibles pour prolonger cet effort. Cette revue contribue ainsi au renouvellement de notre compréhension d'un des chapitres les plus complexes de l'histoire canadienne. Par la diversité des approches et des profils de ses auteurs, elle illustre également le dynamisme des études juives canadiennes, et tout particulièrement de la recherche francophone.

1
Patrick Reed, « A Foothold in the Whirlpool: Canada's Iberian Refugee Movement », Maîtrise (histoire), Université Concordia, 1996 p. 7

2
Andrew Lui, *Why Canada cares: human rights and foreign policy in theory and practice*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012, p. 3

3
Franklin Bialystok, « La Route devant Nous – Introduction, Oyfn Veg: Symposium en etudes juives canadiennes en l'honneur de Gerald Tulchinsky », *Canadian Jewish Studies/ Etudes Juives Canadiennes*, vol. 21, « Oyfn Veg: Essays in Honour of Gerald Tulchinsky », 2013, p. 22

4
Irving Abella, « Canada still has much to learn from None is Too Many », *The Globe and Mail*, 26 février 2013, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/canada-still-has-much-to-learn-from-none-is-too-many/article9029037/ ; Sandra Dubé, « Les leçons de l'histoire : le Québec et l'immigration juive pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale », *HistoireEngagee.ca*, 19 décembre 2013, http://histoireengagee.ca/?p=3859

5
Jane Taber, **«** Trudeau slams Tories for terror rhetoric », *The Globe and Mail*, 9 mars 2015, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/trudeau-compares-harpers-muslim-immigration-policy-to-jews-in-second-world-war/article23379275/

6
Voir notamment Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Millions Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy*, New York, Random House, 1968, 350 p.; David S. Wyman, *L'Abandon des juifs, les Américains et la solution finale*, Paris Flammarion, 1987 (1984), 460 p.

7
On pense notamment à Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada, 1840-1940*, Montréal, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1966; Joseph Kage, *With faith and thanksgiving: the story of two hundred years of Jewish immigration and immigrant aid effort in Canada (1760-1960)*, Montréal, The Eagle Publishing Co., 1962; Gerald E. Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism?*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977

8
Patrick Reed, *op. cit.* p. 15

9
Ninette Kelley et Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic. A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, Toronto, University of Toronto, 2010 (1998); Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at our gates: Canadian immigration and immigration policy, 1540 – 1997*, Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1997; voir également le chapitre 4 de David Scott Fitzgerald et David Cook-Martin, *Culling the Masses. The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas*. Cambridge, London, Harvard University Press, 2014

10
Martin Auger, *Prisoners of the home front: German POWs and "enemy aliens" in southern Quebec, 1940-46*, Vancouver, UBC Press, 2005; Ruth Klein (éd.), *Nazi Germany, Canadian responses: confronting antisemitism in the shadow of war*, Montréal/Kingston, McGill – Queen's University Press, 2012; Richard Menkis et Harold Trope, *More Than Just Games: Canada and the 1936 Olympics*, Toronto, University of Toronto, 2015; Adara Goldberg, *Holocaust Survivors in Canada. Exclusion, Inclusion, Transformation, 1947–1955*, University of Manitoba Press, 2015

11
Antoine Burgard tient à remercier Sandra Dubé (« 'Personne n'est antisémite, mais tout le monde est opposé à l'immigration'. Les discours des responsables politiques canadiens et québécois sur l'immigration juive entre 1938 et 1945. ») et Annelise Rodrigo (« Une fragmentation de l'accueil : les associations canadiennes et l'arrivée de réfugiés juifs européens pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. ») pour leur participation au panel.

Antoine Burgard and Rebecca Margolis

Introduction: An Unquestioned "Scholarly Tsunami"?

This historiography of Canada's response to the Holocaust can be said to hinge on a single book: Irving Abella and Harold Troper's *None is Too Many,* originally published in 1982. Its publication was a "scholarly tsunami[1]" that deeply shook a country whose internationalism and humanitarianism were "an entrenched part of its national mythology"[2]. Projecting Canada's current open-mindedness and multiculturalism into the past, many readers were shocked by the book's depiction of the stubbornness and the blatant antisemitism of Canada's federal administration, the hostility of its population, and the powerlessness and disarray of its Jewish community. The book, whose title has been called "the signal statement about Canada's immigration policies prior to the 1950s[3]", sent massive shockwaves both inside and outside of academia. It quickly became "an ethical yardstick against which contemporaneous government policies are gauged[4]" and has repeatedly been called upon to remind the country to learn from "the lessons of [its] history[5]". Thus, in March 2015, Justin Trudeau criticized the conservative government's stance on refugees and accused Prime Minister Stephen Harper for using "the same rhetoric that led to a 'none is too many' immigration policy toward Jews in the '30s and '40s[6]." By exposing the antisemitism of key federal officials, its mechanisms of discrimination, the ethnic selectivity of Canada's immigration policy, and the impotence of the Canadian Jewry, Abella and Troper's work has fundamentally reshaped both national and Jewish narratives.

More than thirty years later, *None is Too Many* remains an absolute must-read. Its importance and its impact cannot be grasped without understanding the vacuum in the field of Canadian Holocaust Studies before and – more surprisingly – after its publication, a vacuum made particularly more striking when compared to the massive output of literature and the heated debates in the United States[7]. Before 1982, only a few works had been published in the field and all received little to no publicity[8]. After 1982, the book retained its status: as Patrick Reed pointed out in 1995, "the topic has effectively been retired, the case against the Canadian government apparently conclusively proven[9]". Only by the end of the 1990s had several books were published that worked to contribute to the renewal of our understanding of the Canadian immigration policies of the 1930s and 1940s[10]. Although, the origins of anti-immigration discourse and policies in Canada and Québec still have yet to be fully studied, the context of *None is Too Many* has been well-researched[11]. Despite the impact and originality of works since its release, the content of Abella and Troper's book has not been questioned. The new edition published by the University of Toronto Press in 2012, does not include any major changes to the original text. However, there remain ambiguous areas of the book and aspects of the research that must be rethought, updated, or deepened.

This gap represents the goal of this special issue of *Canadian Jewish Studies*/Études *Juives Canadiennes*. This project was born during the 39th annual conference of the Association of Canadian Jewish Studies in May and June of 2015 in Ottawa. The organization of the panel "Le Canada et l'immigration juive dans les années 1930 et

les 1940: politique migratoire, discours politiques et mobilisations communautaires" highlighted, on one hand, the phenomenon of young scholars having to position themselves in relation to *None is Too Many* and, on the other hand, the general need to revisit some of the book's conclusions[12]. With the support of Stephanie Schwartz, David Koffman, and Elizabeth Moorhouse-Stein, this project is now coming to fruition a year after it began. The submissions of Pierre Anctil, Simon-Pierre Lacasse, Lillooet Nördlinger McDonnell, Justin Comartin, Norman Erwin, Sheena Trimble, and Jason Chalmers question, broaden, and renew several aspects of None is Too Many and the section Archives Matter offers new potential paths to continue this effort. This issue contributes to renewing our understanding of one of Canada's most complex periods. Through the diversity of its approaches and of its authors, it also illustrates the dynamism of Canadian Jewish studies, particularly its emerging Francophone branch.

1
Patrick Reed, "A Foothold in the Whirlpool: Canada's Iberian Refugee Movement", MA thesis (History), Concordia University, 1996, p. 7

2
Andrew Lui, *Why Canada Cares: Human Rights and Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 3

3
Franklin Bialystok, "The Road Ahead - Opening Lecture, Oyfn Veg: A Symposium on Canadian Jewish Studies in Honour of Gerald Tulchinsky", Canadian Jewish Studies/Etudes Juives Canadiennes 21 (2013): 13

4
Irving Abella, "Canada Still Has Much to Learn from None is Too Many", *The Globe and Mail*, February 26th 2013, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/canada-still-has-much-to-learn-from-none-is-too-many/article9029037

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Sandra Dubé, « Les leçons de l'histoire : le Québec et l'immigration juive pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale », *HistoireEngagee.ca*, December 13th 2013, http://histoireengagee.ca/?p=3859

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Jane Taber, "Trudeau Slams Tories for Terror Rhetoric," *The Globe and Mail*, March 9th 2015, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/trudeau-compares-harpers-muslim-immigration-policy-to-jews-in-second-world-war/article23379275/

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See Arthur D. Morse, *While Six Millions Died: A Chronicle of American Apathy* (New York, Random House, 1968); David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).

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Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada, 1840-1940* (Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1966); Joseph Kage, *With Faith and Thanksgiving: The Story of Two Hundred Years of Jewish Immigration and Immigrant Aid Effort in Canada (1760-1960)* (Montreal, The Eagle Publishing Co., 1962); Gerald E. Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism?* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977).

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Patrick Reed, *op. cit.* p. 15

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Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic. A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto, University of Toronto, 2010 (1998); Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540 – 1997* (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1997); see also the chapter 4 of David Scott Fitzgerald and David Cook-Martin, *Culling the Masses. The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Cambridge, London, Harvard University Press, 2014).

11
Martin Auger, *Prisoners of the Home Front: German POWs and Enemy Aliens" in Southern Quebec, 1940-46* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2005); Ruth Klein (eds), *Nazi Germany, Canadian Responses: Confronting Antisemitism in the Shadow of War* (Montreal/Kingston, McGill – Queen's University Press, 2012); Richard Menkis et Harold Troper, *More Than Just Games: Canada and the 1936 Olympics* (Toronto, University of Toronto, 2015); Adara Goldberg, *Holocaust Survivors in Canada. Exclusion, Inclusion, Transformation, 1947–1955* (University of Manitoba Press, 2015).

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Antoine Burgard would like to thank Sandra Dubé and Annelise Rodrigo for their involvement in the panel.

Pierre Anctil

Deux poids, deux mesures: les responsabilités respectives du Canada de langue anglaise et de langue française dans la crise des réfugiés allemands

Dans leur travail pionnier sur la crise des réfugiés de la fin des années 1930 et du début des années 1940, Abella et Troper ont mis en lumière les rouages de la bureaucratie fédérale canadienne et sa position quant à l'admission des Juifs d'Europe. Leur analyse, basée sur un solide travail d'archives, démontre la perception complexe, et à cette époque, clairement hostile qu'avaient les politiciens canadiens des populations juives frappant à leur porte. Cependant, la qualité de leur analyse est bien plus faible quand ils abordent la question du Canada français. Dans cet article, je souhaite donc démontrer que les conclusions d'Abella et Troper concernant les Francophones ne reposent sur aucune évidence solide. En mobilisant l'historiographie récente et des sources de langue française, il est en effet possible de donner une image bien différente de la façon dont le Québec a perçu la question des réfugiés juifs et a réagi à leur sort.

In their seminal contribution to our understanding of the refugee crisis of the late thirties and early forties, Abella and Troper have described the inner workings of the Canadian Federal state and bureaucracy with regards to the admission of Jews from Nazi occupied Europe. Their study, with the help of solid archival documentation, demonstrates the complex and at times clearly hostile perception that Canadian politicians had developed of the Canadian Jewish polity knocking on their door. The authors' narrative is much weaker when it comes to French Canada and its reaction to the same phenomena. In this article I seek to show that Abella and Troper's conclusions with regards to Francophones were without solid historical foundations and rested mostly on unsubstantiated opinions. Recent research and more solid evidence derived from French language sources in fact paint a rather different picture of how Québec viewed the situation of Jewish refugees and reacted to their plight.

Aucune étude n'atteint à la perfection et aucun ouvrage ne couvre avec un égal bonheur tous les aspects d'une question complexe, à plus forte raison quand il n'a pas été révisé depuis plus de trente ans. Un des buts de cet article est de réfléchir à la meilleure manière de faire avancer la recherche en histoire juive canadienne à partir de nouvelles données et de nouveaux paramètres peu explorés jusqu'ici, pas d'accabler les auteurs des travaux déjà publiés. Ceci étant dit, une des faiblesses les plus manifestes de *None is Too Many*, comme de l'ensemble de la production historique de langue anglaise dans ce domaine, est le traitement du Canada de langue française dans son rapport au judaïsme canadien.[1] Le sujet en fait soulève des difficultés méthodologiques et conceptuelles particulières que nous allons aborder en parcourant de manière systématique les pages du livre réédité par Irving Abella et Harold Troper en 2012. À l'évidence, les Juifs canadiens, arrivés à la faveur de la Grande vague migratoire du début du XX^{e} siècle, ont vite réalisé que le pays dans lequel ils prenaient pied était divisé, sur le plan linguistique et religieux, entre deux grands groupes dont l'un dominait l'autre. Pour des raisons qu'il n'est pas utile d'aborder ici en détail, le monde anglophone britannique est vite devenu le point de repère fondamental de la collectivité juive canadienne, même à Montréal où la majorité de la population appartenait à la sphère canadienne-française.[2] La présence au pays d'une importante minorité nationale de langue française et de tradition catholique,

concentrée surtout au Québec, n'en a pas moins joué un rôle décisif dans l'évolution historique du judaïsme canadien. Il s'agit en fait d'une influence politique et culturelle qui est allée croissante au cours des cinquante dernières années, et qui a modifié sous plusieurs rapports le parcours identitaire des communautés juives installées dans la région de Montréal. Si les Juifs canadiens ont au XX^e^ siècle les yeux tournés vers le Canada anglophone pour ce qui est des grandes évolutions idéologiques et politiques qui les concernent au premier chef, ils ont néanmoins l'obligation de tenir compte des aspirations de l'élite canadienne-française.[3]

Au parlement d'Ottawa, au sein des grandes institutions fédérales et dans différents organes de presse, les francophones exercent un certain contre-pouvoir et réclament des droits pour leur groupe national. Depuis Wilfrid Laurier, le Canada français fait aussi avec une certaine efficacité la promotion d'un État canadien bilingue et présente des revendications sociales et culturelles visant la perpétuation de ses propres caractéristiques culturelles. Sans l'ombre d'un doute, ces démarches et réclamations affectent l'arène canadienne dans son ensemble et influencent le jugement de la classe politique au plus haut niveau. Comme le montrent avec beaucoup de justesse Irving Abella et Harold Troper dans leur ouvrage de 1982, les dirigeants communautaires juifs canadiens ne peuvent, au moment de la crise des réfugiés allemands, faire abstraction de ces réalités ni ignorer l'opinion publique francophone. L'étude des relations entre les deux groupes minoritaires, juif et canadien-français, prend ainsi une valeur explicative stratégique et soulève des questionnements historiques fondamentaux auxquels il n'est pas possible de se soustraire dans le domaine des études juives canadiennes. L'analyse et l'interprétation des réactions canadiennes à la persécution des populations juives par le régime nazi exigent, entre autre, une excellente connaissance du positionnement idéologique et culturel du Canada français avant la Révolution tranquille. Or c'est sur cette question que s'est butée la réception de *None is Too Many* dans les milieux de langue française. Très vite il est apparu que le traitement que les auteurs réservaient historiquement aux acteurs politiques francophones et les responsabilités qu'ils assignaient au Canada français dans cette crise ne répondaient pas aux attentes les plus élémentaires. C'était d'ailleurs là l'objection principale que soulevait mon compte rendu de *None is Too Many* paru en 1984 dans la revue *Recherches sociographiques*.[4] Comment concevoir que les élites francophones des années trente soient pointées du doigt pour avoir représenté l'un des principaux obstacles à l'admission des réfugiés juifs allemands au Canada? Un débat s'ouvrait autour de l'antisémitisme présumé de la société québécoise qui serait l'un des plus virulents de l'historiographie juive canadienne et dont les répercussions sont toujours palpables aujourd'hui dans certains milieux.[5]

Il est vrai qu'au moment de la parution de *None is Too Many* en 1982 très peu de recherches crédibles avaient été effectuées au sujet des rapports entre Juifs et Canadiens français dans la première moitié du XX^e^ siècle. Des opinions circulaient à

ce propos dans divers ouvrages de vulgarisation écrits en langue anglaise, la plupart sans fondement historique véritable et qui reflétaient des préjugés tenaces relativement à l'étroitesse d'esprit des francophones canadiens[6]. Plus significativement encore, bien peu d'intellectuels et d'historiens de langue française s'étaient aventurés à ce moment-là dans les complexités de l'histoire juive canadienne, et aucune étude sérieuse n'était au rendez-vous pour soutenir ou infirmer la démarche d'Abella et Troper. Nul ne savait au juste ce que le Canada de langue française avait compris des démarches entreprises par les dirigeants juifs au cours des années trente en faveur des victimes de la persécution en Europe, et les historiens francophones les plus susceptibles de percer le mystère étaient occupés à d'autres enjeux qui semblaient à l'époque plus pressants, dont celui du nationalisme québécois. Si les conclusions d'Abella et Troper relativement aux responsabilités des élites de langue française semblaient au premier abord indéfendables, il existait par contre très peu de données fiables permettant de réfuter clairement le raisonnement des deux auteurs. Il était encore difficile au milieu des années quatre-vingt de préciser où se trouvait la faille exactement et comment il convenait d'aborder l'enjeu étudié. De toute évidence, Abella et Troper avaient utilisé un procédé intuitif dans leur analyse du Canada français et s'étaient fiés à des perceptions alors partagées de manière indistincte par une grande partie des observateurs de langue anglaise. Face au phénomène de la discrimination et de l'antisémitisme des francophones, les auteurs de *None is Too Many* avaient répété simplement ce qui était de notoriété publique au moment de la parution de leur livre, à savoir qu'il avait été éminemment dommageable pour les Juifs et constituait une menace grave pour l'ensemble du Canada. Un fossé culturel et linguistique apparemment infranchissable semblait toutefois empêcher les chercheurs anglophones de dépasser ce constat posé à l'emporte-pièce.

Depuis une dizaine d'années, des progrès remarquables ont été réalisés pour ce qui est de notre connaissance du sujet et une nouvelle génération d'universitaires francophones a entrepris de recueillir systématiquement des données nouvelles au sujet du rapport historique entre Juifs et francophones au XX^{e} siècle. Pour y parvenir, plusieurs d'entre eux ont appris les langues juives les plus courantes au Canada et ont publié des études de synthèse rédigées à partir d'une compréhension plus profonde de l'histoire du catholicisme et du fait français au pays. Des collaborations se sont aussi tissées à Montréal entre spécialistes des études québécoises et chercheurs engagés dans le domaine du judaïsme, qui ont permis que s'établisse à long terme un échange d'idées et que se développe une réciprocité mutuelle dans la poursuite d'enjeux intellectuels communs.[7] Il s'agissait-là d'une condition absolument essentielle à un dépassement de la situation qui prévalait dans les différents milieux intellectuels canadiens au moment de la parution de *None is Too Many* en 1982. Ces efforts ont rendu possible la formulation de nouvelles hypothèses plus englobantes et puisant dans un ensemble très vaste de données produites dans plusieurs langues. Nous comprenons mieux aujourd'hui que les auteurs de *None is Too Many*, placés dans un

contexte différent, ont commis au début des années quatre-vingt plusieurs erreurs de perspective et de lecture historique dont il est aujourd'hui possible de retrouver la trace dans leur ouvrage. Certaines de ces inexactitudes sont attribuables à l'absence de données crédibles à l'époque et d'autres peuvent être mises sur le compte de fautes méthodologiques importantes. Ces maladresses sont particulièrement visibles dans l'analyse qu'Abella et Troper font de la presse de langue française au Canada au cours de l'entre-deux-guerres, et qui constitue un des éléments clés de leur démonstration. En se méprenant sur la nature des journaux francophones et sur leur influence, les deux auteurs imprimaient à leur ouvrage une direction erronée qui est devenue nettement plus apparente aujourd'hui. Nous reviendrons plus longuement sur cet aspect du raisonnement proposé dans *None is Too Many*.

La faute la plus fondamentale d'Abella et Troper en 1982 est d'avoir cru que le Canada français était absolument unanime dans sa perception du judaïsme et dans sa compréhension de la crise des réfugiés allemands. Cette idée est reprise systématiquement tout au long du livre, comme si la population francophone de l'époque formait un tout inaltérable et qu'elle était d'une seule voix dans sa détestation des Juifs. Sur ce plan, rien ne vient nuancer les opinions ou diviser entre eux les Canadiens français: ni les différences de classe, ni la présence de partis politiques concurrents, ni le jeu des alliances circonstancielles. L'antisémitisme en particulier semble réunir sous une même bannière tous les intervenants de l'époque et toutes les couches de la société québécoise, avec très peu d'exceptions. La presse canadienne de langue française est ainsi perçue comme l'instrument et la porte-parole de cet élan commun d'opposition à l'accueil des réfugiés. « Almost every French-language newspaper had warned the government against opening Canada's door to European Jews », affirment les auteurs dès les premières pages de leur ouvrage.[8] La même affirmation péremptoire revient quand Duplessis prononce à l'automne 1943 un discours anti-immigration et antisémite très soutenu à Sainte-Claire: « The French-language Québec press did not wholeheartedly support Duplessis or the more shrill nationalists; it did, however, demand the rejection of Jewish refugees. Except for the Montreal weekly *Le Jour*, [...] the French press spoke with one voice »[9]. Ce positionnement de 1982 est réaffirmé d'une manière encore plus insistante dans la préface à la nouvelle édition que signent Abella et Troper en 2012: « *Together*, Quebec Church leaders, nationalist politicians, and the social elite *united* not only in support of a boycott of Jewish owned businesses but also in efforts to keep Jews out of the public square and, above all, to bar Canada's door to the further admission of Jews »[10]. C'est une erreur que les auteurs ne commettent toutefois pas concernant le Canada anglophone, qui est réputé présenter des contrastes importants sur le plan de l'opinion et au sein duquel différentes factions politiques s'affrontent sur la place publique, même en ce qui a trait à l'émigration des réfugiés. En somme, pour les deux auteurs, le Canada français semble ne pas posséder au début du XX^{e} siècle une normalité équivalente à celle du Canada d'inspiration britannique, où les forces de la démocratie et de la partisannerie politique divisent les citoyens en factions opposés.

Bien que certaines caractéristiques sociales et historiques distinguent nettement le Québec du reste du Canada, comme en fait foi l'existence d'un nationalisme francophone ouvertement exprimé, il n'en reste pas moins que le contraste entre les deux ensembles est déjà relativement limité à cette période de l'histoire. En 1933, le Canada français s'est industrialisé, il compte de nombreuses villes importantes – dont la métropole du pays – et possède une classe instruite. Impossible dans ce contexte de défendre le mythe d'un Québec soustrait entièrement à la modernité et placé à l'abri de la dissension interne. Contrairement à ce que répètent Abella et Troper, le Canada français présente de fortes divergences d'opinion sur la question juive. Au cours des années trente, d'importantes personnalités francophones ont défendu farouchement les droits de la population juive et combattu l'antisémitisme. C'est le cas notamment d'Olivar Asselin, d'Edmond Turcotte, d'Henri Bourassa et de Jean-Charles Harvey, quatre grands journalistes qui ont appelé leurs compatriotes à mieux respecter les minorités religieuses.[11] Pour la plupart cependant, les Canadiens français n'ont guère trouvé d'intérêt à cette époque à discuter de la question des réfugiés et se sont dissociés de leur sort, qu'ils soient juifs d'origine ou pas. Plutôt que de les accuser d'être hostiles aux Juifs ou de pratiquer l'antisémitisme sur une grande échelle, il conviendrait plutôt de les décrire comme indifférents aux souffrances des autres peuples ou carrément absents du débat. C'est particulièrement le cas de la presse populaire francophone, qui en général ne formulait guère d'opinions sur la présence juive à Montréal ou sur la situation des victimes du nazisme. Si consensus il y avait autour de ces sujets, c'était plutôt celui du silence et de l'ignorance. Nous sommes loin ici du portrait que tracent Abella et Troper d'un Canada français intensément occupé à s'attaquer au judaïsme et à ses adeptes. Les quotidiens francophones – comme ceux du Canada anglais – sont aussi très souvent directement à la solde des différents partis politiques qui les utilisent pour des fins électorales à courte vue. Libéraux et conservateurs, unionistes et nationalistes luttent en fait pour la faveur populaire par journaux interposés, ce qui produit une faune journalistique aux antipodes de la description qu'en font les auteurs de *None is Too Many*. Vu sous cet angle, le Québec est tout sauf unanime. Même les francophones qui sont des militants de l'antisémitisme se divisent en plusieurs courants de pensée et se combattent entre eux. Rien ne justifie sous cet angle l'analyse que proposent Abella et Troper.

Si le Canada de langue française et de langue anglaise se ressemblent sous certains aspects, ils se distinguent toutefois nettement sur une question fondamentale, celle du pouvoir réel que ces populations d'origines différentes exercent au sein de la fédération. Sur ce plan Abella et Troper commettent une deuxième erreur sérieuse, qui est celle de placer les deux sociétés à égalité dans le rapport de force politique qui les voit s'affronter au Parlement d'Ottawa ou dans les différentes instances fédérales. Les francophones, particulièrement à cette période de l'histoire, forment une minorité qui est douloureusement consciente de son infériorité sociale et économique. Même en excluant totalement la question juive, plusieurs activistes du Canada fran-

çais perçoivent – dont les éditorialistes du *Devoir* – l'immigration comme une menace à son existence et comme un moyen pour le Canada britannique de limiter son influence démographique et politique. Au début du XX[e] siècle, les discussions centrées sur l'accueil des immigrants soulèvent dans bien des cas au Québec des craintes viscérales relativement à l'anglicisation et à la dépossession des francophones.[13] Il en sera ainsi jusqu'à la promulgation de la Charte de la langue française en 1978. Rien de semblable n'apparaît au sein du Canada britannique qui perçoit plutôt l'arrivée des nouveaux venus sous un jour positif. Pour les anglophones, le phénomène semble une occasion de recruter de nouveaux citoyens et de développer des régions éloignées du centre du pays. La distinction tient à ce que le Canada britannique voit les immigrants se placer sous son aile pour s'assimiler rapidement à la culture dominante, tandis que les francophones conçoivent à ce sujet une intense inquiétude que la migration de masse des années 1904–1914 ne fait qu'accentuer. Ces impressions ne sont pas seulement le fruit de préjugés tenaces et d'une xénophobie plus répandue au sein des milieux québécois. Elles reflètent aussi le rapport d'inégalité et de domination auquel les francophones sont soumis au sein de la fédération canadienne depuis sa création.

Pour cette raison, les relations des francophones de tradition catholique avec les communautés juives canadiennes diffèrent fondamentalement de celles que les Canadiens d'origine britannique ont pu établir dans un contexte à peu près semblable. Dans le premier cas, il s'agit de deux populations en situation minoritaire qui se trouvent soudainement placées en présence l'une de l'autre par les aléas de l'histoire et de la géographie, et qui s'affrontent parfois dans un rapport de vive concurrence économique au sein de l'espace montréalais. Les élites anglophones par contre, établissent avec les dirigeants juifs une relation d'autorité et d'antériorité politique qui exclut toute velléité de remise en question ou de lutte ouverte. Ils n'ont pas non plus à convaincre leurs vis-à-vis de l'importance d'en arriver à un terrain d'entente raisonnable. La plupart du temps dans ce contexte, les Canadiens de culture britannique trouvent inutile d'user de menace à l'endroit des Juifs ou d'exprimer à leur encontre des sentiments de forte hostilité. Là où Juifs et Canadiens britanniques jettent les bases d'une relation consensuelle née d'une compréhension commune de la raison d'État, Juifs et francophones forgent une relation de nature conflictuelle et privée de balises stables. Cela tient d'une part à ce que les Canadiens français ne sont pas aux commandes de la bureaucratie fédérale et ne contrôlent pas les secteurs clés de l'économie nationale, et de l'autre à ce que leurs aspirations politiques n'apparaissent pas légitimes au premier abord dans un pays de tradition britannique. Pour cette raison, il faut se garder de juger d'une manière symétrique et équivalente la réaction des anglophones et des francophones à la présence juive au Canada. Il en va de même pour ce qui a trait aux revendications des leaders communautaires juifs face à la crise des réfugiés allemands. En raisonnant comme ils le font, Abella et Troper donnent l'impression que le Canada anglais et le Canada français sont positionnés

à équidistance des revendications juives, d'où la tentation des deux auteurs de faire porter aux deux groupes linguistiques les responsabilités importantes dans le constat d'échec qu'ils dressent de l'accueil des victimes juives. Cela se défendrait toujours si les francophones avaient produit des élites politiques fortement installées dans la capitale fédérale et chargées d'administrer de vastes pans de la fonction publique. Or il faut attendre l'arrivée au pouvoir de Pierre-Elliott Trudeau en 1968, et les retombées de la Révolution tranquille au Québec, pour qu'une telle situation commence à se dessiner à Ottawa. Quand finalement certains francophones arrivent en nombre suffisant au sommet de l'appareil d'État pour y exercer une influence décisive, il y a au moins un quart de siècle que la crise des réfugiés est résorbée.

Nul besoin d'être grand clerc pour comprendre, à la lecture de *None is Too Many*, que les Canadiens français ne représentent pas une influence de premier plan dans les séquences événementielles tragiques qui poussent l'État canadien à refuser d'accueillir les victimes du nazisme. À quelques exceptions près, au bas de l'échelle, la fonction publique fédérale est entièrement dominée par des anglophones unilingues d'origine britannique. Au cours des années trente, faut-il le rappeler, le Canada est toujours administré comme une colonie récemment détachée de la tutelle politique directe de Londres. Rien dans les données présentées par Abella et Troper ne laisse croire que Frederick Charles Blair et A. L. Jolliffe agissent en se souciant du Canada français ou en voulant refléter la dualité linguistique du pays. À l'autre extrême, on ne rencontre pas non plus de francophones dans les rangs de ceux qui militent activement pour ouvrir les portes du pays aux réfugiés de toutes origines. Au sein du parti politique fédéral le plus favorable aux doléances de la communauté juive, il ne se trouve pas un seul député élu par un électorat en majorité francophone. La *Co-operative Commonwealth Federation* (CCF) n'a d'ailleurs à ce moment pratiquement aucun rayonnement au Québec et ses principaux députés aux Communes, M. J. Coldwell, Stanley Knowles et Clarie Gillis, ne savent pas s'exprimer en français correctement. Même parmi le *Canadian National Committee on Refugees and Victims of Political Persecution* (CNCR), fondé en 1938 à Ottawa afin de présenter un front uni en faveur d'une politique d'admission plus libérale, il ne se trouve aucune personnalité francophone de poids. Le CNCR réfléchit, délibère et agit seulement en anglais. Aucune de ses publications destinées au grand public n'est traduite en langue française. De fait, l'organisme a été créé par une vingtaine d'organisations et de groupes de pression issus du Canada anglais, dont certains ont une vocation religieuse. À ce noyau s'est ajouté un petit nombre de délégués du Congrès juif canadien (CJC) ou d'autres groupes de pression juifs.

La *dramatis personæ* est toutefois mieux équilibrée en ce qui concerne les élus qui allaient être invités, après les élections fédérales de 1935 et 1940, à former les deux gouvernements canadiens les plus concernés par la crise des réfugiés. Cette représentation plus équitable tient à ce que les libéraux de William Lyon Mackenzie-King

raflent la presque totalité des sièges attribués au Québec lors de ces deux scrutins, et comptent dans leurs rangs un très grand nombre de députés fédéraux francophones. En 1935 et encore plus en 1940, les Québécois veulent empêcher Ottawa d'imposer la conscription obligatoire pour le service outremer et rejettent en bloc le Parti Conservateur. D'éminentes personnalités canadiennes-françaises entrent au cabinet de King et y occupent des postes de premier plan entre 1935 et 1948, dont Ernest Lapointe, Fernand Rinfret et Louis Saint-Laurent. Dans cette arène, qui est celle de l'établissement des grandes orientations politiques de l'État canadien, il est possible de concevoir que les francophones aient joué un rôle déterminant dans certains secteurs précis. Les élus de langue française qui entrent au gouvernement ont aussi l'obligation d'être solidaires des décisions prises au plus haut niveau et la plupart partagent depuis longtemps l'idéologie libérale de Wilfrid Laurier et de King. Cela n'infirme en rien la situation d'infériorité objective du Canada français vu sous un angle plus global, mais produit par ailleurs une conjoncture politique favorable à l'unité politique du pays et à des perceptions plus positives. Il convient sans doute ici de donner raison à Abella et Troper quand ils soulèvent la responsabilité commune de tous les membres du cabinet pour ce qui est de l'attitude de King devant la situation des réfugiés européens. Les deux auteurs ne parviennent pas toutefois à établir de manière irréfutable que les ministres francophones sont animés, plus que leurs vis-à-vis anglophones, par des sentiments antisémites profonds. On ne trouve d'ailleurs pas dans les discours prononcés aux Communes par ces individus des propos motivés par la haine des Juifs ou porteurs de connotations racialistes, ni dans la presse en général[14]. Comme King, ils avaient sans doute appris depuis longtemps à taire leurs sentiments profonds sur cette question et à ne pas étaler leurs opinions en public.

Il est toutefois difficile de croire, à la suite d'Abella et Troper, que les ministres québécois de King aient possédé une influence prépondérante dans la conduite immédiate des affaires de l'État fédéral, entre autre pour ce qui est de la question des réfugiés juifs européens. Rien n'indique non plus que Lapointe ait fait de cet enjeu un élément décisif de sa carrière politique, ou qu'il lui ait accordé une importance démesurée. Sur ce plan les deux auteurs n'apportent aucune donnée concluante et leur affirmation du fait que le ministre de la Justice « corrected any cabinet backslinding, including that of the prime minister », reste improuvée dans leur ouvrage.[15] Il en va de même de l'idée que les politiciens fédéraux anglophones craignaient l'opinion publique québécoise au point d'être paralysés dans leurs agissements. Pour étayer cette position, les deux auteurs citent une seule source: un article du controversé journaliste Harold Dingman paru dans la revue *Liberty* en 1947: « Most politicians are fearful of Québec, which wants no immigrants not of its faith.»[16] C'était oublier que l'électorat francophone et les principaux porte-paroles du mouvement nationaliste canadien-français n'avaient pas eu gain de cause dans une question jugée éminemment plus importante, à savoir le rejet de la conscription obligatoire pour service

outremer. Malgré une opposition politique farouche, malgré les promesses formelles de King à l'élection de 1940 et malgré un vote fortement négatif au plébiscite de 1942, les francophones avaient dû se résigner à l'automne 1944 à subir l'imposition de mesures d'enrôlement contraignantes. Cela s'était produit alors que le tiers des députés libéraux fédéraux était composé d›élus québécois et au moment où le cabinet de King comptait un nombre record de francophones qui s'étaient tous ralliés à la décision du gouvernement. Aucun enjeu ne comptait plus pour les Québécois que celui-là. En fait, Abella et Troper sont probablement les seuls historiens canadiens à croire que les politiciens québécois des années trente et quarante possédaient une influence disproportionnée par rapport à leur nombre et pouvaient infléchir à eux seuls les politiques de l'État fédéral.

La troisième erreur d'interprétation fondamentale contenue dans *None is Too Many* est l'affirmation à l'effet que la société québécoise aurait distillé à l'époque des formes d'antisémitisme nettement plus virulentes que le reste que le Canada anglophone. De telles manifestations d'hostilité, reprises dans toutes les couches de la population de langue française, auraient constitué un des principaux obstacles à une résolution rapide et satisfaisante de la crise des réfugiés. C'est une position à laquelle Abella et Troper adhèrent avec beaucoup de force et qui se trouve répétée systématiquement dans leur ouvrage:

> The unyielding opposition of certain key officials, the depression, the general apathy in English Canada, *the outright hostility of French Canada*, the prime minister's concern for votes and the overlay of Antisemitism that dominated Ottawa combined to insure that no more than a mere handful of Jewish refugees would find a home in Canada.[17]

En somme, les penchants humanistes d'une partie de la classe politique canadienne, incluant le premier ministre King, se seraient constamment butés sur un obstacle de taille qui était l'animosité viscérale et irraisonnée des francophones face à l'immigration juive européenne. Sur ce plan les deux auteurs sont catégoriques: « The realities King had in mind were the attitudes toward refugees in general and Jews in particular within Québec. He was absolutely convinced that Québec would react violently to the admission of Jewish refugees; and with reason.»[18] Il s'agit d'ailleurs d'une perception qui aurait été partagée par les quelques députés d'origine juive qui œuvraient à renverser la vapeur au sein de la bureaucratie fédérale, et qui pour cette raison craignaient de rendre leurs efforts publics: « Any organized Jewish demand for refugee admissions might create a backlash among non-Jews, especially in Québec.» [19]

S'il est vrai que des voix se sont élevées au sein de la société québécoise pour demander que soient repoussés les immigrants d'origine juive fuyant l'Allemagne nazie,

cela ne constitue pas une preuve en soi que l'ensemble des francophones ait développé sur le long terme des formes plus exacerbées et plus dommageables d'hostilité envers les Juifs en général. Comme nous le montrerons un peu plus loin dans ce texte, autant les affirmations relatives à l'antisémitisme québécois sont catégoriques et péremptoires de la part des deux auteurs, autant les preuves à l'appui sont manquantes. En fait Abella et Troper reprennent ici un point de vue qui est présent dans l'historiographie de langue anglaise, sans le critiquer ou sans l'approfondir. Il aurait été plus approprié et plus conséquent de partir d'une hypothèse différente, à savoir que le Canada anglophone et le Québec francophone ont produit au XX^{e} siècle des formes différentes d'antisémitisme qui ont trouvé à s'exprimer par des moyens très contrastés. D'un point de vue historique, retracer l'origine des perceptions négatives divergentes des deux groupes dominants semble plus productif que de chercher à les comparer sans points de repère précis, et sans autres fins que de porter un blâme *a posteriori*. L'antisémitisme des francophones trouve ses racines dans l'enseignement doctrinal universel de l'Église catholique, dans lequel le peuple juif s'est abaissé en rejetant la figure du Christ. Les Britanniques de tradition protestante formulent plutôt leurs objections à la présence juive en faisant appel à des notions raciales. Partant de ce constat on peut déjà reconstruire un peu plus facilement les différents discours qui ont eu cours au Canada au cours des années trente. Les Canadiens français ont eu tendance à voir dans l'immigration juive l'expression de valeurs pernicieuses contraires aux fondements moraux de leur société, tandis que l'État canadien – digne reflet de la majorité canadienne – élevait des barrières liées à l'origine ethnique et géographique des candidats potentiels.[20] Forcément cela produit des propos et des objections de nature très différente, situées dans des espaces discursifs qui ne se recoupent pas nécessairement. Faut-il en conclure pour autant que les formes québécoises étaient porteuses de conséquences plus graves pour la population juive canadienne?

L'idée d'une culpabilité plus grande des Québécois provient aussi de préjugés et d'opinions qui étaient ceux des leaders communautaires juifs de l'époque, et que les deux auteurs de *None is Too Many* auraient dû présenter comme tels. C'est pour l'essentiel la preuve avancée par Abella et Troper. Les deux auteurs citent par exemple les propos tenus en 1939 par M. A. Solkin, un activiste de la *Jewish Immigrant Aid Society* (JIAS): « The new government would no longer have to placate the whims of anti-Semitic Quebec or retrain the good graces of other reactionary elements in this country", and so might adopt "a more reasonable immigration policy" »[21]. Plus loin dans l'ouvrage nous apprenons que: « The JIAS director informed his officers that it was necessary to keep the decision quiet lest Quebec, learning of it, attempt to have it reversed, as it had succeeded in doing with previous schemes.»[22] Or, nous nous trouvons à une époque où les contacts entre les dirigeants des organisations juives et l'élite canadienne-française se réduisaient à presque rien[23]. Un voile d'une grande opacité séparait les premiers des seconds, qui pour la plupart ne lisaient pas la presse

francophone du Québec, faute de connaître la langue dans laquelle elle était publiée. L'intense émotion ressentie par la communauté juive devant les persécutions hitlériennes rendait plutôt aléatoire dans les circonstances toute tentative de dialogue avec les francophones opposés à une libéralisation des règlements de l'immigration. Plutôt que de suivre les militants pro-immigration de l'époque dans l'expression de leurs préjugés, souvent inspirés par ailleurs des courants anticatholiques présents au Canada anglais, les deux auteurs auraient été mieux inspirés de reconnaître le caractère relatif de ces témoignages. Cela aurait été à tout du moins plus conforme à une approche historique mesurée et détachée des exigences de l'activisme communautaire.

Le type d'analyse historique privilégiée dans *None is Too Many* nous oblige aussi à nous pencher sur l'interprétation que les deux auteurs présentent relativement à la formation du CNCR en décembre 1938. Nous l'avons vu, l'organisme se propose avec une grande hauteur de vue de défendre au Canada la cause des réfugiés victimes du nazisme, mais il fait le choix de ne fonctionner qu'en anglais. Présidé par Cairine Wilson et administré par Constance Hayward, deux personnalités d'une valeur morale exceptionnelle, le CNCR lance une campagne tous azimuts pour convaincre le public canadien de prendre dans cette affaire une posture humanitaire. On espère ainsi réunir un mouvement d'opinion suffisamment puissant pour obliger King à changer d'attitude avant qu'il ne soit trop tard. À quoi peut-on attribuer la propension du CNCR à ignorer la réalité québécoise? Le ton adopté par *None is Too Many* laisse entendre qu'aucun groupe de pression francophone ne juge l'enjeu suffisamment important pour joindre les rangs du CNCR: « No French-Canadian organization was represented.»[24] C'était adopter un raccourci commode. L'organisme pro réfugiés de langue anglaise se porte au secours de tous les réfugiés européens, dont il clame que la majorité n'est pas d'origine juive. Difficile de croire dans ces circonstances que l'enjeu principal de l'absence de Québécois au sein du CNCR aurait été l'existence d'un fort sentiment antisémite chez les principaux intéressés. Certes, il se trouve peu de Canadiens français pour défendre à cette époque une hausse de l'immigration au pays, et il est possible que l'éloignement des francophones ait été provoqué par un sentiment de relative indifférence face à la situation allemande. Il est possible de croire cependant que le CNCR lui-même ait pu être à l'origine de la mésentente, notamment suite au ton condescendant pris par certains de ses membres face à l'Église catholique canadienne et face au Canada français. Il semble aussi plausible d'avancer l'hypothèse que les principaux dirigeants du CNCR n'aient pas cru bon d'entretenir des contacts soutenus avec l'élite politique francophone et qu'ils ne savaient pas comment approcher ses principaux représentants. De fait, les premières associations d'accueil des immigrants et des réfugiés de langue française, souvent situées à l'intérieur d'un cadre catholique, ne viendront que dans la période de l'après-guerre.[25]

Soyons plus précis. Plusieurs membres du clergé protestant s'étaient joints au CNCR et militaient au sein de l'organisme en tant que représentants attitrés d'une congrégation religieuse. Avant le Deuxième Concile du Vatican, il existait dans certains cercles de l'Église anglicane et de l'Église unie du Canada une animosité à peine cachée envers le catholicisme, perçu comme une tradition entachée de corruption morale et d'un penchant pour la superstition. À ces opinions défavorables sur le plan théologique, il faut ajouter dans le cas de certains individus très attachés à la culture britannique l'existence d'un sentiment anti-francophone prononcé. De tels propos finirent par faire surface spontanément dans les discours prononcés par des membres du CNCR et même dans leurs écrits, ce que ne manquèrent pas de remarquer certains organes de presse francophones. On peut imaginer sans trop de mal qu'une défense des réfugiés appuyée d'un blâme à peine voilé envers les francophones catholiques ne risquait pas de gagner beaucoup d'adeptes à cette cause au Québec. L'affaire alla si loin dans le cas d'un individu en particulier, le révérend Clarence Edwin Silcox, prêtre de l'Église unie du Canada, que ses attaques firent à deux reprises l'objet d'éditoriaux réprobateurs dans *Le Devoir*, dont un portait le titre très évocateur de « Le problème de l'immigration et l'animosité anti-québécoise.»[26] Personnage controversé et tribun flamboyant, Silcox se permit à quelques reprises d'associer la tiédeur du Canada français face aux réfugiés à de la turpitude morale, égratignant au passage l'épiscopat francophone pour son silence et son indifférence face à la souffrance des victimes du nazisme. L'homme n'était pas le dernier venu. Il avait été à partir de 1934 secrétaire général de *la Social Service Council of Canada*, un organisme à vocation religieuse, puis avait été nommé en 1940 directeur de la *Canadian Conference of Christians and Jews*.[27] Quelques années plus tard, Silcox prendrait aussi la tête du *World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches*. Ces effusions inconsidérées causèrent un dommage considérable à la cause du CNCR au Québec en heurtant les sensibilités déjà vives des francophones au moment de la crise de la conscription. Les insultes répétées de Silcox nous aident aussi à percevoir comment aurait été reçu un catholique sincère au bureau de direction du CNCR. Au-delà de la question plus spécifique des persécutions juives en Europe, il apparaît très clairement que de nombreux francophones et anglophones étaient toujours incapables, à la fin des années trente, d'entrer en contact les uns avec les autres de manière constructive, ne serait-ce pour une cause aussi urgente que celle des réfugiés. Ultimement, en plus de toutes les difficultés liées à la bureaucratie, à l'éloignement géographique et à la férocité des méthodes nazies, les Juifs qui cherchaient à entrer au pays ont aussi été victimes de l'entêtement des Canadiens d'origine française et anglaise à maintenir entre eux des barrières linguistiques et confessionnelles insurmontables.

Après avoir supposé à tort que le Québec francophone s'exprimait d'une seule voix au sujet d'une foule d'enjeux, après avoir commis l'erreur de croire que le Canada français et le Canada anglais pouvaient être traités de la même manière sur le plan

historique et après avoir affirmé que l'antisémitisme était nettement plus prononcé dans la société québécoise, Abella et Troper commettent de nombreux autres impairs dans l'interprétation qu'ils font de la crise des réfugiés. Cela tient entre autres à ce que les deux auteurs jugent la société canadienne essentiellement à l'aulne des années trente et négligent d'examiner plus sérieusement des périodes antérieures. Une telle approche a pour effet de gonfler indûment l'incidence du sentiment antisémite au pays pour l'ensemble du XX^e^ siècle. C'était ignorer qu'un contexte politique et économique international poussait nettement vers le haut après 1929 l'hostilité envers les immigrants et en particulier envers ceux d'origine juive. Autant au Québec que dans le reste du Canada, les retombées sociales négatives de la Grande Dépression convainquirent la population et le gouvernement de prôner un farouche isolationnisme. L'arrivée au pouvoir d'Hitler en janvier 1933 et les mesures discriminatoires anti-juives qu'il met aussitôt en place ont aussi des répercussions jusqu'au Canada. Une propagande raciale insidieuse et des publications antisémites très explicites commencent à circuler dans différents milieux au pays, autant en langue anglaise qu'en langue française. Confrontés à cette conjoncture difficile et à des flots de paroles attaquant les Juifs, de nombreux Canadiens se laissent convaincre de changer leur point de vue antérieur. Plusieurs deviennent indifférents aux souffrances infligées aux minorités religieuses en Europe et observent distraitement les graves événements que les journaux rapportent dans leurs pages en 1938-39, entre autres les attaques violentes en Allemagne contre les synagogues et les communautés juives.[28] C'est dans ce contexte totalement nouveau que se produit la crise des réfugiés juifs qui est décrite dans *None is Too Many*. On ne retrouve rien de semblable dans les trente premières années du vingtième siècle, autant au Canada anglais qu'au Canada français. En fait, aucune période au XX^e^ siècle n'est aussi favorable à la dissémination de préjugés anti-immigration et judéophobes que celle qui s'étend de 1929 à 1939.

C'est du moins l'impression qui se dégage d'une lecture très serrée des éditoriaux publiés dans *Le Devoir* entre 1910 – année de la fondation du journal – et la fin de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Au cours de cette période de trente-sept ans, pendant laquelle deux grandes personnalités ont tenu les rênes du quotidien, Henri Bourassa et Georges Pelletier, *Le Devoir* a mentionné le judaïsme ou les Juifs deux cent neuf fois dans ses pages éditoriales.[29] En gros, sur un corpus historique de près de onze mille éditoriaux, cela constitue une proportion de 2 %. Il est important par ailleurs de noter ici que seulement la moitié de ces réflexions se présentent sous une forme négative ou discriminatoire à l'endroit des populations juives du Canada ou d'Europe. Dans plusieurs cas, le journal ne fait que reprendre des données objectives concernant les Juifs ou présente des faits qui ne sont pas susceptibles d'attirer sur la communauté juive de Montréal l'hostilité des lecteurs. Parmi les éditoriaux nettement hostiles aux Juifs et surtout à l'immigration juive en provenance d'Allemagne, soit cent six textes au cours de la période étudiée, 82 % paraissent sous le directorat de Pelletier, c'est-

à-dire plus précisément entre 1932 et 1947. Le plus grand nombre de saillies antisémites dans *Le Devoir* paraissent en fait en 1934, 1936, 1938 et 1943, soit une masse assez compacte de cinquante-cinq éditoriaux publiés surtout à l'occasion de la crise des réfugiés et lors de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. C'est d'ailleurs à ce moment que sont publiés dans *Le Devoir* tous les commentaires favorisant *l'achat chez nous* et recommandant l'observation stricte du dimanche dans la société civile. C'est aussi en 1934 qu'ont lieu les échanges les plus acerbes dans les pages du *Devoir* entre Omer Héroux et les dirigeants du CJC. Pendant que l'immigration juive est-européenne battait son plein à Montréal, soit de 1910 à 1914, puis dans une moindre mesure entre 1920 à 1922, *Le Devoir* ne s'intéresse que très peu à la communauté juive et ne commente que rarement la question. Bourassa lui-même ne prend la plume que cinq fois dans le journal pour discuter de la présence juive au Canada, deux fois pour dénoncer clairement les attitudes anti-juives de ses compatriotes.[30]

Il faut donc se garder, comme le font Abella et Troper, de juger le positionnement traditionnel du Canada français face aux Juifs à l'aune des années de la grande dépression. Cette courte période ne reflète ni le climat général qui a prévalu dans les rapports entre les deux groupes au XX^e^ siècle ni l'attitude de la population francophone du Plateau Mont-Royal à l'égard de ses voisins d'origine juive. Bien au contraire, les données dont nous disposons indiquent que les souffrances innombrables engendrées par le ralentissement économique de 1929, et les craintes face à la possibilité d'un nouveau conflit d'envergure mondiale, ont créé un contexte de repli dans toutes les couches de la société canadienne et exacerbé la méfiance devant ce qui paraissait venir de l'étranger. C'est un réflexe qui s'est aussi manifesté avec force au sein de la population francophone, au point d'englober les Juifs déjà bien établis à Montréal et surtout ceux qui souhaitaient fuir l'Allemagne nazie pour trouver refuge au Canada. Plus de prudence aurait été de mise à ce sujet dans *None is Too Many*, ce qui aurait mené à une meilleure compréhension du mouvement d'hostilité envers les Juifs sur le long terme, en particulier au sein du Québec francophone. Une distorsion de même nature se manifeste dans une des idées principales que défendent les deux auteurs dans leur étude, à savoir que la position anti-immigration traditionnelle du Canada français doit nécessairement être analysée comme un phénomène lié de très près à l'antisémitisme. Les éditoriaux de *Devoir* montrent au contraire clairement que la méfiance face aux nouveaux venus et face aux grands mouvements de population à destination du Canada tient avant tout à la position perçue comme minoritaire des francophones. Dès ses premiers jours, *Le Devoir* martèle que l'immigration de masse vise de la part des élites politiques anglophones à assurer la domination d'une notion britannisante de l'espace politique canadien. Cela conduit les dirigeants du journal à demander que le gouvernement fédéral mette fin à toute velléité de gonfler inconsidérément la masse démographique du pays. En 1912, par exemple, Georges Pelletier écrit:

> Le Canada se peuple rapidement. Chaque année, des milliers et des milliers d'immigrants débarquent sur nos rives, s'établissent dans les provinces de l'Ouest, se font naturaliser et diminuent d'autant l'influence des Canadiens de naissance, dans les affaires du pays. Les dernières statistiques du ministère de l'Intérieur, à ce sujet, feront réfléchir les gens quelque peu soucieux de l'avenir du pays. Car si l'immigration bien entendue est d'un grand appoint pour le développement matériel du Canada, celle faite à la diable et sans grande préoccupation du lendemain peut causer des dommages considérables aux provinces où on la dirige, et tout aussi bien, au reste de la confédération.[31]

Il n'y a pas nécessairement dans ces réticences prononcées du *Devoir* face à l'immigration l'expression d'un sentiment antisémite insistant, d'autant que la part minime des Juifs dans ce grand mouvement est très peu mentionnée dans les pages du journal avant 1932. Avant d'y voir un phénomène où les Juifs jouent un rôle décisif ou qui menace de s'accentuer à la faveur des persécutions du régime nazi en Allemagne, les Canadiens français croient fortement, depuis le tournant du XX^{e} siècle, que les politiques fédérales en matière d'immigration agissent contre eux. C'est d'ailleurs un positionnement qui se maintient dans *Le Devoir* longtemps après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale et après la fin des arrivées importantes de survivants de l'Holocauste en provenance d'Europe de l'Est. Abella et Troper font aussi fausse route lorsqu'il s'agit de traiter de l'attitude du clergé catholique face à la situation allemande au cours des années trente. Ils reprennent d'ailleurs sous cet angle, sans les critiquer, des notions qui étaient courantes à cette époque dans les milieux anglo-protestants qui formaient l'assise du CNCR. Plusieurs prêtres de l'Église anglicane unie et de l'Église presbytérienne du Canada avaient jugé important de s'investir dans la cause des réfugiés, car il y allait à leurs yeux d'un engagement ferme vis-à-vis de la justice sociale et du traitement réservé aux plus démunis. C'est ce qui explique qu'un certain nombre d'entre eux aient pris la parole publiquement à ce sujet au cours de l'année 1938, entre autres en se présentant à des tribunes généralement réservées à des activistes politiques. Vues à la lumière de ces interventions très affirmées, les protestations timides sinon inexistantes de l'épiscopat catholique pouvaient paraître un acquiescement tacite du sort réservé aux Juifs en Allemagne. Ce silence était d'autant plus troublant que les francophones jouaient un rôle décisif au sein de l'Église montréalaise et que plusieurs organes associés de près à la doctrine sociale du catholicisme, dont *Le Devoir* et *L'Action catholique*, manifestaient une retenue sinon une réticence devant l'arrivée d'un grand nombre de réfugiés juifs. Le révérend Silcox par exemple, le même que mentionné précédemment, était cité dans *Le Devoir* en 1943 pour avoir déclaré:

> Beyond the matter of political or constitutional right, as a clergyman and a Christian, I wish my country to assume a Christian attitude on the large

> issue of providing sanctuary for refugees from the most infamous persecution in the last two hundred years. Canada has largely been prevented from doing what it ought to have done by the opposition of Quebec. [...] But to the best of my knowledge, the religious leaders of Quebec made no protest and acquiesced in the position. This shall be remembered whenever the three million murdered Jews of Europe are recalled, and to their everlasting disgrace.[32]

C'était oublier qu'avant le Concile de Vatican II, l'Église catholique et ses principaux dirigeants résistaient à s'engager dans l'arène politique ou à prendre parti dans des débats qui étaient considérés comme relevant avant tout de la société civile. Le renversement de la démocratie en Allemagne, l'établissement de la dictature en Italie et la répression des minorités religieuses en Europe, même quand des catholiques pratiquants en étaient les premières victimes, n'entraînèrent pas, le plus souvent, de réaction immédiate de la part de l'épiscopat ou du pape Pie XI. Il faut attendre l'encyclique *Mit Brennender Sorge* [avec une brûlante inquiétude], datée de mars 1937, pour que le Vatican condamne sur le plan doctrinal certains aspects de la pensée politique nazie, et seulement en des termes voilés par le langage de la pensée théologique et de la foi. Le silence de l'Église sera encore plus prégnant au cours du second conflit mondial quand des crimes d'une extrême gravité seront commis à une échelle inconnue jusque-là dans les sociétés occidentales. L'attitude de retrait du clergé catholique canadien-français dans l'affaire des réfugiés ne signifie donc pas nécessairement un acquiescement coupable à la commission d'injustices flagrantes, ou l'expression d'une indifférence à la souffrance vécue par d'autres communautés. Il faut plutôt y voir une divergence de vues sur le sens qu'il convient de donner à la prise de parole et à la *praxis* politique. Ce sont-là des notions historiques qui auraient dû figurer dans *None is Too Many* en tant qu'éclairages circonstanciels servant à mieux comprendre les affrontements idéologiques auxquels on assista lors des années trente. Tributaire pour une bonne part de la tradition catholique, et s'agissant d'enjeux d'une grande élévation éthique, le Canada français ne s'engageait pas dans la crise des réfugiés avec la même culture politique et les mêmes conceptions morales que le Canada d'inspiration protestante.

En plus d'un certain nombre de questions historiographiques cruciales, qui trop souvent sont escamotées au profit d'une approche plus superficielle, l'ouvrage d'Abella et Troper soulève aussi des enjeux méthodologiques de premier ordre. Toutes les sources manuscrites ou archivistiques canadiennes utilisées dans *None is Too Many* sont de langue anglaise, incluant celles qui touchent les instances gouvernementales ou étatiques, à l'exception peut-être des archives personnelles d'Ernest Lapointe.[33] Parmi les centaines de notes proposées par les deux auteurs, seules quelques-unes réfèrent à des journaux, à des intervenants ou à des organismes de langue française, probablement moins de dix. On ne trouve pas non plus dans l'étude d'Abella

et Troper un seul ouvrage de fond qui examine de près ou de loin la position des francophones canadiens au moment de la crise des réfugiés, et qui utiliserait une documentation pertinente produite en français. À ce sujet les deux auteurs se fient à trois études seulement pour ce qui est de leur propos au sujet du Canada français, dont la plus récente date de 1981. Il s'agit de la thèse doctorale de Kenneth Kernaghan, *Freedom of Religion in the Province of Quebec*, déposée en 1966 à la Duke University; de l'analyse de Lita-Rose Betcherman parue en 1975 sous le titre *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf* et des treize volumes de l'étude de David Rome publiés par le Congrès juif canadien entre 1977 et 1981 sous le titre de *Clouds in the Thirties; On Anti-Semitism in Canada, 1929-1939*.[34] Aucune de ces publications n'apporte un éclairage approfondi sur la situation du Canada français au cours des années trente. Selon toute vraisemblance, Abella et Troper n'ont pas lu ou n'ont rien retenu de significatif au sein de l'abondante recherche parue en langue française à ce sujet au cours des dernières années. Ils ne se sont pas intéressés non plus aux nombreuses études rédigées d'un point de vue francophone sur l'histoire de la communauté juive montréalaise. Compte tenu de cette approche déficiente sur le plan méthodologique, il aurait été plus conséquent pour les deux auteurs d'admettre qu'ils n'avaient pas en main l'information pour traiter de manière éclairée l'apport du Canada français dans le grand débat canadien au sujet des réfugiés juifs des années trente et quarante. À leur décharge, il est important de rappeler que presque tous les ouvrages récents parus en anglais dans le domaine des études juives canadiennes souffrent à un titre ou à un autre de ce manque de perspective historiographique.

La difficulté principale de l'étude d'Abella et Troper tient à ce qu'on y découvre un déséquilibre flagrant entre l'analyse proposée au sujet du Canada anglophone, qui repose sur une recherche exhaustive menée auprès de sources reconnues, et l'absence de données fiables concernant la société canadienne-française. Le lecteur se voit ainsi offrir un propos finement documenté pour ce qui est du gouvernement King et de la fonction publique anglo-canadienne, mais rarement plus que des généralisations souvent abusives en ce qui concerne le Canada français. Cette tendance à négliger de se renseigner suffisamment pour ce qui est de l'histoire des francophones, et à présenter des conclusions hâtives, apparaît particulièrement dans le traitement de la presse québécoise. On trouve dans *None is Too Many* quinze affirmations au sujet de l'opinion des journaux francophones, dont huit sont faites sans aucune référence historique et huit à partir de commentaires rédigés par des intervenants anglophones au moment où se déroule la crise[37]. Selon Abella et Troper, les journaux francophones sont unanimes sur la question des réfugiés, rejettent toute ouverture de la part du gouvernement à ce sujet et nourrissent une hostilité systémique envers les Juifs.

Pour arriver à ces constats, les deux auteurs se fient à des remarques préparées à la fin des années trente par des employés du consulat américain à Montréal, par des

fonctionnaires du Haut-Commissariat canadien à Londres et par des activistes du CJC à la même époque. Ils prennent même la peine de citer un certain Roland Aubuchon, qui était un policier engagé dans le contrôle de la contrebande d'alcool en Abitibi Témiscamingue au moment des faits, et qui renseignait le CJC sur les activités d'Adrien Arcand. Impossible de savoir si ces personnes lisaient le français couramment, si elles consultaient toute la presse de langue française ou si elles exprimaient simplement les préjugés de leur entourage. À tout le moins, il aurait été important de critiquer ces sources et de proposer une lecture plus prudente de certains constats compte tenu de la minceur du dossier sur le plan de la recherche. Aucune étude ou compilation plus récente ne vient par ailleurs étayer les conclusions des deux auteurs. Sans doute aurait-il été plus à propos de la part d'Abella et Troper de se fier à la teneur du message que Saul Hayes – probablement le Canadien le mieux renseigné à cette époque – faisait parvenir aux dirigeants du CJC en novembre 1943. Le message, qui est cité au complet dans *None is Too Many*, contient déjà l'ébauche d'une approche plus modérée et plus équilibrée quant au traitement d'un enjeu qui préoccupe toujours au plus haut point les chercheurs en études juives canadiennes:

> By all reports based on examination of the press of Canada and even according to special reports prepared for government departments, anti-Semitism in Canada is rising among all sections and classes of the population. This is no less true among English-language groups than it is among the people of French Canada.[38]

À plus long terme, la réédition en 2012 de *None is Too Many* soulève des questions fondamentales qu'il n'est plus possible d'escamoter. Pour avancer et produire de nouvelles connaissances, les historiens du judaïsme canadien doivent se résoudre à cesser d'aborder le Canada français comme un phénomène marginal ne requérant pas un traitement sérieux, systématique et exhaustif, c'est-à-dire en toutes choses égal à celui qu'ils accordent au Canada anglophone. Les approches complaisantes et superficielles auxquelles nous ont habitués certains auteurs n'ont servi la plupart du temps qu'à produire des analyses distortionnées de la réalité historique, souvent situées à mille lieues d'une lecture fine et nuancée des interactions historiques que nous cherchons à mieux comprendre. En utilisant une méthodologie déficiente et en se contentant de survols rapides, l'histoire juive canadienne, dans son analyse de la société francophone, ne fait que s'enfoncer dans une voie sans issue. Il en va de même lorsqu'elle ignore les travaux publiés par des auteurs francophones sur le même sujet ou rédigés par des canadianistes appartenant à d'autres disciplines. Ces attitudes sont d'autant plus étonnantes que la récolte a été particulièrement riche du côté de la recherche en langue française depuis quelques années, et que des interprétations radicalement nouvelles ont été avancées à partir de données jusque-là inédites. Plutôt que de chercher à blâmer un champ de recherche encore jeune pour ses errements, il faut espérer qu'une nouvelle ère de collaboration interdisciplinaire et plurilingue

se lève dans le domaine des études juives canadiennes. L'histoire du judaïsme dans notre pays est devenue un carrefour vers lequel convergent plusieurs courants, dont un tente de comprendre l'évolution du Canada français face à la diversité religieuse et culturelle émergente au XX^{e} siècle. C'est une occasion inespérée d'élargir et d'approfondir un champ d'étude d'une très grande pertinence pour tous les spécialistes de l'histoire canadienne, et qui ne cesse d'attirer de jeunes chercheurs talentueux.

1
Il est important de noter ici que l'édition de 2012 dont il est question dans cet article est en tout point semblable, même sur le plan strictement typographique, à celle de 1982. Il n'y a donc pas lieu de distinguer entre les différentes réimpressions de l'ouvrage.

2
À ce sujet, lire: Pierre Anctil, « Les rapports entre francophones et Juifs dans le contexte montréalais », Pierre Anctil et Ira Robinson (dir.), *Les communautés juives de Montréal, histoire et enjeux contemporains*, Québec, Septentrion, 2010, p. 38-64; Voir aussi Pierre Anctil, « Les Juifs montréalais à la rencontre de l'histoire canadienne », Geoffrey Ewen et Colin M. Coates (dir.), *Introduction aux études canadiennes. Histoires, identités, cultures*, Ottawa, Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2012, p. 48-62

3
Voir les propos d'Harold Troper à ce sujet dans: *The Defining Decade, Identity, Politics, and the Canadian Jewish Community of the 1960s*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2010, p. 32

4
Compte rendu du livre d'Irving Abella et Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many,* dans *Recherches sociographiques*, Québec, vol. 25, n° 1, janvier-avril 1984, p. 138-141

5
Voir à ce sujet: Luc Chartrand, « Le chanoine au pilori », *L'Actualité*, 15 juin 1991, p. 114-115; « Le mythe du Québec fasciste », *L'actualité*, 1er mars 1997, p. 20-30; Voir aussi Gary Caldwell, « La controverse Delisle-Richler », *L'Agora*, juin 1994, p. 17-26

6
On peut penser par exemple à l'ouvrage de Stuart E. Rosenberg, *The Jewish Community in Canada*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1970, 2 vol.

7
On peut citer par exemple l'ouvrage dirigé par Pierre Anctil et Ira Robinson, *Les communautés juives de Montréal; histoire et enjeux contemporains*, Québec, Septentrion, 2010, 275 p.; Pierre Anctil et Simon Jacobs (dir.), *Les Juifs de Québec, quatre cents ans d'histoire,* Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2015, 244 p.; Voir notamment: Jean-François Nadeau, *Adrien Arcand, führer canadien*, Montréal, Lux Éditeur, 2010, 404 p.; Ignace Olazabal, *Khaverim. Les Juifs ashkénazes de Montréal au début du XX^{e} siècle, entre le* shtetl *et l'identité citoyenne*, Montréal, Nota Bene, 2006, 275 p.; Chantal Ringuet, À la découverte du Montréal yiddish, Montréal, Fides, 2011, 300 p.; Hugues Théoret, *Les chemises bleues: Adrien Arcand, journaliste antisémite canadien-français*, Québec, Septentrion, 2012, 410 p.; Esther Trépanier, *Peintres juifs de Montréal, témoins de leur époque, 1930-1948*, Montréal, Éditions de l'Homme, 2008, 287 p.; Denis Vaugeois, *Les premiers Juifs d'Amérique, 1760-1860. L'extraordinaire histoire de la famille Hart,* Québec, Septentrion, 2011, 382 p. Le lecteur pourra aussi consulter mes deux ouvrages récents intitulés respectivement: *Jacob-Isaac Segal (1896-1954), un poète yiddish de Montréal et son milieu*, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2012, 447 p. et: *« À chacun ses Juifs », 60 éditoriaux pour comprendre la position du* Devoir *à l'égard des Juifs*, *1910-1947*, Québec, Septentrion, 2014, 452 p.

8
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 17-18

9
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 164

10
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 10. Les italiques sont de nous.

11
Voir Israël Medresh, *Le Montréal juif entre les deux guerres* [*Tsvishn tsvey velt milkhomes*], Québec, Septentrion, 2001, p. 133-136. Traduit du yiddish par Pierre Anctil; Voir l'éditorial d'Henri Bourassa intitulé: « Leçons et réflexions », *Le Devoir*, 26 août 1931, p. 1. Le texte est repris au complet dans Pierre Anctil, « À chacun ses Juifs », 60 éditoriaux pour comprendre la position du Devoir à l'égard des Juifs, 1910-1947, Québec, Septentrion, 2014, p. 256-259.

13
Voir l'éditorial d'Henri Bourassa: « Le péril de l'immigration », *Le Devoir*, 28 juillet 1913. Le texte est repris au complet dans Pierre Anctil, « À chacun ses Juifs », 60 éditoriaux pour comprendre la position du Devoir à l'égard des Juifs, 1910-1947, Québec, Septentrion, 2014, p. 112-116

14
Voir Sandra Dubé, « Personne n'est antisémite, mais tout le monde est opposé à l'immigration ». Discours des responsables politiques canadiens et québécois sur l'immigration, 1938-1945, Rapport de recherche pour une maîtrise en histoire, Université du Québec à Montréal, 2015, 167 p.

15
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 50

16
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 278

17
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 65. Les italiques sont de nous.

18
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 17

19
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 24

20
Voir les arguments apportés à ce sujet par Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews, A Social and Economic Study of Jews in Canada*, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939, p. 118-129. On peut aussi consulter: Ninette Kelly, Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of a Mosaic: a History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2010, 689 p.; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-2007*, Toronto, Dundurn, 2007, 310 p.

21
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 61

22
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 112

23
Voir Pierre Anctil, *Le rendez-vous manqué, les Juifs de Montréal face au Québec de l'entre-deux-guerres*, Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1988, 357 p.

24
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 45

25
Voir à ce sujet Michael Behiels, « The CECM and the Néo-Canadien Question, 1947-1963 », Études ethniques au Canada / Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. 8, no 2, 1986, p. 38-64

26
Roger Duhamel, « Le problème de l'immigration et l'animosité antiquébécoise », *Le Devoir*, 16 décembre 1943, p. 1. Voir aussi: Gérard Yelle, « L'immigration anglaise au Canada », *Le Devoir*, 22 janvier 1945, p. 1

27
Pour une biographie de Silcox, voir Alan Davies, « Clarence Edwin Silcox (1888-1961); Brave and Resolute Champion of the City of God », *Touchstone*, vol. 27, no 2, mai 2009, p. 50-57. On peut aussi consulter l'ouvrage: Alan Davies, Marilyn Nefsky, *How Silent Were the Churches? Canadian Protestantism and the Jewish Plight during the Nazi Era*, Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997, 195 p. Malheureusement les deux auteurs ont choisi de ne pas étudier dans leur ouvrage la position de l'Église catholique de langue française.

28
Pierre Anctil, « Uneven Perceptions; Kristallnacht in the Yiddish and French-Language Press of Montreal », Colin McCullough et Nathan Wilson (dir.), *Violence, Memory and History; Western Perceptions of Kristallnacht*, New York, Routledge, 2015, p. 90-107

29
Voir la liste complète de ces éditoriaux et leur date de parution dans Pierre Anctil, « À chacun ses Juifs », 60 éditoriaux pour comprendre la position du Devoir à l'égard des Juifs, 1910-1947, Québec, Septentrion, 2014, p. 423-435

30
Pierre Anctil, « À chacun ses Juifs », *60 éditoriaux pour comprendre la position du Devoir à l'égard des Juifs*, 1910-1947, Québec, Septentrion, 2014, p. 56

31
Georges Pelletier, « La vague de l'immigration », *Le Devoir*, 2 octobre 1912, p. 1

32
Lettre du révérend Clarence E. Silcox citée par Roger Duhamel, *op. cit*.

33
Depuis 1924 et jusqu'à sa mort en 1941, Lapointe est ministre de la Justice dans le cabinet Mackenzie-King. Il est considéré comme un des politiciens francophones les plus influents au pays. Voir à ce sujet: John Macfarlane, *Ernest Lapointe and Quebec's Influence on Canada's Foreign Policy*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1999, p. 288

34
Il s'agit d'une série publiée par les Archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal; Kenneth Kerneghan, *Freedom of Religion in the Province of Quebec; with Particular Relevance to Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses and Church-State Relations 1930-1960*, Durham, N. C., Duke University, Ph. D. thesis in Political Science, 1966, 347 p.; Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf; Fascist Movements in Canada and in the Thirties*, Toronto, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1975, 167 p.

37
Dans le cas du *Devoir*, Abella et Troper font une lecture carrément fausse et biaisée de trois textes, l'un paru le 22 avril 1943 sous la plume de Léopold Richer et deux autres publiés par Alexis Gagnon le 25 mars et le 13 septembre 1946.

38
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 161

Simon-Pierre Lacasse

Sionisme de gauche, agriculturalisme et immigration juive au Canada au lendemain de la Grande Guerre

Au lendemain de la Grande Guerre, la communauté juive montréalaise tente de convaincre les autorités canadiennes en matière d'immigration d'ouvrir la porte du pays à leurs coreligionnaires russes, aux prises avec une guerre civile meurtrière. Pour ce faire, certains acteurs du milieu communautaire juif de Montréal émettent un argumentaire autour du potentiel agricole des Juifs. Cet article observe les fondements idéologiques derrière la pensée agriculturaliste, comme elle se présente chez les Juifs canadiens, les Canadiens anglais et les Canadiens français. Il soutient que ce débat a influencé durablement les rapports entre la communauté juive canadienne et les autorités canadiennes, notamment Frederick C. Blair qui demeura en poste jusqu'en 1943.

In the aftermath of the Great War, the Montreal Jewish community tried to convince the Canadian immigration authorities to open the country's door to their fellow Russian Jews, struggling with a deadly civil war. To do so, certain actors from within the Jewish community of Montreal argued for the agricultural potential of Jews. This article examines the ideologies that underpinned Canadian Jews', English Canadians', and French Canadians' positions on Jewish agricultural immigration. It argues that this debate strongly influenced the relations between the Canadian Jewish community and Canadian authorities, notably Frederick C. Blair who served until 1943.

Suite à la Première Guerre mondiale, les perturbations causées par la guerre civile opposant les bolchéviques aux forces antirévolutionnaires entrainent une vague de pogroms dans l'ancien empire russe, plus précisément sur le territoire ukrainien. La *Terreur blanche*, sous le régime d'Anton Denikine[i] frappe particulièrement les minorités juives, *de facto* associées au camp des révolutionnaires. Cette répression violente pousse les masses juives paupérisées à prendre la fuite vers l'Ouest, suivant les pas de leurs coreligionnaires qui avaient migré depuis 1880 en nombre considérable aux États-Unis, en Europe occidentale et au Canada. La communauté juive montréalaise, qui avait atteint une masse critique lors de la grande vague migratoire de 1904-1914, se mobilise en vue de permettre l'entrée au pays d'un certain nombre de migrants juifs. Mais leurs efforts se voient contrecarrés à partir de 1919, quand la Loi sur l'Immigration canadienne fait l'objet d'amendements qui visent à resserrer les critères d'admission au pays. À ce moment, le gouvernement maintient que les besoins du Canada sur le plan de l'immigration se limitent à des candidats qui seraient en mesure de coloniser l'ouest du pays. Les ressortissants d'origine juive n'étant pas considérés comme tels par les autorités, ils sont le plus souvent refoulés aux frontières.

Cet article prend pour point de départ le dialogue entretenu par les représentants des institutions de la communauté juive canadienne avec le gouvernement fédéral au lendemain de la Grande Guerre. Pour venir en aide aux migrants juifs qui aboutissent dans les ports canadiens, ces représentants émettent un argumentaire autour du potentiel des Juifs en agriculture. Ils proposent de les installer dans des communautés agricoles, dans le cadre d'un programme de colonisation pris en charge par des organismes basés à Montréal. Toutefois cette offre se bute à des préjugés tenaces

entretenus par les politiciens et les fonctionnaires canadiens, pour qui les Juifs seraient surtout des habitants des villes. En réponse à ce qu'ils perçoivent comme un biais antisémite, leurs interlocuteurs juifs soutiennent que des changements de fond s'opèrent au sein de leur peuple. En particulier, ils soulignent la prévalence d'un mouvement de retour à la terre, qui se manifeste à l'échelle globale par des activités de colonisation juives depuis les années 1880. Cependant, cette allégation est mise à mal par des résultats statistiques peu convaincants quant au succès de tels projets de colonisation au pays. Aux yeux du gouvernement fédéral, l'expérience a démontré de façon systématique – et donc définitive — que les migrants juifs qu'il envoyait dans les campagnes aboutissaient dans les manufactures des centres urbains.

Que signifie dès lors l'omniprésence d'un discours agriculturaliste au sein des représentants de la communauté juive canadienne? On perçoit d'abord la construction d'un argumentaire dont les motifs sont pragmatiques, vu l'urgence reflétée dans la crise des migrants qui sévit dans les ports atlantiques. Or ce motif demeure insuffisant, car il échoue à prendre en compte les courants idéologiques qui émergent du paysage politique juif à cette période et qui se manifestent particulièrement dans le contexte canadien. À notre avis, pour comprendre la signification d'un discours axé sur l'agriculturalisme au sein de la communauté juive canadienne, il faut rendre compte de l'influence de la pensée sioniste de gauche qui connait à Montréal un moment fort au lendemain de la Grande Guerre. La montée du nationalisme juif, dont les principaux acteurs canadiens sont issus des mouvements travaillistes-sionistes, est galvanisée suite à la déclaration de Balfour, vers 1917. En vue de la construction d'un foyer national, la notion de productivisation des activités du peuple juif – qui passe entre autres par la vocation agricole – vient à tenir un rôle central dans le processus d'émancipation physique et morale des Juifs. Ces notions s'avèrent particulièrement fécondes au sein de la collectivité juive canadienne au lendemain de la Grande Guerre, et expliquent le discours agriculturaliste que tiennent certains acteurs clés du secteur communautaire juif montréalais.

À partir de correspondances et d'écrits autobiographiques, cette analyse tente de présenter les apports politiques et idéologiques qui mènent les organisations juives à défendre la prévalence d'un agriculturalisme juif dans leur dialogue avec les instances gouvernementales canadiennes. Inspirés par un idéalisme propre au socialisme révolutionnaire qu'ils avaient connu en Russie tsariste, des activistes communautaires ont tenté de convaincre les autorités canadiennes que leurs coreligionnaires pouvaient constituer de bons agriculteurs, et ce en dépit de résultats peu convaincants en cette matière. À terme, ces échanges nous permettent d'élucider les rapports entre Ottawa et la communauté juive montréalaise sur une durée plus longue et d'en faire émerger de nouveaux aspects.

Dans cette mesure, cet article vise à contribuer au champ amorcé par Irving Abella et Harold Troper dans leur étude phare *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933–1945*. Ceci s'avère pertinent, puisqu'en amont de notre article se retrouve Frederick Charles Blair, qui selon Abella et Troper, « [...] prenait toutes les décisions sur qui pouvait entrer au Canada, et rien qui avait trait à son ministère n'échappait à son contrôle. [...] Du point de vue des Juifs européens, ce fait était fort regrettable »[2]. L'homme fort de l'immigration canadienne, décrit par les auteurs comme pivot des portes d'entrée au pays, n'est toutefois observé que durant la période de la crise des réfugiés juifs allemands. Pourtant, ses rapports avec les organismes communautaires juifs avaient débuté dès le lendemain de la Grande Guerre. Nous croyons que ces échanges ont influencé de manière décisive la manière dont la question de l'immigration juive allait être traitée par Blair durant ses années en fonction, et ce jusqu'à son départ vers 1943. En s'en tenant à la seule période des années 1930, Abella et Troper laissent de côté une période cruciale pour comprendre les enjeux importants derrière l'immigration juive au pays.

Après la Grande Guerre, le lien intrinsèque entre l'agriculture et le développement de la nation, tel que compris par les élites anglo-canadienne, canadienne-française et juive canadienne, nous permet de mieux situer les motifs derrière l'application de la Loi sur l'Immigration. On comprend que la campagne était, dans l'arène politique des nations, un lieu hautement contesté qui pouvait servir des fonctions centrales pour des processus de construction ou de survivance nationale.

Les premiers échanges entre le Congrès juif canadien et Frederick Charles Blair

Le 15 avril 1921, le bureau du ministre de l'Immigration et de la Colonisation accuse réception d'une lettre adressée au ministre James Alexander Calder, rédigée par Hannaniah Meir Caiserman, secrétaire général du Congrès juif canadien (CJC) et de la *Jewish Immigrant Aid Society* (JIAS), deux organismes communautaires naissants. Caiserman, établi au pays depuis 1910 et activiste de premier plan, signe une missive particulièrement alarmiste. Tout lui indiquait que le gouvernement canadien avait cherché à réduire l'immigration des Juifs au pays. D'abord, le flux migratoire avait grandement diminué durant la Première Guerre mondiale à cause des contraintes économiques liées à l'effort de guerre ainsi qu'à l'impossibilité de transporter des passagers outre-Atlantique. De fait, on observe entre l'année 1914 et 1915 une chute de 67 % de l'immigration juive au Canada[3]. Malgré la reprise des activités d'immigration vers 1918, la priorité portée aux vétérans canadiens pour la colonisation des terres vierges menace d'y réduire l'accès aux juifs à néant[4]. Cette situation est aggravée lorsque le règlement sur l'immigration est amendé en juin 1919. Si on ne fait pas mention explicite des Juifs dans le texte de loi, le document contient néanmoins des clauses qui aux yeux de Caiserman pourraient être utilisées pour limiter leur immigration. Par exemple, un ajout à la Loi indique que des immigrants risquent

d'être refoulés s'ils ont préconisé la force ou la violence contre un gouvernement organisé, ou s'ils ont été membres d'organisations opposés à son fonctionnement[5]. Selon lui, ceci pourrait injustement affecter l'admissibilité des Juifs au vu des conditions chaotiques de la guerre civile en Russie soviétique et du contexte de violence et d'affrontement, que l'on pourrait interpréter à guise comme de la désobéissance civile[6]. Il s'inquiète aussi que la clause qui exige aux immigrants de démontrer un certain niveau d'alphabétisation soit inéquitable, puisque la majorité d'entre eux sont appelés à occuper des emplois manuels ne nécessitant pas de compétences linguistiques[7]. Finalement, un règlement controversé stipule que les migrants doivent faire un voyage sans escale depuis l'Europe, ce qui donne lieu à des abus de la part des transporteurs maritimes. Ceux-ci dupaient régulièrement les migrants en gardant le silence sur ce détail crucial, les condamnant à se buter à des portes closes après avoir traversé l'atlantique[8].

Si ces règlements jouent en la défaveur de migrants pris au dépourvu et souvent sans ressources matérielles, ils sont aux yeux de Caiserman le paravent de motifs plus sombres. Sur ce point, il vaut mieux citer sa lettre en longueur:

> À partir des différents documents que j'ai pu étudier et selon la manière dont la Loi sur l'Immigration est appliquée, je prends la liberté d'affirmer que votre ministère considère l'immigration juive comme indésirable, et que cette conviction est fondée sur une connaissance très superficielle du caractère de l'immigration juive comme elle se présente dans le moment. Je me dois de vous faire part qu'en 1914, sous les lois les plus restrictives, plus de 150 000 fermiers et jardiniers juifs sont occupés à des activités d'agriculture et de jardinage, dans le cadre d'un mouvement de « retour à la terre » qui a cours depuis les dix dernières années au sein du peuple juif partout autour du monde. Des efforts similaires peuvent être observés en Argentine et en Palestine où de grandes colonies agricoles ont été fondées, employant des milliers de laboureurs juifs. Lors des dernières années un grand nombre de fermiers juifs ont cultivé de larges terres aux États-Unis, et ont aujourd'hui organisé des unions de cultivateurs, regroupant des milliers de membres partageant leur propre banque agricole, compagnie d'assurance et coopérative d'équipement agricole. Même ici au Canada, où la demande immédiate pour les fermiers juifs n'est pas manifeste et où quiconque peut facilement s'adapter à des activités industrielles, un bon nombre de Juifs – plus de 1500 à l'échelle du pays – sont néanmoins retournés à la terre et ont fait preuve de succès. Si l'agriculture est l'indicateur de la désirabilité d'un immigrant, (une chose dont je doute franchement) il est juste d'affirmer que le pourcentage de Juifs qui sont prêts à aller sur une ferme présentement n'est d'aucune manière plus petit que le pourcentage de non-juifs qui fuient la ferme. Mais puisque votre ministère considère l'immigration juive comme indésirable, je pense que vous avez peu fait pour décourager l'émigration à

> partir du point de départ, ce qui éviterait les grandes tragédies qui ont cours dans nos ports, là où Loi sur l'Immigration est appliquée à la lettre [9].

Outre un plaidoyer qui en appelle à l'humanité du ministre, on perçoit dans la lettre de Caiserman ses convictions sociales et politiques profondes, reflet d'une idéologie omniprésente dans le Montréal juif de l'après-guerre et qui s'incarne principalement dans le sionisme de gauche. Selon cette perspective, le peuple juif est à ce moment en rupture avec la tradition dont l'Europe de l'Est a constitué le creuset et doit se reconstituer ailleurs. Pour ce faire, les sionistes promeuvent la productivisation des activités au sein de la nation juive comme processus émancipateur. Cette emphase sur le travail manuel est un symbole du mouvement de la nation juive vers l'autodétermination et donc vers l'ère moderne.

L'appel de Caiserman n'est pas un cas isolé; il fait écho à une correspondance qu'entretenait la *Jewish Colonization Association*[10] (JCA) avec le bureau du ministre Calder quelques mois plus tôt. Dans une dépêche envoyée en novembre 1920, Leon Rosenthal, administrateur au sein de l'association, fait la promotion des projets de colonisation juive dans l'Ouest canadien[11]. Les provinces de la Saskatchewan et du Manitoba comptaient déjà à ce moment une douzaine de fermes juives, opérées par des immigrants qui avaient eu recours au soutien financier offert par l'Institut Baron de Hirsch à Montréal[12]. Sur ces fermes, défend Rosenthal, une deuxième génération de fermiers juifs est née, parmi laquelle certains ont même gradué des écoles d'agriculture canadiennes. À la lueur de ces succès, la JCA propose de prendre en charge les réfugiés qui sont alors détenus dans les ports canadiens et de les installer sur des colonies agricoles. Mais ultimement, Rosenthal en appelle à la sensibilité humanitaire du ministre, puisque la déportation de ces individus vers l'Europe qu'ils avaient fuie les condamnerait à une misère certaine.

Commentant cette lettre, F. C. Blair résume les positions du gouvernement sur la question de l'immigration juive dans un mémorandum adressé au ministre Calder[13]. Selon lui, le Canada se trouve dans une situation démographique délicate, notamment au vu du taux de chômage en hausse et de la tendance des immigrants à graviter autour des centres urbains. Selon Blair, parmi les six cent cinquante réfugiés juifs détenus à ce moment dans les ports atlantiques du pays, on ne trouve *aucun* fermier « authentique ». Il recommande donc d'appliquer strictement la loi, puisque l'expérience a démontré de manière définitive que les tentatives de colonisation de la part des immigrants juifs ont peu de succès. C'est précisément cet argument, réitéré systématiquement par Blair jusqu'à sa retraite en 1943, qui est interprété dans l'historiographie comme la preuve de sa réticence à l'endroit de l'immigration juive et plus généralement de son antisémitisme. Mis à part chez Abella et Troper, cette notion se retrouve aussi dans l'étude phare de Simon Belkin sur l'immigration juive au Canada parue en 1968. À propos de l'antisémitisme des représentants du gouvernement canadien après la Grande Guerre, il soutient: « Ils n'étaient pas si nombreux,

mais le biais de quelques chefs de service suffisait pour influencer de façon négative la cause des déplacés juifs durant les périodes critiques [...] »[14]. Cependant, ce rapport de pouvoir exercé par Blair est rendu possible grâce à certaines caractéristiques liées à la gouvernance de l'immigration au sein du gouvernement canadien.

Les fonctionnaires et les politiciens jouissaient d'une grande liberté de mouvement dans la gestion et l'application de leur mandat. En effet, on retrouve à la base de la politique d'immigration un principe de souveraineté de l'État qui stipule que ce dernier possède le droit inaliénable de permettre ou de refuser l'accès aux migrants qui cherchent à entrer au pays[15]. Selon Kelley et Treblicock dans leur étude *The Making of the Canadian Mosaic,* « c'est à partir de ce principe qu'émerge un système de règlementation de l'immigration qui était largement contrôlé par le pouvoir exécutif du gouvernement »[16]. Cette capacité est mise non pas à des fins humanitaires, mais à des impératifs de croissance économique et de « construction de la nation ». Comme l'explique Gerald Tulchinsky, « [...] il y avait peu de discours au sein de la propagande d'immigration qui dépeignait le Canada comment refuge où des minorités opprimées pourraient trouver un lieu d'affirmation identitaire »[17]. Blair détient ainsi les leviers politiques pour déterminer – sans devoir passer sous le contrôle de procédés judiciaires ou parlementaires – qui sera admis au pays et qui recevra la citoyenneté canadienne[18].

Les propos qu'il réserve à l'endroit des Juifs au sein du cabinet ministériel ne laissent aucun doute sur son ressentiment face aux requêtes de cette communauté. Dans un communiqué réservé à l'usage interne, Blair avance: « C'est la vieille histoire des tentatives par les Juifs de soutenir qu'ils devraient faire l'objet d'un traitement spécial sous prétexte qu'ils ont vécu de "terribles atrocités", etc. Si l'esprit juif pouvait se convaincre que le Canada est à tout le moins plus important aux yeux des Canadiens que peut l'être le problème de l'immigration juive, nous pourrions peut-être mieux nous comprendre »[19]. Malgré la teneur antisémite de ses propos, il est en définitive difficile de réfuter certains des arguments qu'il utilise pour justifier ses actions, en particulier lorsqu'il dément que les colonies agricoles seraient une option réaliste pour les migrants juifs. Ainsi, il se contentait de mettre en application une politique centrale de l'immigration canadienne, qui reflétait la position qu'avait prise le gouvernement après la guerre. Les représentants du Canada à la Société des Nations s'étaient montrés peu enclins à faire des concessions importantes pour pallier la situation alarmante des réfugiés européens, et s'en étaient tenus à réitérer que le besoin pour le Canada se limitait aux candidats possédant de l'expérience en agriculture[20]. Blair avait ainsi un motif solide, puisque de toute manière les statistiques soutenaient que les initiatives de colonisation juive dans l'Ouest canadien avaient connu dans l'ensemble peu de succès.

La portée de l'agriculture juive au Canada

Dans son étude démographique d'envergure basée sur les données du recensement de 1931, Louis Rosenberg publie vers 1940 un portrait peu éloquent de la classe agricole juive canadienne[21]. À cette date, seulement huit-cents Juifs sont engagés dans le travail de la terre — sur une population totale de plus de cent cinquante mille — et seulement environ mille cinq cents résident sur des fermes. Pourtant, des projets de colonisation avaient été initiés au Canada dès 1891, grâce au concours de Maurice de Hirsch, philanthrope juif dont les activités étaient basées à Paris. Dans d'autres cas, des immigrants juifs s'étaient aussi installés sur des terres par leur propre initiative, certains avec succès[22]. Malgré cela, il demeure que peu de colonies orchestrées par la JCA surmontent le défi que pose la rudesse du climat canadien, la précarité des ressources financières et l'isolement géographique[23]. C'est sans compter le fait que la plupart de ces nouveaux venus n'avaient pas ou peu d'expérience préalable en agriculture avant d'être envoyés sur les terres vierges de l'ouest[24].

Prenons par exemple le hameau de Lipton en Saskatchewan, puisqu'il constitue la seule tentative de collaboration directe entre la JCA et le gouvernement canadien. À terme, l'échec du projet envenima les rapports entre les deux partis et marqua leurs relations futures. Au printemps 1901, quarante-neuf familles émigrant de Russie se firent assigner une terre, située à une centaine de kilomètres au nord de Régina et à plus de quarante-cinq kilomètres d'un accès ferroviaire. Les colons furent frappés de malchance ; une épidémie de diphtérie les frappa dès leur arrivée, retardant la tenue de travaux essentiels pour le maintien de la colonie durant l'hiver. Plus encore, la supervision de la colonie avait été confiée à des fermiers locaux, incapables de communiquer avec les immigrants yiddishophones et peu enclins à soutenir une entreprise qu'ils considéraient comme vaine et couteuse. À cause de ces débuts difficiles, plusieurs colons abandonnèrent rapidement la campagne en faveur de Régina, et malgré l'arrivée de renforts au printemps suivant, le projet peina à subsister. Pour le gouvernement canadien, l'échec de la colonie de Lipton confirme des préjugés ramenant au mauvais potentiel agricole des populations juives et influence durablement la position d'Ottawa dans ce domaine[25].

Même si le mouvement agricole juif au Canada demeure marginal sur le plan statistique, le fait demeure significatif puisqu'il est tributaire de grands courants idéologiques parmi la communauté juive à l'échelle globale. Selon Simon Belkin, membre éminent de la communauté juive montréalaise qui se constitue durant la grande vague migratoire de 1905-1914, les idéologues sionistes de gauche encouragent les masses laborieuses à s'investir dans la colonisation de l'Amérique du Nord et de la Palestine[26]. Ce mouvement de retour à la terre, partie prenante du nationalisme de gauche chez les Juifs, trouve ses racines dans les courants révolutionnaires de l'Empire russe.

Les racines idéologiques de l'agriculturalisme juif

Durant l'été de 1879, le *Narodnaia Volia* (Volonté du peuple), un mouvement constitué de groupuscules issus des classes plus éduquées de l'Empire russe, sillonne les campagnes pour promouvoir la révolution chez la classe paysanne, qui à leurs yeux constitue le fondement du mouvement révolutionnaire. Cette opération est mise à mal lorsque Alexandre III, reconnu pour son intransigeance à l'égard des dissidents à l'ordre monarchique, accède au trône vers 1880 à la suite de l'assassinat d'Alexandre II. Sous les répressions montantes du Tsar, la faction juive du mouvement agriculturaliste se scinde en deux groupes: le *Am Olam*[27], qui préconise la colonisation des États-Unis, et le *Bilu*, précurseur du sionisme moderne, qui a pour lieu d'établissement la Palestine[28]. En Amérique du Nord, le *Am Olam* crée des colonies en Louisiane et dans le Dakota du Sud, fondées selon le modèle économique de la coopérative[29]. Des projets semblables sont d'ailleurs entrepris au Canada, lorsqu'en 1880 la *Young Men Hebrew Benevolent Society* orchestre la fondation en Saskatchewan d'une première colonie coopérative par le concours du philanthrope Maurice de Hirsch[30]. Ces premiers élans de colonisation juive sont le produit d'une pensée socialiste internationaliste, antérieure à l'articulation du sionisme politique moderne.

Jusqu'en 1905, la pensée des Juifs de la classe ouvrière de Russie est dominée par la notion d'internationalisme, qui prévoit la dissolution des nations dans le cadre d'une révolution socialiste. C'est à la suite des pogroms de Kichinev en 1903 et 1905 que le sionisme devient un courant politique dominant, quand l'envergure des violences perpétrées à l'endroit des Juifs met définitivement en doute qu'il soit possible pour eux de s'émanciper comme citoyens égaux au sein de la société est européenne[31]. Dès lors la mise en chantier d'un foyer national, dont les colonies agricoles sont une étape importante, devient un aspect central du programme politique des idéologues juifs.

Chaim Zhitlowsky, un des penseurs influents au sein du Parti des socialistes révolutionnaires en Russie, constitue un bon exemple marquant du changement relatif à cette pensée. Théoricien prolifique, il avait vers 1899 publié l'essai « Sionisme ou Socialisme » dans lequel il décrivait le sionisme comme un projet « inespéré et fantastique, incapable de résoudre les problèmes pratiques des masses laborieuses juives »[32]. Toutefois, horrifié par la ténacité de l'antisémitisme dans l'Empire russe, il se repositionne vers 1905 en élaborant une théorie qui amalgame l'internationalisme et le sionisme, reconnaissant la nécessité d'un centre territorial tout en prenant compte de la réalité diasporique de la nation juive[33]. Après avoir évolué dans des cercles à dominance russe, Zhitlowsky se fait un fervent défenseur de la langue yiddish, qu'il promeut dès lors comme le véhicule culturel de l'émancipation des Juifs. À partir de New York, où il s'installe définitivement vers 1910, il encourage les Juifs de l'Empire russe à émigrer pour s'investir dans les activités agricoles, autant en Amérique du Nord qu'en Palestine[34].

C'est plus précisément au moment où le projet de colonisation d'Eretz-Israël devient un objectif politique central que la productivisation des activités du peuple juif acquiert au Canada une importance capitale. Ce phénomène s'inscrit cependant dans un mouvement plus large de reconstruction de la nation juive, qui se manifeste après la Grande Guerre dans plusieurs États-nations où des migrants juifs aboutissent. En effet, la crise provoquant à ce moment de grands déplacements de populations de l'ancienne Russie impériale vers l'Europe occidentale est perçue par les élites juives comme une opportunité de revitalisation de la nation[35]. L'historienne Sharon Gillerman, à propos de l'Allemagne de Weimar, affirme que « les experts de la question sociale juive et les leaders laïcs tentaient de renforcer et de normaliser la population de manière à maximiser sa productivité au service à la fois de la communauté juive et de la nation allemande[36] ».

Au Canada, on souligne la capacité du mouvement de retour à la terre pour contribuer à la construction de la nation canadienne, et ce même chez les sionistes dont le regard est tourné vers la Palestine. En d'autres mots, si les Juifs qui cultivent les terres canadiennes ne participent pas directement à l'effort de construction d'Eretz-Israël, ils contribuent toutefois à former une nouvelle génération d'agriculteurs productifs, résolument tournés vers l'avenir de la nation. Nous définissons ainsi la promotion de l'agriculture qui émerge du sionisme de gauche comme un agriculturalisme, à l'instar des discours ruralistes qui émergent des contextes du Canada anglais et du Canada français. Ceux-ci, également issus des courants nationalistes, se distinguent principalement par leur tendance au conservatisme social et religieux, notamment le maintien d'une société rurale, garante de l'ordre traditionnel. En considérant l'importance du ruralisme dans les procédés de construction nationale préconisés chez les Canadiens d'ascendance anglaise et française, on comprend que les campagnes peuvent constituer des espaces contestés au Canada.

L'importance de l'espace rural au sein des nations canadiennes

Pour les élites canadiennes de souche britannique, la société rurale est capitale au développement de la nation. Le modèle type du colon loyaliste, qui incarne la loi et l'ordre, est conçu comme la fondation d'une société saine. C'est au sein des campagnes que se trouve le fleuron de la nation, dont les vertus sont amplifiées par le travail de la terre et la dureté du climat canadien. Chez l'élite anglo-saxonne, on préconise un modèle de société, inspiré du darwinisme social, qui souligne les origines raciales nobles et les attributs physiques et psychologiques supérieurs du Canadien[37]. Ce dernier, dont le mode de vie est stable, en comparaison de l'errance qui afflige les masses laborieuses urbanisées, constitue un gage durable pour le développement de la société. Cette notion émerge avant tout en réaction à la révolution industrielle anglaise, qui avait connu des proportions inquiétantes aux yeux des Canadiens.

En effet, l'essor industriel qu'a connu l'Angleterre est perçu par les élites anglo-saxonnes du pays comme une mise en garde. Selon ces derniers, le Canada devrait veiller à conserver un équilibre entre développement agricole et industriel et s'assurer l'avantage d'un ordre social engendré dans une collectivité à dominance rurale. Après la Grande Guerre, cet enjeu a une grande portée puisque la vague d'immigration entre 1896 et 1914 – jumelée à l'exode rural chez les Canadiens français – avait profondément altéré la composition démographique du dominion. Durant la seule première décennie du vingtième siècle, Montréal connut une croissance de 50 %, Toronto de 80 %, Winnipeg de 200 %, Edmonton de 600 % et Vancouver de 300 %[38]. Réagissant à cet accroissement du paysage urbain, la pensée ruraliste exprimée au Canada anglais vers le tournant du siècle envisage un pays dont le caractère agricole dominerait à la fois sur les plans social et économique. La colonisation de l'Ouest canadien est donc le théâtre d'un projet national d'importance pour lequel les élites canadiennes-anglaises entretiennent des visées particulières.

On retrouve une idée équivalente au sein du discours des élites Canadiennes françaises. Contrairement au ruralisme du Canada anglais, leur discours est plutôt centré sur la notion de survivance, représentée notamment dans le nationalisme de Lionel Groulx. Préoccupé par l'émigration massive des Canadiens français vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, Groulx craint que l'éparpillement de la nation affaiblisse sa position au sein de l'Amérique du Nord[39]. Mais il y a pire. Ce mouvement migratoire signe non seulement le départ de la jeunesse canadienne-française en dehors du foyer national du Bas-Canada, mais également sa partance d'une campagne idéalisée vers un milieu urbain industrialisé, dont le climat moral est craint par les autorités cléricales[40]. Une fois installés dans la ville, les émigrants tournent définitivement le dos à la vocation agricole qui constitue pour Groulx un vecteur essentiel de l'identité franco-catholique canadienne, idéalisée dans la mémoire collective comme héritage de l'époque du régime français. Cette hémorragie contribue à mettre en péril la survie des Canadiens français sur le dominion, qui auraient plus intérêt à consolider leur présence en colonisant le nord-ouest de la province de Québec.

Une notion semblable, quoiqu'adoptant dans ce cas l'idée des deux peuples fondateurs, se retrouve dans les écrits d'Henri Bourassa lorsqu'il défend « qu'on devrait d'abord encourager le peuplement de [l'Ouest] par des colons canadiens, anglais et français, transplantés des provinces de l'Est ou rapatriés des États-Unis ; pour maintenir le nombre des colons canadiens autant que possible, aux éléments les plus sains des races de langue anglaise et de langue française, afin de conserver le caractère propre de la population indigène, qui les aurait absorbés »[41]. Le commentaire de Bourassa est emblématique de cet esprit de survivance nationale, au moment précis où le Canada connait sa plus grande croissance démographique à force de vagues migratoires issues principalement de l'Europe centrale et orientale.

Le Montréal juif de la grande vague migratoire

Durant la première décennie du vingtième siècle, la population juive canadienne passe d'environ 16 000 en 1901 à plus de 75 000 selon le recensement de 1911[42]. Cette croissance se situe dans le cadre du plan Sifton de 1896, une politique du gouvernement Laurier qui visait à peupler les vastes étendues canadiennes par une immigration de masse. La cause des Juifs recevait d'abord un appui favorable: Laurier s'était prononcé en faveur de la sauvegarde des Juifs est-européens vers 1903 – à la suite des pogroms de Kichinev en Ukraine – en assurant à la communauté juive canadienne que les portes du pays étaient grandes ouvertes aux opprimés[43]. Même si l'objectif premier du plan Sifton était de développer des territoires inexploités, les centres urbains demeurèrent les principaux pôles d'attraction des masses immigrantes, pour qui l'industrie manufacturière constituait la meilleure opportunité d'intégration socioéconomique. À Montréal seulement, la population juive yiddishophone passa durant la première décennie du vingtième siècle de 7600 à 30 700[44], la plus forte concentration s'installant dans l'axe de la rue St-Laurent au nord de la rue Sherbrooke jusqu'à la rue Mont-Royal.

Cette croissance soudaine eut un effet unique sur la constitution de la communauté juive montréalaise. Comme l'explique Pierre Anctil, puisque ces immigrants n'intègrent pas une communauté juive déjà nombreuse et structurée autour d'un discours politique organisé, comme c'est le cas à New York, « Montréal a sans doute été en Amérique du Nord la ville la plus fortement influencée, au cours de la grande période migratoire de 1904-1914, par les sionistes de gauche (...) »[45]. La dominance du *Poale-Zion*[46], décrite par Simon Belkin dans son ouvrage sur l'histoire des mouvements ouvriers juifs, témoigne d'ailleurs de cette tendance. La prévalence de cette orientation politique s'explique du fait que la génération qui émigre vers le Canada durant la première décennie du vingtième siècle transporte avec elle l'expérience des soulèvements populaires en Russie. Ce bagage se reflète sur les activités syndicales et communautaires des immigrants qui atteignent les rives du fleuve Saint-Laurent en grand nombre avant que le flux migratoire ne cesse complètement vers 1915.

Des écrits autobiographiques laissés par des représentants de cette génération nous permettent de saisir le contexte qui entoure à ce moment la formation de la communauté juive. Hershl Novak, qui débarque sur les quais de Montréal vers 1909 âgé de 17 ans, décrit dans *Fun mayne yunge yorn* (De mes années de jeunesse) le milieu qu'il intègre[47]. Comme pour plusieurs de ces jeunes migrants, la traversée de l'Atlantique signe l'entrée dans la modernité. Du fait même, plusieurs abandonnent leur pratique orthodoxe, contraint par les conditions de voyage à manger pour la première fois de la nourriture non cachère, et intégrant un milieu ouvrier où le respect des lois juives est rendu presque impossible. Ces immigrants sont toutefois en mesure de laisser libre cours à leurs ambitions politiques, forts de leur expérience militante, mais libérés des mesures répressives de l'Empire russe qui rendaient les activités politiques périlleuses.

Novak décrit l'idéalisme politique qui anime alors la jeunesse juive ouvrière. À Montréal, aux premières belles journées printanières, celle-ci se rassemblait au pied du Mont-Royal pour débattre autour du *Poale Zion*[48]. Novak rappelle fièrement comment ils avaient fait de Montréal une forteresse du yiddishisme et des idées défendues par Zhitlowsky[49]. Partisan de l'importance de la langue vernaculaire juive dans le cadre du développement du sionisme, Novak s'était investi dans la fondation de la première école yiddish à Montréal. À la suite du cinquième rassemblement nord-américain du *Poale Zion*, qui avait eu lieu à Montréal, lui et quelques camarades s'étaient entendus sur l'importance de développer un réseau d'écoles nationales-radicales pour la communauté juive grandissante[50]. Emplis d'idéalisme, ils ouvrirent dès 1911 la *Peretz Shul* (l'école Peretz), une institution qui préconisait une approche pédagogique moderne et séculière qui insufflait à la jeunesse des principes réunissant le fait juif et la libre pensée, tentant de présenter à la fois les bases du nationalisme et du socialisme[51]. Ces idéaux étaient propulsés par l'apparition d'institutions juives axées sur la propagation de la connaissance et de la pensée critique, comme la bibliothèque de l'Institut Baron de Hirsch et la Bibliothèque publique juive, qui étaient des espaces de rassemblement pour l'intelligentsia nouvellement immigrée[52].

Également tributaire de ce mouvement, notons les contributions d'un autre activiste au sein des institutions juives canadiennes issues de la grande vague migratoire de 1905-1914. Simon Belkin, originaire de Kiev dans l'Empire russe, arrive à Montréal vers 1910. Il porte un souvenir marquant des soulèvements de 1905, durant lesquels il fut blessé au combat et mis sous arrestation pour son implication dans une organisation d'autodéfense juive[53]. En rétrospective, il signe deux ouvrages déterminants qui traitent des années formatrices de la communauté juive canadienne, soit *Di Poale-Zion Bavergung in Kanade* vers 1956 et *Through Narrow Gates* vers 1968. Belkin décrit, à travers le premier ouvrage, les activités du groupe travailliste du *Poale Zion* au Canada dont les années 1915-1920 constituèrent le moment fort[54]. Durant cette période, selon Belkin, on assiste à Montréal à de grandes réalisations communautaires, tel qu'en témoignent les avancées du syndicalisme et du socialisme, par des démonstrations en faveur d'Eretz-Israël et de la condition de la vie juive en général[55].

C'est au sein de la même vague migratoire que H.M. Caiserman atteint Montréal, émigrant de la Roumanie vers 1910 âgé de vingt-six ans[56]. Son parcours en Europe de l'Est laissait présager un avenir prometteur, lui qui s'était montré prolifique dès le plus jeune âge en s'illustrant comme archiviste à Bucarest alors qu'il n'était âgé que de quinze ans[57]. Polyglotte, le yiddishophone de langue maternelle maitrisait l'allemand, l'hébreu et le roumain, et il apprit de suite l'anglais à son arrivée au Canada. Sioniste affirmé et partisan du *Poale Zion,* il fut profondément marqué par une correspondance qu'il avait entretenue avec Theodor Herzel[58] dans le cadre de ses activités militantes en Roumanie. Naturellement, il s'implique dès son arrivée à Montréal au sein du *Poale Zion*.

Caiserman, en tant qu'activiste syndicaliste et communautaire de premier ordre, a laissé derrière lui une documentation assez fournie qui nous permet de bien cerner sa pensée. Celle-ci met en relief l'idéalisme qui caractérise la génération de la grande vague migratoire d'avant la Grande Guerre. À la lecture du compte-rendu de son passage en Palestine, qu'il avait sillonnée entre 1921 et 1925, on ressent la vive émotion d'un nationaliste qui visite pour la première fois sa terre patrie. Relatant son expérience à bord du train menant à Jérusalem, il écrit: « J'ai vu des larmes de joie dans les yeux de plus d'un touriste, lorsque le conducteur du train les approche et leur demande dans un hébreu sépharade clair, 'Bavakasha Kartisim' (Billets, s'il vous plait!) »[59]. Sa visite des fermes communautaires que construisent à ce moment les *Haluzim*[60], des pionniers idéalistes inspirés de l'idéologie socialiste, laisse la plus grande impression sur le pèlerin. Dans les montagnes Yehuda, il témoigne d'une activité extraordinaire: des jeunes hommes et jeunes femmes, « d'apparence cultivée et de bonté extrême », dont parmi eux se trouvent des membres éminents des professions libérales et intellectuelles, se vouent à la « grande religion du travail qu'ils ont amenée en Israël »[61].

À son retour de Palestine vers 1925, Caiserman se lance dans une tournée à l'échelle canadienne pour promouvoir la cause sioniste. Il s'arrête à Winnipeg et à Regina tout comme dans les localités rurales pour partager ses expériences en terre sainte, relatant aux travailleurs et aux fermiers juifs les vertus du labeur agricole dont il a témoigné[62]. Son idéalisme et sa vocation d'activiste sont évidents, lorsqu'il écrit que « d'une certaine manière, je considère mon travail comme celui d'un pionnier, puisqu'il nécessite la réorganisation et la galvanisation de tout un front sioniste dans l'Ouest »[63]. Caiserman s'était effectivement illustré à titre de pionnier dans plus d'une cause militante. Sa plus grande réalisation demeure sans doute d'avoir initié les travaux menant à la tenue du premier Congrès juif canadien, convoqué en mars 1919 dans le but de créer un front commun parmi une communauté juive canadienne fragmentée.

Le moment sioniste de gauche du Congrès juif canadien

Vers 1915, on avait cherché pour une première fois à rassembler les délégués issus des organisations sionistes de tout le pays afin de venir en aide aux victimes de la Grande Guerre[64]. Cette initiative de Clarence De Sola[65], issu de la classe aisée et assimilée à la sphère anglophone canadienne, ne réussit toutefois pas à établir des liens durables entre les différentes couches sociales et les différentes orientations politiques formant la collectivité juive canadienne. Or, au lendemain de la Grande Guerre, c'est la vitesse acquise par le mouvement sioniste, jumelée à la magnitude des atrocités subies par les populations juives lors la Guerre civile russe, qui remet le projet sur la table. Lorsque le Congrès juif canadien se rassemble sous l'initiative de Caiserman en mars 1919, il symbolise la culmination d'évènements extraordinaires qui insufflent un vent d'espoir concernant l'avenir de la nation juive. Au moment de la Conférence

de paix à Paris, De Sola annonce à ses concitoyens montréalais que, selon une source fiable, la création d'un état juif en Palestine aurait reçu l'appui favorable de la part des diplomates anglais[66].

À court terme, l'un des principaux objectifs du Congrès est de se positionner face à l'enjeu de l'immigration juive au Canada. Samuel W. Jacobs, député libéral au sein du gouvernement fédéral dans la conscription de Cartier à Montréal, explique à la délégation que dans la situation présente, le gouvernement canadien s'inquiète de recevoir des migrants qui pourraient constituer une charge financière pour l'état[67]. Pour parer aux dépenses encourues, Jacobs en appelle à la charité de la communauté juive canadienne, dont « l'entraide constitue un devoir national qui devrait être mené à bien en fonction d'un agenda nationaliste »[68]. En vertu de la loi sur l'immigration, il rappelle que c'est l'agriculture qui constitue le meilleur gage d'entrée au pays, est donc que la colonisation de l'Ouest est d'une importance capitale pour tous les Juifs canadiens[69].

Outre la question de l'immigration canadienne, le développement de la Palestine juive constitue un autre thème central lors du Congrès. L'agenda sioniste de gauche est réaffirmé dans les discussions qui abordent les étapes politiques de la création d'un foyer national juif. À cet effet, les délégués adoptent une résolution appelant à ce que « la Palestine soit gouvernée sur le principe de la justice sociale, de la liberté politique et d'une législation des plus progressistes sur le travail »[70]. Chaim Zhitlowsky, invité d'honneur au congrès, profite de l'occasion pour rappeler que si certains sont choqués par le radicalisme d'une telle résolution, elle se situe pourtant encore bien loin du socialisme, comme des principes semblables sont défendus au même moment par le président américain Woodrow Wilson[71]. Le chemin qui mène vers le socialisme véritable appelle à l'éveil de tous les Juifs. Il résume cette pensée dans la parabole suivante: « Moi aussi, je crois que dans le coeur de chaque Juif se trouve un socialiste, mais je crains que dans plusieurs coeurs le socialiste se cache dans un coin sombre, ce pour quoi je saisis l'opportunité de craquer une allumette dans ce compartiment »[72].

À terme, le congrès réussit à propulser l'entraide communautaire et à galvaniser le sionisme, dont la vitalité dans certaines régions du Canada était considérée anémique[73]. Plus encore, il mène à la mise sur pied d'une grande collecte de fonds pour venir en aide aux victimes juives du régime de Denikine en Ukraine, orchestrée par l'Union des travailleurs juifs ukrainiens, qui envoie même Simon Belkin sur place pour veiller à la distribution des ressources[74]. Les massacres sont d'ailleurs soulignés dans le cadre d'une grande marche funèbre dans les rues de Montréal qui rassemble, selon une estimation du journal *La Patrie*, plus de vingt-mille Juifs[75].

Suivant la résolution adoptée en matière d'immigration, qui statuait que la JCA ne pouvait à elle seule fournir l'aide aux réfugiés, le Congrès provoque la création de la

Jewish Immigrant Aid Society (JIAS) qui a pour mandat le soutien immédiat des nouveaux arrivants en provenance d'Europe de l'Est. Cette organisation œuvre aussi de concert avec la JCA pour faciliter l'installation des immigrants sur le vaste territoire canadien. Cette collaboration, indique Leon Rosenthal, secrétaire général de la JCA, « est un important facteur dans la formation de la communauté juive comme elle se développe à présent dans ce pays »[76]. La JIAS offre des services juridiques qui permettent de reporter les délais de déportation des réfugiés qui échouent à se qualifier dans le cadre de la Loi sur l'Immigration. Devant le fait que la majorité des réfugiés qui débarquent en sol canadien ont pour destination finale les États-Unis, la JIAS entre en contact avec les organisations juives américaines d'aide aux immigrants pour solliciter des ressources financières[77]. Pour ceux qui demeurent au pays, la JCA cherche à en établir un plus grand nombre sur les colonies juives de la Saskatchewan et du Manitoba, dont plusieurs demeurèrent vacantes suite à leur abandon par des colons précédents. Cependant, malgré l'insistance du plan de colonisation, le mouvement vers les campagnes demeure pour les réfugiés juifs un phénomène marginal.

À la lecture du compte-rendu des activités de la JCA pour la décennie des années 1920, on observe deux tendances face à la colonisation juive. D'abord, un nombre limité de réfugiés a entrepris des activités agricoles alors qu'une majorité s'est plutôt dirigée vers les centres urbains. Ensuite, la communauté juive a dû compter sur l'influence de ses membres les plus en vue au sein de la vie politique canadienne pour obtenir certaines concessions sur l'immigration. C'est en grande partie grâce aux pressions de S.W. Jacobs, qui siège alors au parlement canadien, que le gouvernement permet à des migrants de s'établir au pays sans qu'ils doivent prouver leur expérience en agriculture[78]. Grâce aux leviers politiques exercés par Jacobs, le Canada admet en 1923 cinq mille réfugiés juifs de Russie, à un rythme de cent par semaine[79]. Mais malgré les efforts déployés en vue de placer les réfugiés sur les fermes de l'Ouest canadien, les résultats dans ce domaine furent décevants. Mis à part une famille qui s'est établie avec succès sur une ferme en Saskatchewan, on déplore que des hommes célibataires aient seulement travaillé la terre durant la saison estivale pour retourner vers les centres urbains durant la saison froide, où même que des familles entières aient rapidement abandonné leurs fermes au profit de la ville[80].

Dans ses écrits autobiographiques, Hershl Novak mentionne à propos des plans de colonisation de la JCA qu'il « était de notoriété générale [...] qu'ils ne réussissaient qu'à moitié »[81]. Cette évidence est vraisemblablement partagée par les autorités d'immigration canadienne et se serait perpétuée jusqu'à la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, comme en témoignent les actions du gouvernement canadien dans le dossier de l'immigration juive durant les années 1930. Or comment interpréter le discours que tiennent les élites de la communauté juive après la Grande Guerre par rapport à la colonisation et à l'agriculturalisme juif? Découle-t-il d'un simple pragmatisme ou recèle-t-il des preuves authentiques d'adhésion à une idéologie de reconstruction de la nation juive? La réponse doit prendre en compte différents apports, puisqu'il

est impossible d'occulter le sentiment d'urgence qui afflige la communauté juive canadienne devant la misère de leurs coreligionnaires, tout comme l'existence d'un courant d'idées qui met de l'avant une notion d'émancipation du peuple juif à travers la productivisation de leurs activités.

La période d'après-guerre crée un contexte favorable au développement de l'idéologie sioniste de gauche, une orientation politique qui est particulièrement présente au sein de la communauté immigrante yiddishophone de Montréal. Ce travaillisme-sionisme, certes plus répandu dans les milieux ouvriers, déteint sur les couches plus aisées et libérales de la communauté juive plus ancienne, comme en témoignent certaines résolutions de penchant socialiste adoptées lors du premier Congrès juif canadien vers 1919. Plus encore, lorsque l'établissement d'un foyer national juif obtient le soutien de la Grande-Bretagne suite de la déclaration Balfour en 1917, le sionisme vit au Canada comme à l'étranger un moment fort, et réussit à insuffler un sentiment d'unité à une communauté juive canadienne fragmentée. C'est dans ce contexte qu'Ottawa reçoit les missives des organismes communautaires juifs établis à Montréal, dans lesquelles se retrouvent des arguments qui évoquent clairement la capacité des immigrants juifs à intégrer au Canada la classe agricole.

C'est en se penchant sur cette période importante, qui a cristallisé les rapports entre la communauté juive et le gouvernement fédéral canadien, que cet article a voulu contribuer à la discussion amorcée par *None is Too Many*. C'est d'autant plus nécessaire qu'un acteur clé dans l'étude d'Abella et Troper est actif au sein de la section d'immigration bien avant la période couverte par les auteurs. Cet article ne dément pas qu'un biais antisémite, bien senti chez les fonctionnaires et les élites politiques canadiennes, a influencé de manière tragique l'application de la loi d'immigration aux dépens des Juifs. Nous avons vu que Frederick Charles Blair, derrière des portes closes, ne se gardait pas d'afficher son hostilité face aux Juifs canadiens. Ainsi, Abella et Troper écrivent avec justesse que « Blair, évidemment, était un antisémite », et que « son mépris pour les Juifs était sans limites »[82]. Plutôt, cet article s'est penché sur le fait que des discours nationalistes émergeant à cette période étaient susceptibles de pressentir les aspirations agricoles des Juifs canadiens comme une menace à leur développement national.

Comme les élites anglo-saxonnes et canadiennes-françaises entretenaient des visées précises face à la place qu'occupait la société agricole dans le développement de leurs nations respectives, ils ont perçu la présence juive comme menaçante à leur équilibre social. Mais de toute manière, la suspicion qu'entretient la section d'immigration canadienne à l'endroit des plans de la colonisation juive n'avait qu'à se convaincre des statistiques peu éloquentes en cette matière. Tout semble corroborer que les Juifs sont en effet des « gens des villes »[83] et qu'il est « impossible de les retenir sur la ferme »[84]. Sous cette perspective, l'insistance de la communauté juive à proposer la colonisation juive comme solution à l'influx de migrants qui se butent aux portes

du pays semble vouée à envenimer les rapports entre les deux parties. Nous sommes donc portés de croire que Blair, craignant qu'une vague de réfugiés juifs allemands ne déferle sur les villes canadiennes à une période de récession économique sans précédent, se référait à son expérience passée quand il refusait l'entrée aux Juifs qui se prétendaient agriculteurs.

1
Anton Denikine (1872-1947) prend le commandement de l'armée blanche après la mort du général Lavr Kornilov vers 1918 durant la guerre civile russe de 1917-1922. Ses efforts se concentrent à restaurer la monarchie dans l'Empire russe à la suite de la Révolution bolchévique de 1917. C'est sous son commandement que sont perpétrés en Ukraine des pogroms virulents contre les populations juives.

2
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 7.

3
Rapport de la Jewish Colonization Association pour l'année 1916, déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien (maintenant les Archives juives canadiennes Alex Dworkin) à Montréal, Série KG-5.

4
Rapport de la Jewish Colonization Association pour l'année 1918, déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série KG-5.

5
Loi de l'immigration canadienne, amendement, 1919. Document numérisé accessible à l'adresse suivante: http://www.quai21.ca/recherche/histoire-d-immigration/loi-de-l-immigration-amendement-1919, (consulté le 2 mars 2015).

6
H.M. Caiserman, "Memorandum Submitted by the Canadian Jewish Congress on Proposed Amendments to the Immigration Acts", daté du 6 mai 1919. Déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal. Série ZA-1920, boite 4, fichier 1.

7
H.M. Caiserman, "Memorandum Submitted by the Canadian Jewish Congress on Proposed Amendments to the Immigration Acts", daté du 6 mai 1919. Déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal. Série ZA-1920, boite 4, fichier 1.

8
Lettre de H.M Caiserman à J.A. Calder, ministre canadien de l'immigration et de la colonisation, datée du 13 avril 1921. Feuilles déposées aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal. Série ZA-1921, Boite 13, fichier 12.

9
Lettre de H.M Caiserman à J.A. Calder, ministre canadien de l'immigration et de la colonisation, datée du 13 avril 1921. Feuilles déposées aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal. Série ZA-1921, Boite 13, fichier 12.

10
Une branche canadienne de la Jewish Colonization Association est fondée à Montréal vers 1891 pour aider au processus de colonisation des réfugiés Juifs dans l'Ouest canadien. La JCA vise à étendre les activités qui étaient auparavant sous l'auspice de la Young Men Hebrew Benevolent Society à Montréal. Elle est financée par les fonds du philanthrope Maurice de Hirsch, l'un des principaux contributeurs de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle, une organisation basée à Paris dont les activités principales consistent à fournir une éducation séculière, inspirée par le républicanisme français, à des minorités juives dans les régions d'Europe de l'est, du Moyen-Orient et de l'Afrique du Nord. Par ailleurs, De Hirsch est personnellement impliqué dans la mise sur pied de colonies agricoles en Argentine et en Turquie.

11
Lettre de Leon Rosenthal à J.A Calder, ministre de la colonisation et de l'immigration, datée du 26 novembre 1920. Feuille déposée aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1920, boite 11, fichier 2.

12
Louis Rosenberg, « Jewish Farming in Canada », document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série M3.

13
Mémorandum de F.C. Blair pour le ministre Calder, datée du 26 novembre 1920. Feuille déposée au Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1920, boite 11, fichier 2.

14
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983]; Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: a Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)*, Montréal, The Eagle Publishing 1968, p. 100.

15
Ninette Kelley, Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998, p. 115.

16
Ninette Kelley, Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998, p. 116.

17
Gerald Tulchinsky, *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives*, Toronto, Queen's University Press, 1994, p. 303.

18
Gerald Tulchinsky, *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives*, Toronto, Queen's University Press, 1994, p. 116.

19
Mémorandum de F.C Blair pour Mr Black, datée du 15 décembre 1921. Feuille déposée aux archives du Congrès juif canadien. Série ZA-1921, boite 13, fichier 2.

20
Gerald E. Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism?* Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977, p. 43.

21
Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A social and economic study of Jews in Canada in the 1930's*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's, 1993 [1939], p. 226.

22
On recense des communautés indépendantes dans les provinces du Québec, de l'Ontario, du Manitoba et de la Saskatchewan. Par exemple, une communauté s'installe vers 1904 dans le village de Sainte-Sophie, quelques cinquante kilomètres au nord de Montréal. Ils développent un élevage de volaille qui atteindra une certaine prospérité ainsi que des activités d'agriculture diverses. L'installation de cette communauté se fait de manière indépendante, sans le concours de l'Institut du Baron de Hirsch et de la JCA. Voir Howard Gontovnick, « From Colony to Community: Ste-Sophie, Quebec », *Canadian Jewish Studies*, no. 9, 2001, p. 190-209

23
Louis Rosenberg, « Jewish Farming in Canada », document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série M3.

24
Louis Rosenberg, « Jewish Farming in Canada », document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série M3.

25
Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A social and economic study of Jews in Canada in the 1930's*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's, 1993 [1939], p. 219-220.

26
Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)*, Montréal, The Eagle Publishing 1968, p. 78.

27
Signifie en hébreu: « peuple éternel ».

28
Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)*, Montréal, The Eagle Publishing, 1968, p. 52-55.

29
Violet Goering, Orlando J. Goering, « Jewish Farmers in South Dakota - the Am Olam », *South Dakota State Historical Society*, vol. 12, no 4, 1983, p. 232-247.

30
Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)*, Montréal, The Eagle Publishing, 1968, p. 54.

31
Tony Michels, *A fire in their hearts: Yiddish*

Socialists in New York, Cambridge, Havard University Press, 2005, p. 135.

32
Tony Michels, *A fire in their hearts: Yiddish Socialists in New York*, Cambridge, Havard University Press, 2005, p. 133.

33
Tony Michels, *A fire in their hearts: Yiddish Socialists in New York*, Cambridge, Havard University Press, 2005, p. 135.

34
Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: a Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)*, Montréal, The Eagle Publishing, 1968, p. 79.

35
Sharon Gillerman, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2009, p. 2.

36
Sharon Gillerman, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2009, p. 3.

37
Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2013 [1970], p.130.

38
Ninette Kelley, Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998, p. 114.

39
Damien-Claude Bélanger, « L'abbé Lionel Groulx et les conséquences de l'émigration canadienne-française aux États-Unis », *Québec Studies*, no 33, 2002, p. 58.

40
Damien-Claude Bélanger, « L'abbé Lionel Groulx et les conséquences de l'émigration canadienne-française aux États-Unis », *Québec Studies*, no 33, 2002, p 60.

41
Henri Bourassa, « Le Péril de l'immigration », *Le Devoir*, 28 juillet 1913, article de journal publié dans Pierre Anctil, *À chacun ses Juifs: 60 éditoriaux pour comprendre la position du* Devoir *à l'égard des Juifs, 1910-1947,* Québec, Septentrion, 2013, p. 114.

42
Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: a social and economic study of Jews in Canada in the 1930's*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's, 1993 [1939], p. 20.

43
Simon Belkin, *Le mouvement ouvrier Juif au Canada 1904-20*, Québec, Septentrion, 1999 [1959], p. 83. Traduit du Yiddish par Pierre Anctil.

44
Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A social and economic study of Jews in Canada in the 1930's*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's, 1993 [1939], p. 20.

45
Pierre Anctil, Introduction à la traduction de Simon Belkin, *Le mouvement ouvrier Juif au Canada 1904-20* Québec, Septentrion, 1999, p. xi.

46
Le *Poale Zion* est l'une des unions de travailleurs sioniste de gauche qui émerge dans le contexte révolutionnaire de l'Empire russe vers 1904. Il se caractérise par le fait qu'il se développe simultanément dans la diaspora juive comme le parti qui supporte le nationalisme diasporique, à l'instar d'unions de travailleurs juifs comme le Bund, qui adopte une position internationaliste et qui est davantage centrée sur les activités révolutionnaires au sein de l'Empire russe. Une branche du Poale Zion est ouverte à Montréal dès 1905.

47
Hershl Novak, *« Foun mayne yunge yorn », La première école yiddish de Montréal*, Québec, Septentrion, 2009 [1957], p.266. Traduit du yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

48
Hershl Novak, *« Foun mayne yunge yorn », La première école yiddish de Montréal*, Québec, Septentrion, 2009 [1957], p. 67. Traduit du yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

49
Hershl Novak, *« Foun mayne yunge yorn », La première école yiddish de Montréal*, Québec,

Septentrion, 2009 [1957], p. 67. Traduit du yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

50
Hershl Novak, *« Foun mayne yunge yorn », La première école yiddish de Montréal*, Québec, Septentrion, 2009 [1957], p. 70. Traduit du yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

51
Hershl Novak, *« Foun mayne yunge yorn », La première école yiddish de Montréal*, Québec, Septentrion, 2009 [1957], p. 64. Traduit du yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

52
Hershl Novak, *« Foun mayne yunge yorn », La première école yiddish de Montréal*, Québec, Septentrion, 2009 [1957], p. 64. Traduit du yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

53
Pierre Anctil, Introduction à la traduction de Simon Belkin, *Le mouvement ouvrier Juif au Canada 1904-20* Québec, Septentrion, 1999, p. xii.

54
Simon Belkin, *Le mouvement ouvrier Juif au Canada 1904-20*, Québec, Septentrion, 1999 [1959], p. 106. Traduit du Yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

55
Simon Belkin, *Le mouvement ouvrier Juif au Canada 1904-20*, Québec, Septentrion, 1999 [1959], p. 106. Traduit du Yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

56
Pierre Anctil, *Tur Malka: flâneries sur les cimes de l'histoire juive montréalaise*, Québec, Septentrion, 1997, p. 77.

57
H.M. Caiserman, manuscrit d'une autobiographie déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série DA-1, boite 6.

58
Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) est considéré comme l'un des pères du sionisme politique moderne. Il publie *Der Judenstaat* (L'État juif) en 1896 qui fut une influence importante dans l'articulation d'une théorie pratique de la formation d'un état juif indépendant.

59
H.M. Caiserman, « A Trip to Palestine », compte-rendu de voyage daté d'août 1925 déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien, série DA-1, fichier 6.

60
En hébreu, *Haluzim* signifie: « pionnier ». Dans le contexte du sionisme, ces pionniers occupent la fonction vitale de la colonisation d'Eretz-Israël.

61
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62
H.M. Caiserman, Rapport de tournée dans l'Ouest canadien déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série DA-1, fichier 5.

63
H.M. Caiserman, Rapport de tournée dans l'Ouest canadien déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série DA-1, fichier 5.

64
« First Canadian Jewish Congress March 1919 », Document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal. Série ZA-1919, boite 10, fichier 31.

65
Clarence Isaac De Sola (1858-1920) est l'un des membres éminents de la communauté juive déjà établie avant la grande vague migratoire de 1904-1914. Homme d'affaire et diplomate, il évolue au sein de la classe anglo-protestante fortunée de Montréal. Tout comme d'autres membres fortunés de la communauté juive, comme Mortimer B. Davis qui possède la compagnie de tabac *Imperial Tobbacco*, il représente les franges libérales du mouvement sioniste canadien.

66
Auteur inconnu, « Palestine to be Separate State for Jewish Folk », *The Montreal Daily Star*, le 17 mars 1919. Coupure déposée aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1919, boite 10, fichier 31.

67
Procès verbal de l'assemblée du premier Congrès juif canadien. Document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1910, boite 10, fichier 5, p. 25.

68
Jacobs fait ici référence au nationalisme juif, soit le sionisme, voir le Procès verbal de l'assemblée du premier Congrès juif canadien. Document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1910, boite 10, fichier 5, p. 25.

69
Procès verbal de l'assemblée du premier Congrès juif canadien. Document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1910, boite 10, fichier 5, p. 25.

70
Procès verbal de l'assemblée du premier Congrès juif canadien. Document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1910, boite 10, fichier 5, p. 38.

71
Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) est président des États-Unis de 1913 à 1921 à la tête du parti démocrate.

72
Procès verbal de l'assemblée du premier Congrès juif canadien. Document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1910, boite 10, fichier 5, p. 39.

73
H. M. Caiserman, compte-rendu du premier Congrès juif canadien. Document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série DA-1, boite 5.

74
H. M. Caiserman, compte-rendu du premier Congrès juif canadien. Document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série DA-1, boite 5.

75
Auteur inconnu, « Manifestation des Juifs de la métropole », *La Patrie* 25 novembre 1919. Coupure déposée aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série ZA-1919, boite 10, fichier 31.

76
Leon Rosenthal, *Rapport des activités de la JCA pour la décennie des années 1920*, document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien. Fonds Personalia/Belkin.

77
Selon H.M. Caiserman, vers 1920 plus de 75% des réfugiés qui débarquent dans les ports de l'est du Canada ont pour destination finale les États Unis. H.M Caiserman, lettre au président de la *Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America*, document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien, Série ZA-1920, boite 11, fichier 6.

78
Leon Rosenthal, *Rapport de la JCA pour la décennie des années 1920*, document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série Belkin/Personalia.

79
Leon Rosenthal, *Rapport de la JCA pour la décennie des années 1920*, document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série Belkin/Personalia.

80
Leon Rosenthal, *Rapport de la JCA pour la décennie des années 1920*, document déposé aux archives du Congrès juif canadien à Montréal, Série Belkin/Personalia.

81
Hershl Novak, *« Foun mayne yunge yorn », La première école yiddish de Montréal*, Québec, Septentrion, 2009 [1957], p. 173. Traduit du yiddish et présenté par Pierre Anctil.

82
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p. 9.

83
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p.5.

84
Irving Abella, Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012 [1983], p.5.

Lillooet Nördlinger McDonnell

Friends with Benefits: Leon Koerner and Frederick Charles Blair, 1939–1959

Due to the strict immigration measures developed and enforced by Frederick Charles Blair, director of the Immigration Branch 1936–1943, Canada had the poorest record for admittance of Jewish refugees during WWII. Blair's letters to various government officials are quoted extensively in None Is Too Many, and have been perceived to reveal his intrinsic distaste for Jews. That Blair, like many among the Canadian elite, was an antisemite is hard to refute. And yet his relationship with Jewish–refugee and lumber–baron Leon Koerner begs closer examination of what it meant to be an antisemite in Canada during the WWII era. Hailing from an industrialist upper–middle–class Jewish family from Czechoslovakia, Koerner was able to use his expertise in the forest industry to persuade the upper echelons of the Canadian government to ignore his Jewish origins and to allow himself and members of his extended family entry into Canada. Despite Blair's negative predisposition towards Jews, from the time of Koerner's arrival into Canada until Blair's death in 1959, the two men maintained a friendly correspondence. This article elucidates the nuances of gentile antisemitism prevalent among members Canada's elite by examining the relationship between F.C. Blair and Leon Koerner, as documented by letters dated 1939–1959.

En grande partie à cause des mesures de régulation migratoire particulièrement strictes mises en place et appliquées à la lettre par Frederick Charles Blair, directeur de l'Immigration Branch *de 1936 à 1943, le Canada a le pire bilan d'accueil de réfugiés juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale. La correspondance de Blair avec différents représentants du gouvernement fédéral a été très largement citée dans* None Is Too *Many et est considérée comme révélatrice de son aversion pour les Juifs. Il est difficile de réfuter que Blair, comme beaucoup parmi l'élite canadienne de l'époque, était antisémite. Pourtant, sa relation avec Leon Korner, réfugié et magnat du bois juif, complexifie notre compréhension de ce que voulait dire être antisémite dans le Canada de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Issu d'une famille d'industriels de la classe moyenne supérieure tchécoslovaque, Koerner a pu se servir de son expertise en matière d'industrie forestière pour convaincre les haut–fonctionnaires du gouvernement d'ignorer ses origines juives et de l'autoriser à venir au Canada avec ses proches. Malgré les à priori négatifs de Blair vis–à–vis des Juifs, les deux hommes ont ainsi entretenu une correspondance amicale de l'arrivée de Koerner au Canada jusqu'à la mort de Blair en 1959. En analysant la relation entre Koerner et Blair et leurs lettres pour la période allant de 1939 à 1959, cet article permet de saisir les différentes nuances de ce* gentile antisemitism *qui prévalait alors parmi l'élite canadienne.*

On October 29, 1941, a Jewish refugee by the name of Leon Koerner wrote to the then Canadian Director of Immigration, Frederick Charles Blair. From his new home in Vancouver, Koerner warmly expounded upon a recent visit he and his wife had made to Ottawa: "We both feel that we have to thank you again with all hearts for the great kindness with which you received us in Ottawa during our stay there, and especially also for your friendliness in showing us around the suburbs of your beautiful city."[1] This was only one of several indications of a friendship between the Jewish refugee and the bureaucrat that had been growing since Koerner first

arrived in Canada in the winter of 1939. Less than two months later Koerner would again write to Blair, thanking him for his "friendship."[2] In the early New Year of 1942, the prominent civil servant responded to Koerner's letter, reminiscing about their recent visit and signing off by writing "With kindest personal regards to Mrs. Koerner and yourself."[3] For the next seventeen years—until just prior to Blair's death in 1959—the correspondence would continue, as would the mutual expressions of affection.

The "friendship" between Koerner and Blair was an unlikely one, to say the least. Koerner was a recent refugee from the war in Europe and Blair presided over one of the most restrictive immigration policies in Canada's history—one that reduced to a trickle the number of Jewish immigrants admitted to Canada during the years leading up to and following the outbreak of World War II (WWII). Blair personally vetted each immigration application for admission, and, in 1938, stated that the "pressure on the part of the Jewish people to get into Canada has never been greater than it is now, and I am glad to be able to add that after 35 years of experience here, that it has never been so carefully controlled."[4] The Immigration Director also bemoaned that Jews were "utterly selfish in their attempts to force through a permit for the admission of relatives or friends;" that "they do not believe that 'No' means more than 'Perhaps';" and that they "make any kind of promise to get the door open but…never cease their agitation until they get in the whole lot."[5] In view of these statements, Koerner's 1939 admission to Canada was certainly an anomaly. Even more unusual was the fact that, in spite of their differences, F.C. Blair and Leon Koerner maintained a written correspondence that spanned some twenty years, from 1939 to 1959—continuing long after Koerner received his Canadian citizenship and Blair retired from the civil service. The full collection of over 80 pages of typed and handwritten letters is housed in the Rare Books and Special Collections at the University of British Columbia Library in Vancouver.[6]

Although their association began for bureaucratic reasons, it quickly became personal and, in writing, both men regularly acknowledged an affinity for the other that went beyond mere acquaintance. This article uses the written correspondence between Koerner and Blair to examine how and why a "friendship" developed between them. It contends that, in an era of overt antisemitism in Canada, a number of factors overrode both men's opposing assessments of the role that Jews and Judaism could play in Canadian society—at least enough to maintain an enduring, if not especially intimate, "friendship." Koerner, founder of the Alaska Pine Company—which went on to become one of Canada's most prosperous lumber mills—hailed from an industrialist upper-middle-class Jewish family from Moravia, Austro-Hungary.[7] Koerner had a strong desire to contribute to society at large (an aspiration which likely stemmed from his Jewish upbringing) and a belief in the ability of other Jewish refugees to do the same. Blair, for his part, was a career bureaucrat who became one

of the most influential civil servants in Canada during the 1930s and early 1940s. He deemed Jews as being incompatible with Canadian society and unlikely to contribute to the country's future well-being. Despite their glaring differences, both men maintained an enduring friendship based on their common pursuit of economic and social uplift—whether personal or public.

Relationships between high level bureaucrats and Jewish refugees during the WWII era have yet to be written about in any depth, both in Canada or internationally. In 2011, Israeli filmmaker Arnon Goldfinger released a documentary entitled *The Flat*, about his grandparents, Kurt and Gerda Tuchler, and their friendship with a high-ranking Nazi official, Leopold von Mildenstein, head of the SS Office for Jewish Affairs.[8] Research material for the documentary was accidentally discovered while the filmmaker was cleaning out his grandmother's apartment. Similarly, the Koerner-Blair correspondence was inadvertently discovered at the University of British Columbia library,[9] while conducting research for the writing of another publication, *Raincoast Jews: Integration in British Columbia*.[10] There are likely many more such correspondences between anti-Semites and Jews waiting for discovery in public and private archival files around the world.

The Koerner-Blair "friendship" helps elaborate the scant historiography that addresses relationships between Jews (particularly Jewish refugees) and the Canadian civil service in an era of institutionalized antisemitism. The seminal work on this topic in Canada is Harold Troper and Irving Abella's 1982 publication *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948*, which provides a detailed analysis of the Federal government's failure at assisting Jewish refugees between 1933 and 1948, arguing that the Canadian government did less than other Western allied countries to help Jewish refugees. Among other things the book was the first to systematically expose F. C. Blair as the bureaucrat in charge of constraining Jewish immigration, with the complicit support of Prime Minister Mackenzie King and Vincent Massey, High Commissioner to Britain.[11] Working partly off of Troper and Abella's groundwork, Alan Mendelson's *Exiles from Nowhere: The Jews and the Canadian Elite*, published in 2008, elucidated how during the WWII era the members of the Canadian government practiced "genteel antisemitism," a non-violent and intellectual antisemitism based on notions of "noblesse oblige, gentlemanly decorum," and the boundaries of "polite society."[12] Derived from a long tradition of understated negative assumptions about Jews and Judaism, "genteel antisemitism" flourished among certain strata of the Canadian elite for much of the twentieth century. As Mendelson explained, during much of this period, people of Hebraic descent were depicted "as enemies of Christianity, enemies of the national state, enemies of peaceful international coexistence, enemies of the poor, or simply enemies of all humanity."[13]

In exploring the Koerner-Blair correspondence, this study does more than reaffirm

Troper, Abella, and Mendelson's respective assessments of the presence of subtle and not-so-subtle forms of institutionalized antisemitism that existed within the Canadian government and mainstream society during the WWII era. It also suggests that opportunities for "friendship" between Jews and gentiles existed even amidst institutionalized antisemitism. To call the relationship between Blair and Koerner a "friendship" is not to ignore the insidious nature of anti-Jewish sentiment during this period in Canada, nor the antisemitic nature of F.C. Blair's policies. Rather, it is to acknowledge the multifarious motivations, many of which were self-serving, that can go into fostering relationships of mutual affection. Both Koerner and Blair found reasons to deliberately ignore, if not exactly neglect, the blatant differences that separated them. There was nothing unconditional about their friendship. Instead, both men found their own priorities reciprocal enough to set aside their particular differences. Their correspondence always remained amiable and gracious, as they discussed business developments, petitions for refugee visas, citizenship status, national pride, social contributions, personal well-being, and seasonal celebrations. Koerner in particularly was careful never to let disappointment or disagreement disrupt the flow of correspondence (i.e. particularly when Blair rejected Koerner's requests for visa permits for friends and extended family members). It was under these unusual circumstances that one of Canada's most antisemitic bureaucrats and one of its newest Jewish refugees were able to forge a warm relationship that lasted for two decades.

Setting the Stage: Antisemitism in Canada, 1930s and 1940s

Although Canadian immigration policies towards Jews during the WWII era were clearly part of larger international trends in immigration restriction,[14] of all the allied countries Canada arguably had one of the poorest records for admittance of Jewish refugees in the years leading up to, during, and following WWII.[15] Indeed, Canadian immigration officials displayed a particular dislike of Jewish applicants during these years. As mentioned earlier, immigration policy came under the charge of the Immigration Branch Director, F. C. Blair, who, like the Liberal Prime Minister (PM) Lyon Mackenzie King and his cabinet, "increasingly mirrored the antisemitic spirit of his times."[16] Despite the fact that Jews formed around 1.5 percent of the total Canadian population during the 1930s and 1940s, antisemitism was widespread across the country. In 1937 a Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) committee reported that "During the past few years we have witnessed an amazing growth of antisemitism. Manifestations of an intensified anti-Jewish sentiment have been springing up everywhere."[17] In a 1938 CJC study, it was found that "quotas and restrictions had become a way of life for Canadian Jewry."[18] As Troper and Abella noted, "Anti-Jewish sentiments were being voiced regularly—and with impunity—by many respectable newspapers, politicians, businessmen and clergymen, and by leading officers of [various national organizations]."[19] A Gallup poll taken in mid-1943 asked Canadians what nationalities they would "like to keep from settling in Canada?"[20] Forty seven percent said

they would keep out Jews.[21] A similar poll, taken in 1946, showed that time forty nine percent of Canadians preferred to restrict Jewish immigration to Canada. The same poll found that the highest percentage of prejudice against Jews existed in Québec, followed by the Maritimes, Ontario, the Prairies and British Columbia.[22] Indeed, across the country Jews were routinely turned away from prospective jobs, excluded from university fraternities, refused entrance to resorts, and prevented from renting apartments or buying houses in certain residential locations and from gaining access to certain health and business clubs.[23] This was extended to Vancouver's elite business sector, which found itself in the position of being unable to conduct business meetings with Jewish business people in popular meeting places.

In the years leading up to and including WWII, Canadian political and business elites were infused with "genteel antisemitism." Goldwin Smith, scholar, controversial writer, and mentor to many of that generation's civic leaders, was instrumental in instilling antisemitism into Canadian social thinking.[24] Smith opined that Jews, who did not accept Jesus as messiah, were "condemned to wander the earth and to make their living through the parasitic exploitation of non-Jews."[25] By this logic he inferred that Jews could never be truly patriotic. Although Mackenzie King was occasionally moved by the plight of an individual Jewish refugee, overall he and many in his government, including Director of Immigration, F. C. Blair—a church-going Baptist from southern Ontario—believed that "Jews harboured dangerous tendencies."[26]

So acceptable was antisemitic rhetoric during that era that Blair did not consider himself an anti-Semite. The government reasoned that Jewish immigration restrictions were humanitarian because they prevented future antisemitic provocations against Jewish Canadians.[27] This policy was strongly influenced by Vincent Massey, then High Commissioner in London. Massey pushed for the acceptance of 3,000 Sudetenland Germans, thus creating the illusion that Canada did indeed welcome immigrants.[28] By mid-January 1939, six weeks after Kristallnacht, Mackenzie King considered the Jewish refugee problem resolved.[29]

The genteel antisemitism expressed by Canada's elites can be further understood when one considers that the political and social climate within which they found themselves was one of the most restrictive and exclusionary in Canadian history. The Liberal government's main priority was not humanitarian outreach but rather it was to rectify the economic devastation of the Great Depression while maintaining its base of popular support among Canadians. In this way, immigrants were considered a threat to the Canadian economy—they were seen as job "takers," rather than as job creators and investors. Furthermore, the economic decline inspired a nativist reaction among Canadians which permeated all levels of Canadian society. The previous three decades of open immigration came to be seen as a hindrance to local prosperity. Antisemitic rhetoric continued to gain traction among Canadians in part because

it may have been viewed as an extreme form of nationalism. The combined efforts of Nazi propagandists, American hate-mongers, Eastern European immigrants and certain Christian fundamentalists (who both held culturally rooted antisemitic beliefs about Jews), as well as the widespread belief among the majority of Canadians that all Jews were communists only intensified matters.[30] This highly antisemitic atmosphere in Canada on the eve of WWII was particularly evident among members of elite society, who steered clear of sympathizing with European Jewry.

Overview of the Blair-Koerner Correspondence

The letters exchanged between Leon Koerner and F. C. Blair began with Koerner's arrival to Canada in 1939 and ended months prior to Blair's demise from lung cancer in 1959. Koerner's letters are typed, while Blair's are typed and handwritten, likely a reflection of the dates when he held tenure as the Director of Immigration and had access to his own personal secretary: Jessie Reid. Blair retired from the civil service in 1943, shortly before Koerner became a naturalized Canadian. Only a selection of letters is described here.

One early letter in the Koerner-Blair correspondence is a letter from Koerner to Blair dated December 12, 1939. In it Koerner thanked Blair for the immigration permit he granted to Ladislas Kirz, an expert employee of Koerner's who helped run the lumber mills back in Czechoslovakia and who Koerner needed to help run Alaska Pine. Koerner also highlighted for Blair the fact that he has already hired 168 Canadian workers (plus ten additional experts from Czechoslovakia), a mere ten months after his arrival in Canada. Koerner's petition to get Blair to allow the Zuckermanns, a Jewish refugee family, entrance into Canada was met with a cool reception from Blair in a letter dated June 19, 1939. On June 27, 1939 Koerner responded by acknowledging Blair's kindness and asks him to keep the Zuckermanns in mind, should circumstances change. Koerner then noted that he surpassed his initial promise to employ 100 to 150 workers, and instead is employing nearly 300 Canadian workers, and has invested a working capital of $500,000 into the Canadian economy. In his letter dated October 21, 1940 Koerner expounded upon the financial successes of Alaska Pine, noting that it produces nearly 20 per cent of British packing boxes (box shooks). Koerner also reported on his sponsorship of seven non-Jewish British child refugees, sent over to Canada for safekeeping. Koerner sponsored their room and board and schooling. On December 8, 1941 Blair once again responded negatively to one of Koerner's petitions for admission of a Jewish refugee by the name of Dr. Egon Glessinger. Blair's response was, "This is one of many similar cases which come to the attention of this Department from time to time and where there are no circumstances which warrant favourable consideration."

Not one to be deterred, Koerner's October 29, 1941 letter attested to his trip to Ottawa, where together with his wife Thea, Koerner visited Blair, who gave them a tour of the Gatineau Park. It is here that the friendship appears to begin. As a memento, Blair sent them Gatineau maple leaves, which Koerner intended to use partly for his Christmas decorations and promised to preserve the rest for a long time. Following Koerner's 1944 naturalization, the correspondence continued with exchanges of good-natured remarks, gifts, and the occasional philosophical ponderance on the part of Blair. In a letter sent from Ottawa dated December 31st, 1951 Blair wrote to Koerner thanking him for a thoughtful Christmas gift and their continued correspondence. Blair wrote:

> I cannot let this weary, tired and anxious 1951 slip away without sending you a line to say how much Mary and I appreciate your kindness in sending the box of holly. What surprises me is that you remember from year to year, one whose contact with you and other members of your family, was but a passing experience in your busy life. I like to remember that you came in the days when I could extend a welcoming hand. And I like to think of the benefit that has come to this Land because you came…

By 1951, WWII receded further into the background but Nazi atrocities and the devastation of Europe's Jews became unavoidably evident. Blair seemed relieved to have "extended a welcoming hand" to Koerner, a far cry from his proud statements of keeping Jews out the country prior to WWII. In a letter dated January 17th, 1956 Blair wrote to Koerner describing his visit with various members of his extended family and took a certain pleasure in reminding Koerner of how instrumental he was in Koerner's survival.

> Your good letter of the 5th reached my home while I was absent visiting members of my family in various parts of Ontario and the State of Michigan: they range in age from 76 to 89 years. I decided to begin the New Year in doing this and I was so glad to find them all fairly well. And I am so glad to get good news of Mrs. Koerner and yourself. What a blessing that your eyesight has been reinstated. I have note also that all the grafts on the family tree are growing. Do you know that I have often wondered what your lot might have been if you had remained in Europe?

On April 1st, 1958, a little over a year before his death, Blair wrote to Koerner in perhaps his only philosophical letter to Koerner. In it he quotes from the biblical story II Samuel Chapter 9 regarding King David's relationship with the son of his late friend Jonathon and the kindness King David shows him (commentary in following section). Blair wrote:

> Some days ago I received your heart-warming letter. Then three days ago I found at my door a notice of a parcel which contained the most wonderful dates grown in the region where you have your winter home. I wonder at your great kindness to me, also I wonder how you knew that I have a liking for dates, which goes back to my childhood days—only then we never dreamed of the quality of dates such as filled the box you sent. And again I can only say thank you for another kindness which reminds me of that...of a story you will find in the Bible, II Samuel Chapter 9. I would only spoil the story by trying to tell it so I suggest you read it at your leisure.
>
> The background of the story is found in I Samuel Chapter 20. Saul the first king of Israel was on the throne. David–later the greatest of all Israel's Kings—was a young man beloved of all except Saul who was jealous of David. Even Saul's son Jonathan sided with David and I Samuel chapter 20 tells of a friendship between Jonathan and David that is known and admired wherever words are written. Between I Samuel Chapter 20 and II Samuel Chapter 9 lies a period of upwards of 25 years. [During that time] Saul and his son Jonathan were slain by a war with the Philistines and Saul's family was represented only by Jonathan's son Mephibosheth [whose name means "from the mouth of shame" and] who was lame through his nurse dropping him in flight. Now read II Samuel Chapter 9 and note in verse 1 the words "that I may show kindness for Jonathan's sake." Then see in verse 3 the words "the kindness of God unto him." I think you are showing to me "the kindness of God." What more can I say?

Motivations for Friendship

There were likely several motivating factors as to why Koerner and Blair befriended one another. From Koerner's perspective, a close affiliation with Blair augmented two of his main priorities: 1) Securing refuge in Canada for himself, various family members and friends and others fleeing Nazi occupied Europe; and 2) regaining the financial success and social prestige that he enjoyed (or aspired to enjoy) in his homeland. These two goals were never divorced from each other. From the beginning, Koerner's search for a new country of residence was an effort to protect his family from both the existential and commercial threat posed by Nazi occupation.

From Blair's perspective the original motivation for building a friendship with Koerner almost certainly stemmed from the larger demands of creating economic prosperity in Canada. As Director of Immigration, Blair was not completely autonomous in his decision-making power. In fact, he reported to the Minister of Mines and Resources, Thomas Alexander Crerar, whose main responsibility was to find ways to profitably exploit the rich natural resources of Canada's hinterland, including its

lumber industry, which was in a depressed state following the economic downturn of the 1930s. It would not have been difficult for Blair to assess how Koerner's substantial investment in the Alaska Pine Company could go a long way in revitalizing Canada's lumber industry. It appears that Blair made the pragmatic decision to let economic considerations take precedence over social prejudice in this case.

By March 15, 1939 all Koerner family assets and corporate holdings—which had been substantial—came under Nazi control, never again to be recovered.[31] Some of the Koerner family's best employees would betray them. Despite the dissolution of the Koerner business holdings, Koerner together with his brothers Otto, Walter, and Theodore, insisted on continuing the family business in London, a place where they maintained longstanding business ties. There they managed to raise a credit of approximately three hundred thousand pounds, a fraction of the family holdings before the rise of Nazi power—yet, considering their circumstances, significant capital nevertheless.[32]

While Koerner's brothers struggled to find financial success in London, in February of 1939 Koerner and his wife Thea set sail for North America in hopes of finding business investment opportunities further afield.[33] Their first stop was New York City.[34] After visiting the World's Fair, they travelled to Montréal where they met with Sir Edward Beatty, a leading businessman and a prominent figure in the rail industry. Initially attracted to Canada because of its business potential and its parliamentary system of governance, Montréal's cold weather quickly inspired the Koerners to spend the rest of the winter in California.[35]

By the time Koerner reached Vancouver, the high economic expectations placed upon him compounded with the stress of not knowing the fates and whereabouts of missing relatives, plummeted him into "an acute state of depression."[36] Moreover, Koerner's first impressions of British Columbia were not exactly favourable. Canadians, it appeared, did not know what to make of the European businessman. His letters of introduction were ignored, his formal and sophisticated manners were ridiculed, and his business acumen threatened his contemporaries. He also had little in common with the established Canadian Jewish community.[37] Had it not been for the fact that Thea Koerner contracted mumps, the Koerners would have left immediately. When Hitler invaded what remained of Czechoslovakia, Koerner understood that it would be impossible to ever call Europe home again. He galvanized himself and persevered. After visiting some coastal mills on the mainland and Vancouver Island, Koerner was "amazed" at the potential for opportunity.[38] It would not be long before he opened the Alaska Pine Company, which would go on to become one of British Columbia's most prosperous lumber mills by processing hemlock, a previously unsellable wood. But if Koerner was to exploit the rich commercial potential he found along Canada's West Coast, it was necessary for him to secure a stable legal

residency in the country for himself and his family. Officially classified as an enemy alien, there was only one man who could formally change his status to legally reside in Canada and continue his business pursuits. This man was, of course, F. C. Blair.

Almost certainly, his practical goals of legal residency and the potential for continued economic prosperity it afforded motivated Koerner to first strike up a friendly relationship with the Director of Immigration. This is perhaps what explains his attentive good humour in addressing Blair during the earlier months of their correspondence. Indeed, from the very outset, Koerner's letters mixed pleasant and cordial inquiries into the state of Blair's wellbeing, with updates on business developments, and requests for asylum.

Even when Koerner disagreed with Blair's decisions on other matters, he nevertheless stifled his disappointment in order to praise Blair. For example, in a letter dated June 27, 1939, and sent nearly four years before he received his Canadian residency, Koerner overlooked Blair's denial of admission to another application by a Jewish refugee and his family. Writing to Blair, he admitted: "I regret very much that your decision in regard to Mr. and Mrs. Zuckerman had to be negative.... Nevertheless, dear Mr. Blair, I thank you for the kind interest you have shown again and wish to mention that I was very pleased to hear your voice on the telephone when speaking to you recently." Despite his obvious displeasure at the decision, Koerner nevertheless attempted to ingratiate himself with Blair by promoting his business accomplishments. In the same letter Koerner also wrote: "Everything at Alaska Pine is going quite well...my first promise was to employ 100 to 150 men, amongst whom ten Czechoslovakian experts and we are employing now double that amount with only nine Czechoslovakians. The working capital of Alaska Pine, which was all brought over from Europe exceeds $500,000." By emphasizing his business acumen more than his disappointment over the rejected application of a fellow Jew, Koerner was suggesting to Blair that he prioritized economic prosperity over ethnic identity, and the importance that he and Alaska Pine might contribute to Canada's war effort—an emphasis he knew would be well-received by the Director of Immigration.

Twinned with Koerner's pursuit of economic prosperity was an equal yearning for social propriety. When Koerner arrived in Canada, mainstream society was unified in its accepted definitions of status and prestige.[39] In order to gain prestige it was widely understood that one had to adhere to a code of respectability, defined by good character, honesty, industriousness, self-sufficiency and sobriety. It was also strongly associated with rootedness, stability, family, and above all, British culture.[40] Canadian society was based on class, the higher echelons of which were typically unattainable by most Jews. In British Columbia, the divisions between the genteel and Jewish strata were obvious. There was a strong social separation, for instance, between Vancouver's predominantly Eastern European Jewish community and the

British-based general population.[41] Koerner understood this process of social definition and although he could not claim a British ethnicity, he sought social respectability via other avenues.

He endeavoured to endear himself to Blair in the same way he pursued respectability elsewhere, by subverting his Jewishness and expressing a willingness to assimilate with his host society. During his early years in Canada, Koerner reported to Blair of his decision to sponsor the room, board, and schooling of seven non-Jewish child refugees, sent over to Canada from Britain for safekeeping. This followed a long series of petitions by Koerner on behalf of Jewish refugees, whose applications to Canada were ultimately rejected regardless of wealth. Whether the later sponsorship of non-Jews resulted from a genuine compassion for all those affected by the war, or whether it was a strategic move to make himself look good in the eyes of the Canadian government is unknown. Regardless of his motivations, Koerner's safe-harbouring of British gentiles in Canada may have also been construed as a symbolic sponsorship of the ethnic status quo in his new host country.

This willingness to submit to Anglo-Saxon favouritism was also paralleled by an overt acceptance of Christian values and practices. For example, when Blair sent the Koerners autumn leaves from the Gatineau Park, Koerner reported that they used some of them for their Christmas table: "The maple leaves will be preserved for a long time and... used for our Christmas decorations."[42] Blair was not the only recipient of Koerner's holiday cheer. The businessman and his family dutifully sent Christmas cards to friends and family each year, and Koerner also gave his employees special considerations at Christmas time.[43] Outwardly, and especially during holiday times, Koerner seemed eager to portray himself as a good Canadian Christian.

It is impossible to know how much of Koerner's apparent willingness to assimilate was rhetorical rather than earnest. But he may have been more willing to assimilate than others, for the businessman had no special affinity for the more religious aspects of his own religious heritage. Prior to his arrival in Canada, Koerner's Jewish identity could be described as secular with Zionist leanings. The impact of WWII, including Canadian sentiments towards Jewish refugees, took their toll on Koerner's Jewish identity. Koerner's wife Thea Rosenquist converted to Lutheranism at some point prior to 1938. Documents also attest to the conversion of Koerner's sister-in-law,[44] Iby Molnar, as well as his youngest brother Walter Koerner and his wife Marianne Hikl. Since the first decade of the twentieth century, Jewish conversion to Christianity in Europe had been on the rise. Jewish motivation to convert was often prompted by an understanding of traditional European antisemitism, which was based on religious differences, rather than racial ones. Conversion was considered an "entry ticket" into fashionable European society and upward mobility.

Following his own wife, brother, and sisters-in-law, it is possible that Koerner and his other brothers formally converted to Christianity shortly after arriving in Canada. Sella Heller—a fellow Jewish refugee from a forestry industrialist family—reported that the Koerners were all baptized at a Presbyterian Church in Windsor, Ontario. She explained that there was a Presbyterian clergyman "who had a lucrative business to turn rich Jews into Presbyterians."[45] It is not known whether Koerner recited Jewish prayers or observed Jewish holidays; however, at least one family friend from that era maintains that the Koerners did observe Jewish holidays behind closed doors.[46] That he celebrated Christmas in a religious sense is doubtful, but Koerner's outward acceptance of Christmas is indicative of the degree to which he wished to facilitate his assimilation into Canadian society and be accepted by the established social and economic elites.

If the practicalities of gaining legal residency motivated Koerner's efforts to confirm his suitability as a respectable member of Canada's higher social echelons, what then motivated Koerner to continue his relationship with Blair after he and his family obtained full Canadian citizenship and after Blair himself retired? There must have been other reasons, to which one can only surmise. Koerner's own fragile claims to propriety may have inspired him to keep up the correspondence. His brand of European sophistication, as displayed through his formal style of letter writing and manner of speaking, had been ridiculed when he first arrived in Canada, and this experience may have made his claims to respectability seem tenuous. Keeping up correspondence with a once prestigious personality such as Blair may have helped allay any status anxiety he might have felt. Alternatively, Koerner's own long-ingrained sense of respectability (regardless of whether it had been ridiculed) may have remained with him throughout his life, and with it a sense of decorum and duty when it came to maintaining relationships. Or perhaps he felt a genuine sense of personal gratitude towards Blair. Indeed, despite his refusal to help thousands of other Jewish applicants, Blair had agreed to grant Koerner and his family entrance into Canada. Another possible motivation for maintaining a friendship with Blair may have included an impulse to somehow prove Blair wrong in his assumption that Jews could not make good citizens or productive contributions to Canadian society. Indeed, in this respect, Koerner had much to show Blair. In addition to establishing one of British Columbia's most prosperous lumber mills, Koerner was also concerned with the health, safety, and overall well-being of his workers. He and his brothers introduced a number of workplace initiatives previously non-existent in British Columbia. In 1955 he established the Leon and Thea Koerner Foundation. Some of these accomplishments he shared with Blair. In doing so, Koerner earned the distinction of becoming the founder of the third private foundation in the province, as well as the distinction of becoming the first refugee/immigrant to establish such a foundation.[47]

On his part, Blair did not originally have any reason to pursue anything more than a purely professional relationship with Koerner. He probably realized early on that the Jewish refugee had few other viable opportunities to gain legal status in a country that was also amenable to his economic success. Moreover, Koerner was not the only one ready to invest in Canada's flagging lumber industry. Other industrialists were also beginning to show interest, among them several Jewish refugee families such as the Hellers, the Sauders, and the Bentleys. This perhaps explains why Blair's early letters to Koerner, particularly during his time as the Director of Immigration, are official in nature, at times even curt.

Over time, however, and especially once he left the bureaucracy, Blair's tone softened in his letters to Koerner and he seemed to become truly open to a deeper friendship. Soon he even became amenable to exchanging seasonal greetings and gifts with the lumber baron, including holly and honey dates from Koerner and Gatineau maple leaves from Blair. What explains this transition in Blair's attitude? On a certain level the (former) civil servant's motivation for constructing a friendship with Koerner may have resulted from the Jewish refugee's persistent efforts to demonstrate his own openness to assimilation. After all, Koerner's sponsorship of British children and his writing of annual Christmas card wishes demonstrated an abundant readiness to accept, and even adopt, Christian Anglo-Saxon values. It is impossible to know whether Blair realized the extensive efforts Koerner made in order to curry favour with him. But given Koerner's ability to obscure his obvious Jewish attributes, along with his ability to successfully align himself so quickly with elite circles, it is probable that Blair chose to ignore Koerner's Jewish roots, if not exactly forget them.[48] This was not an unheard of occurrence among the upper circles of Canada's elite, as exemplified by Mackenzie King's warm assessment of a Jewish doctor named Leathem. While attending the funeral of Dr. Leathem, Mackenzie King stated, "Dr. Leathem was one of the finest men we have had in Canada. A Beautiful Christian type with a refined mind, great moral strength and purpose."[49] That Koerner may have been perceived as a "beautiful Christian type"[50] would have only complimented the main determinant in his entrance into Canada: the expectation that he and his brothers would provide the Canadian economy with capital and much needed jobs in a depressed sector of the Canadian economy. It was not by coincidence that Blair's immigration branch was housed in, and beholden to, the Department of Mines and Resources. The government of Canada expected that immigrants to the country, should there be any, would invigorate the mines and resource sectors of the Canadian economy. Thus economic interests needed to be Blair's primary objective for allowing Jews like Koerner into the country. That the Koerners displayed sophisticated manners, decorated their Christmas tables, and demonstrated their commitment to the Canadian establishment would have only sweetened their economic promise.

Blair's friendship with Koerner—whose Jewish identity remained mostly confined within the relatively safe boundaries of his private life—may have also indicated that Blair was open to the possibility of clandestine irregularity. Indeed, there seems to be an unspoken acknowledgement on the part of Blair that abnormal, even illicit, practices were acceptable if they were kept hidden from public life and did not obviously challenge an outward display of respectability. Blair himself may have been hiding such an illicit lifestyle himself. In a letter to Koerner, dated January 17, 1956, the former civil servant signed off with the names, "F. C. Blair and Mary." From the information exchanged between Blair and Koerner, it appears that Mary McCracken was a federal government employee, a Christian, and F. C. Blair's live-in companion—at a time when it was socially unacceptable to have unwed romantic companions living together. Blair never referred to McCracken as his wife, but they evidently shared the same postal address. Perhaps Blair was a man who lived up to social expectations externally, but made exceptions on a personal level in more than one area of his life.

As palatable as Koerner had made himself seem to Blair, the former bureaucrat may have been all the more willing to sympathize with Koerner's plight as an uprooted refugee, despite his ethnic and religious background. In a letter dated January 17, 1956 Blair comments, "Do you know that I have often wondered what your lot might have been if you had remained in Europe?" Was Blair, in his own limited way, trying to be compassionate—or acknowledge Koerner's unsuitability to be lost to the ravages of war? Was he trying to assuage a sense of guilt by patting himself on the back for saving Koerner's life? The governments of allied countries had received explicit details about the genocides taking place in concentration camps since 1944. Was Blair, in 1956, naïve enough to wonder about the fates of Jews who remained in Europe during the war? Whatever his reasons for lamenting Koerner's difficult circumstances, there appears to be evidence that Blair saw Koerner as a benevolent friend. One of Blair's most poignant remarks to this effect came in his second to last letter to Koerner dated April 1, 1958. In it Blair marveled Koerner's "great kindness" towards him, and he wrote, "I think you are showing to me 'the kindness of God.' What more can I say?" These comments are in reference to the biblical verse in I Samuel Chapter 20, in which the newly anointed King David shows kindness to the lame son of his deceased best friend, Jonathan, and grandson of the deceased King Saul. The custom of the day was to slaughter the direct descendants of the previous ruler. Was this how Blair saw himself, the lame prodigy of a former ruler, who should have been forgotten by those, like Koerner, in places of power? Did Blair deem himself unworthy for other reasons? Was this an expression of genuine gratitude for decades of friendly outreach? It is hard to know. These few comments are the only hints of Blair's reflection on his relationship with Koerner.

Conclusion

What can be learned about the broader cultural pattern of Canadian antisemitism, as it was expressed by F. C. Blair, Director of Immigration and as it related to his friendship with Leon Koerner, lumber industrialist and Jewish refugee? The correspondence between Blair and Koerner demonstrate that antisemitism—at least in its genteel form—could coexist with a more collaborative and affectionate sensibility based on a degree of trust and respect. The circumstances under which this rapprochement could occur, however, were also exceptional. Forging a "friendship" during the period between 1939 and 1959 required the refugee to steadfastly demonstrate his willingness to both invest in the Canadian economy and assimilate to mainstream cultural values. It also required the bureaucrat to overlook the businessman's Jewish heritage in order to satisfy ostensibly more important concerns, such as economic prosperity and the outward adherence to bourgeois principles of respectability. Acknowledging this friendship is in no way meant as a rejection of the institutionalized anti-Jewish sentiment present in Canada during this period, nor F. C. Blair's antisemitism specifically. Indeed, Blair formed the immigration policy and vetoed thousands of applications keeping Jews out of Canada. Thousands of Jews perished as a result.

What the Koerner-Blair letters demonstrate are the nuances of collective exclusions. When a mindset of antisemitism and exclusionary measures is adopted collectively, it is possible on an individual level to find exceptions, and step beyond the collective consciousness. Affectionate relationships among disparate parties are possible, even desirable given the appropriate circumstances. To call Leon Koerner and F. C. Blair's relationship a "friendship," when genteel antisemitism was so firmly entrenched in Canadian society, perhaps devalues the connotations of the term. But it also suggests ways of moving past social impasses. Conciliation is possible, even if it never completely dismantles dominant power structures. Friendships do not profit everyone identically, or even equally, but friendships always have their benefits.

1
Letter from Koerner to Blair October 29, 1941, Leon Koerner Fonds, Box 13-6, UBC Library.

2
Letter from Koerner to Blair, December 23, 1941, Leon Koerner Fonds, Box 13-6, UBC, Library.

3
Letter from Blair to Koerner, January 5, 1942 Leon Koerner Fonds, Box 13-6, UBC Library.

4
Alan Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere: The Jews and the Canadian Elite* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2008), p.8.

5
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, p.25.

6
Leon Koerner Fonds, Box 13-6, UBC Library.

7
This region would later become part of Czechoslovakia.

8
Arnon Goldfinger, *The Flat,* Ruth Diskin Films, 2011.

9
Leon Koerner Fonds, Box 13-6, UBC Library.

10
Lillooet Nördlinger McDonnell, *Raincoast Jews: Integration in British Columbia*. (Vancouver, BC: Midtown Press, 2014).

11
Troper and Abella's work is also the first on the Canadian Jewish historiographical landscape to confront the myth of Canada as a longstanding immigrant welcoming country.

12
Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere,* p.3.

13
Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere: the Jews and the Canadian Elite,* pp.1-2. For further discussion see Pierre Anctil. "Interludes of Hostility: Judeo-Christian Relations in Québec in the Interwar Period." In *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation.* Edited by Alan T. Davies (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), pp. 135-166.

14
Louise London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933-1948: British immigration policy, Jewish refugees and the Holocaust*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

15
Irving M. Abella and Harold Martin Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1982), p. x, p.109

16
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, p.7.

17
In Canadian Jewish Congress, *Report on Antisemitism Activities 4-6,* ed. CJC National Archives (now Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives) (1937) p.750.

18
Canadian Jewish Congress, *Report on Antisemitism Activities 4-6,* p.750.

19
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many,* p.51.

20
Wilfrid Sanders, *Jack [and] Jacques: a scientific approach to the study of French and non-French thought in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1943), p.40.

21
The 1943 Gallup poll also showed that 78% of Canadians wanted keep Japanese from settling in Canada and 58% of Canadians wanted to keep Germans from settling. Sanders, *Jack [and] Jacques*, p.40.

22
The degree of prejudice had little to do with the percentage of Jews to the general population. Manitoba had the highest percentage of population at 2.6 per cent; Quebec had two per cent; while Ontario had 1.84 per cent. Pierre Berton, "No Jews need apply," *Canadian Jewish News* 35, no. 50 (December 23, 2004), re-printed from MacLean's Magazine November 1, 1948.

23
Louis Rosenberg and Morton Weinfeld, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of Jews in Canada in the 1930s* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p.300.

24
To various degrees these included PM William Lyon Mackenzie King, Henri Bourassa, Vincent Massey, and George M. Grant. Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere,* p.4.

25
Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere,* p.4.

26
Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere,* p.34.

27
Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere,* p.84.

28
Vincent Massey was a fringe member of the aristocratic and antisemitic Cliveden set. He was enthusiastic about anti-Nazi Sudetenland refugees. Massey told Mackenzie King that only a few of the refugees were Jews. "If we could take a substantial number of them it would put us in a much stronger position in relation to later appeals from and on behalf of non-Aryans." The Sudetenlanders included

"many persons who would be much more desirable as Canadian settlers and much more likely to succeed in our country than certain other types of refugees." Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, pp.47-48.

29
Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere,* p.84.

30
Irving M. Abella and Franklin Bialystok, "*Canada*," In *The World Reacts to the Holocaust,* eds. David S. Wyman and Charles H. Rosenzveig (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins university Press, 1996), pp.753-754.

31
Walter C. Koerner, *The Tree May Prefer Calm, But the Wind Will Never Subside*. (Vancouver: WC Koerner, 1988), p.13.

32
Rosemary Cunningham, "Leon Koerner: Industrialist and Philanthropist Extraordinaire." *British Columbia History* 40, no. 1 (Fall 2007), pp.13-21.

33
Koerner, *The Tree May Prefer Calm, but the Wind Will Never Subside,* p.15.

34
Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, "Border Crossings: From Canada to U.S, 1895-1956 about Thea Korner," in The Generations Network, Inc. [database online]. Provo, UT, USA March 12, 2009 [cited 2009]. [http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=canadianbc&h=5598227&ti=0&indiv=try&gss=pt].

35
Koerner, *The Tree May Prefer Calm, but the Wind Will Never Subside,* p.18.

36
Mackenzie Porter, *Leon Koerner's One-Man Giveaway Program,* (MacLean's: August 4, 1956), p.35.

37
Cunningham, *Leon Koerner: Industrialist and Philanthropist Extraordinaire,* p.4.

38
Harold Hillier, "They've Built a Forest Empire," *Star Weekly*, 15 Nov. 1952, p.2.

39
Status and prestige were prominent social determinants in the years prior to WWI, and continued to affect Vancouverites in the decades that followed. Robert A. J. McDonald, *Making Vancouver,* (Vancouver BC: UBC Press, 1996), p.236.

40
Patricia Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-41* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), p.10.

41
Oral History Interview Sella Heller, Irene Dodek, September – October 1996 JHSBC Oral History Project, Tape 3/7 side 2:294.

42
Letters from Koerner to Blair, October 29, 194, Leon Koerner Fonds, Box 13-6.

43
APEAC Minutes, June 18, 1942, Leon Koerner Fonds, Box1-3.

44
Koerner's wife Thea Rosenquist converted to Lutheranism at some point prior to 1938. Documents also attest to the conversion of Koerner's sister-in-law Iby Molnar as well as his youngest brother Walter Koerner and his wife Marianne Hikl. Since the first decade of the twentieth century, Jewish conversion to Christianity had been on the rise. Jewish motivation to convert was often prompted by an understanding of traditional European antisemitism, which was based on religious differences, rather than racial ones. Conversion was considered an "entry ticket" into fashionable European society and upward mobility. *Walter Koerner family official documents—Testimonium Baptismale,*1909-1938, Walter C. Koerner Fonds, Box 28-2, UBC Library.

45
Oral History Interview Sella Heller, Irene Dodek, September/ October 1996, JHSBC Oral History Project, Tape 3/7 side 1:251.

46
Joanne Emerman, personal communication, September 24, 2015, Vancouver, B.C.

47
Cunningham, *Leon Koerner: Industrialist and Philanthropist Extraordinaire,* p.20. The Chris

Spencer Foundation (1949) and the Mr. & Mrs. P.A. Woodward Foundation (1951) were the first two Ibid., p.16.

48
See Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* p.336.

49
Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere: the Jews and the Canadian Elite,* p.333 n81.

50
Upon entry to Buffalo, New York from Canada in 1941, Thea Koerner was recorded as being of the "Hebrew" race, while Koerner was only ever recorded as being of the "Moravian" race. "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957 re: Leon Korner," in The Generations Network, Inc., Provo, UT, USA, cited 2009, [http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=nypl&h=1004123463&ti=0&indiv=try&gss=pt]. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, re: Thea Korner *Border Crossings: From Canada to U.S, 1895-1956*.

Justin Comartin

Opening Closed Doors: Revisiting the Canadian Immigration Record (1933–1945)[1]

Since the publication of None is Too Many, *it has been generally accepted that less than 5,000 Jews entered Canada from 1933 to 1945. This study examines statistical data compiled by Louis Rosenberg to demonstrate this heretofore accepted figure is incorrect. Additionally, it establishes that Jewish proportional representation amongst Canadian immigrant arrivals increased during the 1930s and into the early 1940s as Jews attempted to leave Nazi-occupied territories. These findings call for a reassessment of the accepted discourse concerning Canada's immigration activities during the Depression and the Second World War as they challenge the notion of a closed door policy.*

Depuis la publication de None Is Too Many, *il est généralement admis que seulement 5000 Juifs sont entrés au Canada entre 1933 et 1945. Cet article analyse les données statistiques compilées par Louis Rosenberg afin de réfuter ce chiffre. De plus, il démontre que la proportion de populations juives parmi les arrivées totales d'immigrants au Canada a augmenté pendant les années 1930 et le début des années 1940. Ces conclusions, qui remettent en question la notion de politique de la porte fermée, appellent donc à reconsidérer notre perception des activités du Canada en matière d'immigration pendant la Grande Dépression et la Seconde Guerre mondiale.*

Since its initial publication in 1982, *None is Too Many* has shaped the way scholars as well as the general public have understood the Canadian government's response to the plight of Jewish refugees leading up to, and during, the Second World War. The work has had tremendous impact, first on the bestseller list and in numerous subsequent editions, and it is no exaggeration to say that it forms the basis of virtually every subsequent study of Canada and the Holocaust. In their groundbreaking work, Irving Abella and Harold Troper paint a damning portrait ranging from indifference to outright hostility on the part of the Canadian government to help rescue European Jews during the Holocaust. The work points to the antisemitism of government leaders and the Canadian public and an ineffectual organized Jewish community as the main reasons behind the very small numbers of Jews allowed into Canada during the Nazi era, when hundreds of thousands were seeking refuge. The final count brought forward by the authors speaks for itself: between 1933 and 1945 Canada allowed entry to fewer than 5,000 Jews, a record which Abella and Troper state is "arguably the worst of all possible refugee-receiving states."[2] This figure has been widely accepted to date.[3] Through a careful analysis of the Louis Rosenberg Fonds, I will challenge the existing narrative that Canada's doors were shut by arguing that the original total brought forward in *None is Too Many* is incorrect.[4] This study indicates that when including all Jewish arrivals to Canada from 1933 to 1945, the final count more than doubles the heretofore-accepted total.

While these findings mark a significant contribution to the existing discourse in and of themselves, I will make an additional assertion: although Jewish immigration to Canada was stymied from 1933 to 1945, Jews represented a higher proportion of immigrants during this time than they had during the preceding three decades.

In fact, whereas Jews accounted for 3.69% of all immigrant arrivals to Canada from 1901–1930, their representation spiked to 6.13% in the first three years of the Second World War (1939–1941). As I will show, the immigration statistics indicate that few Jews left Germany for Canada before 1938. After this date, as the situation for Jews in Nazi-occupied territories became increasingly dire, and the Canadian government became aware of the treatment of Jews, steps were taken to allow an increased number of Jewish refugees into Canada. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 and the ensuing Nazi prohibition on all Jewish emigration from the Reich in October 1941 created a situation that made the transportation of refugees increasingly difficult. The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 and the ensuing Nazi prohibition on all Jewish emigration from the Reich in October 1941 created a situation that made the transportation of refugees increasingly difficult. By 1941, Canada's door remained open only a crack. It was being pushed shut by Nazi policies and the course of the Second World War, however, not by a Canadian "unholy triumvirate" composed of the Immigration Branch, the Cabinet and the Department of External Affairs, as *None is Too Many* suggests.[5] There is no doubt that with historical hindsight, Canada and the world's bystander nations could have done more to save European Jews. My findings call for a reassessment of the accepted discourse that Canada's immigration activities actually amounted to "none is too many."

Rosenberg and the Statistics of Jewish immigration from 1933–1945

Louis Rosenberg is best known for his socio-demographic work entitled *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of Jews in Canada* which studies Jewish life in Canada in the 1930s.[6] A pioneering social statistician of Canadian Jewry, Rosenberg worked alone with little to no funding, to compile reliable data on various facets of the Jewish community in Canada through the use of census records and correspondence with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS).[7] By way of this correspondence with the DBS, Rosenberg received accurate figures concerning the number of Jews arriving in Canada on both a monthly and yearly basis during the 1930s and 1940s. As concerns records of Jewish arrivals to Canada during the first half of the twentieth century, the data compiled by Rosenberg is arguably the most reliable resource available to historians.[8] A comparison between the independent statistical compilations of Rosenberg's records of Jewish admissions to Canada for the period of 1931–1937 and those of Frederick Charles Blair, the Director of the Immigration Branch underlines the reliability of Rosenberg's data: they match perfectly for each year in question.[9]

While Abella and Troper do cite Rosenberg, they rely on other sources for their statistics. They described Rosenberg as a "widely respected demographer and authority on Jewish population change" and the Louis Rosenberg Papers are listed as a source used by the authors in *None is Too Many*.[10] However, their final immigration figure

does not come from these files. Rather, the claim that Canada allowed entry to fewer than 5,000 Jews from 1933 to 1945 seems to stem from correspondence between F.C. Blair and Norman Robertson, the Undersecretary of State for External Affairs. In the document, dated March 22 1943, Blair outlines that Canada had accepted at least 4,500 Jewish refugees since 1933.[11] The use of this correspondence in order to reach conclusions concerning Canada's immigration record is problematic as it is written nearly two years before the conclusion of the Second World War. Furthermore, it is important to make a distinction regarding the document: Blair is speaking of refugees alone in this instance; the document does not take into account the number of Jewish immigrants arriving in Canada. The figure thus represents an incomplete summary of the Canadian immigration record from 1933 to 1945.

A table created by Rosenberg looking at the number of Jewish arrivals to Canada from 1900 to 1951 shows that a total of 8,787 Jewish immigrants entered from 1933 to 1945.[12] Of that number, 5,160 had arrived by ocean port, and the remaining 3,627 arrived by way of the United States. Rosenberg's figures also include 2,340 interned Jewish refugees who arrived in Canada in 1940. These refugees were allowed to remain in Canada following their release and, when included in the final count, they raise the number of Jewish arrivals in Canada up to 11,127 for the period of 1933 to 1945.[13] This figure is more than double Abella and Troper's total of 5,000. A portion of Rosenberg's table is reproduced below:

Jewish Immigrant Arrivals to Canada by Fiscal Year from 1923 to 1948[14]

Year	Total of Jewish Immigrants	Arriving Via Ocean Ports	Arriving Via United States[15]	Percentage of Total Immigrants
1923	3,209	2,793	416*	5.49
1924	4,671	4,255	416*	3.32
1925	4,876	4,459	417*	4.67
1926	4,014	3,587	427	4.17
1927	4,863	4,471	392	3.38
1928	4,766	4,296	470	3.14
1929	3,848	3,301	547	2.29
1930	4,164	3,544	620	2.55
1931	3,421	2,908	513	3.88
1932	649	202	447	2.52
1933	772	346	426	3.90
1934	943	599	344	6.78
1935	624	335	289	5.14

1936	880	655	225	7.93
1937	619	391	228	5.15
1938	584	317	267	3.73
1939	890	621	269	5.19
1940	3,963**	3,661**	302	10.01
1941	626	284	342	5.44
1942	388	111	277	4.37
1943	270	31	239	3.63
1944	238	56	182	2.63
1945	330	93	237	2.16
1946	1,713	1,345	368	5.51
1947	1,205	605	600	1.81
1948	4,454	3,922	532	5.62

*Estimates **Including 2,340 interned refugees

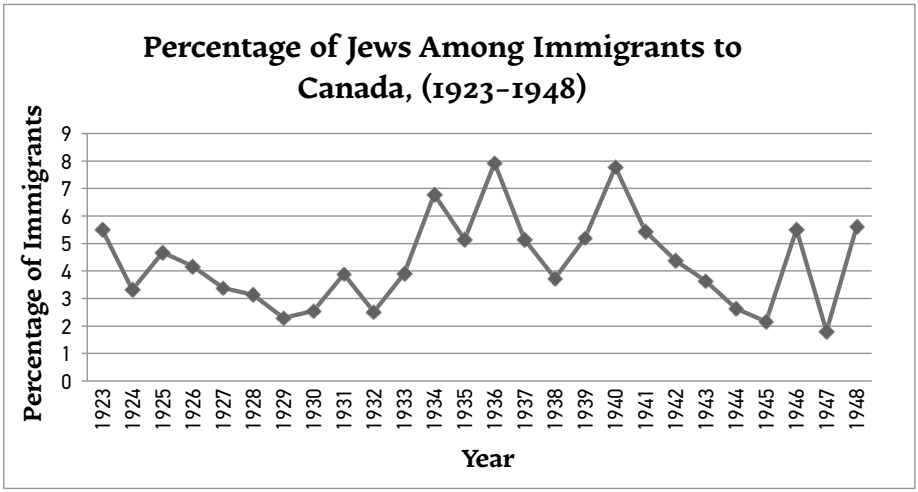
An analysis of the statistical data indicates that the relative number of Jews allowed into Canada from 1933–1945 increased rather than decreased. From 1923 to 1932, 38,481 Jews arrived in Canada, which stands in stark contrast to the 8,787 non-interned Jewish immigrant arrivals from 1933 to 1945.[16] Canadian immigration policy for the 1930s was limited by Order-in-Council, P.C. 695. Put into effect by the government of R.B. Bennett in 1931, P.C 695 was directly influenced by the conditions brought about by the Depression and has been described as the "tightest immigration admissions policy in Canadian history."[17] Open admission to Canada was limited to three groups: (1) British subjects and citizens of the United States with sufficient means to maintain themselves until securing employment, (2) agriculturalists with sufficient means to farm in Canada, (3) and wives and unmarried children less than 18 years of age of any legally admitted resident in a position to support them. In addition to these stringent new policies, potential immigrants also had to deal with administrative regulations that had been applied since 1923. Though never publicized, these guidelines divided immigrants into three distinct groups based on their supposed likelihood of being assimilated and their racial characteristics: the "preferred immigrants", the "non-preferred group", and the "special permit" group.

The "preferred immigrants" were citizens of Iceland, Norway, Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland. Immigrants from these countries were thought to have similar racial characteristics to the British; other than having to undergo testing at the point of embarkation, individuals from these countries were admitted under the same conditions as British subjects. The "non-preferred" group consisted of individuals from Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Unlike

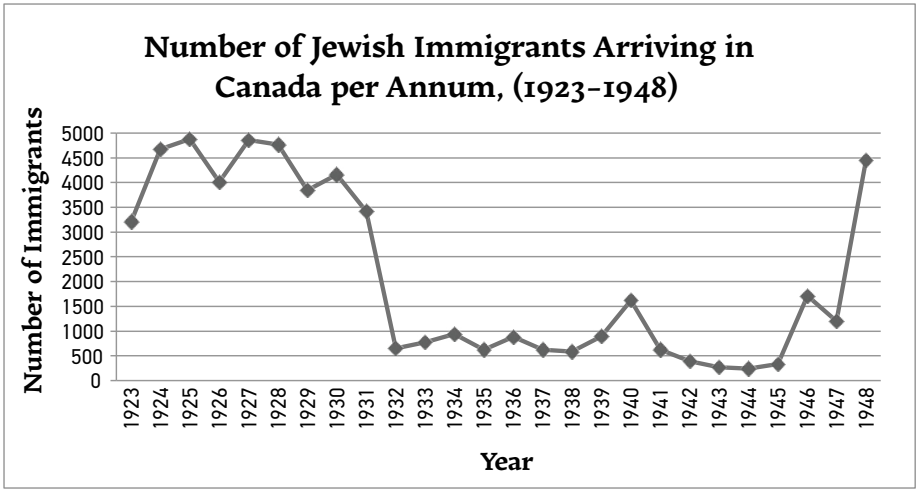
the "preferred immigrants", citizens of these countries had to fall within the regulations of P.C. 695 in order to immigrate to Canada; cases were reviewed individually for those who did not meet the criteria.[18] The "special permit" group included all citizens of Greece, Turkey, Armenia, Syria, and Italy. Immigrants in this group were evaluated on a case-by-case basis. All Jews born outside of the United States and the British Empire fell into the "special permit" group as well. In this respect, all Jews not of British or American descent were evaluated on a case-by-case basis, and required an Order-in-Council to be admitted into Canada.[19]

While it might appear that Canada tightened already existing restrictions to bar entry to Jewish immigrants during the 1930s and 1940s, their statistical representation in relation to all other arrivals from 1923 to 1932 and 1933 to 1945 indicates other factors were at play. From 1923 to 1932, 3.54% of all Canadian immigrants were Jews, whereas this number increased to 4.91% between 1933 and 1945; when including the 2,340 interned refugees, the number jumps to 5.16%.[20] Such a jump in proportional representation is not demonstrative of increasingly tightening immigration regulations barring entry to Canada for Jews. The percentages become even more striking when examining immigration records during the exodus of Russian Jews to Canada following the failed revolution of 1905, a period which saw Jewish immigrants come to Canada *en masse* until the First World War, and which predates the regulatory frameworks implemented in 1923.[21] While the actual number of Jewish arrivals was far larger during this peak period of Jewish immigration, the absolute percentage of Jews in the total number of immigrants was smaller. Between 1906 and 1915, 98,067 Jews arrived in Canada, a number which dwarfs the 8,787 non-interned Jewish immigrants that came between 1933 and 1945. And yet, Jews represented only 3.71% of all immigrant arrivals, compared to almost 5% from 1933-1945. Such a striking increase in proportional representation discredits Abella and Troper's assertion that "By the onset of the Great Depression, when Canada's doors slammed shut on almost all immigrants, Jews had already been locked out."[22]

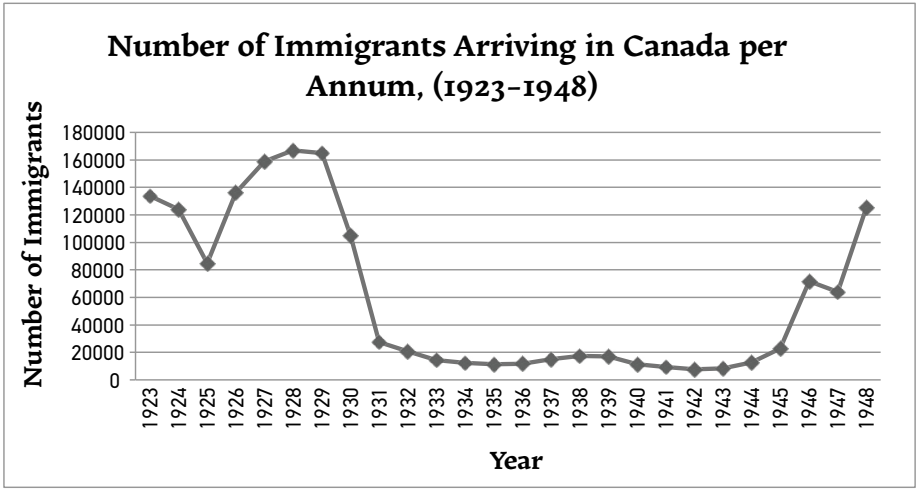
Although Jews who were not British subjects or citizens of the United States required a special permit for entry to Canada, they continued to land in significant numbers compared with other immigrant groups. In fact, Rosenberg's tabulations record that from 1937 to 1943, Jews represented 5.76% of all immigrants. During that time, the only ethnic groups with higher representation amongst immigrants were: British (52.02%), Ukrainian/Russian (7.02%), French (6.53%) and German (6.23%). When looking at groups of the "special permit" class, of which Jews were a part, one finds: Italian (1.79%), Greek (0.62%), Japanese (0.35%), Syrian/Turk/Arab (0.14%), Bulgarian (0.10%), East Indian (0.06%), and Armenian (0.03%). When including the "non-preferred" groups the top four are: Czechoslovakian (5.52%), Polish (2.57%), Hungarian (2.19%) and Yugoslavian (1.75%).[23] Although Canadian immigration policies undoubtedly did not support large-scale Jewish immigration, Jews consistently represented a significant proportion of Canadian immigrant arrivals throughout the 1930s and 1940s.



Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 40.



Ibid.



Department of Manpower and Immigration/Immigration Division, *Immigration Statistics*, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), 4.

Factors Behind European Immigration to Canada

The graphs above demonstrate that the 1930s saw a steep decline in immigration overall. This was due, in large part, to the effects of the Great Depression; whereas only 3% of Canadians were out of work in 1929, by 1933 the number had increased to 26%.[24] As has been well documented, the impact of the Depression led to a subsequent rise in nativist and xenophobic sentiment among large segments of the population as Canadians sought answers to the unprecedented social and economic dislocation of the era.[25] Anti-Jewish sentiment gained momentum during this period as any group identifiable as an ethnic "other" became a target of nativist vitriol.[26] For most Canadians however, anti-Semitism was not an obsession as much as a simple extension of broader nativist thought and discriminatory behavior.[27]

The assertion that the increased tensions of the 1930s led to the implementation of strict immigration laws that closed Canada's doors to refugees from Hitler's rise to power until the end of the Second World War is problematic on several levels. It implies there was a mass emigration of Jews from Germany once Hitler became chancellor in 1933 that continued unabated throughout the 1930s. In actuality, the factors that pushed European Jews to emigrate were far more complex. As indicated by the above graphs, there were spikes in the number of Jewish immigrants to Canada for 1934, 1936 and 1939-1941. These spikes were caused due to specific events in Germany which heightened levels of fear among European Jews at particular points in the 1930s and 1940s.

Total Number of Jewish Emigrants from Germany (1933–1940)[28]		
Year	Total Number of Emigrants	Difference
1933	37,000	
1934	23,000	–14,000
1935	21,000	–2,000
1936	25,000	+4,000
1937	23,000	–2,000
1938	40,000	+17,000
1939	78,000	+38,000
1940	15,000	–63,000

It is estimated that 525,000 Jews lived in Germany in January of 1933.[29] German census records from June of the same year show 499,682 Jews living in Germany. 400,935 (80.2%) of these were German nationals and the remaining 98,747 (19.8%) were stateless Jews or citizens of other countries.[30] Once Hitler took office as chancellor of Germany on January 30 1933, there was a slight increase in emigration; 37,000 Jews emigrated from Germany in that year. This first group of Jews was comprised mostly of intellectuals who had been politically active in the main German Left-Wing parties, who were now viewed as enemies of the new regime and consequently feared imprisonment. Documents compiled by the Ministry of the Interior tabulate 26,789 individuals held in "protective custody" in July of 1933, denoting interned political opponents.[31] During this early period there was no mass emigration. Reports from the Jewish and the German emigration bureaux show an increase in applicants requesting information on the possibilities of emigrating, but they had not begun the actual emigration process. Although there was a slight increase in emigration at the time, the prevalent belief among German Jews was that the situation in Germany would remain tolerable. The number of departures from the Reich receded in 1934 (23,000) and 1935 (21,000) and many Jews who had emigrated in 1933 returned to Germany.[32] There was a slight increase in 1936 (25,000), which has been attributed to the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws, but numbers dropped once again in 1937 to 23,000. The events of *Kristallnacht* led to a final noticeable increase in emigration numbers for 1938 (40,000), which continued into 1939 (78,000), and abated in 1940 (15,000).[33]

The changing situation in Germany had a direct effect on the number of emigrants at any given point, and an examination of the statistical pattern shows three main periods of increased emigration: (1) 1933, (2) 1935–1936, and (3) 1938–1940. The first phase consists of Hitler's initial rise to power in January of 1933, and the second incorporates the promulgation of the Nuremburg Laws. These initial phases are note-

worthy in the fact that they were short-lived. In each instance there is a noticeable increase in emigration followed by a period of decreased activity. The third and final phase began following *Kristallnacht* in November of 1938. *Kristallnacht* was a defining moment for German Jews as any hope they had of a future on German soil was extinguished for good.[34] In her discussion of why there was no continuous emigration from Germany in the 1930s, Doris Bergen notes, "Incidents that in hindsight appear as ominous steps on the road to destruction could seem like aberrations at the time."[35]

Until 1938, there was no mass emigration of Jews from Germany. During Hitler's first five years in power (1933–1937), 129,000 Jews emigrated from Germany. Beginning in late 1938, there was a period of mass evacuation of German Jewry; between 1938 and 1939 118,000 Jews emigrated from Germany. The average number of Jewish emigrants during this two year period was 59,000; almost double that of the previous five year window, which stood at 25,800 annually. German Jews came to realize the necessity of emigration at a time when other European Jewish populations were being brought under Nazi occupation. The annexation of Austria in March of 1938 brought an additional 185,000 Jews into the Reich.[36] Subsequently, Czechoslovakia, which lost the Sudetenland in 1938, was fully occupied by March of 1939 with roughly 357,000 Jews.[37]

When examining the country of birth for Jewish immigrants to Canada from 1932 to 1941, there is no significant change in the number of German arrivals between 1932 and 1938. There are slight increases in 1934 and 1936, but these are negligible in comparison to the significant increase seen in 1939, where 156 German-born emigrants arrived compared to 23 the year prior. This increase is also seen in the number of Jews arriving in Canada from Czechoslovakia and Austria in 1939 as well as 1940, and is followed by a decrease of all emigrants in 1941. This drop was likely due in part to the intensification of the Battle of the Atlantic and the increase in German U-boat activity, which made the transport of refugees increasingly dangerous.[38] More concretely, beginning in May 1941, a series of successive German-imposed bans forbidding Jews to emigrate from Nazi controlled territories effectively paralyzed Jewish emigration from Europe by October of 1941.[39]

The case of Polish born Jews is unique among Jewish arrivals to Canada. Throughout the 1930s, the number of Polish-born Jews arriving in Canada remains fairly stable. There are noticeable jumps in 1934 and 1936, dates which coincide roughly with Hitler's chancellorship and the Nuremburg Laws. I suggest that this indicates Polish-born Jews were affected by early events taking place in Germany moreso than Jews born in Austria, Czechoslovakia, and even Germany. The increase in arrivals of Polish-born Jews in 1934 and 1936 can be explained by looking at the makeup of Germany's Jewish population in the 1930s. As stated previously, in June 1933 there were 98,747 Jews in Germany who were either stateless or not of German descent. The majority of these were recent immigrants of Polish nationality and individuals

who had stayed in Germany following the end of the First World War. Some had lost their Russian citizenship at the conclusion of the First World War and never clarified their status.[40] A study of refugees in the Netherlands found that "non-German Jews were over-represented in the first two years of immigration."[41] It would seem this statement holds true for Canada as well. One cannot determine with certainty the number of Polish born Jews who resided in Germany prior to their arrival in Canada. Even so, given the evidence, Polish-born Jews living in Germany seemingly represented a significant stratum of Jewish emigrant arrivals to Canada early on.

Nationalities of Foreign Jews in Germany (1933 and 1939)[42]		
Nationality	Total Foreign Jews (1933)	Total Foreign Jews (1939)
Poland	56,480	10,000
Austria	4,647	–
Czechoslovakia	4,275	500
Hungary	2,280	800
Romania	2,210	500
USSR	1,650	100
Latvia	1,730	100
Other	5,515	600
Stateless	19,746	13,000
No Information	214	200

It appears that a majority of Polish-born Jews residing in Germany who were willing and able to emigrate had left by the second half of the 1930s.[43] Consequently, the majority of Polish-born Jewish arrivals in Canada after the mid-1930s were likely arriving directly from Poland. As residents of Poland, these Jews would not have been affected by *Kristallnacht*, thus explaining why there was no upswing in Polish-born Jewish arrivals following the event. The slight rise in numbers in 1940 can be explained by the German invasion of Poland in the fall of 1939; the subsequent drop in 1941 would have been caused by the Nazi prohibition of all Jewish emigration from the General Government implemented in October of 1940.[44]

Country of Birth of Jewish Immigrants to Canada by Fiscal Year, 1932 to 1936[45]						
Country of Birth	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	Total
Poland	**168**	**292**	**533**	**278**	**566**	**1,837**
U.S.A.	254	251	214	185	127	1,031
Russia	90	81	78	61	55	365
Great Britain	49	34	25	35	17	160
Romania	26	32	25	21	29	133
Lithuania	18	30	9	7	21	85
Germany	**4**	**3**	**15**	**7**	**18**	**47**
Austria	**5**	**11**	**4**	**7**	**5**	**32**
Latvia	3	7	6	4	7	27
Czechoslovakia	**9**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**9**	**24**

Country of Birth of Jewish Immigrants to Canada by Fiscal Year, 1937-1941[46]						
Country of Birth	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	Total
Poland	**297**	**228**	**228**	**340**	**65**	**1,158**
U.S.A.	155	179	185	193	196	908
Germany	**19**	**23**	**156**	**412**	**81**	**691**
Czechoslovakia	**-**	**2**	**58**	**259**	**46**	**365**
Great Britain	27	37	58	74	51	247
Russia	42	52	45	47	53	239
Romania	25	11	45	66	20	167
Lithuania	24	14	20	44	15	117
Hungary	4	4	12	59	20	99
Austria	**6**	**5**	**25**	**35**	**17**	**88**

The above tables rank countries based on the number of Jewish immigrants who listed each one as their country of birth in two periods: (1) 1932-1936 and (2) 1937-1941. The placement of Germany, Austria, as well as Czechoslovakia, and their corresponding totals are significant as they evince a clear jump in immigrants from the first period to the second. From 1932 to 1936, 47 German-born immigrants arrived, along with 32 Austrian-born, and 24 Czechoslovakian-born. In contrast, from 1937 to 1941, German arrivals soared to 691 (+644), Czechoslovakians rose to 365 (+341), and Austrians increased slightly, totalling 88 (+56). What makes these numbers all the more intriguing is the fact that the surges in the numbers of immigrants from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia are present even when comparing years with

substantial differences in the total number of arrivals.[47] Clearly, sociopolitical factors in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia in the late 1930s led Jews from these areas to seek refuge with increasing urgency.

Library and Archives Canada, *Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

As shown in the table above, Jews in Nazi-occupied areas did not begin to urgently seek asylum until late 1938. An internal memorandum prepared by Adolf Eichmann for Heinrich Himmler in December of 1940 stated that 315,642 Jews remained in the Greater Reich at that time.[48] In June of 1941, mobile killing squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) followed the German army during the invasion of the Soviet Union, murdering hundreds of thousands of Jews. Then, on October 23 1941, all emigration from the Reich was halted, and subsequently, in December of the same year, gassings began in Chelmno. Though lacking many of the features commonly associated with the death camps, and primitive in its use of gas vans, it has been suggested "Chelmno broke a psychological barrier by actually establishing an extermination camp and provided a structural template on which the other camps could build."[49] When emigration from the Reich was closed in October 1941, mass murders in Eastern Europe had just begun, the first extermination camp had yet to become operational, the Second World War was in full swing, and travel to Canada—including immigration—was limited as a whole.

This timeline of events illustrates there was a three year window from November 1938 to October 1941 during which Jews actively attempted to emigrate from the Reich, and where emigration remained a possibility. The end date is significant as it predates the systematic and industrialized extermination of European Jewry that began with the death camps in 1942. By December of 1942, when the Allies were informed of Nazi atrocities taking place in occupied Poland, emigration from the Reich had already been closed for a year.[50]

Canadian Immigration Policies

The following section will examine the Canadian immigration record in further detail and challenge Abella and Troper's narrative that, "Canada's door was closed by 1933 and opened only slightly in 1948 – and, for Jews, only by a crack."[51] I will show that although Jews often did not meet the requirements of the immigration policies, they nonetheless represented a significant number of immigrant approvals through special Orders-in-Council regardless of intended occupation. Jews represented roughly 55% of all such Orders at times during the period under discussion. Furthermore, changes to Canadian immigration policy less than a month following *Kristallnacht* lifted significant impediments to Jewish immigration as refugees became an admissible class.

Racial generalizations permeated Canadian immigration policy throughout the 1930s and 1940s, with Jews generally viewed as unassimilable. A Privy Council Office document entitled *Assimilation as a Factor to be Considered in Immigration Policy*, published in 1942, explains immigration policy must take into account the ease with which different ethnic groups can be assimilated. In order to help in determining whether a group was readily assimilable, the document suggested determining "the ability of the group to speak one of the official languages", "the percentage within the group who have applied for naturalization", "the numbers from the group who served in the Canadian armed forces", "the membership within the group in national organizations designed to promote citizenship", and "the percentage within the group who are sufficiently public-spirited to exercise their franchise." The document then warns: "It is possible [...] that certain ethnic groups may display one or more of these 'symptoms' of assimilation but suffer from distinct handicaps of a physical, religious or prejudicial nature. It is obviously more difficult to assimilate a Chinese than it is a Dutchman; a Jew than a German."[52] Three years later, a memorandum on immigration added:

> The claim is sometimes made that Canada's immigration laws reflect class and race discrimination: they do, and necessarily so. Some form of discrimination cannot be avoided if immigration is to be effectively controlled. In order to prevent the creation in Canada of expanding non assimilable racial groups, the prohibiting of entry of immigrants of non assimilable races is necessary.[53]

Abella and Troper are correct in their assertion that: "Canadian immigration policy had always been as ethnically selective as it was self-serving."[54] Nevertheless, the policies in question must be understood within their time. It bears noting that Canadian immigration policies were demonstrative of prevailing attitudes dating from the turn of the twentieth century into the interwar period in much of the Western World. The term race had a much wider meaning than at the present and was con-

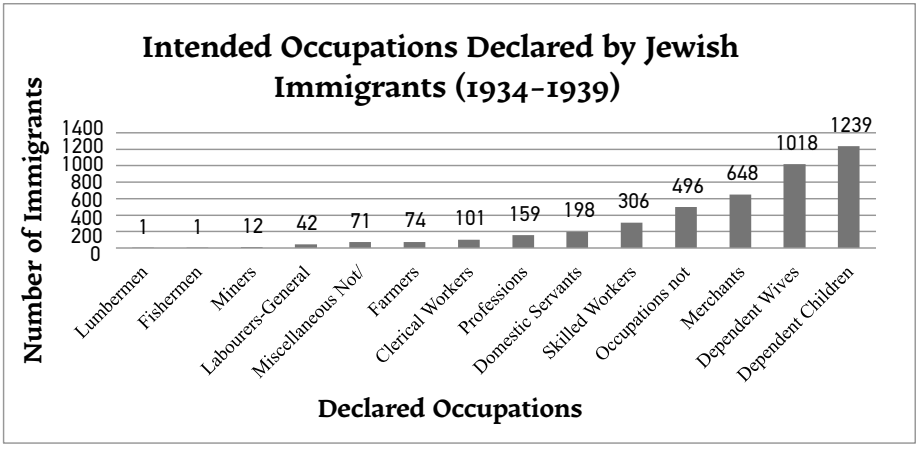
sidered a legitimate branch of scientific study; a racial hierarchy, with "white races" at the top, was viewed as a matter of fact, not of prejudice, and deemed relevant to socio-political study.[55] Among many social commentators it was believed that race could, and should, be improved.[56] Canadian doctors and medical journals supported such restrictive immigration policies and maintained that a homogenous population was necessary for public health;[57] some went as far as suggesting that unrestrictive immigration policies could lead to the destruction of Canada itself.[58] Such attitudes concerning questions of race did not change until the end of the Second World War. As Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos has put it in *Becoming Multicultural*, "The group-centered racism of the prewar period gave way to an individualist ethic, holding that all persons were endowed with fundamental human rights regardless of their race, ethnicity, or nationality."[59]

Although racial generalizations undoubtedly influenced Canadian immigration policy throughout the 1930s and 1940s, in December of 1938, only a month after *Kristallnacht*, changes were made to immigration regulations. The provisions of P.C. 695 remained in play, but there were significant additions to the list of admissible immigrants. In addition to agriculturalists, Canada would admit:

> (b) Refugees joining first degree relatives resident in Canada in a position to receive and care for them. First degree relatives will consist of parents, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters, and the wives and children of those that may be married. The term "refugee" will include not only those who must leave Greater Germany or Italy because of racial, political or religious views, but also those who have already left these countries and are temporarily residing elsewhere.
>
> (c) Persons having sufficient capital (not less than $15,000) to establish themselves and provide their own employment and maintenance.
>
> (d) Professional and technical persons when their labour or service would be of advantage to Canada.
>
> (e) Persons coming to establish new industries such as the manufacture of high grade glass and porcelain, when capital is available for that purpose.
>
> (f) Refugee orphan children under fourteen for adoption and education, by families resident in Canada who are able and willing to provide suitable homes.
>
> (g) Male fiancés when the Departmental investigation shows that settlement arrangements are satisfactory; this to apply only to applications already filed in by the Department.[60]

The document also stipulated that where possible, the separation of families abroad would be discouraged. In addition, it was reiterated that Canada was not to be a waiting-room for those wishing to go to another country. This stemmed from an agreement between Canada and the United States in the 1920s in which both countries agreed not to accept immigrants whose ultimate goal was immigration into the other. In other words, immigrants arriving in Canada were expected to stay in Canada.[61] In theory, after 1938 Canada became more open to immigration, including Jewish immigration.

Although Canadian immigration policy generally sought farmers, a summary overview of intended occupations of Jewish immigrants upon arrival to Canada from 1934–1939, shows that the doors were not closed to those who did not meet that criterion. Of a total 4,540 immigrants, 2,283 were workers and 2,257 were dependents. Of the dependents, 1,018 were wives and 1,239 were children. Among workers, only 74 identified as farmers; representing merely 1.63% of all Jewish immigrant arrivals, or 3.24% of all workers. The largest group among workers were the 648 merchants; 14.27% of arrivals fell into this category, or 28.38% of the workers.[62]



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Jews were among those permitted into Canada under existing immigration policies of the 1930s and 1940s. In contrast to the impression created by *None is Too Many* and other works, a large segment of immigrant arrivals who did not meet the criteria set out by P.C. 695 were allowed into Canada via special Orders-in-Council. On July 9, 1943, speaking on the issue of refugees in the House of Commons, Prime Minister Mackenzie King stated nine thousand individuals had been admitted as immigrants to Canada by such orders between 1933 and 1942, and that most of these were European refugees.[63] No study exists giving an exact percentage represented by Jews amongst admissions to Canada via Orders-in-Council. What is known however

is that all "non-preferred" immigrants who were not agriculturists, all individuals from "special permit" countries, and all non-American and non-British Jews could not land in Canada without an Order-in-Council which explicitly granted them entry.

Several groups which fell within the "non-preferred" and "special permit" categorization, urgently sought to leave their countries of origin at different times during the 1930s and 1940s. The period in question saw successive waves of individuals leave: Spaniards due to their civil war (1936-1939),[64] Czechoslovakians and Austrians following the German takeover of their respective countries, Serbs who were persecuted under the Croatian Ustasha regime, and small groups of Italians during the 1930s.[65] It is also well known that in addition to Jews, the Germans targeted and killed up to 220,000 Roma (Gypsies) and 1.9 million Poles during the war.[66] An in depth examination of the Canadian immigration record concerning the following groups is beyond the scope of this article; however, they are subjects which warrant further examination. A study of what the Canadian government and public knew about other "non-preferred" and "special permit" refugees, and whether efforts were made to help such groups, would undoubtedly be beneficial in attempting to better understand Canada's refugee policy.

As concerns Jewish immigration to Canada, correspondence between F.C. Blair and William R. Little, the Commissioner of European Emigration, dated June 6 1938, indicates between 1933 and 1937 there were 4,514 immigrants admitted by Order-in-Council;[67] of these 1,795 were Jewish, representing 39.77% of the Orders-in-Council passed during that timespan. Furthermore, a letter from O.D. Skelton to Prime Minister Mackenzie King dated June 9 1939 notes 1,200 immigrants had been admitted by Order-in-Council since January of that year. Skelton highlights "while no publicity has been given, it is a fact that Jews represented 60 per cent of their list."[68] Likewise, a memorandum by Hume Wrong, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, in January 1943 explains the total number of Orders-in-Council between 1930 to the end of 1942 was 10,234 and that "Approximately one half of those were of the Jewish race."[69] Finally, records from the *Hansard* (the official transcripts of the Canadian Parliamentary debates) refer to 932 special permits having been issued in 1943 and more than 90% having gone to "Hebrews."[70] Jews almost certainly did not represent 90% of Orders-in-Council during the period under scrutiny. It is however safe to suggest, given the documentary evidence, that Jews represented somewhere between 50% and 60% of such orders from *Kristallnacht* onward.

Total of Special Orders-in-Council Passed from 1933 to 1937[71]			
Year	Total	Jewish	Proportion of Jewish to Non-Jewish Authorizations
1933	1,357	637	46.94
1934	520	152	29.23
1935	1,059	525	49.58
1936	819	284	34.68
1937	759	197	25.96
	4,514	1,795	39.77

The Canadian government never implemented a concise policy with the goal of fully opening Canada's doors to refugees. As Abella and Troper note, "Even the outbreak of war and the mounting evidence of an ongoing Nazi program for the total annihilation of European Jewry did not move Canada. Its response remained legalistic and cold."[72] Donald Avery, in his monograph *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896-1994* examines the security dimension of the Canadian response to European refugees. In direct response to Abella and Troper's statement, Avery wrote: "No doubt, the country's refugee policies between 1939 and 1945 were *legalistic and cold*,[73] but these policies must be understood within the context of total war, which does not encourage fine distinctions."[74] This broader contextualization is crucial to any attempt to fully comprehend the historical issues at play that directed the Canadian government response to refugees. As the war progressed and government officials became aware of events unfolding in Europe, there were calls to allow entry to more refugees. Such actions did not, however, gain strong support. House of Commons debates point to fears that any Canadian program whose intended goal was to receive large numbers of refugees from Axis territories would be used by the Nazis to steal spies and secret agents, posing as refugees, into Canada; the surest way to help the refugees was to win the war, and, it was argued, any efforts to aid, even if aid was feasible, would only prolong their agony if it led to prolonging the war effort.[75] Even with government fear of enemy spies and saboteurs entering Canada as refugees, the number of Jewish arrivals jumped in both 1939 and 1940. In 1940 alone, when not counting the 2,340 interned refugees, 1,643 Jews reached Canada, representing 7.77% of all arrivals. By October of 1941, as mentioned, all Jewish emigration from German controlled territory had been prohibited by the Nazis. Following the Allied invasion of Normandy in June 1944, and the subsequent push inland, refugees that were not in enemy held territories were no longer viewed as being in danger of persecution or death. During 1944 and 1945, questions concerning immigration were put on hold as attention began to focus on the Allied victory and how to best manage the imminent return and reintegration of the men and women of the Canadian Armed Forces, the post-war economy, and a return to peace-time production.[76]

Michael Marrus's seminal work *The Holocaust in History* criticizes historical studies for focusing on bystanders, for concentrating on what did not happen, and for condemning those deemed responsible. He has termed this the "historians' form of hubris" that occurs when historians "apply to subjects the standards and value systems, and vantage point of the present, rather than those of the period being discussed. We believe that people should have acted otherwise, and we set out to show they did not."[77] This assertion can be applied to the analysis of international bystanders as well. Abella and Troper state the subject of *None is Too Many* is "why Canada was closed to the Jews of Europe."[78] As proof of this closed door, the authors assert fewer than 5,000 Jews were allowed entry to Canada from 1933 to 1945. Yet, the statistical evidence compiled by Louis Rosenberg and the timeline of events in Europe do not support the image of Canada as an inaccessible haven. All immigration to Canada was reduced between 1933 and 1945 due to the Depression, and subsequently by the Second World War. Even so, 8,787 Jews landed in Canada from 1933 to 1945; this number increases to 11,127 when including interned refugees.

The era in question cannot be understood in absolute figures. I have shown that Jewish proportional representation amongst immigrant arrivals to Canada increased during the 1930s and into the early 1940s. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that jumps in Jewish immigrant numbers tended to coincide with significant events taking place in Germany and other Nazi-occupied areas later on. These findings imply that Canadian immigration standards were not unbending, but adapted to increased numbers of Jewish requests for entry. The Canadian government, like European Jews, did not have the gift of foresight to appreciate the gravity of events as they were unfolding before them. As my article has explained, a general Jewish mass emigration from Germany began in November of 1938; this left roughly a three year window for Jews to seek refuge outside of Europe. This period also corresponded with a spike in Jewish proportional representation among immigrant arrivals in Canada.

The enormity of the Holocaust was not known during the Second World War; by the time the Canadian government received information concerning the extermination of European Jewry, in late 1942, it was too late. Canada never put into effect a comprehensive plan to save the Jews of Europe. Even so, it must be emphasized the Canadian government also never administratively shut Canada's doors to Jewish refugees: emigration restrictions implemented by the Nazis were completely out of the Canadian government's control. What could be controlled, however, was the war effort: all available resources were put towards winning the war, and, by extension, saving what remained of European Jewry. These revisions to the accepted narrative of *None is Too Many* are essential in the attempt to paint a clear and balanced portrait of Canadian immigration policy regarding Jewish refugees from 1933–1945, and to come to terms with the place of Canada and other bystander nations during this time.

1
This article is based largely on unpublished material found in the author's MA thesis; Justin Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers: Canadian Governmental Response to the Plight of the Jewish Refugees (1933-1945)," (MA diss., University of Ottawa, 2013).

2
Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1945* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2000), xxii.

3
Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock. *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 256; Donna Ryan, *The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), p.135; "Brief History of Canada's Response to Refugees," Canadian Council for Refugees, last modified April 2009, http://ccrweb.ca/en/brief-history-canadas-responses-refugees

4
The Louis Rosenberg Fonds are housed at Library and Archives Canada located in Ottawa, Ontario.

5
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 50.

6
Originally published in 1939, the monograph has been republished by Morton Weinfeld in 1993 under the title *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of Jews in Canada in the 1930s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

7
The Dominion Bureau of Statistics was replaced by Statistics Canada in 1971.

8
In his introduction to Rosenberg's monograph, *Canada's Jews*, republished in 1993, Morton Weinfeld wrote: "It is hoped that the republication of Canada's Jews will help liberate this work from its ethnic and intellectual ghetto. It deserves a recognized place in the historical development of the demographic and sociological study of Canadian ethnic groups. It remains a model of a socio-demographic portrait of an ethnic group and also serves as an invaluable source for an understanding of Jewish life, and indeed the life of other immigrant/ethnic groups, in the Canada of the 1930s."

9
Both the Blair letter and the Rosenberg Fonds show 3,421 Jews admitted to Canada in 1931, 649 in 1932, 772 in 1933, 943 in 1934, 624 in 1935, 880 in 1936 and 619 in 1937. F.C Blair, *Letter from F.C. Blair to William R. Little*. In, Department of External Affairs, *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, vol. 6, 796-800. Library and Archives Canada, *Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

10
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 230; 292.

11
Ibid, 135

12
Library and Archives Canada, *Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

13
Nearly half of the refugees returned to Great-Britain during the war.
See Paula J. Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Interned Refugees," Part 1, *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 2.1 (1978) 1-38; "The Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Interned Refugees," Part 2, *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 2.2 (1979) 80-112; "The Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Interned Refugees," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1983)

14
Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 39.

15
It is unknown whether this category represented only American-born Jews, or whether European-born Jews arriving in Canada via the United States were included in this category as well.

16
This time period was chosen because it represents a ten year window prior to the period studied in *None is Too Many.*

17
Kelley and Trebilcock. *The Making of the Mosaic,* 216.

18
A letter from W.J. Egan, Deputy Minister of Immigration, to O.D. Skelton, Under-Secretary of State for External affairs, dated November 6 1933 reads: ."The admission of any immigrants not holding a proper passport or not belonging to the two classes mentioned involves an Order-in-Council authorizing admission" W.J. Egan, *Letter from W.J. Egan to O.D. Skelton*, In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 5, 846-847 p.697.

19
For a full breakdown of each group, see: Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews* 127-128.

20
Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 41. It should be noted that nearly half of the interned refugees decided to return to Great-Britain during the war. See. Draper, "The Accidental Immigrants".

21
For more on Russian Jewish emigration following the revolution of 1905, see. Rebecca Kobrin, "The Russian Revolution Abroad: Mass Migration, Russian Jewish Liberalism, and American Jewry, 1903-1914" In. Stefani Hoffman and Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Revolution of 1905 and Russia's Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008)

22
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, xxiii

23
Comparative Immigration to Canada By Ethnic Group, By Six Year Periods 1919-1943, Library and Archives Canada*, Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

24
Freda Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008) 30.

25
For in depth analyses on the subject of nativism in Canada see: Martin Robin. *Shades of Right*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982);

26
See Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975); Comartin "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers"; David Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties: On Antisemitism in Canada, 1929-1939* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1977-1981).

27
Franklin Bialystok, *Delayed Impact* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) 22.

29
Herbert Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Policies and Jewish Responses (I)," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 25.1 (1980) 316.

28
Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 45.

30
Frank Caestecker and Bob Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States* (New York: Bergahn Books, 2010) 207. In their work, Caestecker and Moore note that "19.2% or 98,747 were either citizens of other countries [...] or de facto stateless." The figure of 19.2% seems to be a typographical error however as the authors state that 80.2% of Jews in Germany were German nationals. 19.2% + 80.2% does not give a total of 100%. When taking the figure given by the authors (98,747) however, and dividing it by the number of Jews in Germany (499,682), the percentage given is 19.8%, which gives the required total of 100%.

31
Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany," 330.

32
Caestecker and Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany and the Liberal European States*, 227.

33
Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany," 326.

34
Shulamit Volkov, *Germans, Jews, and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) p.47-49.

35
Doris Bergen, "Social Death and International Isolation: Jews in Nazi Germany, 1933-1939" In. Ruth Klein, *Nazi Germany, Canadian Responses: Confronting Antisemitism in the Shadow of War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012) 6.

36
Bruce Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism,* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992) 209.

37
This number is based off of calculation from 1930 which give an official number of 356,830 Jews in Czechoslovakia. See: Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of Eastern Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press) 142.

38
See Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers"

39
See William Rubinstein, *The Myth of Rescue: Why the democracies could not have saved more Jews from the Nazis*, (New York: Routledge, 2005) p.82-83: "In May 1941 the emigration of Jews from France and Belgium was forbidden [...] In mid-1941 Heinrich Himmler placed a blanket ban on the legal emigration of Jews throughout newly conquered Nazi territory [...] On 23 October 1941, Heinrich Müller, the head of the Gestapo, banned further emigration from Germany itself. Legal emigration of Jews to the United States and elsewhere had continued until that date, but thereafter only 'extremely limited' numbers of Jews could legally leave."

40
Bob Moore, "Jewish refugees in the Netherlands 1933-1940: The Structure and Pattern of Immigration from Nazi Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 29.1 (1984) 86.

41
Ibid, 87.

42
Strauss, "Jewish Emigration from Germany," 322.

43
Strauss's figures show that of 185,100 Jews living in Germany in 1939, 58,700 were aged 60 and over (31.7%) and 76,600 were aged between 40 and 59 years old (41.38%). Together, they represented 73.08% of German Jewry compared to 47.78% in 1933. Commenting on this, Strauss noted: "The age composition of émigrés [...] was weighed towards the young and the productive middle-aged cohorts, as would be expected." Ibid, p.327

44
Saul Friedlander, *The Years of Extermination*, (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2008) 83.

45
Comartin, "Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers" 46.

46
Ibid.

47
In 1936, 880 Jews arrived in Canada, compared to 626 in 1941, representing a difference of 254. Nonetheless, German-born arrivals rose from 18 to 81; Austrian born increased from 5 to 17; Czechoslovakian born grew from 9 to 46; and overall representation of the three countries jumped from 32 to 144.

48
Friedlander, *The Years of Extermination*, 92.

49
Patrick Montague, *Chełmno and the Holocaust: The History of Hitler's First Death Camp* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) p.1-8.

50
In December of 1942, the Polish government-in-exile published *The Mass Extermination of Jews in German Occupied Poland*, which was addressed to the governments of the United Nations on December 10t, 1942.

51
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 230; 292.

52
Assimiliation as a Factor to be Considered in Immigration Policy, Library and Archives Canada, RG2-B-2 Vol.82.

53
Memorandum Re Immigration, Library and Archives Canada, RG2-B-2 Vol.82.

54
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 5.

55
Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 2; Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural: Immigration and the Politics of Membership in Canada and Germany* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012)21.

56
For in depth analysis of the situation in the Canadian context, see. Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

57
Zlada Godler, "Doctors and the New Immigrants," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 9 (1977) 6-17.

58
James W. St. G. Walker, *"Race," rights and the law in the Supreme Court of Canada: Historical Case Studies* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Univesity Press, 1997) 250.

59
Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, *Becoming Multicultural*, 8.

60
Memorandum, December 8, 1938. In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 6, 846-847.

61
Ibid; Also see, N.A. Robertson, *Memorandum: Canada and the Refugee Problem,* In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 6, 841-843.

62
Intended Occupations *Declared by Jewish Immigrants Upon Arrival in Canada Via Ocean Ports & From the U.S.A. in the Six-Year Periods before and after the War of 1939-1945*, Library and Archives Canada*, Louis Rosenberg Fonds* (MG 30 C199 vol. 31)

63
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, July 9, 1943, 4560-4561.

64
See Tony Kushner and Katherine Knox, *Refugees in an Age of Genocide: Global, National and Local Perspectives in the Twentieth Century* (London: Frank Cass, 2005); Sharif Gemie, Fiona Reid and Laure Humbert, *Outcast Europe: Refugees and Relief Workers in an Era of Total War 1936-1948* (New York: Continuum, 2012).

65
Gerald Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977) 47-48.

66
"Mosaic of Victims: An Overview," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, last modified January, 2016 https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005149; "Genocide of European Roma (Gypsies), 1939-1945," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, last modified January, 2016 https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005219

67
F.C. Blair, *Letter from F.C. Blair to William R. Little*. 697.

68
O.D. Skelton, *Letter from O.D. Skelton to William Lyon Mackenzie King*, Library and Archives Canada, MG26 J1 vol.280

69
Hume Wrong, *Memorandum from Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to Undersecretary of State for External Affairs*, In. Department of External Affairs, *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, vol. 9, 534-536.

70
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, June 29, 1944, 4369-4370.

71
F. C. Blair, Letter *from F.C. Blair to William R. Little*. 697.

72
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 281.

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Italics added by author.

74
Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Worker, 1896-1994* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1995) 143; The chapter in question draws largely on conclusions previously published in: Donald Avery. "Canada's Response to European Refugees, 1939-1945" In. *On Guard for Thee*, ed. Norman Hilmer, Bohdan Kordan and Lubomyr Luciuk (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988) 205.

75
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, July 9, 1943, 4559-4560.

76
See Hume Wrong, Hume. *Letter from Hume Wrong to Vincent Massey*, In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 10, 1264-1265; King, William Lyon Mackenzie, *Migration*, In, Department of External Affairs, Documents on Canadian External Relations, vol. 11, 1224-1228 .

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Michael Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1987) p.157.

78
Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, xxi.

Norman Erwin

The Holocaust, Canadian Jews, and Canada's "Good War" Against Nazism

This paper examines the Canadian Jewish response to the Holocaust during the Second World War. Rather than disparaging the Canadian Jewish community for timidity in its dealings with Canadian institutions or suggesting that Canadian Jews were disinterested in their European brethren, historians need to contextualize Canadian Jewish actions within the domestic power structures of the 1940s and the confines of the Canadian Jewish imagination. With the Canadian Government censoring the Holocaust, the Canadian Jewish community framed the European Jewish tragedy around the idea of resistance to bolster Canadian sympathy for European Jews and give meaning to the Holocaust.

Cet article analyse la réaction des Juifs canadiens face à l'Holocauste. Plutôt que de dénigrer la communauté juive canadienne pour sa timidité ou son indifférence, les historiens doivent remettre les actions juives canadiennes dans le contexte des structures nationales de pouvoir des années 1940 et des limites de l'imagination de l'époque. À cause de la censure gouvernementale, la communauté juive canadienne a pensé la tragédie des Juifs européens autour de l'idée de résistance afin de renforcer la sympathie des Canadiens et de donner du sens à l'Holocauste.

On October 16, 1942, Prime Minister Mackenzie King opened up Canada's Third Victory Bond drive in Montreal by describing what the war against Nazi Germany meant for Canadians. According to King, Hitler's war was a Manichean clash between two diametrically opposed philosophies. "The Nazi doctrine of a superior race implies the subjugation and, if Nazi deeds so demand, the extermination of all other people," King warned. Hitler hoped to secure German hegemony in Europe through the wholesale destruction of "other races" and through "a war of extermination against religion."[1] While King spoke, the most deadly period of the Holocaust was underway. Jews across Poland were being systematically removed from ghettos and transported to the extermination camps of Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. By mid-June 1942, approximately one quarter of the Jews who would be exterminated by the Nazis had been killed; by February 1943, the Nazis had murdered 4.5 million Jews.[2] Yet, King did not refer to Jews once in his speech. Instead, he used blanketing terms like "religion" and "races" when referring to Hitler's victims. King's speech epitomised the Canadian Government's policy of methodically keeping Jews outside of its war propaganda, lest Canadians associate the sacrificing of Canadian lives and resources with saving Jews. Both the Canadian Government and the Canadian Jewish community were concerned that antisemitism would undermine unity and hinder the war effort. Yet, Canadian Jewry understood the Canadian war effort through the paradigm of Hitler's war against Jews. In response to government censorship of the Holocaust and to build Canadian sympathy, Canadian Jews emphasized that European Jewish victims were not mere hapless victims, but partisans fighting for liberty.

To understand the seeming contradiction of Canada fighting a war of liberation while refusing sanctuary to Jews, historians focus on three aspects of the Canadian bystander experience: Canadian antisemitism, knowledge of the Holocaust, and

the Canadian Jewish responses. The foundational work on Canadian antisemitism is Irving Abella and Harold Troper's *None Is Too Many*, which provides copious documentation showing that the decision to prevent Jews from escaping to Canada was "a political decision."[3] Numerous studies have followed, showing that antisemitism manifested itself differently amongst the English-speaking elite, Québecois nationalists, and populist movements. Despite variation, the tragic consequence of Canadian antisemitism was the same: a lack of political will to make Canada a sanctuary for Jews trying to escape Europe.[4]

Historians also debate whether Canadians comprehended or believed during the war that Jews were systematically being exterminated by Hitler.[5] The conventional position is that the liberation of the concentration camps in 1945 saturated Western media with horrific images of Nazi atrocities and led to a realization of the Holocaust.[6] Some scholars have challenged this argument, noting that the majority of victims found in concentration camps were not Jewish since the extermination camps were located in Eastern Europe and were either destroyed by the Nazis or liberated by Soviet forces. Since the Canadian press failed to delve into "the centrality of antisemitism in Nazi ideology" and de-emphasized the Jewish identity of Hitler's victims, scholars have argued that the Holocaust was minimized in Western discourse and even within Canadian-Jewish circles until the late 1960s.[7]

The suggestion that the Western public remained unaware of Hitler's destruction of Europe's Jews has bled into the occasionally disparaging discussion about the North American Jewish community's response to the Holocaust.[8] Holding true to Michael R. Marrus' observation that there is a "strong tendency" in the historical literature on bystanders to "condemn, rather than to explain,"[9] historians have indicted the Canadian Jewish community for being timid in its negotiations with the Canadian Government and for failing to draw the public's attention to the Jewish tragedy in Europe.[10] Max Beer condemns the Canadian Jewish community for being apathetic to European Jewry, claiming that Canadian Jews were more interested in being perceived as patriotic than in saving the lives: "as the war progressed loyalty to Canada and support for the war effort became the overriding issues for the community and the leadership and concern for their European brethren faded into the background."[11]

This article will attempt to unravel the various conflicting interpretations that surround Canadian responses to the Holocaust by examining the relationship between the Canadian war effort and domestic antisemitism. Whereas the Canadian Government attempted to solidify support for the war by universalizing the victims and focusing on the Nazi perpetrators, Canadian Jews sought to build sympathy for Jewish victims by presenting European Jewry within the confines of the military struggle to defeat tyranny. For Canadian Jews, framing the Holocaust around the theme of resistance—rather than victimization—worked to give meaning to the enormous loss of life. The Canadian Jewish Congress' negotiations with the Canadian Government

progressed slowly to ease immigration regulations and secure an avenue for Jewish refugees to escape Nazi-occupied territories through neutral countries. Canadian Jews saw Germany's defeat as the best hope for saving Europe's Jews.

Keeping the Holocaust out of "The Good War"

When Prime Minister Mackenzie King brought Canada's declaration of war before Parliament on September 10, 1939, his stated purpose was to defend freedom, the British Empire, and Western civilization. King's three hour speech made no mention of Jews, but focused on Germany's violation of international conventions. Hitler's "wanton disregard of all treaty obligations" and dastardly use of "terrorism and violence," according to King, demanded that Canada join the Christian crusade against Nazi Germany to save the liberal order:

> The forces of evil have been loosed in the world in a struggle between the pagan conception of a social order which ignores the individual and is based upon the doctrine of might and a civilization based upon the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man, with its regard for the sanctity of contractual relations and the sacredness of human personality.[12]

Following the declaration, the Canadian Government embarked on a public opinion campaign to solidify support behind the war effort by depicting Canada as the antithesis of Nazi Germany, contrasting Canadian "biracial" political character and its large immigrant population with Nazism's master race philosophy.[13] Although a significant aspect of the program to demonize Nazi Germany was shedding light on Nazi atrocities, the Canadian Government neglected drawing attention to the extermination of Europe's Jews. King's speeches throughout the war explicitly excluded any mention of Jews. At Chateau Laurier on September 17, 1941, King argued that the core of Germany's national chauvinism was the Prussian militaristic mentality:

> It is the real force behind the Nazi terror. It is the real secret of German power. It remains the implacable foe. The German war machine, the inhuman monster which the Prussian mind has created and continues to direct has already ravaged a whole continent and impoverished, enslaved, strangled, or devoured millions of human lives. It is a dragon which can only be slain by fighting men.[14]

There are two reasons why King specifically minimized the Jewish tragedy in his speeches. First, he was more concerned about Hitler's threat to Christianity than to Jews. Following a tortuous line of logic, King became convinced that Hitler was murdering Jews in order to destroy Christianity. King arrived at this notion following a meeting with two prominent Zionists, Archibald J. Freiman and Chaim Weizmann on May 9, 1941. When Weizmann made the point that Nazism was an antichristian

philosophy, King took it to mean "that Hitlerism was not aimed against the Jews fundamentally but at Christianity through the Jews. That what Hitler was out to destroy was Christendom. I believe in this he [Weizmann] is right. He [Hitler] does not want a brotherhood of man. He wants to have his fellow-men ruled by an armed guard." [15]

Second, King sensed astutely that Canadians were uninterested in the murder of Jews and hostile to the idea of Canada becoming a haven for Jewish refugees. He said as much to Emil Ludwig, a German-Jewish historical writer, who appealed to King on June 11, 1944 to allow Jewish refugees to settle in Canada to escape Hitler: "I explained to him again the nature of the political problem, the difficulty of a leader of a govt. bringing up this question on the eve of an election but agreed that Canada would have to open her doors and fill many of her large waste spaces with population once our own men had returned from the front." Rescuing Jews was not politically expedient. Frustrated that offering his sympathy was not enough, King wrote in his diary following Ludwig's visit: "I must say when one listens to accounts of their [Jewish] persecutions, one cannot have any human sympathies without being prepared to do much on their behalf."[16] While there was political capital to be gained by decrying Hitler's atrocities, focusing on the Jewish aspect of the Nazis' murdering rampage was counterintuitive in King's mind. More effective was suggesting that the Nazi scourge threatened Canadians directly on the home front. Images in war bond advertisements often presented Canada's most vulnerable members, such as women and children, in danger of capture, to invoke compassion from Canada's paternalistic culture.

Gordon K. Odell, 1941-42, Canadian War Poster Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library.[17]

The most elaborate fundraising operation, "If Day," simulated the occupation of Winnipeg by mock Nazi forces on February 19, 1942, but paid no heed to the Nazi persecution of Jews, despite its intended purpose of awakening the Canadian imagination to the horrors of the Nazi threat. Terror was envisaged through an emergency blackout at 7 AM amid the screaming of air raid sirens to recreate the London blitz. The Nazi attack on liberty was embodied by troops attired in Wehrmacht uniforms burning books in front of the public library. These Nazis targeted the freedom of the press, with the *Winnipeg Tribune* being printed in German and renamed *Das Winnipeger Lügenblatt*.[18] Premier John Bracken, his cabinet, and the mayor were arrested, churches were closed, and a curfew imposed. However, there were no reports in the local press that these mock Nazi soldiers rounded up Jews specifically. No indication that Jewish shops were targeted and looted. In fact, *Life* magazine's coverage of the spectacle noted that the "'Nazis' close[d] the Protestant and Catholic Church," apparently leaving synagogues alone.[19] Presumably, due to the absence of antisemitism in this fake Nazi assault on Winnipeg, the Canadian Jewish press refused to cover the event.[20]

The obscuration of the Holocaust was mandated throughout the Canadian propaganda infrastructure. The two government agencies that controlled information regarding Canada's war effort—the Wartime Information Board (WIB) and the National Film Board (NFB)—were remarkably silent about the mass murder of Jews, even during the liberation of the concentration camps. Throughout most of the war, both agencies were led by John Grierson, the commissioner of the NFB and the WIB's General Manager until 1944. Although he focused on presenting different aspects of the war effort to build unity among Canadians, Grierson also produced documentaries that dealt with aspects of Nazi atrocities. These films were carefully edited and scripted to avoid referencing the unique tragedy befalling Jews. When asked by his American Jewish friend Arthur Gottlieb in 1944 why the NFB "has maintained a virtual silence about Hitler's war against the Jews," Grierson initially tried to justify the NFB's stance by claiming that "there just is no contemporary footage about the rumours we keep hearing about." Gottlieb remained unconvinced and pressed Grierson further: "you know bloody well the killing machine against the Jews goes on unchecked. Let's face it. Canada is an anti-Semitic country that couldn't give a damn about the Jews." Grierson admitted that he was not entirely wrong and that the government was "willing to be led, rather than to lead a Canadian public opinion that is frankly anti-Semitic, particularly in Québec." On why the NFB had produced no documentary on Jewish refugees, Grierson explained that his hands were tied:

> The Cabinet War Committee declared Canada's information policy on this issue: remain silent. Ottawa ordered all atrocity stories held up until they could be verified....Government policy has spared Canadian civilian morale and some possible guilt feelings. Mr. King's government has long depended upon Québec's votes and seats in Parliament, and English Canada fears be-

> coming awash in a sea of Jewish refugees. The government is not prepared to lose votes on the Jewish issue. It is a closed subject at the NFB.[21]

NFB productions consistently censored the Holocaust for the duration of the war. Both the NFB's major series on the Second World War, *Canada Carries On* and *World In Action*, took exceptional care to avoid discussing Europe's Jews, instead describing the war experience from multiple perspectives and delving into the political implications of the Nazis' bid for hegemony in Europe. In the 1942 film, *War for Men's Minds*, the NFB examined Nazi ideology at length without mentioning Hitler's antisemitism. The film states that the heart of the Nazi "creed was violence," which the narrator contrasted with the British liberal tradition: "And in every quarter of her [Britain's] Empire – wherever her subjects aspired to the freedom of self-government – Britain held up this old liberal ideal of change by gradual reform." [22] Even in its short documentary in 1945 on the liberation of the concentration camps, *Behind the Swastika: Nazi Atrocities*, the NFB continued to obscure the nature of the victims by claiming that atrocities were directed against individuals who challenged the Nazis' tyrannical rule. In one scene, as the camera panned across liberated, emaciated prisoners, the narrator declared, "These are the men who dared to defy the Fuehrer, free thinking men who believed in the democratic principles, Jews and Gentile. Their only crime was that they were anti-Nazi. They were herded into concentration camps and left to the mercy of sadistic guards, who beat, starved, and murdered them in thousands." [23] Although concentration camps were created to hold political prisoners, by 1945, many concentration camps, such as Belsen, held thousands of Jews who had survived death marches from evacuated extermination camps.

Lack of reliable information about the Holocaust cannot explain the Canadian Government's decision to keep the Holocaust out of the public spotlight. A substantial quantity of intelligence on the extermination of the Jews was collected and analysed by foreign governments and forwarded to the Department of External Affairs and even the Wartime Information Board. One of the most detailed and earliest sources available was a confidential series entitled "Report on Jewry," prepared by a team of researchers in Britain's Ministry of Information.[24] Using intercepted correspondence mainly between Jewish informants in Europe and the Middle East and American Jewish charity agencies, the British compiled lengthy reports on the conditions facing European Jewry, attached translated copies of the correspondence, and distributed the material to its Allies. The fifth report, dated February 9, 1943, and received in Ottawa on May 14, 1943, covered the period from September to December 1942, and began by making clear that the latest information "brings the toll of deportation and mass murder a stage further towards the apparently intended climax of complete extermination." With regards to Jewish efforts to effect rescue, the writer noted that "it is an ironical fact that considerable facilities for immigration have now been offered by the Western Hemisphere when apparently insuperable barriers have arisen in Europe."[25] What followed was a breakdown by occupied country of the

anti-Jewish laws being enforced and the number of Jews being deported to the East. Of particular note was the section on Poland, which documented the acceleration of the Final Solution from "first hand accounts from deportees in Poland, sent by underground routes through neutral intermediaries to London." Under the header "Mass Murder on Polish Territory," the British author warned that the Nazis were speeding up their extermination campaign against Jews, chronicling that "during September rumors began to accumulate from many sources regarding a plan for the wholesale massacre of the Jews deported to Russia and Poland." These "rumors" were now facts, according to the report, and there was solid evidence that "there was a plan behind these measures [deportation] to exterminate immediately the largest possible number of Jews." According to various sources listed, half of the Warsaw Ghetto had been "liquidated" by October 1942.[26] As early as November 12, 1943, External Affairs also had accounts from Jewish partisans who had witnessed the Jewish communities of Bendin, Dabrowa and Sosnowiec being rounded up and sent "to the annihilation camp at Oswiecim."[27]

Canada's Department of External Affairs also received reports from Governments-in-Exile, specifically Poland and Czechoslovakia, which revealed that Jews were being hunted and murdered *en masse* throughout Europe. Following the razing of Lidice, Dr. Hubert Ripka, the Czechoslovakian Secretary of State, informed Vincent Massey, High Commissioner for Canada in London, on two separate occasions, June 2 and 17, 1942, of the terror unleashed by the Nazis at Lidice and Lezaky in retribution for Reinhard Heydrich's assassination. On February 26, 1943, Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, told Massey of the continuing efforts of the Nazis to squash resistance in Czechoslovakia, noting that in the week following Heydrich's death, 1,288 individuals had been murdered by the Nazis. Interestingly, Masaryk also pointed out that Kurt Daluege, who was appointed Deputy Protector of Moravia and Bohemia following Heydrich's death, had "intensified the anti-Semitic measures" and "expedited the deportations." By the end of 1942, only 18,000 Jews remained of the 90,000 Jews in pre-war Bohemia and Moravia. In Slovakia, an additional 76,000 Jews had been deported to Poland, leaving only 19,000 Jews, most of whom Masaryk said were awaiting their own deportation to concentration camps.[28]

Recent historical research confirms that Masaryk's report to Massey was quite accurate. From June to December 1942, 61,490 Jews were transported from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia to Theresienstadt Camp, which served as a transit camp for Jews destined for the extermination camps further east.[29] Between March and August 1942, an additional 58,000 Jews, accounting for seventy-five percent of Slovak Jews were also deported mainly to Auschwitz.[30] Moreover, Heydrich's death provided an impetus to accelerate the Final Solution. Heinrich Himmler blamed the Jews for his friend's death and told SS officers that "it is our sacred obligation to avenge his death, to take over his mission and to destroy without mercy and weakness…the enemies of our people."[31] Although the decision to murder all of Europe's Jews was

taken some time in September–October 1941, historians agree that Heydrich's assassination generated an atmosphere of revenge against the Jews and "accelerated the extermination process," not just in the Protectorate, but throughout German-occupied Europe.[32]

Information on the Holocaust was not restricted to the confidential files of Canada's External Affairs; detailed reports of the Holocaust also made their way into Wartime Information Board files. These reports could have been used as a source for its fund-raising campaigns and propaganda materials, but were not. In late 1942, the WIB received a copy of *Bestiality...unknown in any previous record of history*, a grisly document on the crimes perpetrated against Poles. Although this report was commissioned by the Polish Government-in-Exile, and thus framed Germany's crimes against all Poles, it did contain a section on the "destruction of the Jewish population." Ghettos were described as places of death, which had "incredibly miserable conditions, the mortality is enormous, and it is an everyday phenomenon for dead bodies to be lying in the streets." However, the method of murder had quickened from death by starvation and disease to mass shootings and asphyxiation. British Minister of Information, Brendan Bracken, was quoted as estimating that 700,000 Jews had been murdered in Poland by the summer of 1942. Most of the Lublin ghetto had been transported "over a period of several days to the locality of Sobibor...where they were all murdered with gas, machine-guns and even by being bayoneted." The Poles warned that the "Jewish population in Poland is doomed to die out in accordance with the slogan, 'All the Jews should have their throats cut, no matter what the outcome of the war may be.'" [33] Bracken's estimate was no exaggeration. A Nazi radio telegram to Adolf Eichmann that was intercepted by British intelligence – but not understood for decades – put the figure of Jewish death in the Reinhard Camps for 1942 at 1,274,555.[34]

Numerous research papers in the WIB files centred racial thinking at the heart of Nazi ideology. Most notably the WIB collected Wiener Library's *The Nazis at War* bulletin[35], which translated and contextualized Nazi press statements and speeches about war aims.[36] Many other analyses on Nazi racism in the WIB files were written by Britain's Ministry of Information. In one document on German education, the author noted that "the Nazi system is based on the twin myths of racial purity and racial superiority. Its aims are the glorification of the German people and their domination of all other peoples by conquest."[37] In another document discussing German war aims, copious documentation demonstrates that Hitler was carving out a colonial empire in Europe based on a racial hierarchy to be achieved in two stages: enslavement and extermination. The Jewish extermination was essential to this mission:

> Nazi Germany aims to go back not only to the days of slavery, but ultimately, to the still more primitive times before slavery, on which enslavement in its day was a forward step, -- namely the times when victors simply extermi-

> nated the vanquished, as in the jungle. The start has been made with the Jews, then with the Poles, -- to be continued elsewhere.[38]

Despite this 20,000-word document only referencing Jews in two other locations, this minimization of the Holocaust should not be taken to mean that information was unknown. Rather, Hitler's crimes against Jews were so familiar that the report explained its minimal treatment by claiming "the systematic German policy of extermination of Jews everywhere and taking over their places by Germans are too notorious to need quotations in proof."

While lack of information cannot explain the Canadian Government's silence on the Holocaust, there is evidence that any effort to tie Canada's war effort to Hitler's atrocities against European Jews would alienate Québec opinion. The most palpable expression of antisemitic derision over Canada's fight against Nazism was a series of anti-Jewish riots in Montreal in anticipation for the April 27, 1942 plebiscite on whether the Government should be released from its promise not to institute the draft. On March 17, 1942, following an anti-conscription meeting with Liberal MP Jean-Francois Pouliot sponsored by the League for the Defence of Canada, an estimated 450 youths paraded down a predominantly Jewish section of Saint Laurent Boulevard, yelling "À bas les Juifs!", smashing several shop windows, and initiating several violent altercations with local Jewish residents in front of the Young Men's Hebrew Association. The police managed to chase the demonstrators away, arresting eight youths.[38] Although a larger and more violent anti-conscription riot had unsettled the city a month earlier following a speech by Henri Bourassa, which left a dozen police officers injured, it had been devoid of antisemitic expression.[39] The Montreal press insisted that the antisemitism in Québec should not be exaggerated. Torchy Anderson of the *Montreal Gazette* wrote: "don't think that all the people of Québec are shouting 'À bas la conscription,' and breaking Jewish shop windows. The great majority of them are reading the world news in the newspapers—and understanding it."[40] The *Montreal Daily Star* agreed, maintaining that "these young men should not be taken seriously."[41]

Moreover, antisemitic conspiratorial beliefs within Canadian society tempered Canadians to remain sceptical of Jewish atrocities. As John Grierson explained, "I remember how propaganda in the First World War contained atrocity stories that proved invented or exaggerated....Besides, we and the Yanks are sensitive to German propaganda that continues to insist that the Jews are pulling the Allies' political strings." With the latent belief in Canada that the Jews somehow were driving the war, the Canadian Government mandated a "remain silent" policy and "ordered all atrocities help up until they could be verified." Grierson understood this to be a gag order: "How in Hell's name do we verify what's going on in the heart of Nazi Europe?"[42] Similar to the United States, where atrocity stories were believed to be exaggerated to alter America's isolationist stance,[43] some Canadians, especially populists

who adhered to the Social Credit philosophy, denied that the Holocaust happened.[44] By distancing war aims from the Holocaust, the Canadian Government ensured Canadians did not get the impression that "the Jews" were controlling policy. Government statements, therefore, on Nazi atrocities tended to avoid mentioning Jews, as they were a dividing issue amongst Canadians. To better serve the war effort, the Canadian Government framed the discourse on Nazi atrocities around Germany's illiberal and antichristian policies.

The Canadian Jewish War Effort and the Holocaust

Britain's declaration of war on Germany in 1939 was received with relief by Canadian Jews. Even before Canada issued its own declaration of war, poet and editor for the *Canadian Jewish* Chronicle, A. M. Klein championed the West's decision to fight Nazi Germany, even if it led to another world war resulting in "a holocaust [of] stupendous proportions." The question of the Jewish diaspora's support of military conflict, for Klein, had been settled by Hitler years earlier:

> The reaction of Jewry permits of no ambiguity. For six years the Nazis have carried on a relentless war against our people, a war directed against the defenceless, inspired by no reason save the instincts of savagery, and conducted without let-up, without restraint, without quarter. Its objective has been shouted from the roof-tops, and has been echoed across the world—the utter destruction, the complete annihilation of Jewry.[45]

Supporting the war effort was of the utmost importance since Klein rightly suspected that Jews "shall not survive a British defeat." A. B. Bennett, a founder of the Canadian Jewish Congress, described this sentiment years later: "the feeling of helplessness, of aloneness in a world of cruelty gave way to a spirit of Militancy. The Jews had allies in the fight against Hitlerism."[46] Supporting the war effort and saving Europe's Jews were interrelated in the minds of Canadian Jews. Ending Hitler's reign over Europe and preserving the British Empire was paramount to saving Europe's Jews.

In the early years of the war, Samuel Bronfman, president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, reiterated the sentiment that the lives of European Jews could only be safeguarded by the military defeat of Nazism. At the Inter-American Jewish Conference less than a month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Bronfman stated: "immediately as our country declared war against the Nazi barbarian, the Canadian Jewish Congress forthwith geared its activity to one end—a maximum war effort upon all fronts. All other problems became, by the very nature of things, purely incidental; for the supreme objective included all the subsidiary goals."[47] In Samuel Bronfman's fiftieth birthday address, he reaffirmed Canadian Jewry's loyalty to the Crown: "How imperative it is for us, living in the land of freedom, to do all that we can, and more, to preserve the Empire, to save Europe from itself, to safeguard the

principles of decent human conduct, and, by glorious deed, to ransom our brothers from their captivity."[48] While Bronfman emphasized that the freedom of all peoples was at stake, he made it clear that the Jews had a special interest in the war.

During the first several years of the war, the Canadian Jewish Congress focused on promoting recruitment and fundraising. In 1940, the CJC opened a recruiting center for Canada's military in Montreal. It distributed a brochure calling for volunteers, emphasizing that the military struggle was not only to protect the British Empire, but also Europe's Jews:

> The Nazi hordes are increasing the momentum of the war from day to day—more and more millions of brave men are thrown into the life-and-death struggle for the preservation of their national existence. Hitler has vowed to conquer the British Empire, destroy the Jewish race, and to enslave the whole world. Hitler is fighting desperately, making use of tremendous forces to attain his goal—to become the sole dictator of the world. Hitler's victory would mean the destruction of our Empire and the annihilation of our people. There is only one answer to this challenge: Hitler and his gang must be destroyed.[49]

Indeed many Jews joined Canada's military because they wanted to strike back at the Nazis after reading about the persecution of the Jews, even if they did not yet know that Hitler intended to exterminate them. In a series of interviews in the 1980s by the Jewish Heritage Centre of Western Canada, several Jews from Winnipeg remembered enlisting to protect European brethren. One man signed up in 1940 after reading newspaper accounts of Jewish persecution: "it bothered him when he heard how the Jews were being discriminated against in Europe," the interviewer recounted.[50] A Jewish woman recalled enlisting "partly because of the horror" enacted against the Jews, "though she soon realized that her efforts weren't going to make the difference."[51] Another Jewish man joined the Army just days after Canada's entry into the war, specifically remarking that his "decision to join the service came with a clearer understanding of what was happening in Europe" and was "not motivated by patriotism" but by concern for European Jewry.[52] Percy Jacobson, a Jewish small business owner who kept a detailed diary documenting the political and social climate in Montreal during the war, noted that his son joined the RCAF in 1939, because, as Jacobson said, "we are Jews and Hitler's persecution of the Jews will go down into history along with the stories of the Spanish Inquisition."[53] Historian Gerald Tulchinsky argues that numerous Jews signed up because they had a personal stake in defeating Nazism as both Canadians and Jews. He quotes Rabbi David Monson, who tried to recruit Jews by arguing that they had even more to fight for than Christians: "if Hitler wins, Christians will be slaves. Jews will be committed to death."[54]

By January 1, 1944, 12,000 Jewish people had volunteered for military service.[55] The

CJC also furnished and operated sixteen recreational centers across the country to help boost morale among military personnel. Thousands of "comfort boxes" and millions of cigarettes were purchased by the CJC and sent to Canadian soldiers on the frontlines.[56] In 1940, Bronfman personally donated $250,000 to the Canadian Government to research the technology needed to speed up the defeat of Germany, this was in addition to the one million dollars of war bonds Bronfman purchased annually.[57] In December 1941, Bronfman emphasized the Canadian Jewish Congress' dedication to the war effort: "Hundreds of thousands of Jews have been up-rooted from their homes, have been forced into slavery and herded into ghettos. They have been living a life worse than death....To remove this scourge is the mission of all remaining free peoples....They will not lay down their arms until Hitlerism has been completely destroyed."[58]

By 1942, Canadian-Jewish newspapers were filling up with news that over one million European Jews had been massacred. Much of this information in the press came from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.[59] The Jewish Labor Committee was especially active in bringing experts on Nazi anti-Jewish policy to Canada to reveal the tragedy befalling Europe's Jews, to raise funds to feed trapped Jews, and to help them escape. On February 16, 1943, the JLC invited Jacob Pat, a Polish journalist who had escaped to New York in 1938, to speak in Montreal about the situation facing Polish Jews. His graphic descriptions of the Nazi murder of 10,000 children executed in gas vans in a single day in August 1943, and his description of a fifty square kilometer area around the town of Belgite "dotted with fires" radiating from pyres of burning corpses, made the local press.[60] General Secretary of the WJC, Arieh Tartakower, who had fled Poland following the Nazi invasion, was invited to speak in Winnipeg on April 4, 1943 about the ongoing efforts to save Europe's Jews.[61] The *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* described his talk as a "somber accounting of how 2,000,000 Jews have died in Europe under the scourge of Hitler," and stressed that "if his figures erred, they erred as under-estimates." Tartakower insisted that what was needed was the immediate shipping of foodstuffs to starving European Jews and the declaration of various allied countries to provide temporary havens for Jews who had escaped to neutral countries, thus facilitating a route to safety.[62]

The Canadian Jewish community sought to draw mainstream Canadians' attention to the Holocaust. Ben Sheps, a CJC official in Winnipeg, wrote Bronfman on July 6, 1942, complaining about the lack of coverage of Jewish atrocities in the mainstream press at the time: "with the exception of a few brief paragraphs in the daily press, little, if any comment has been made by the Canadian newspapers, in Western Canada at least, on these atrocious happenings."[63] Sheps speculated that due to this lack of coverage in the mainstream dailies, "very many [Canadians] are unfortunately unaware of the slaughter of the Jewish civilian population which is taking place in German occupied countries at present." Hoping to return Canadian sentiment against Nazi antisemitism to what it was "shortly after his [Hitler's] rise to power," Sheps urged the

CJC to launch a nationwide protest immediately, before organizations such "as the Jewish Branch of the League for Allied Victory, which is Communist inspired, may take advantage of the situation and endeavor to capture Jewish sympathy."

Mass meetings began to be organized by the Canadian Jewish community in 1942 to raise awareness of the Holocaust. The purpose of the meetings was not simply to voice the "indignation of all civilized men against the abominable barbarism practised by the Nazi savages against our race," but to create "resolutions and speeches stressing the unity of Jews and of the United Nations in their determination to stop at nothing short of freedom."[64] The organizers hoped not only to harden Canadian resolve to wage war, but also to stir up public sympathy and compel the government to change its refugee policy. One CJC executive sent a letter to the Montreal Jewish community leadership, stating that "the inhuman sufferings and tribulations of our unfortunate brethren in occupied countries should arouse the conscience of every civilized man and woman.... We must arouse public opinion!"[65] In October 1942, the Canadian Jewish community organized three mass protests in Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal. The Winnipeg Division of the CJC explained that these mass meetings "would focus public attention on the sufferings of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, and would bring about an authoritative expression of opinion which would be spread throughout Canada."[66]

In 1942, Canadian Jews also coordinated memorial services for the Nazis' Jewish victims as a method to raise awareness of the Holocaust and as a means of grieving for their European brethren. Although some community members believed that mourning the dead was counterintuitive while the struggle to defeat Nazi Germany continued, Canadian Jewish memorial services were nevertheless held. The Palestine rabbinate declared December 2 a day of mourning and the Canadian Jewish community followed suit, despite A. B. Bennett's disapproval. Writing in his regular column in the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, Bennett argued that memorials were dangerous and could sap energy from the war effort: "can we afford to divert our attention and energy from the practical tasks at hand and indulge in an orgy of unproductive hysteria?" One historian has taken Bennett's words to mean that he was indifferent to the suffering of European Jewry and that this attitude was shared by much of the Jewish community.[67] However, Bennett was not being apathetic; he believed that this was the time to redouble the Jewish community's efforts to destroy Nazi Germany and save Jewish lives. He ended his column by writing: "does not God in His wisdom expect the human spirit today to speak forth His message in a voice of steel, in the accents of cannon thunder, to silence and [s]lay the rampant genius of evil. Human beings have but measured reserves of nervous strength. We must husband our powers for the great venture of annihilating Hitlerism."[68] Yet memorial services were held in "nearly every community across the country," the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* reported. In Toronto, Bennett himself opened the Kaddish service in Massey Hall, where several thousand participated. Numerous synagogues

throughout Montreal offered memorial services to mourners. Non-Jewish politicians frequently spoke during these services, often using the Jewish community's grief to consolidate their contribution to the war effort. Thanks to fliers and posters being distributed throughout November, many public schools in Toronto and Montreal assembled their pupils on December 2, regardless of whether or not they were Jewish, and told them of the great suffering that Jews were enduring in Europe. High school students were asked to observe a moment of silence and Jewish labour unions demanded that their workers be allowed to do likewise.[69]

The close association of the war effort and destruction of European Jews for Canadian Jews led Canadian Zionists to politicize Hitler's victims and emphasize Jewish resistance. Indeed, tens of thousands of Jews in Eastern Europe did revolt in ghettos or escaped to join Soviet partisan movements in forests, but the vast majority of Jews—with no access to fire-arms, no training, and surrounded by hostile populations—remained with their families, fearful of Nazi reprisals if they did revolt.[70] Nonetheless, stories of Jewish partisan activity seemed to confirm that European Jewry had militarized. At a JLC organized mass meeting on October 4, 1941, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor placed the Nazi mass murders within the context of the military conflict. While he did not minimize the destruction of European Jews—noting that one and a half million Jews had already been slaughtered since the beginning of the war—he asserted that these deaths were attributed to political resistance, the victims having been "starved to death or killed in action resisting their merciless oppressors." He demanded that Canadian Jews ignore their "personal, petty and immediate interests" and devote their resources to winning the war.[71] Similarly, Jacob Pat emphasized that the Jews were resisting the Nazis and were mobilizing, "awaiting the signal of invasion to spring upon the Nazis from behind."[72]

Ghetto uprisings were given prominence in the Canadian Jewish press because they reinforced the perception that Jews were fighters against Nazi tyranny. The *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* noted that Jewish resistance demonstrated the national spirit of the Jewish people: "They gave their lives so that Israel, as a living force, might go on."[73] The *Jewish Western Bulletin* stated that comparing the uprising to Stalingrad was "apt" and hoped that it would "inspire further active resistance."[74] By situating Jewish resistance within the context of a war of liberation, Canadian Zionists argued that Jews constituted a nation that deserved a state. A. M. Klein contended that the uprising "stands as a constant tribute to Jewish valour" and "gave the lie to the repeated and malicious slanders of Nazidom" [75] that the Jews were 'parasitic' and did not possess the spiritual energy to work and build a state.[76] Acclaimed Canadian Jewish correspondent for the *Toronto Star*, Pierre van Paassen, agreed: "Those men and women of Warsaw's Ghetto died that Judaism may live. They went under in order that Jewish children may laugh and play tomorrow in the free sun of a Jewish Commonwealth in Eretz Israel."[77] Even after the war, at a rally in Toronto celebrating

the opening of Palestine to Jewish immigrants, Jewish MP David Croll continued to associate European Jewry with the Allies:

> Let the world not forget that the Jews were the first people who fought the Nazis, and suffered; who bore the brunt of the vicious persecution and who lost 6,000,000 souls, more than was lost by all the Allied armies during the war. Let the world not forget, also, that on every battlefront, in every land, the Jewish fought on the side of the Allies."[78]

The Canadian Jewish focus on resistance can also be explained by the spiritual crisis that had enveloped their community. At Holy Blossom Temple, news of the Holocaust heavily impacted religious life. At the Annual Congregational Dinner on April 12, 1945, the synagogue paid homage to the Canadian Jewish soldiers who had served both their country and their morals to fight against Nazism. In a prepared speech, Rabbi Abraham Feinberg explained that the war and the destruction of European Jewry had shaken his congregation's faith. Canadian Jews had been traumatised by Hitler's war against the Jews and he saw his role as maintaining Jewish morale: "Every current of conflict, every hurricane of disaster, even from far-off Majdanek, every cold blast of insecurity and fear sweeping through Jewish hearts, inevitably swirls around the Rabbi." Feinberg noted that membership at the Temple had "increased enormously" as Canadian Jews attempted to understand the spiritual meaning of the Holocaust: "at no point in our tumultuous and tear drenched past has the danger of physical destruction and spiritual demoralization been as great." The synagogue's religious school had also dramatically grown in size, reaching nearly 300 pupils despite the facility originally being designed for only 175. Feinberg explained that under the leadership of Peter Hunter and Heinz Warschauer, the school "has been enlarged in physical scope and in spiritual intensity." Even children were questioning Jewish practices and traditions as they heard about the tragedy befalling European Jewry: "No Jewish child is exempt from the disillusioning impact of the Nazi extermination-program, anti-Semitic pressure in the immediate environment, the faith-undermining growth of materialistic rationalism and the increasing indifference to Jewish practice and values in the average Jewish home."[79]

Conclusion

The Canadian Government lacked the political will to rescue Jewish refugees who had been smuggled out of Hitler's empire during the war. The priority of Prime Minister King and his Liberal caucus was to have the country united under their leadership and to conduct the war effort. Broaching the issue of Jewish extermination in Europe would inevitably put more pressure on Canada to open its borders to Jewish refugees, which could undermine the Liberal base of support in Québec. Thus, throughout the war, the topic was avoided. When mobilizing the Canadian war effort, government propaganda suggested that the Nazis were conducting a ruthless

campaign to eliminate liberal elements within Europe who opposed Nazism philosophically or through religious conviction.

In stark contrast to the Canadian Government, Canadian Jews viewed the Holocaust and the war as intertwined. Since they believed that the Nazis had been waging a war against the Jewish people since the 1930s, they interpreted the military conflict as war to liberate Jews. Therefore, Canadian Jews threw themselves behind the war effort as they believed it was the most tangible and promising means to save European Jews. When evidence saturated Canadian Jewish newspapers in 1942 that Hitler's war against Jews had devolved into an extermination campaign, Canadian Jews organized numerous protest meetings, drawing in experts on the refugee crisis and observers of European conditions to raise awareness of the catastrophe in the hope of building public pressure on the Canadian Government to open its doors. Although some of the CJC leadership voiced opposition to the flurry of emergency meetings, they were not apathetic to European Jewry, but worried that a wave of defeatism would flood the Canadian Jewish community and lessen its resolve to fight. To give meaning to the massive loss and to address the spiritual crisis that gripped them, Canadian Jews emphasized heroic acts of resistance to present European Jews as allies in the fight against tyranny and bring the Holocaust into the Canadian war narrative.

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Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1983), 7-8.

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American scholarship on the West's press coverage of the Holocaust has influenced Canadian scholarship, largely because of the pervasiveness of American media in Canada. In particular, Deborah Lipstadt's acclaimed *Beyond Belief* posits that false atrocity stories during World War One prompted scepticism about reports of organized mass murder of the Jews, which some Americans believed were exaggerated to shift Americans away from isolationism. See Robert H. Abzug, *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Deborah Lipstadt, *Beyond Belief: The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933-1945* (New York: Free Press, 1986); Laurel Leff, *Buried by* The Times*: the Holocaust and America's Most Important Newspaper* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

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Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (New York: Meridian, 1987), 157.

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Abella and Troper, *None Is Too Many*, 283-84; Bialystok, *Delayed Impact*, 15-16, 29.

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Max Beer, "What Else Could We Have Done?: The Montreal Jewish Community, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Jewish Press and the Holocaust" (MA thesis, Concordia University, 2006), iii.

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King Diary, June 11, 1944, 1.

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Life, March 9, 1942, 30-2.

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Samuel Bronfman, March 4, 1941, 7, in JHC, box 258, file 15, "Bronfman, Samuel, 1941-1951, Correspondence."

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"To The Jewish Able-Bodied Young Man," recruitment pamphlet, n.d., in Ontario Jewish Archive (OJA), Ben Kayfetz fonds, 62, s.3, file 1, "CJC WWII enlistment posters and comic file."

50
Interview of DL by Stuart Carroll, June 5, 1986, in JHC, no. 379.

51
Interview of ZL by Stuart Carroll, June 2, 1986, in JHC, no. 379.

52
Interview of RL by Gilead Paritzky, July 24, 1986, in JHC, no. 379.

53
Percy Jacobson Diary, September 13, 1939, in Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives (CJCCCNA) (now the Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives), Percy and Joe Jacobson Collection.

54
Gerald Tulchinsky, *Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1998), 205-11.

55
Jewish enlistment in the military was slightly lower than the national average of 41.4 percent of Canadian men of military age, at only 39.9 percent. Tulchinsky has proposed two reasons for Jewish under representation in the military: higher levels of education among Canadian Jews and antisemitism within the Canadian military. See Tulchinsky, *Branching Out*, 209-11; Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 373-80.

56
"Finish Your Job," CJC fundraising pamphlet, 1944, in CJCCCNA, CJC fonds, series DB 01, box 20, "CJC Pamphlets."

57
Winnipeg Tribune, September 26, 1940, 6; *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, October 2, 1940, 104.

58
Canadian Jewish Chronicle, December 12, 1941, 8.

59
For an examination of Canadian Jewish press' coverage of the Holocaust, see Norman Erwin, "Confronting Hitler's Legacy: Canadian Jews and Early Holocaust Discourse, 1933-1956" (PhD Thesis: University of Waterloo, 2014), 106-23.

60
Montreal Gazette, February 15, 1943, 6.

61
Winnipeg Evening Tribune, April 3, 1943, 2.

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Winnipeg Evening Tribune, April 5, 1943, 15.

63
B. Sheps to Samuel Bronfman, July 6, 1942, in JHC, box 258, file 15, "Bronfman, Samuel, 1941-1951, Correspondence."

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Canadian Jewish Chronicle, July 24, 1942, 15.

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Michael Garber, "To the Heads of Jewish Organizations in Montreal," September 23, 1942, in CJCCCNA, series ZA, box 2, folder 15,

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"CJC Minutes, Western Executive Committee, 1942," minutes, October 8, 1942, in JHC, box 250, file 8, 2-3.

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Max Beer, "The Montreal Jewish Community and the Holocaust," *Current Psychology* 26, no. 3-4 (2007): 191-205. See also Abella and Troper, *None Is Too Many*, 98.

68
Canadian Jewish Chronicle, December 11, 1942, 6.

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See Marrus, *Holocaust in History*, 133-40; Henry, Patrick, ed. *Jewish Resistance Against the Nazis* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2014).

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On Hitler's antisemitism, see Saul Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: Volume I: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 96-112.

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Western Jewish Bulletin, March 28, 1945, 17.

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Canadian Jewish Chronicle, October 12, 1945, 6.

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Abraham L. Feinberg, "Past, Present and Future—A Blue-Print," in Laurie T. Simonsky, *President's Annual Report* (Toronto: Holy Blossom Congregation, 1945) found in CJCCCNA, Abraham Feinberg fonds, file, "Publications."

Sheena Trimble

Sortir de l'ombre: Canadiennes juives engagées dans le mouvement d'orphelins (1947-1949)

En dépit de ses apports cruciaux, None is Too Many *est principalement une histoire des hommes ayant lutté contre les mécanismes discriminatoires de la politique migratoire canadienne. L'analyse d'Abella et Troper du programme du Conseil juif canadien (CJC) pour faire venir au Canada mille orphelins juifs européens, survivants de la Shoah, n'accorde pas aux femmes une attention à la hauteur des efforts qu'elles ont déployés pour assurer l'admission et la prise en charge de ces enfants. Cet article met en lumière leurs actions importantes dans la réalisation de ce programme.*

Despite its crucial contributions, None is Too Many *is principally a story of men who fought against the discriminatory mechanisms of Canadian immigration policies. Abella and Troper's analysis of the Canadian Jewish Congress's (CJC) program to bring 1000 European Jewish orphans to Canada, survivors of the Shoah, does not give enough attention to the efforts of women to assure the admission and care for these children. This articles sheds light on their important actions in the realization of this program.*

Le 29 avril 1947, le Conseil juif canadien (CJC) obtient de l'État fédéral l'autorisation de faire venir au Canada mille orphelins juifs européens, survivants de la Shoah, ayant moins de dix-huit ans. Originalement proposé et autorisé en 1942, ce projet avait été ralenti par des atermoiements successifs jusqu'à ce que la guerre en rende impossible l'exécution. Selon Irving Abella et Harold Troper, après la guerre, le traitement en Europe des enfants par les services d'immigration canadiens suit son cours sans rencontrer trop d'obstacles: « Du côté européen, traiter les cas de ceux éligibles s'est dans l'ensemble bien passé »[1]. Depuis le projet avorté de 1942 ou de toute autre tentative de la part de sympathisants canadiens pour secourir les Juifs européens avant et pendant la guerre, l'État et le public canadiens sont devenus beaucoup plus sensibles aux souffrances de ceux-ci. Le programme des orphelins entamé en 1947 ne rencontre plus les obstructions formidables du passé. Pourtant, l'analyse incomplète d'Abella et Troper a pour effet de minimiser les obstacles rencontrés et surmontés en Europe, et au Canada, pour faire venir ces enfants. Cette lecture imparfaite a d'autant plus besoin d'être rectifiée qu'elle a des conséquences genrées car la réussite de ce programme est due à une forte mobilisation de femmes. En dépit de ses apports cruciaux, *None is Too Many* est, à quelques exceptions près, une histoire des hommes ayant lutté contre les mécanismes discriminatoires de la politique migratoire canadienne.

Ni dans *None is too Many* ni dans la plupart des autres ouvrages traitant du programme pour les orphelins, les femmes ne reçoivent une attention à la hauteur des efforts qu'elles ont déployés pour assurer l'admission et la prise en charge des orphelins. Dans *Open Your Hearts: The Story of the Jewish War Orphans in Canada* (1996), ouvrage plus grand public que savant, Fraidie Martz comble quelque peu cette lacune. Les femmes impliquées dans le programme des orphelins s'engagent surtout dans les dispositifs pratiques comme la recherche de familles d'accueil, l'accueil

d'enfants à l'arrivée des navires et des trains, l'achat de vêtements, l'organisation de la scolarisation, des formations, des cours d'anglais sans oublier les loisirs. Les modes de « faire le genre » au Canada à la fin des années 1940 les canalisent clairement dans ces rôles[2]. Néanmoins, plusieurs femmes jouent des rôles plus ostensiblement décisionnaires: Dora Wilensky, directrice générale du *Jewish Family and Child Service* à Toronto, Thelma Tessler, directrice générale de *l'United Hebrew Social Service Bureau* à Winnipeg, Roweena Pearlman, présidente du *Calgary Orphan Placement Committee* et Mme O. Miller, coprésidente de la commission de placement à Québec. Mme Myer Brown préside la Vancouver commission lors de sa mise en place, mais elle se voit très vite remplacée par un homme[3]. Enfin, deux Canadiennes, Lottie Levinson et Ethel Ostry Genkind, jouent des rôles clés dans le déroulement du programme en Europe.

Cet article met en lumière les actions de femmes dans la réalisation du programme pour les orphelins. Les correspondances et rapports disponibles aux Archives nationales du CJC à Montréal, ainsi que des articles des journaux juifs canadiens, les archives du *National Council of Jewish Women of Canada* (NCJWC) et des témoignages des orphelins permettent de mieux saisir comment les actions de femmes ont contribué à cette migration singulière.

Cette analyse s'inscrit dans les courants historiographiques et sociologiques qui relèvent la place des femmes dans les mouvements migratoires et dans les espaces publics. Le numéro spécial de l'*International Migration Review* de l'hiver 1984, « Women in Migration », marque un pas décisif pour rectifier la marginalisation de femmes migrantes dans la littérature savante. Depuis les trente dernières années, les ouvrages ayant pour but de combler cette lacune se sont multipliés. Pourtant, très peu de ces ouvrages, du moins ceux traitant des migrations au Canada après la fin de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, abordent le sujet des actions des femmes pour faciliter ou empêcher la migration d'autres personnes. En adoptant cette perspective, cet article se joint aux recherches sur la place des femmes dans les espaces publics, civiques et politiques. Dans le temps et l'espace traité par cet article, les femmes se rabattent souvent sur ce que l'on peut considérer comme des *shadow publics:* des espaces et actions publics qui sont soit à part de, soit dans l'ombre de publics dominés par les hommes des élites. Une observation d'Erna Paris suggère que cette appellation est bien adaptée à la situation dans les communautés juives canadiennes à l'époque traitée par cet article:

> J'ai appris tôt dans ma vie qu'alors que les hommes juifs étaient les faiseurs d'idées et des politiques de leur communauté, leurs épouses et leurs filles étaient reléguées à un « shadow cabinet » à partir duquel elles fournissaient des centaines d'heures de travail aussi indispensables qu'ignorées, et qu'elles avaient aussi conscience que leurs rôles étaient subordonnés et que leurs efforts étaient secondaires par rapport à ceux des hommes[4].

Des chercheurs comme Nancy Fraser voient une certaine volonté dans la création de ces *shadow publics*: « les membres de groupes subordonnés – femmes, ouvriers, gens de couleur, et homosexuel(le)s – ont à plusieurs occasions trouvé qu'il était avantageux de représenter des publics alternatifs ». Elle les appelle des « contre-publics subalternes », insistant ainsi sur leur potentiel contestataire[5]. Dans *Undoing Gender*, Judith Butler – tout en soulignant la possibilité et le besoin de défaire les discours dominants, les normes et les pratiques genrées – concède leurs tendances têtues à cantonner les personnes dans des catégories sans que leur agentivité puisse trouver pleine expression:

> Si ce que je fais dépend de ce qui m'est fait ou plutôt de la façon dont les normes me façonnent, alors la possibilité de ma persistance comme « je » dépend de ma capacité à faire quelque chose de ce qui est fait de moi. Cela ne signifie pas que je peux refaire le monde pour en devenir son créateur. Ce fantasme d'un pouvoir divin méconnaît la façon dont nous sommes constitués, invariablement et depuis toujours, par ce qui est devant nous et autour de nous[6].

Le terme *shadow public* peut ainsi paraître plus juste que le terme contre-public selon la situation.

Certaines observations faites par Michael Warner à propos des contre-publics sont également utiles dans l'analyse des rôles des femmes dans le mouvement des orphelins juifs. Selon Warner les contre-publics se distinguent du public dominant non seulement par leurs idées ou questions politiques, mais également par les « genres discursifs et les modes du discours qui constituent le public, ou [...] la hiérarchie dans les voies de communication »[7]. On peut donc supposer que les femmes des années 1940, et tout particulièrement les migrantes ou membres de groupes minoritaires ou issues de classes populaires, sont amenées à utiliser d'autres moyens et voies d'expression et d'action que ceux contrôlés par les hommes des élites. En empruntant une analogie aux médias on peut considérer qu'il faut régler ses antennes différemment pour capter l'image (actions) et le son (expressions) des femmes à propos de nombreux sujets, y compris des phénomènes migratoires.

Il est important de considérer comment les migrantes elles-mêmes trouvent des espaces pour militer à propos des lois et règlements gérant leur migration et celle d'autres personnes. Les effets de l'intersectionnalité rendent les émissions de ces femmes, ou filles dans le cas d'enfants migrants, plus difficiles à capter car les ondes principales sont contrôlées par les dominants[8]. Les témoignages rétrospectifs de femmes migrantes servent à récupérer leur subjectivité, mais il s'agit d'une subjectivité modifiée par le temps et l'adaptation à l'espace migratoire. Récupérer les expressions et actions des orphelines juives qui auraient réorienté ce programme

reste à découvrir à partir non seulement de leurs témoignages rétrospectifs, mais également des archives de l'époque.

Cet article se concentre sur les actions des Canadiennes juives dans le déroulement de ce mouvement migratoire particulier. En étant, dans un certain sens, un *shadow public* sous-subalterne (car elles sont femmes et juives), il est difficile de percevoir leurs discours et leurs actions à cause des différentes strates qui les recouvrent: les publics dominants soit dans la société au sens large soit dans les communautés juives. Il ne s'agit pas ici tant de comparer leurs discours et actions à celles des hommes, mais de souligner et chercher des éléments d'explication pour la différence majeure: les femmes engagées dans ce programme sont beaucoup moins connues, bien que dans une large mesure elles en aient assuré le fonctionnement.

Genèse du projet et femmes engagées dans son exécution en Europe

En octobre 1946, la présidente de la commission Migration du *National Council of Women of Canada*, Norah MacDowell, essaie d'étouffer dans l'œuf une idée animant de nombreuses Canadiennes de tous milieux: faire venir des orphelins de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale au Canada:

> Il nous est quasiment impossible de comprendre l'état de délabrement nerveux et d'anormalité dans lequel se trouvent toujours ces enfants. Il serait brutal et cruel de placer un seul de ces enfants dans une famille canadienne normale, quelle que soit la gentillesse de celle-ci. Ils ne pourraient tout simplement pas s'intégrer. Pour des milliers d'entre eux, l'unique espoir réside en une attention psychiatrique et des soins médicaux professionnels, [...] leur guérison, pour devenir des enfants qui rient et jouent, dépend dans une large mesure de leur capacité à développer un sens de sécurité dans leur environnement et parmi les personnes qu'ils sont en train de connaître. Les placer dans des environnements nouveaux me parait être bien plus cruel que gentil[9].

Qu'elle pense surtout aux orphelins juifs ne fait aucun doute lorsqu'elle évoque la mort de la plupart des enfants entre trois et dix ans par un laconique: « Devinez vous-mêmes ce qui était arrivé à la cohorte manquante ! »[10]. Que le CJC ne se laisse pas décourager par les rapports catastrophiques sur la situation des enfants juifs en Europe, et y trouve même des raisons plus pressantes d'agir, se manifeste dans sa proposition présentée au Premier ministre Mackenzie King en février 1947 et finalement approuvée par le Conseil des ministres en avril de cette année[11].

Le CJC priorise la sélection d'orphelins dans les camps de personnes déplacées en Allemagne, en Autriche et en Italie. Les enfants dans les pays communistes comme

la Tchécoslovaquie, la Hongrie, la Roumanie et la Pologne constituent la deuxième priorité en tenant compte du fait qu'il serait difficile d'administrer le projet en toute liberté dans ces pays. Enfin, des orphelins juifs demeurant dans les autres pays d'Europe de l'Ouest peuvent être inclus s'il reste de la place[12]. Par rapport aux placements au Canada, le CJC garantit que les enfants ne seront pas institutionnalisés mais accueillis dans des familles soigneusement sélectionnées avec l'adoption comme but ultime. Ces dispositifs conviennent au *Canadian Welfare Council* (CWC), organisation sur laquelle l'*Immigration Branch* s'appuie pour juger des mérites du programme en matière de protection de l'enfance. Kathleen Jackson du CWC souligne d'ailleurs la nécessité de l'autorisation de chaque province où les enfants seraient accueillis et l'implication de travailleurs sociaux agréés dans la sélection en Europe et dans les placements au Canada. Le fonctionnement du programme semble satisfaire l'*Immigration Branch* et le CWC car le quota de mille orphelins passe à mille deux cent dix en septembre 1948[13].

En Europe, Lottie Levinson donne l'autorisation, au nom de Manfred Saalheimer, responsable du projet pour le CJC national, d'inclure des enfants recommandés par des travailleurs sociaux de l'*American Joint Distribution Committee* (AJDC)[14] dans des pays hors des zones occupées. Dans l'historiographie et la mémoire collective, Saalheimer est souvent crédité – en association avec Saul Hayes, directeur général du CJC national – de la réussite du programme des orphelins. Il est vrai qu'ils font ce qu'ils peuvent pour orchestrer le programme depuis Montréal, mais les responsables en Europe et dans les communautés juives à travers le Canada fonctionnent avec une large autonomie. Saalheimer lance le programme en allant en Europe en août et septembre 1947 où il rencontre les autorités de l'Immigration canadienne, puis réunit un premier groupe d'orphelins qui vont au Canada. Ce rassemblement est accompli par les bons offices des organisations juives sur place, dont l'AJDC et certains de ses personnels féminins, par exemple Lottie Levinson ou des travailleuses sociales comme Amelia Igel. Jenny Masour de l'Œuvre de secours aux enfants joue également un rôle important dans ce premier rassemblement et dans l'acheminement des orphelins au Canada. Saalheimer ne retourne plus en Europe, mais confie à Levinson une liasse de formulaires d'autorisation à utiliser selon son jugement. Entre les exigences des autorités de l'Immigration demandant que chaque enfant soit validé par un haut responsable du CJC et les pratiques de ce dernier qui empêchent les femmes d'occuper de tels postes, le travail de Levinson reste dans l'ombre de Saalheimer[15].

Née à Ottawa en 1911, Levinson devient la secrétaire générale du *Jewish Community Council* à Vancouver en 1942, qui la détache à l'Administration des Nations Unies pour les secours et la reconstruction (UNRRA) en 1944, puis à l'AJDC en 1946. Dès son arrivée en Europe en 1945, certaines de ses lettres sont publiées dans le *Jewish Western Bulletin* de Vancouver. Elle décrit la situation des Juifs dans les pays européens et dans les camps, et son action d'assistante sociale dans le Schlewig, puis

à Belsen. Levinson veut aider ces réfugiés à s'installer dans d'autres pays. À son avis, la Palestine n'offre pas alors la meilleure solution: « si seulement on arrêtait d'insister tant sur la Palestine pour trouver un accord permettant aux nôtres de pouvoir s'installer dans d'autres pays, nous n'en serions pas là. Mon travail en Europe m'a sensibilisé à l'excès de nationalisme »[16]. Ses déclarations provoquent des lettres de mécontentement de lecteurs partisans du mouvement juif en Palestine. Pourtant, les efforts de Levinson pour informer les Juifs canadiens de la situation inquiétante de leurs coreligionnaires en Europe et le besoin de faciliter leur émigration contribuent à faire monter la pression en faveur de l'admission de réfugiés juifs au Canada. Dès 1947, elle est basée à Paris à la section de l'AJDC responsable de l'administration de différents programmes de migration, dont des projets du CJC et des *Jewish Immigrant Aid Services* (JIAS), en sus du mouvement des orphelins. La carrière internationale de Levinson continue jusqu'à la fin des années 1970[17].

Le CJC engage Ethel Ostry, en détachement de l'Organisation internationale pour les réfugiés (OIR), pour sélectionner les enfants dans les camps de personnes déplacées dans les zones occupées. C'est elle qui joue le rôle de la travailleuse sociale agréée exigée par la CWC[18]. Ostry et Levinson sont en contact direct avec les autorités de l'Immigration outre-mer et ont donc la possibilité de demander leur coopération pour faciliter le mouvement. Elles transmettent également des observations et des revendications à Hayes et à Saalheimer avec lesquels elles correspondent régulièrement. Ces communications ne sont pas limitées à des plaintes adressées à l'*Immigration Branch* mais comprennent également des suggestions à propos des politiques du CJC[19]. Cerner pleinement le rôle de Levinson dans le déroulement du programme demande le dépouillement des archives de l'AJDC à New York, entreprise qui révélerait également les actions d'autres femmes travaillant pour cette association américaine et impliquées dans le projet canadien.

Ethel Ostry est née en 1904 dans la partie ukrainienne de la Russie ; sa famille immigre à Winnipeg afin d'échapper aux pogroms quand Ostry est en bas âge. En 1924, elle reçoit une licence ès lettres de l'Université du Manitoba, puis commence sa carrière dans le travail social. L'absence de diplôme dans ce domaine au Manitoba l'oblige à apprendre le métier sur le tas. Elle complète son expérience en suivant un programme à l'University of Chicago quelques années plus tard. Sa carrière commence à Winnipeg, mais elle occupe des postes à Montréal et à Toronto avant d'être candidate à un poste à l'UNRRA en 1945. Lors de son passage à l'UNRRA, Ostry a accès à de nombreuses informations sur les survivants de la Shoah et contribue à leur diffusion au Canada. En mai 1947, elle épouse un Lituanien juif déplacé et devient Mme Ostry Genkind[20].

Ostry passe deux années à l'UNRRA jusqu'*à la fin du mandat de cette organisation (1947)*. Ensuite, elle effectue un transfert, comme beaucoup d'autres personnels de l'UNRRA,

à l'OIR[21]. Le CJC lui propose le poste pour sélectionner les orphelins dans les zones occupées, ce qui entraîne son détachement de l'OIR en septembre 1947. Ostry tient un journal de ses expériences avec l'UNRRA, source particulièrement révélatrice de sa personnalité et des défis auxquels doit répondre cette organisation. De son poste d'assistante sociale principale dans un premier camp de personnes déplacées, Ostry est rapidement promue au poste de directrice d'un camp consacré à l'accueil de réfugiés juifs. Sa rétrogradation arrive presque aussi vite que sa promotion. Ses compétences ne semblent pas en question, mais son indépendance d'esprit pose problème. Cette travailleuse sociale juive ashkénaze ayant la quarantaine, beaucoup d'expérience professionnelle, aux idées progressistes, dotée d'une détermination sans faille en faveur des survivants juifs et d'un regard critique envers certaines pratiques de l'Armée d'occupation américaine, n'est clairement pas suffisamment malléable pour la hiérarchie militaire. Ostry est surtout offusquée par la tendance de l'Armée américaine à pardonner rapidement aux Allemands et aux collaborateurs et à les employer, tout en traitant les survivants juifs avec peu de compassion[22]. Elle n'est certainement pas la seule à ressentir et à exprimer cette frustration. Outre les survivants eux-mêmes, des dizaines de personnes travaillant dans les camps en Europe et même un envoyé spécial du Président Truman, Earl G. Harrison, pointe du doigt le retard des Forces alliées à prendre des mesures pour la réhabilitation des survivants juifs et à se sensibiliser à leurs horribles vécus[23].

Les supérieurs d'Ostry à l'UNRRA ne semblent pas insatisfaits de son travail, mais ils ne peuvent pas s'opposer à l'Armée américaine. Lorsque le CJC entreprend de l'engager pour le projet concernant les orphelins, Saalheimer contacte l'OIR pour une évaluation du travail d'Ostry Genkind. L'OIR transmet un rapport dans lequel son superviseur lui donne la note de « A », insistant sur son énergie, son initiative, sa capacité de leadership et de coopération, et le fait qu'elle soit hautement qualifiée[24]. Les traits de personnalité qui amènent Ostry Genkind à résister à la rigidité d'une hiérarchie stricte sont des atouts dans une situation où elle doit gérer un projet à grande distance du siège social du CJC à Montréal. Ce rapport ne peut que soulager Saalheimer: un cadre de l'AJDC avait essayé de le dissuader d'embaucher Ostry Genkind sous prétexte qu'elle n'était pas appréciée dans son organisation. Pour sa part, Ostry Genkind met régulièrement en garde le CJC contre trop d'implication des organisations juives présentes en Europe dans le projet. Elle les trouve plus intéressées par la politique que par le bien-être des Juifs européens[25]. Ostry Genkind établit son bureau à Munich-Pasing, mais sillonne la zone américaine et fait des incursions en zone britannique et en Italie pour chercher des orphelins répondant aux critères du programme.

L'AJDC n'est pas négatif uniquement à propos de l'embauche d'Ostry Genkind, mais également par rapport au projet dans son ensemble. Selon Amelia Igel, consultante sur la protection de l'enfance pour l'AJDC, le CJC ne trouvera jamais mille orphelins

car les adolescents approchant dix-huit ans veulent tous aller en Palestine. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'enfants plus jeunes, les associations sionistes les rassemblent dans des camps afin de leur fournir un cadre affectif et de les préparer à un avenir comme bâtisseurs d'une état-nation en Palestine[26]. Malgré ces débuts peu encourageants, l'AJDC adhère finalement au projet. Les raisons de ce changement d'attitude ne sont pas très claires. L'organisation reconnaît-elle, comme l'avance Ostry Genkind, que même dans des conditions de libre mouvement en Palestine, il y aura toujours des personnes cherchant à aller en Amérique du Nord[27]? L'AJDC considère peut-être le programme canadien comme une sorte d'étape intermédiaire pour les jeunes hésitant à partir en Palestine dans les conditions d'incertitude qui prévalent entre septembre 1947 et novembre 1948. Une des politiques de l'AJDC est d'ailleurs de faire sortir des personnes des pays communistes par tous les moyens possibles[28].

Vue par l'AJDC comme trop stricte dans ses méthodes de sélection, Ostry Genkind refuse des adolescents qui ont des attaches étroites avec leur famille élargie en Europe ou qui ne sont pas prêts à occuper les métiers qui embauchent au Canada. Des jeunes exprimant un intérêt pour le Canada seulement comme étape transitoire entre l'Europe et la Palestine ou les États-Unis ne reçoivent pas son approbation non plus. Ostry Genkind tarde à se rendre en zone britannique et en Italie pour des raisons peu claires. Des membres du personnel de l'AJDC, dont sa concitoyenne Levinson, dénoncent au CJC cette réticence[29]. Il n'est pas possible de cerner la source exacte du différend entre Levinson et Ostry Genkind à partir des archives consultées. Levinson, ayant travaillé elle-même dans la zone britannique, ressent un certain devoir envers les Juifs qui ont échoué là. Sa tentative de persuader le CJC d'accepter des enfants juifs vivants en France, dans des conditions qu'elle juge très difficiles, indique d'ailleurs une envie de secourir tout le monde. Pour sa part, Ostry Genkind connaît mieux la zone américaine et semble considérer que concentrer son travail dans cette zone et en Autriche est justifiée par un nombre plus conséquent d'enfants survivants que dans la zone Britannique ou en Italie. Elle est suffisamment impressionnée par les talents de Levinson pour demander au CJC d'affecter celle-ci à son service. Ce vœu n'est pas exaucé, ostensiblement parce que l'AJDC ne peut se passer d'elle ; les archives ne montrent pas si ce refus est également lié à l'opposition de Levinson elle-même[30].

Selon Ostry Genkind, le personnel de l'AJDC ne fait guère de zèle, ni dans la zone Britannique, ni ailleurs, pour confirmer que les enfants sont de vrais orphelins et ont moins de dix-huit ans. Elle les considère complices d'efforts visant à inclure des enfants qui ne conviennent pas vraiment au programme canadien. De plus, Ostry Genkind se méfie sérieusement des dossiers préparés par les personnels de l'AJDC, qu'elle juge trop superficiels. Au crédit d'Ostry Genkind, les travailleurs sociaux au Canada responsables des placements trouvent ses dossiers nettement plus utiles que ceux de l'AJDC et Saalheimer soutient les efforts d'Ostry Genkind pour réunir autant d'information que possible sur les enfants[31].

Lorsque le CJC interroge Ostry Genkind sur les critères qu'elle utilise pour sélectionner les orphelins, elle décrit sa collaboration dans la partie allemande de la zone américaine avec les centres de transit pour enfants organisés par l'UNRRA–OIR à Prien et à Aglasterhausen. Le personnel dans ces centres confirme que les enfants ont fait l'objet d'efforts poussés pour retrouver leurs parents et que l'état de santé physique et mentale des enfants les rend prêts à supporter le rapatriement ou l'établissement dans un autre pays. Dans un témoignage recueilli une cinquantaine d'années plus tard, Celina Lieberman, quatorze ans au moment de sa sélection pour le programme des orphelins, se souvient bien des examens minutieux à Aglasterhausen: « Nous dûmes tous subir un examen médical et psychologique. [...] Les interrogatoires furent terribles. Ils tenaient compte de notre personnalité, de l›état de notre santé et de notre caractère. J›imagine qu›ils ne voulaient pas de déséquilibrés ni de malades »[32].

Ostry Genkind se dit moins capable de confirmer le statut d'orphelin des enfants en Autriche car le programme de l'OIR pour rechercher les parents n'en est qu'à ses balbutiements et il faut donc compter sur les efforts de l'AJDC. Elle explique le soin qu'elle prend dans ses entretiens avec les enfants pour confirmer qu'ils ont perdu leurs deux parents, qu'ils entrent dans la fourchette d'âge et qu'ils s'adapteraient à la vie au Canada. Elle sélectionne « ceux qui paraissaient avoir le plus de chance de bien s'intégrer dans l'environnement canadien et d'apporter une contribution significative à ce pays comme nouveaux Canadiens ». Elle les avertit même, afin de faciliter leur adaptation, de ne pas trop attendre du Canada[33].

L'approche d'Ostry Genkind des politiques établies par la Direction de l'immigration et du CJC pour gérer ce mouvement est de les appliquer avec une grande précision, ce qui aurait dû plaire à ces deux entités, mais cela n'a pas toujours été le cas. Son mépris des collaborateurs du CJC en Europe comme l'AJDC oblige le CJC à redoubler de diplomatie à la suite des interventions d'Ostry Genkind. Lorsqu'il s'agit des agents d'immigration, elle n'essaie pas de leur plaire mais d'obtenir des visas pour les enfants qu'elle sélectionne. Étant donné ses critères stricts, elle est prête à faire appel en faveur de tous les cas que les agents rejettent et connaît d'ailleurs un certain succès[34]. En d'autres termes, son approche n'est pas de contourner les politiques d'immigration, mais de les affronter, de même que leurs administrateurs, sans détours. Bref, elle ne se plie pas facilement aux normes dominantes de l'époque pour faire le genre. En tant que femme d'esprit fort, son mode opératoire est plutôt celui d'un contre–public que d'un *shadow public*.

Si Ostry Genkind croit qu'une politique est injuste, elle en réclame la modification, directement aux agents d'immigration, mais plus souvent en demandant au CJC d'aborder le sujet avec les décideurs à Ottawa. Le CJC le fait sans faillir, une indication de son respect pour ses opinions mais également de sa compréhension

est qu'elle ne demande que des mesures dans l'intérêt des orphelins eux-mêmes. Le premier interlocuteur d'Ostry Genkind à la *Canadian Government Immigration Mission* à Heidelberg (puis à Karlsruhe), Odilon Cormier, n'est pas très coopératif bien qu'ayant promis de l'être dans une réunion avec Saalheimer et Levinson avant le commencement du programme. Le problème semble dépasser le simple conflit de personnalité entre Ostry Genkind et Cormier. L'antisémitisme n'est pas inconnu dans les services d'immigration et Cormier n'y échappe pas. Chargé d'approuver ou de rejeter les réfugiés juifs de la péninsule ibérique destinés au Canada en 1943-1944, Cormier est réputé pour son opposition systématique[35].

Cependant, Ostry Genkind ne laisse pas Cormier mener le jeu ; elle ne cesse de riposter jusqu'à l'arrivée en décembre 1947 de P.C. Bird qui semble plus disposé à collaborer. Néanmoins, une des pierres d'achoppement avec les deux hommes est leur insistance sur la nécessité de soumettre ces orphelins mineurs à des contrôles de sécurité par les agents de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada. Ostry Genkind écrit à Saalheimer à deux reprises pour lui demander d'obtenir une dérogation d'Ottawa, ce qu'il réussit finalement à faire. Elle est également confrontée au fait que les personnes déplacées sélectionnées par des industriels pour travailler au Canada sont prioritaires pour le transport au détriment des orphelins et du regroupement familial. Malgré ses efforts en Europe et au Canada à travers le CJC, elle n'arrive pas à changer cette approche, soutenue par le ministère du Travail, plus favorable aux industriels qu'aux orphelins et aux familles[36].

J.D. McFarlane, agent d'immigration, ne s'occupe pas du mouvement d'orphelins, mais juge nécessaire de prendre Ostry Genkind à part pour lui exprimer sa désapprobation à propos de la sélection d'une majorité d'adolescents. Celle-ci lui fait alors une leçon de morale sur les conséquences de la Shoah sur les enfants en bas âge:

> Je [...] lui fournis quelques détails sur le grand dessein d'Hitler pour exterminer tous les nourrissons et jeunes enfants juifs, et fis remarquer que ceux qui étaient encore vivants avaient été recueillis par des familles polonaises et avaient survécu, ou bien qu'ils avaient échappé aux fours crématoires en se cachant dans les bois[37].

Cette explication satisfait ce fonctionnaire peu sensibilisé à ce sujet, mais il insiste néanmoins sur la nécessité de l'appeler « programme pour jeunes » au lieu de « programme pour orphelins »[38].

Outre son objectif de faire accepter autant d'enfants sélectionnés par elle que possible, Ostry Genkind revendique l'inclusion dans le programme de frères et de sœurs ayant entre 18 et 21 ans dans l'intérêt du regroupement familial des fratries dépourvues d'autres membres de famille proche. Le CJC transmet cette proposition à la Direction

de l'immigration à Ottawa, mais la réponse est un non catégorique[39]. Ostry Genkind et le CJC encouragent les jeunes trop âgés à postuler aux programmes de recrutement d'ouvriers, surtout celui d'ouvriers dans l'industrie du vêtement où les employeurs juifs prédominent. Le CJC a peu d'espoir qu'ils soient recrutés pour des industries à la recherche de mineurs, bûcherons et ouvriers agricoles. L'organisation travaille dans le même temps à la constitution d'un dossier contre des pratiques antisémites signalées au niveau du recrutement dans le secteur primaire. Ostry Genkind est une des sources de ces rapports. Un peu avant le début de son contrat avec le CJC, elle assure un représentant de l'industrie du bois et membre de l'équipe de sélection que le stéréotype selon lequel « les juifs ne sont guère attirés par le métier de bûcheron » n'est pas avéré par les faits[40].

En septembre 1948, Ostry Genkind évoque la fin de son contrat avec le CJC. Cela fait presque un an qu'elle dirige le programme dans les zones occupées. Après trois ans en Europe elle a envie de retrouver le Canada et d'y faire venir son époux. Elle estime que le nombre de candidats restant dans les camps est très limité et qu'ils envisagent de plus en plus d'aller en Israël. Le CJC la convainc de rester jusqu'à la fin octobre pour accompagner les demandes d'enfants en cours et pour faire une dernière tournée en Italie. Le programme continue à fonctionner jusqu'en 1952 avec le personnel de l'AJDC[41].

Ostry Genkind demande si le CJC a un poste pour elle au Canada mais la réponse est négative[42]. Le CJC est moins susceptible d'avoir besoin des compétences d'une travailleuse sociale expérimentée que des organisations juives avec des missions plus pratiques que politiques. On se demande également si l'idée d'intégrer Ostry Genkind au cœur de l'organisation ne fait pas peur au CJC. C'est une bonne recrue à utiliser sur le terrain pour travailler avec beaucoup d'autonomie et affronter des personnes et des conditions qui peuvent faire obstacle aux objectifs, mais à condition que ces qualités ne soient pas utilisées contre l'organisation elle-même. Non seulement Ostry Genkind froisse des collaborateurs du CJC mais elle a des exigences en termes de ressources – secrétaire, assistant, voiture – qui gênent le CJC lui-même[43].

L'opinion des enfants sur l'efficacité d'Ostry Genkind est peut-être la plus pertinente. Dans les archives administratives du programme, on ne trouve pas de plaintes d'orphelins mais cela ne signifie pas qu'ils sont tous satisfaits de son travail. Les quelques récits de vie disponibles des jeunes choisis, recueillis des décennies plus tard, n'évoquent pas les noms d'Ostry Genkind ou de Levinson. Ils parlent seulement du processus de sélection très rigoureux, sans faire de distinctions parmi les acteurs ou les organisations impliqués. Cependant, des orphelins qu'Ostry Genkind a aidés à aller au Canada sont suffisamment reconnaissants envers elle pour lui payer son billet d'avion lors de la célébration du vingtième anniversaire de leur arrivée au Canada. Il est possible également qu'ils aient tissé plus de liens avec elle après son

retour au Canada quand elle est devenue secrétaire générale du *Jewish Children's Home* à Winnipeg au début de 1949[44].

Le taux d'acceptation à l'immigration des enfants qu'elle présente, si ces chiffres existent, serait un autre moyen de mesurer son efficacité. On ne sait pas si elle a plus de réussite grâce à son approche stricte et directe que Levinson et l'AJDC qui présentent des enfants de France, Belgique, Suisse et des pays de l'Europe de l'Est pour des visas à Paris. Des années plus tard, Levinson évoque des défis rencontrés dans le programme des orphelins, y compris avec les agents d'immigration. Elle considère qu'elle était bien armée pour faire face à ces défis: « Si vous saviez comment vous y prendre avec des personnes bien placées, le plus dur était fait. [...] Heureusement, pour la mission qui m'avait été assignée outremer, je possédais cette qualité »[45]. Elle y suggère que son approche n'est peut–être pas aussi directe que celle d'Ostry Genkind, mais elle sait parvenir à ses fins en mariant des approches conciliatoires, subversives et revendicatives.

Les plaintes du personnel de l'AJDC sur les méthodes de sélection d'Ostry Genkind, strictes et concentrées dans la zone américaine, suggèrent une accusation de manque de compassion et de justice. Avec le quota établi pour le programme d'orphelins, une méthode de sélection est nécessaire. Choisir une personne signifie en exclure une autre ; des jugements apparaissent dans tout processus de sélection. Levinson essaie de convaincre le CJC d'inclure plus d'enfants en France dans le quota car elle trouve leurs conditions de vie très difficiles. L'organisation est assez catégorique dans son refus, arguant que la situation du pays ne le justifie pas. Ostry Genkind signale que les conditions dans les camps en Italie sont aussi mauvaises qu'en Allemagne mais l'antisémitisme y est beaucoup moins prononcé. Le CJC est aussi catégorique que l'État canadien sur le fait qu'il faut faire l'impasse sur les enfants malades: « nous devons être très stricts et écarter les enfants malades, surtout ceux atteints de tuberculose ». L›organisation ne veut pas assumer les frais médicaux de ces enfants[46].

Les raisons citées par le CJC, Ostry Genkind ou Levinson pour inclure certains enfants et en écarter d'autres démontrent leurs perceptions respectives des besoins, des mérites et des potentiels des enfants pour s'intégrer et contribuer au développement du Canada. Dans ce travail de sélection Ostry Genkind, Levinson et les autres femmes impliquées en Europe pénètrent des domaines réservés des autorités, surtout masculines, de l'Immigration. Ainsi, ces femmes juives – décidément des subalternes selon les normes de l'époque – trouvent leurs voix ainsi qu'une voie pour sortir de la pénombre dans laquelle leur genre et leur appartenance ethno–religieuse les ont placées. Leur participation, et le programme dans son ensemble, visent à effacer l'antisémitisme endémique auparavant présent dans les décisions prises pour l'admission des migrants au Canada. Déterminer si leur genre différencie leurs approches ou leurs décisions de celles des hommes impliqués n'est pas le but ici.

Cette comparaison serait intéressante à mener à condition qu'elle ne tombe pas dans le piège de chercher l'essentiel homme ou femme, et que la comparaison analyse comment les constructions du genre de l'époque obligent les femmes à travailler différemment des hommes. Comme l'explique Butler, même si le genre est construit contre la volonté des genré(e)s, cela restreint mais n'empêche pas des actions subjectives pour défaire ces constructions. Le fait qu'Ostry Genkind et Levinson résistent aux constructions dominantes se manifeste par le mariage tardif de l'une ou renoncé de l'autre, par des niveaux d'instruction et de responsabilité relativement élevés, par leur engagement en Europe ainsi que par des approches plus ou moins agressives. Dans ce programme, elles sortent du *shadow public* dans lequel se situent la majorité des Canadiennes juives, mais elles restent néanmoins dans l'ombre de la mémoire collective du mouvement des orphelins, mémoire construite surtout par les élites masculines des communautés juives canadiennes, loin de l'Europe.

Femmes impliquées au Canada

En fin de compte, les orphelins sélectionnés sont une majorité de garçons entre seize et dix-huit ans. Selon Ethel Bassin, impliquée dans l'accueil des orphelins à Regina, leur placement est dirigé principalement par des hommes mais exécuté majoritairement par les femmes: « les hommes organisaient, les femmes exécutaient »[47]. La commission nationale gérant ce mouvement est composée majoritairement d'hommes, mais les commissions locales sont plus équilibrées. Les sous-commissions chargées des responsabilités pratiques du placement sont à caractère largement féminin, donnant ainsi l'impression que les constructions du genre dictent qu'elles sont les mieux aptes à s'occuper de l'accueil, de l'hébergement, de l'habillement, de l'alimentation et du divertissement des enfants. Les femmes sont par conséquent éloignées des décisions gérant l'admission de ces enfants au Canada. Quelques-unes essaient néanmoins de faire remonter leurs opinions vers la hiérarchie des commissions. Les travailleuses sociales, chargées de l'évaluation et du suivi des orphelins, semblent mieux placées pour cela que les autres femmes.

Ben Lappin, dans son étude inédite de 1963 sur le mouvement, s'attarde longuement sur la différence de perspective entre dirigeants communautaires et travailleurs sociaux quant aux besoins des orphelins. Les critères et exigences des travailleurs sociaux sont vus souvent comme trop exagérés par ces dirigeants qui leur préfèrent une charité traditionnelle. Lappin considère l'influence des différences générationnelles mais pas celles du genre, dans un contexte où la majorité des élites sont des hommes d'un certain âge et la majorité des travailleurs sociaux sont des femmes plus jeunes. Il donne pourtant l'impression que la différence de perspective est la plus marquée à Toronto où le service social est dirigé par une femme, Dora Wilensky[48].

Selon Lappin et Martz, les membres des communautés, hommes et femmes, se

sentent pareillement marginalisés dans des rôles secondaires qui ne leur donnent pas la possibilité « d'établir davantage de relations personnelles » avec les orphelins. Pour leur part, les travailleurs sociaux se sentent surveillés à la loupe dans leur travail et tenus à distance lorsque les chefs communautaires sont également des familles d'accueil qui doivent être triées et supervisées. Malgré ces constats, Lappin suggère que le travail est partagé classiquement entre les dirigeants des associations qui « assumaient la responsabilité de la prise de décisions » et les professionnels du travail social qui « transformaient ces politiques et ces normes en réalité »[49]. Pourtant, les tensions entre les deux groupes semblent également liées au refus des travailleuses sociales de rester dans le rôle convenu de femmes exécutant des décisions d'hommes. Leur expertise en travail social sert ainsi de levier pour jouer des rôles plus publics et plus influents.

Les femmes dans les communautés juives à travers le Canada ont un impact plutôt prononcé sur le nombre et le type de familles d'accueil disponibles. Malgré une compréhension théorique des conséquences de la Shoah sur la population juvénile juive en Europe, beaucoup de familles juives proposent de n'accueillir chez eux que des enfants en bas âge ou des filles. Cette attitude, influencée certainement autant par l'épouse que l'époux, oblige les commissions dans presque toutes les villes d'accueil à payer des familles pour l'hébergement des garçons adolescents qui arrivent en plus grand nombre. Presque toutes les villes demandent davantage de filles et d'enfants en bas âge[50]. À une époque où les identités genrées sont censées être figées et dotées de certaines caractéristiques typiques, beaucoup de familles sont convaincues que les garçons plus âgés seraient plus difficiles à gérer et à intégrer dans la famille. Aucune comparaison n'existe et même si elle existait, quel rôle les attentes sociales des garçons joueraient-elles dans leurs comportements éventuels? Les archives et des témoignages rétrospectifs d'orphelins et familles d'accueil montrent que, sur les quelque sept cent soixante-dix garçons et quelque trois cent cinquante filles arrivés à la fin du programme, certaines des filles exaspèrent leur famille d'accueil, et inversement, dans des pourcentages comparables à ceux des garçons[51]. Les familles d'accueil ne semblent pas intégrer la possibilité que les cultures d'origines des enfants ont peut-être une façon différente de faire le genre ou, encore plus important, de mesurer comment le vécu des filles pendant la Shoah a défait les normes genrées. Les stéréotypes genrés, véhiculés autant par les femmes que par les hommes, influent sur l'admission éventuelle de ces jeunes immigrants car l'équipe en Europe a la consigne d'envoyer les enfants à un rythme conforme à la capacité de trouver des familles d'accueil au Canada[52].

Parmi les différentes associations juives, les travailleurs sociaux et les familles d'accueil, nombreux sont ceux qui s'attendent à des problèmes psychologiques plutôt graves. David Weiss, directeur du *Family and Child Welfare Department* du *Baron de Hirsch Institute* à Montréal, agace la commission chargée du recrutement de familles

à Montréal car il croit nécessaire de préparer la communauté « pour le pire scénario possible »[53]. Après son retour au Canada, en septembre 1949, Ostry Genkind écrit un article pour la revue *Canadian Welfare* où elle traite des possibilités et des méthodes pour réussir l'intégration des enfants qui arrivent au Canada. Ses observations et conseils sont un mélange d'optimisme, de pragmatisme et parfois de réalisme brutal:

> Les enfants victimes du fascisme sont les plus pitoyables de ces survivants. Comme ancien détenu d'un camp de concentration et comme travailleur forcé, l'enfant a enduré des tortures inimaginables, a été témoin de la bestialité meurtrière des Nazis! Pour cet enfant, la relation parent–enfant normale a depuis longtemps disparu. L'objectif principal a été la survie physique. [...] Bien que nombre d'entre eux donnent l'impression de s'être remarquablement remis de ces vicissitudes, physiquement et émotionnellement, il est fort probable qu'ils seront sujets à la dépression. Les maladies et les longues périodes de privations, bien que surmontées, ne disparaissent pas comme ça. Comment un enfant peut–il oublier que ses parents aient choisi la mort pour qu'il puisse vivre ou qu'il ait été obligé d'appuyer sur la gâchette qui a tué ses frères et ses sœurs[54]?

L'impact de ces mots est atténué par le fait que les lecteurs de la revue sont en majorité des travailleurs sociaux professionnels et qu'elle écrit cet article quand la majorité des orphelins sont déjà arrivés. Il ne s'agit pas de choquer ou de décourager les non professionnels en contact avec des orphelins européens, mais de munir ses collègues d'une perspective plus large du vécu de ces enfants. Ayant vécu la situation au plus près, Ostry Genkind est peut–être mieux placée, mais pas mieux écoutée parmi les communautés juives, que Wiess pour commenter le vécu des orphelins. Cela dit, les pronostics de tous ces experts sont parasités par des cadres de référence construits par les théories en vogue. Comme l'explique Fraidie Martz, travailleuse sociale ayant publié un ouvrage sur le projet: « Comme cela est souvent le cas lorsque de passionnantes et nouvelles théories voient le jour [...] celles–ci sont souvent appliquées avec un grand enthousiasme et une fausse assurance. Les psychiatres, psychologues et autres travailleurs sociaux ont adopté de façon zélée leur toute nouvelle compétence »[55]. Pour les femmes exerçant ces professions, ces théories et expertises de plus en plus acceptées leur octroient un pouvoir et une influence peu accessibles sans ce bagage.

Certains des travailleurs sociaux en contact avec les orphelins juifs concèdent cependant les limites de leur expertise sur des comportements attendus. Dora Wilensky, formée à la *New York School for Social Work* et considérée comme une professionnelle d'avant–garde, avoue en 1950 que « le vécu et les sentiments que ces enfants avaient en eux nous étaient inconnus et étaient différents de tout ce que nous avions connu précédemment »[56]. Eva Kenyon, immigrante arrivée en 1940 et une des

travailleuses sociales sous les ordres de Wilensky, explique qu'elle et ses collègues adressent les orphelins les plus troublés aux psychiatres. Martz conclut à partir des opinions exprimées par Kenyon que les psychiatres « n'en savaient guère plus qu'elles. La compréhension des effets des traumatismes n'en était qu'à ses balbutiements »[57].

Dans la publicité destinée à attirer des familles d'accueil pour les orphelins, des sections du *National Council of Jewish Women of Canada* semblent vouloir apaiser les craintes à propos du lourd passé des enfants. En septembre 1947, la présidente de la section de Montréal, Antonia Robinson, déclare que les orphelins « viennent ici pour oublier le passé et recommencer à zéro leur vie ». La section d'Edmonton adopte un ton semblable en février 1949: « Ils n'ont besoin que d'une famille et d'un peu d'affection pour les aider à oublier les horreurs qu'ils ont endurées »[58]. Kenyon avoue d'ailleurs que même des professionnels croyaient que l'amour était suffisant pour guérir toutes les blessures: « J'étais très naïve [...] Comme tout le monde, je pensais que si on s'occupait de quelqu'un avec suffisamment d'amour, cela effacerait les dégâts et que cela aiderait »[59]. Savoir si les femmes associées au programme sont motivées plus par l'amour et croient davantage en ses vertus reconstructrices que les hommes importe moins ici que le fait d'être présentes dans les actions pour faire fonctionner le programme en ouvrant les portes aux orphelins et en facilitant leur intégration. Bien que l'on puisse dire que ces rôles ne sont pas décisionnaires, ils décident largement du devenir du programme.

Entre les conseils qu'un peu d'amour suffirait d'un côté et qu'il faut s'attendre au pire de l'autre, les interlocuteurs des orphelins ont sans doute du mal à s'y retrouver, d'autant plus que chaque enfant réagit à sa façon. Des femmes comme Thelma Tessler, travailleuse sociale en contact avec les enfants placés à Winnipeg, s'efforcent de faire passer le message que la majorité des enfants s'adaptent de manière satisfaisante après un temps d'ajustement compréhensible. Tessler se montre également très consciente de l'individualité de chaque enfant:

> Connaissant les épreuves traversées par ces enfants, on pourrait logiquement s'attendre à ce qu'ils soient devenus des épaves psychologiques et pourtant ce n'est pas le cas. L'explication de cela réside dans le fait que leurs vécus, pour aussi difficiles qu'ils aient été, furent très variés et ils ont tous traversé ces épreuves avec des capacités d'ajustement différentes[60].

Il est difficile de savoir si cette perspective équilibrée arrive à s'installer dans les communautés d'accueil et devient le message porté systématiquement aux décideurs des politiques d'immigration. Les femmes dans ces communautés sont pourtant bien représentées même si elles ne sont pas toujours les plus visibles dans la transmission des assurances ou des craintes si cruciale au bon déroulement du programme au Canada.

Conclusion

Les actions des femmes comme Ethel Ostry Genkind, Lottie Levinson, Dora Wilensky, Eva Kenyon, Thelma Tessler et de beaucoup d'autres demeurent un sujet méritant plus d'attention historiographique. Les perceptions et vécus des familles d'accueil en général, et des femmes en particulier, demeurent peu étudiés. Il est trop tard pour avoir recours aux entretiens des parents d'accueil, mais un examen systématique des dossiers, bien sûr anonymisés, est digne d'intérêt. La forte représentation féminine dans le corps des travailleurs sociaux et dans les commissions locales appelle également à des recherches approfondies, et sensibles aux constructions du genre, des archives des groupes impliqués à travers le Canada. Inclure les femmes dans l'histoire du croisement entre les politiques d'immigration du Canada et le sort des Juifs européens entre 1933 et 1948 ne fait pas partie des apports considérables de *None is Too Many*. Paru dans sa première édition en 1982, le livre fait partie des travaux ayant pour objet de « récupérer le sujet subalterne », pour emprunter le terme de Rosalind O'Hanlon, que représentent les Canadiens juifs, et leurs sympathisants, dans leurs actions pour aider les Juifs européens entre 1933 et 1948[61]. Cet article représente un effort modeste pour passer à une autre étape, celle de récupérer le sujet sous-subalterne: les femmes juives impliquées dans le mouvement des orphelins entre 1947 et 1949.

La préoccupation profonde chez des Canadiennes juives pour les orphelins européens les incite à s'impliquer dans le programme pour faire venir plus de mille deux cents de ces jeunes survivants de la Shoah au Canada. Cet engagement va jusqu'à les accueillir chez elles quoiqu'elles manifestent une préférence pour les jeunes enfants, et les fillettes en particulier. L'implication de femmes spécialistes de la protection de l'enfance dans cette migration est une conséquence des critères établis par l'État et le CWC ainsi que la volonté des communautés juives, et de ces femmes, de mettre toutes leurs ressources en œuvre afin de faciliter l'intégration des orphelins. Les pouvoirs décisionnels des femmes impliquées sont variables. Au Canada, elles doivent jouer des coudes avec les hommes qui dominent le CJC et d'autres associations communautaires. Les femmes responsables de la sélection d'enfants en Europe sont plutôt autonomisées, jouant ainsi des rôles clés dans le déroulement du programme, quoique leurs contributions ne soient toujours pas valorisées dans l'historiographie et la mémoire collective. À la fin des années 1940, si rôle public pour les femmes il y a, celui-ci se situe souvent dans une catégorie de public éclipsée par les publics où dominent les hommes. Pourtant, les constructions du genre de l'époque proposent une explication partielle des places, et de leur visibilité, occupées par les femmes dans l'exécution du programme pour les orphelins.

Une autre explication vient de la nature hautement symbolique de ce programme. Ce dernier représente pour les communautés juives au Canada une chance d'effacer

quelque peu le profond sens du chagrin dû à leur impuissance face au pouvoir meurtrier des nazis et à l'apathie du reste du monde. Au-delà du secours d'un millier d'orphelins, ce programme trouve donc son importance dans son pouvoir symbolique. Beaucoup de Canadiens juifs ont envie de retrouver de la rédemption en s'y impliquant. Certaines personnes sont mieux placées que d'autres pour se l'approprier. Selon Frank Bialystock, l'Assemblée générale du CJC 1948 est marquée par beaucoup de fierté ou *chest thumping* à propos du rôle joué par l'organisation et ses dirigeants dans la conception et l'exécution des programmes pour faire venir des survivants[62].

Cette attitude n'échappe pas aux orphelins. L'une d'entre eux, Lea Kaufman se rappelle des décennies plus tard de l'effet du débarquement de son groupe à Halifax le 14 février 1948: « Nombreux sont ceux qui sont venus nous voir, j'avais l'impression d'être un singe dans un zoo, personne ne prêtant attention à nos besoins personnels ou à ce que nous pensions »[63]. Si les orphelins ont du mal à exprimer leur agentivité dans ce programme conçu ostensiblement pour eux, de nombreuses femmes impliquées se retrouvent marginalisées également. Cela n'empêche pas qu'elles chosifient les orphelins à leur tour. Les traces demeurent pour le moment trop peu suivies pour connaître toute la gamme de comportements et d'actions qu'elles adoptent. Les quelques exemples cités ici laissent simplement entendre qu'ils forment une tapisserie riche et sûrement contrastée qui demande une minutieuse restauration.

1
Irving Abella et Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1986 [1983], p. 270–274. Toutes les citations, sauf celles des notes 5 et 32, ont été traduites de l'anglais par l'auteure de cet article.

2
Selon West et Zimmerman, « le genre d'un individu n'est pas simplement une dimension de ce qu'il est; il est, plus fondamentalement, quelque chose que l'on fait, et que l'on *fait* [sic] de manière répétée, en interagissant avec autrui ». D'ailleurs, « le *faire* du genre est réalisé par des femmes et des hommes dont les compétences de membres de la société sont les otages de sa production. », Candace West et Don H. Zimmerman, « Faire le genre », *Nouvelles Questions Féministes,* trad. Fabienne Malbois, vol. 28, no 3, octobre 2009, p. 35, p. 50

3
Rapport, Orphan Settlement in Western Canada, Winnipeg Conference, 1er décembre 1948, volume 28, dossier Winnipeg, Man., 1948-1952 (désormais Manitoba, désormais une barre oblique remplacera les mots volume et dossier), C-War Orphans Immigration Project (désormais C-WOIP), I0062, fonds United Jewish Relief Agencies (désormais UJRA), Archives nationales du Congrès juif canadien, Comité des charités, (maintenant les Archives juives canadiennes Alex Dworkin), Montréal (désormais ANCJCCC) (; Articles du *Jewish Western Bulletin:* « Committee acts on Kanee visit », 24 octobre 1947 et « Co-ordinating committee asks aid », 4 novembre 1947.

4
Erna Paris, *Jews, An Account of Their Experience in Canada*, Toronto, Macmillan, 1980, p. 12

5
Nancy Fraser, « Repenser la sphère publique : une contribution à la critique de la démocratie telle qu'elle existe réellement », trad. Muriel Valenta, *Hermès*, no 31, 2001, p. 138

6
Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender,* New York, Routledge, 2004, p. 3

7
Michael Warner, « Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version) », *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, vol. 88, no 4, novembre 2002, p. 423–424

8
L'intersectionnalité se réfère à l'imbrication et la constitution mutuelle de plus d'une identité dévalorisée. Dans les formulations initiales du concept, les travaux se concentrent sur l'interaction entre race, classe et genre, puis viennent l'ethnicité, la sexualité, le handicap, etc. Voir par exemple, Evelyn Nakano-Glen, « Racial Ethnic Women's Labor: The Intersection of Race, Gender and Class Oppression », *Review of Radical Political Economics* vol. 17, no. 3, 1985, p.105; Kimberlé Crenshaw, « Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics », *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989, p. 139–167; Ange-Marie Hancock, « When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm », *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 5, no 1, mars 2007, p. 73–75

9
Lettre de MacDowell, Suggestions for Study, 1er octobre 1946, volume 5, dossier 31 (désormais une barre oblique remplacera les mots volume et dossier, ex. 5/31), MG28 V43, fonds Canadian National Committee on Refugees (désormais CNCR), Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Ottawa (désormais BAC).

10
Lettre de MacDowell, Suggestions for Study, 1er octobre 1946, 5/31, MG28 V43, CNCR, BAC.

11
Irving Abella et Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948*, Toronto, Lester & Orpen Dennys,1986 [1983], p. 270–271

12
Décret du conseil, P.C. 1647, 29 avril 1947, 25/Children's Movement, 1947 et lettre de Solomon Grand, CJC, Toronto, à Hayes, 4 décembre 1947, 28/Toronto, 1947-1949 (désormais Toronto), C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC; Cairine Wilson à J.A. Glen, 21 janvier 1946 et Draft to Prime Minister, 13 juillet 1945, 4/37 et 5/40, MG28 V43, CNCR, BAC; Mémorandum re war orphans, 1er septembre 1948, 477/739325-2, RG76, fonds ministère de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration (désormais MCI), BAC.

13
Document: General Features of the Planning Project for Immigration, Reception and Placement of 1,000 Orphaned Children (P.C. 1647), s.d., 25/Children's Movement, 1947; R.E.G. Davis à Hayes, 23 mai 1947 et mémorandum de Jackson du 22 mai 1947, 25/ Canadian Welfare Council; mémorandum de Saalheimer à Hayes, 9 septembre 1947; Ethel Ostry Genkind, Munich-Pasing, à Hayes et Saalheimer, 20 février 1948, 25/Administrative Structure, establishment of, 1947-1948 (désormais Administrative establishment); Saalheimer à Ostry, 3 mars 1948; Ostry Genkind à Hayes, 21 septembre 1948, 27/Ostry, E., CJC, 1948 (désormais Ostry 1948); Décret du conseil, P.C. 4232, 28 septembre 1948, 26/ Immigration Dept. Canadian government, 1947-1952 (désormais Immigration Dept.), C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

14
L'AJDC est créée en 1914 pour aider les Juives en Palestine et en Europe qui se retrouvent en situation précaire en conséquence des dévastations de la Grande Guerre. L'organisation continue ses actions sociales et humanitaires pendant l'entre-deux-guerres, qui deviennent pendant les années 1930 des actions désespérées d'exfiltration face aux persécutions nazies. À la fin de la guerre l'organisation rebascule dans les actions de secours et de réhabilitation des survivants à grande échelle. Voir, « Our Story », *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee Archives*, http://archives.jdc.org/history-of-jdc/our-story-an-interactive-timeline.html (consulté le 27 février 2016).

15
Irving Abella et Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, Lester & Orpen Dennys,1986 [1983], p. 273; Antoine Burgard, « A New

Life in a New Country: Trajectories of Holocaust Orphans to Canada (1945-1952) », Communication, Salzbourg, 2013, p. 5: http://uqam.academia.edu/ Antoine Burgard, (consulté le 23 octobre 2015); lettre de Saalheimer à Levinson, 18 septembre 1947, 26/Levinson, Lottie, AJDC emigration officer, 1947-1948 (désormais Levinson), C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

16
Coupures de presse, *Vancouver News Herald*, 18 décembre 1944 et *La Presse*, 19 janvier 1945, 7B/Lottie Levinson, CJC0001 ZB, fonds General documentation, Personalia (désormais GDP), ANCJCCC; Articles du *Jewish Western Bulletin:* « Lottie Levinson writes from European post », 26 octobre 1945; « Lottie Levinson writes from UNRRA in Germany », 7 décembre 1945; « Lottie Levinson in Europe scores Zionist nationalism », 4 janvier 1946; « Two Vancouverites join JDC at Camp Belsen », 11 janvier 1946; « JDC worker makes plea for victims »,14 mars 1947.

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« Montreal meetings », *Canadian Jewish Review*, 9 mars 1951; Levinson, Prague, à Hayes, 22 juillet 1949, 7B/Lottie Levinson, GDP CJC001, ANCJCCC; Articles du *Jewish Western Bulletin:* « A visitor in Vancouver », 20 mai 1955; « HIAS executive addresses June 23 JFSA annual meet », 9 juin 1977.

18
Saalheimer à Levinson, 28 septembre 1947, 25/Administrative establishment, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

19
Fraidie Martz, *Open Your Hearts: The Story of the Jewish War Orphans in Canada*, Montréal, Véhicule Press, 1996, p. 99

20
Ethel Ostry, « After the Holocaust: My Work with UNRRA » titre original: « Where Is My Family » révisé par Elizabeth O. Fisher, 1978 (désormais « After the Holocaust… »), avant-propos, p. 1-2, MG30 C184, Diary kept by Ethel Ostry (désormais Ostry), BAC; Susan Armstrong-Reid et David R. Murray, *Armies of Peace: Canada and the UNRRA Years,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2008, p. 182

21
La mission de l'UNRRA par rapport aux réfugiés est de les secourir et réhabiliter. Le rapatriement est vu comme le planche principale de la mission de réhabilitation. Lorsqu'il devient évident que des milliers de réfugiés n'ont aucun envie de retourner dans leur pays d'origine sous la houlette communiste, les Alliés, sans la participation de l'Union soviétique, adoptent une autre approche: l'installation des réfugiés dans des pays tiers, ce qui devient la mission principale de l'OIR.

22
Télégramme de Hayes à Ostry, Gauting, 5 juin 1947, 29/Hayes, Saul, CJC National Executive Director, 1947-1948 (désormais Hayes); Document, IRO, Personnel Action, Ostry, Ethel, Reimbursable loan to CJC, 10 septembre 1947, 27/Ostry, E., CJC-correspondence, 1947-1948 (désormais Ostry 1947); Amelia Igel à Saalheimer, 13 octobre 1947, 26/Igel, A., child care consultant, 1947-1948 (désormais Igel), C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC; « After the Holocaust… », MG30 C184, Ostry, BAC; Susan Armstrong-Reid et David R. Murray, *Armies of Peace: Canada and the UNRRA Years,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2008, p. 133–134, p. 144, p. 178–181, p. 358; Laura M. Greaves, « *Concerned Not Only with Relief »: UNRRA's Work Rehabilitating the Displaced Persons in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany, 1945-1947*, Thèse de doctorat, University of Waterloo, 2013, p. 158–159, p. 188–189, p. 250, p. 260, p. 278

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« Resources: Report of Earl G. Harrison, », août 1945, *United States Holocaust Museum*, http://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/displaced-persons/resourc1.htm, (consulté le 27 février 2016).

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« After the Holocaust… », p. 69, MG30 C184, Ostry, BAC; Mémorandum de Folger à Chief Personnel Officer, PCIRO-Field Liaison Centre, Paris, 7 août 1947 et Personnel Evaluation d›Ostry, Ethel, signé Dr. Th. A. Weiss, Medical Director, 23 décembre 1946, 27/Ostry 1947, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

25
Irwin Rosen, AJDC, European Emigration Headquarters, à Hayes, 10 juillet 1947 et Ostry Genkind à Hayes, 20 juillet 1947, 27/Ostry 1947; Mémorandum de Saalheimer à Hayes, 9 septembre 1947, 25/Administrative establishment, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA,

ANCJCCC; « After the Holocaust… », p. 31, p. 53, MG30 C184, Ostry, BAC.

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Igel à Hayes, 15 juillet 1947, 26/Igel et Mémorandum de Saalheimer à Hayes, 9 septembre 1947, 25/Administrative establishment, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCC.

27
Ostry Genkind à Hayes, 20 juillet 1947 et à Hayes et Saalheimer, 26 mai 1948, 27/Ostry 1947, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCC; Antoine Burgard, « A New Life in a New Country: Trajectories of Holocaust Orphans to Canada (1945-1952) », Communication, Salzbourg, 2013, p. 1: http://uqam.academia.edu/ Antoine Burgard, (consulté le 23 octobre 2015).

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Rapport, Orphan Settlement in Western Canada, Winnipeg Conference, 1er décembre 1948, p. 32, 28/Winnipeg; Hayes à M.W. Beckelman, Vice-Chairman, AJDC, Paris, 23 février 1948, 25/Administrative Structure, revision of, 1947-1948, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCCJCC.

29
Entre Saalheimer et Levinson, 18 septembre 1947, 17 février et 23 avril 1948, 26/Levinson, Lottie, AJDC emigration officer, 1947-1948 (désormais Levinson); entre Ostry Genkind et Hayes, 1er avril et 13 septembre 1948 et Saalheimer à Ostry, 3 mars 1948, 27/Ostry 1948; Ostry Genkind à Hayes, 21 septembre 1948, 29/Hayes; Décret du conseil, P.C. 4232, 28 septembre 1948, 26/Immigration Dept.; Mémorandum de Saalheimer à Hayes, 9 septembre 1947 et Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 20 février et 2 mai 1948, 25/Administrative establishment; Igel à Ostry, 3 octobre 1947, 28/AJDC Emigration Service, 1948 (désormais AJDC Emigration), C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

30
Levinson à Hayes, 29 juin 1947 et Herbet Katzki, Acting Director, AJDC Paris, à Saul Hayes, 12 mars 1948, 7B/Lottie Levinson, CJC0001 ZB, GDP; Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 9 janvier 1948, 27/Ostry 1947, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

31
Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 14 février et 29 avril 1948, 29/Hayes; Charles M. Jordan, Director, AJDC Paris, à Hayes, 10 juin 1948, 26/Levinson; Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 11 octobre 1947, 16 avril et 2 mai 1948, 25/Administrative establishment; Ostry à Pentz, 31 octobre 1947, 29/IrefO, 1947-1948; Levinson à Ostry, 17 septembre 1947, 28/AJDC Emigration; Saalheimer à Ostry Genkind, 18 novembre 1947, 27/Ostry 1947; Saalheimer à Igel, 21 octobre 1947, 26/Igel, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

32
Ostry Genkind à Hayes, 1er avril 1948, 29/Hayes et à Saalheimer, 30 octobre 1947, 27/Ostry 1947, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC; « Celina Lieberman », *Coeurs ouverts, portes fermées: témoignages des orphelins*, 2002, Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre, http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/expositions-exhibitions/orphelins-orphans/french/themes/pdf/orphanstories.pdf (consulté le 23 octobre 2015). Le témoignage de Lieberman est recueilli en 1997 pour faire partie de l'exposition « Open Hearts - Closed Doors » au Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre. Ensuite cette exposition est adaptée en 2002 pour devenir une exposition virtuelle sur muséevirtuel.ca. Le témoignage de Lieberman, originalement en anglais, est traduit en français par le Musée Virtuel Canadien.

33
Ostry Genkind à Hayes, 1er avril 1948, 29/Hayes et à Saalheimer, 30 octobre 1947, 27/Ostry 1947, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

34
Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 11 octobre 1947, 25/Administrative establishment; à Hayes, 13 octobre 1947, 27/Ostry 1947; Bird à Ostry, 2 juin 1948 et 13 mai 1948, 29/Cormier, O., Officer, Cdn. Govt., Immigration Mission, 1947-1948 (désormais Cormier), C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

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(dir.), *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives*, Toronto, Copp Clark Longman, 1994, p. 355; Irving Abella et Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,* Toronto, Lester & Orpen Dennys,1986 [1983], p. 164–168

36
Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 6 septembre 1948, 11 octobre 1947 et 6 décembre 1947, 25/Administrative establishment; à Hayes et Saalheimer, 18 et 24 décembre 1947, 27/Ostry 1948; à Hayes et Saalheimer, 2 avril 1948, 27/Ostry 1947; à Phalen [sic], Canadian Immigration Mission, Hanover, 3 août 1948, 29/Cormier; Télégramme d'Abraham Ram et Ostry-Genkind à Hayes, 5 mai 1948, lettres de Hayes à Ostry, 13 avril 1948 et de Ram et Ostry Genkind à Hayes, 6 mai 1948, 29/Hayes, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCC; Mémorandum du Director au Commissioner of European Emigration, Londres, 16 décembre 1947, 477/739325-2, RG76, MCI, BAC.

37
Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 26 janvier 1948, 25/Administrative establishment, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA ANCJCCC.

38
Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 26 janvier 1948, 25/Administrative establishment, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA ANCJCCC.

39
Entre Ostry Genkind, Hayes et Saalheimer, 6 décembre 1947, 20 février et 20 juin 1948, 25/Administrative establishment, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC; Saalheimer à Congdon, 22 septembre 1947 et Mémorandum de Jolliffe au Deputy Minister, 28 janvier 1948, 477/739325-1, RG76, MCI, BAC.

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42
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43
Ostry Genkind à Hayes et Saalheimer, 11 octobre 1947 et 16 avril 1948 et à Hayes, 6 mai 1948, 25/Administrative establishment; Entre Ostry, Hayes et Saalheimer, 1er et 24 décembre 1947 et 9 janvier 1948, 27/Ostry 1947, C-WOIP, I0062, UNRA, ANCJCCC.

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45
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46
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Saalheimer, 14 février 1948, 29/Hayes; Saalheimer à Ostry, 3 octobre 1947, 25/ Administrative establishment, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC.

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Mémorandum de Saalheimer à Hayes, 9 septembre 1947, 25/Administrative establishment; Comptes rendus, Joint Meeting of Congress and Welfare Agencies, 7 et 10 décembre 1947 et 22 janvier 1948, 25/Co-ordinating Committee-joint CJC & Welfare agencies, 1947-1948; Compte rendu et liste de sous-commissions, Coordinating Committee on European Youth, 11 novembre 1947, 28/ Toronto, C-WOIP, I0062, UJRA, ANCJCCC; compte rendu, Executive Committee of the Coordinating Committee on European Youth, 12 décembre 1947, 4/147, fonds CJC Ontario Region 17, Ontario Jewish Archives, Toronto (désormais OJA); Fraidie Martz, *Open Your Hearts: The Story of the Jewish War Orphans in Canada*, Montréal, Véhicule Press, p. 57–58, p. 68

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Ben W. Lappin, *The Redeemed Children : The Story of the Rescue of War Orphans by the Jewish Community of Canada,* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963, p. 31–34, p. 154. p. 159–163

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Ben W. Lappin, *The Redeemed Children : The Story of the Rescue of War Orphans by the Jewish Community of Canada*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963, p. 66, p. 89–91, p. 159–160; Fraidie Martz, *Open Your Hearts: The Story of the Jewish War Orphans in Canada*, Montréal, Véhicule Press, p. 51-52

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Jason Chalmers

Canadianising the Holocaust: Debating Canada's National Holocaust Monument

This paper addresses Canada's first national monument to the Holocaust: the National Holocaust Monument (NHM) in Ottawa. I examine how public discourse surrounding the NHM constructs the Holocaust as a Canadian memory. Political spokespersons create connections between the Holocaust and Canadian history by drawing on themes of Canada's Allied role during the war, post-war Jewish immigration, and the narrative of None Is too Many. *The discourse frames Canada as both a hero and villain in respect to the Holocaust. Whereas some nations seek to resolve such conflicting memories, Canadians seem content to remember their nation in both ways.*

Cet article s'intéresse au premier monument national canadien de l'Holocauste : le National Holocaust Monument *(NHM) d'Ottawa. Je souhaite analyser comment les discours entourant le NHM ont construit une mémoire canadienne de l'Holocauste. Les porte-paroles politiques ont tracé des parallèles entre l'Holocauste et l'histoire canadienne en insistant sur le rôle des Alliés pendant la guerre et l'immigration juive de l'après-guerre ainsi que sur le récit de* None Is Too Many. *Ce discours donne au Canada un bon et un mauvais rôle dans l'Holocauste. Alors que d'autres pays tentent de résoudre ses mémoires contradictoires, les Canadiens semblent accepter de se souvenir de ses deux façons.*

While Holocaust monuments have been examined in a variety of national contexts, with the majority of studies focusing on the United States, Israel, and Germany, few consider them within the Canadian context. In 2011, the federal government of Canada established the country's first national monument to the Holocaust – the National Holocaust Monument (NHM) – which is currently under construction in downtown Ottawa. This monument will have a significant impact on Canada's national memorial culture. Monuments are catalysts for the 'rhetorical negotiation' of historical events, and public memorials play a significant role in the 'nationalization' of the Holocaust and its memory. Elsewhere in the country, this sort of negotiation can be witnessed in the debates surrounding the recently opened Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

The following paper considers how public discourse surrounding the NHM frames the Holocaust as a Canadian memory. I do this by examining the public debates surrounding the monument and identifying points where Canada and the Holocaust appear to intersect. This discourse includes parliamentary debates surrounding bill C-442 and the resulting *National Holocaust Monument Act* (NHMA), speeches by public spokespersons, media publications, as well as interviews conducted with individuals involved with the project.[1] I begin by providing some background on the NHM and considering the literature on public monuments and national memorial culture. I then turn to the discourse, considering how narratives of the Holocaust and of Canadian history weave into and out of one another. First, I demonstrate that a central purpose of the NHM is to integrate Holocaust memory into Canada's national consciousness. I then focus specifically on the way political actors use historical

themes to construct the Holocaust as a Canadian event. They create connections between the Holocaust and Canadian history by drawing on themes including Canada's Allied role in the Second World War, the immigration of Jewish refugees during the immediate post-war period, and Canada's history of antisemitism. This last theme draws heavily on the war and post-war narrative of Canadian history developed by Harold Troper and Irving Abella in *None Is Too Many*. Troper and Abella's narrative is especially useful to political spokespersons because it contributes to nation building by reproducing Canada's progressive national myth. Through this discourse, the NHM is resulting in a 'Canadianisation' of the Holocaust. In conclusion, I compare Canada's narrative with other nationalized memories of the Holocaust to identify some unique characteristics of this memory. Canada is framed as both a hero and a villain during the Holocaust, and whereas other nations seek to resolve such conflicting memories, Canadians seem content to remember their nation in both ways.

Public Monuments and National Narratives

In 2009, the federal government of Canada initiated the creation of the country's first official physical memorial to the Holocaust. The project originated with Laura Grosman who conceived of the idea for a national monument while an undergraduate student at the University of Ottawa. She approached her Member of Parliament (MP) for Thornhill, Ontario and asked that steps be taken towards formally establishing a Canadian memorial to the Holocaust.[2] The idea was well received and came to fruition as bill C-442, an Act to establish a National Holocaust Monument, which Conservative MP Tim Uppal introduced to Parliament as a private-member bill in 2009. Parliamentary support was strong and, on March 25th 2011, it received Royal Assent to become the NHMA. A National Holocaust Monument Development Council (NHMDC) was established shortly thereafter to fundraise and supervise the monument through to completion. As required by the NHMA, this council is composed of five members of the public. Unlike some state-sponsored memorials that are not easily accepted by the broader public,[3] this monument has been a democratic and non-partisan affair that is receiving public support. In contrast, the Memorial to the Victims of Communism, another forthcoming Ottawa monument, lacks public support and has received heavy criticism in the media.[4]

During the National Holocaust Remembrance Day ceremony in April 2013, it was announced that the monument would be located at the corner of Wellington and Booth streets in downtown Ottawa, not far from Parliament Hill and directly adjacent to the Canadian War Museum.[5] Six teams were selected to compete in a design competition, and in May 2014 the winning design was selected. The winning team is led by museum planner Gail Lord and includes architects Daniel Libeskind and Claude Cormier, photographer Edward Burtynsky, and historian Doris Bergen.[6] The monument, which will resemble a Star of David from above, will have photographs

of Holocaust sites etched on its concrete walls and contain an assembly space for gatherings. Its layout is designed as a redemptive journey in which the visitor, upon exiting, is directed towards Parliament's Peace Tower.[7] The NHMDC is expected to raise approximately $4.5 million for construction and maintenance and the government has committed to matching private donations up to $4 million.[8] Although construction was initially expected to be complete by winter 2015 with the monument open to the public in spring 2016, construction was delayed due to over-budget estimates from contractors.[9] The monument is now expected to open to the public in spring 2017.

What makes this monument so significant is that the creation of national memorials is often an important factor in the 'nationalization' of the Holocaust – the process by which Holocaust memory is adapted to the social and cultural dynamic of a particular nation-state. The study of Holocaust memorials as products of their national milieus was pioneered by James Young in his 1993 study *The Texture of Memory*, where he argues that monuments are not static artistic objects but rather collective creations made meaningful through the multiplicity of competing interpretations that society projects upon them.[10] Holocaust monuments become, for a nation-state, "indigenous, even geological outcroppings in a national landscape" which are "…invested with national soul and memory."[11] Edward Linenthal exemplifies this dynamic in his 1995 study of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM). Linenthal demonstrates that because of its location on Washington's National Mall, the museum must "behave itself" and be a "good neighbor" to nearby museums and government buildings.[12] That is, the USHMM must be ideologically consistent with American values and aesthetically harmonious with the Washington landscape. Efforts to achieve this resulted in extensive debate about "…the appropriate location of Holocaust memory in American culture."[13] The outcome was not just a national museum, but an 'Americanized' memory of the Holocaust.

Peter Carrier provides a "definition of a monument as a social process"[14] that explains why memorials are so integral to the nationalization of historical memories. Explaining that the aesthetic features of memorials are "largely meaningless if encountered in isolation from their accompanying public debates,"[15] Carrier chooses to focus on the 'rhetorical negotiation' of monuments – the debates, disputes, and controversies surrounding their creation. He explains that "people do not identify directly with a monument, for its significance is contingent upon meanings acquired by its interactions with and translation via secondary media of speeches, rituals, reports, forums, conferences, exhibitions and political statements. Monuments are rather catalysts of complex social and political communication."[16] A national monument is a rhetorical device that stimulates discourse about an event, generating a variety of interpretations and symbolic associations which shape how that event is perceived by the public, and enabling the ongoing negotiation of that event as part of national

memory. Thus, national Holocaust monuments stimulate public discourse on the Holocaust, which interacts with other national discourses to weave Holocaust memory into the national narrative. 'Rhetorical negotiation' occurs at the point where existing discourses intersect, and this intersection can be facilitated by monuments.

In Canada, rhetorical negotiation can be witnessed in the debates surrounding the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR). The intent, design, and subject matter of the CMHR have been hotly contested since before the museum opened its doors to the public in September 2014. Much of this debate has focused on the place of the Holocaust in national memory. When plans emerged to renovate the Canadian War Museum (CWM) in Ottawa during the mid-1990s, potential contributors expressed interest in including a Holocaust gallery as part of the new design. Critics emerged, however, lead primarily by war veterans who argued that the Holocaust had nothing to do with Canadian history, and plans for a Holocaust gallery were discarded.[17] The idea resurfaced several years later in the plans for a national Holocaust and human rights museum.[18] As this project evolved into the CMHR, the museum was seen to serve two purposes: to educate on human rights, and to commemorate instances of their violation. The focus on commemoration stimulated competition amongst cultural groups, particularly Jewish and Ukrainian, who sought to have their atrocities featured centrally. The debate converged upon the dilemma of whether to treat the Holocaust as a 'unique' event, as one comparable to other events such as the Holodomor, or to eliminate the museum's commemorative role altogether.[19]

These debates have helped to shape Canada's national narrative. The CMHR has become a site of an 'Oppression Olympics' where marginalised groups compete for recognition as the 'most oppressed' and, in doing so, create a hierarchy of suffering.[20] Such hierarchies are problematic because dominant memories have the potential to erase marginal ones. Dirk Moses suggests that the Holocaust's salience in Canadian consciousness threatens to conceal other genocides, particularly the genocide of Aboriginal peoples during the founding of the nation-state. The centrality of the Holocaust in the debates surrounding the CMHR thereby help to reproduce a progressive 'civilizing' narrative of Canadian history.[21] This sort of erasure is especially problematic for a human rights museum if, as Tricia Logan suggests, memory is itself a human right. Suppressing discussion of Aboriginal genocide reinscribes Aboriginal peoples as a 'vanishing race' and reproduces a national myth based on *terra nullius* and Euro-Canadian superiority.[22] While debates surrounding the NHM have not been as volatile as with the CMHR, they nevertheless function to negotiate and propagate a particular narrative of Canadian history.

Canadianising Holocaust Memory

Holocaust memory has to some degree already entered the national sphere through legal[23] and educational discourse[24]. It has become such an acceptable topic that there are few complaints about the government's proposal to erect a monument in its memory. However, the discourse surrounding this monument confirms that it has yet to fully enter national consciousness. Perhaps the clearest indication of this is clause 5(1) of the NHMA which indicates that the NHMDC be selected from "members of the public who possess a strong interest in, connection to, or familiarity with the Holocaust."[25] These parameters suggest that currently only a subset of Canadians have a direct connection of the Holocaust. While the Act itself does not specify who these 'members of the public' are, it is clear from other contexts that this clause refers to *Jewish* Canadians. For example, during the clause-by-clause study of bill C-442, Conservative MP Brian Jean and Liberal MP Joe Volpe argued about which party is "listening to the Jewish community."[26] Both MPs wanted a bill that would satisfy the memorial needs of the Jewish community, and each contends that he is the true champion of the Jewish community.[27] This attitude is dominant throughout most of the discourse, and it is only on rare occasions – such as during Joe Volpe's 'filibuster' during the clause-by-clause study[28] – that the Holocaust is framed as something that already belongs to all Canadians. Apart from these exceptions, Holocaust memory is almost unanimously seen as a Jewish concern that is not yet of interest to Canadian society.

The purpose of a national monument is to make its subject matter a national concern, and a main purpose of the NHM is to integrate Holocaust memory into Canadian consciousness. In its preamble, the NHMA states directly that a national memorial is required "to ensure that the Holocaust continues to have a permanent place in our nation's consciousness and memory."[29] As part of the original bill, this phrase was echoed almost verbatim in both Houses of Parliament, such as in MP Glenn Thibeault's response speech in the House of Commons[30] and in Senator Yonah Martin's sponsorship speech to the Senate.[31] While the word 'continues' suggests that the Holocaust is already a Canadian memory, this may only indicate that it has been given 'a permanent place in our nation's consciousness' through the visible trials of Holocaust deniers and its subsequent inclusion in some provincial school curricula. Through legal and educational discourse the Holocaust has indeed become a part of Canadian consciousness, although its position is still only peripheral. One function of the monument is to advance this discourse and thereby give the Holocaust a more central role in Canadian society. This is confirmed by Martin's speech in which she modifies the bill's phrasing by conspicuously leaving out the word 'continues' and instead demanding "The Holocaust *must have* a permanent place in our nation's consciousness and memory."[32] Other supporters rely less on the actual phrasing of the bill, arguing that the 'gravity' of this memory requires the monument to sit at the

nation's gravitational centre in Ottawa.[33] Bloc MP Roger Gaudet goes even further, suggesting it should be located as close to Parliament Hill as possible.[34] The goal of making the Holocaust into a Canadian memory is a dominant theme surrounding the NHM, and many sponsors, endorsers, and other supporters unambiguously identify this as one of the monument's chief purposes.

At the most superficial level, a number of parameters have been set to ensure that the monument becomes a truly national memorial. The NHMA states that the Minister responsible for the National Capital Commission (NCC) – as a representative of the Canadian people – is ultimately responsible for the monument's creation.[35] Beyond this, the public was consulted regarding the location, design, and purpose of the monument by means of an online questionnaire,[36] and the realised monument will stand on a piece of public land.[37] Perhaps most significant is the fact that the NHM comes into existence via a piece of federal legislation which was voted on democratically by both houses of Parliament. As Joe Volpe and others observe, the legislative process is not the only way to have a national memorial erected by the NCC and, in fact, it is exceptional when a monument is brought into existence through an Act of Parliament.[38] By passing through the various readings, debates, and studies in both the House of Commons and the Senate, the NHMA and ensuing NHM may appear more Canadian than if it had been implemented through the kind of bureaucratic process that produced many other memorials in the National Capital Region.

At a deeper level, the legislative origin of the monument facilitates the entry of Holocaust memory into national consciousness. It is through the sort of public debates that take place in Parliament that events such as the Holocaust are discussed, contested, consolidated, and ultimately integrated into a national narrative.[39] It is with the dialogue surrounding a monument, rather than the aesthetic design that is given to it, that a nation truly makes a memory its own.

The nationalizing impulse of the NHM can be observed in the only major dispute surrounding the monument: the funding controversy. In response to a government amendment suggesting that the "planning, designing, construction, installing, and maintaining" of the monument be paid for with private funds, Joe Volpe objected by arguing that the entire project should be paid for by the government.[40] Volpe's argument was simple: if this monument is to be national, then it must be publicly funded by each and every Canadian. If Canadians as a collective do not contribute, then Canadians as a collective cannot commemorate.[41] Brian Jean, the committee member who proposed the amendment, responded to Volpe by suggesting that private funds best allowed Canadians to be actively involved in the monument. He argued that by allowing only voluntary donations, Canadians could choose to become involved in the monument's creation; voluntary contributions would make Canadians active participants in commemoration.[42] The controversy was sparked by a single problem:

which method of funding best allowed Canadians to be a part of the memorial process? Both Liberals and Conservatives sought the same end, but their respective left- and right-leaning ideologies reasoned that it should be achieved through different means. For the Liberals, the answer was public monies; for the Conservatives, private funds. In a way, the only significant disagreement was actually rooted in an agreement regarding what the monument should represent and how it should function.[43]

Canada's Historical Relationship to the Holocaust

One of the easiest and most common ways to frame the Holocaust as a national event is to identify an historical relationship. This approach is effective because an historical connection is often perceived as a 'real' connection. The historical role that Canada played in the Holocaust is not immediately obvious. Canada was separated from the European atrocities by an ocean and, apart from those who fought overseas as part of the war effort, Nazism posed little direct threat to Canadians. Canada does not have the obvious sort of historical relationship that one finds in Germany and Poland, for example. There is no single historical narrative used to engage Canada in Holocaust memory, but rather a set of several – both positive and negative – overlapping narratives.

One of the positive roles that Canada is considered to have played in the Holocaust was as a member of the Allied forces during the Second World War. This narrative is not necessarily obvious because it relies on several assumptions: first, it requires that the Holocaust be viewed as an aspect of WWII (or vice versa), and second, it requires one to accept that the Allied forces were the ones who ultimately brought an end to the Nazi persecution of European Jewry. MP Dennis Bevington expresses both assumptions during the third reading debates when he states that the bill "speaks to the conclusion of the Second World War; to the role Canada played in the victory over the Axis to ensure that the Holocaust came to an end."[44] In the Senate, Yonah Martin expresses this attitude in greater detail. Like Bevington, she sees the Holocaust as an aspect of WWII, observing that "The atrocities of the Holocaust occurred during the 1930s and the Second World War in which our country took so active a part." After pointing out that Canada entered the war only "seven days after France and Britain" and "Canadians served in our own military forces as well as in the service of various Allied countries," she goes on to outline the sacrifices made by Canada as part of the Allied effort. She calculates "with a population of between 11 million and 12 million people at that time, approximately 1.1 million Canadians served during the Second World War... [and that] by the end of the war, more than 45,000 Canadians had lost their lives and another 55 thousand were wounded."[45] By quantifying these losses, Martin emphasises the sacrifice made by Canadians on the behalf of the war effort: approximately 1 out of every 10 Canadians joined the war effort, and 1 of every 10 combatants ending up dead or wounded. With these and similar statements,

a narrative is constructed in which Canadians not only fought to end WWII – and by extension, the Holocaust – but in many cases paid the ultimate sacrifice for the cause.

Martin's statements conflate the victims of Nazi persecution with the casualties of war. Alongside her tally of Canadian casualties, the senator mentions how "the Second World War became the most widespread and deadliest war in the world's history, with at least 100 million military personnel and more than 50 million fatalities. A substantial number of these deaths resulted from Nazi ideological policies, including the genocide of Jews and other ethnic and minority groups."[46] Here, the six million victims of the Jewish genocide – along with those victims belonging to other persecuted groups such as the Romani, homosexuals, and the disabled – are placed into the same category as the military and civilian casualties of WWII. This conflation of Holocaust victims with WWII victims appears elsewhere, such as in Tim Uppal's statement that the monument "would honour all victims of the Holocaust and the Canadian survivors" as well as "the Canadian soldiers who fought and paid the ultimate sacrifice."[47] When these victims are paired with the sacrifices made by the Allies, Canadian soldiers are presented as having both suffered with and suffered for the Jewish victims of the Holocaust.

What has had an even greater impact on Holocaust memory than the nation's Allied status is the role that Canada played in becoming a home to survivors after the War. While the government's post-war immigration policy does not necessarily reflect its inter-war attitude towards Jewish refugees, the fact that Canada ultimately became home to tens of thousands of survivors is used to demonstrate the country's concern for the safety of persecuted Jews. In many instances, this is achieved by simultaneously placing as much or more emphasis on the survivors than the victims, as well as quantifying the country's assistance with the relief of refugees and displaced persons. For example, Senator Mac Harb points out "Canada is [currently] home to some 16,000 Holocaust survivors."[48] Likewise, no sooner does Tim Uppal mention the 'six million' than does he turn immediately to the fact that "With 40,000 Holocaust survivors settling in Canada after the war, our country has the third-largest population of these survivors in the world."[49] Uppal's observation that the country absorbed one of the largest populations of survivors is echoed by Senator Joan Fraser, who notes "Canada took in more of the refugees after the war, I believe, than any other country, except the United States and Israel."[50] By highlighting that the overall number of survivors taken in was exceeded only by the United States – a modern mecca of Jewish culture – and Israel – the Jewish state – Canada is presented as a champion of the Jewish people and all those who suffered at the hands of the Nazis.

These Canadian survivors are presented as one justification for the erection of a national monument. In the preamble to bill C-442 and the NHMA – and repeated

in speeches, releases, and other statements – is the proclamation that the NHM will "honour all of the victims and the Canadian survivors of the Holocaust."[51] The monument is seen as a memorial not only to the six million Jews who died at the hands of the Nazis – none of whom were Canadian – but also to the thousands of Jewish survivors who made their way across the Atlantic to settle in Canada. The frequent reference to survivors serves two related purposes: first, it presents Canada as a defender of European Jewry for having accepted and integrated this group of formerly stateless people, and second, it obligates the nation to memorialise the collective experiences of that group.

Stressed as much if not more than Canada's positive historical role in the Holocaust is the way in which Jewish refugees were prevented from entering the country during the war, a course of action that indirectly contributed to the deaths of thousands of migrants. This counter discourse does not deny that Canada became a home to survivors *after* the war, but rather focuses on the country's reluctance to accept refugees – and thereby alleviate Jewish suffering – *during* it. The narrative that emerges from this discourse declares that "There is no question that Canada did terrible things to our Jewish friends by not letting them come here as refugees before [and during] the Second World War."[52] The country may not share the same degree of guilt as nations such as Germany, but Canada nevertheless "has its own guilt to carry."[53] To historically situate the nation's complicity, MP Irwin Cotler places it within the context of the 1938 Evian Conference in which the wartime globe was "divided into two parts: those countries from which the Jews could not leave...and those that they could not enter," with Canada falling into the latter category.[54] But while Canada's reticent approach to the conference may be an accurate reflection of its general attitude, the most frequently used symbol of the nation's guilt is the 1939 voyage of the *MS St. Louis*, a ship of Jewish refugees that was denied entry into numerous ports, including Canada. The *St. Louis* is almost unanimously accepted as a black mark upon the nation and is usually treated as though its message is straightforward and undeniable: the *St. Louis* is used to convey how little the Canadian government cared about European Jewry and, when given the opportunity to help even a few, callously turned its back. This interpretation is offered as a self-evident truth, and the 'Voyage of the Damned' usually receives no more exposition than that which is required to bitterly observe how the government's actions "forced [the ship's occupants] back into the inferno that was engulfing Europe."[55] Although entry into Canada was never formally requested by those on the ship, the country's responsibility for the fate of those onboard the vessel is framed as an undisputed fact and the incident is perceived as the paradigmatic example of the country's underlying attitude towards European Jewry.

This narrative of Canadian history is primarily rooted in Irving Abella and Harold Troper's book *None Is Too Many*, in which it is referred to both directly and indirectly. The book, which documents the federal government's apparently systematic

attempt to prevent Jews from entering the country between 1933 and 1948, contains an almost uniformly pessimistic view of the country's wartime immigration policies. Given that this was the first and only major work addressing Canada's particular role in the Holocaust, and that it has received a wide popular reception in the last thirty years (it is one of few scholarly works to appear on Canadian best-seller lists), it is unsurprising that its negative outlook has become one of the most prevailing attitudes in the discourse. The influence of *None Is Too Many* can be traced to the monument's genesis when the memorial was no more than a dream for Laura Grosman. In an interview, Grosman reflected on her early attempts to gain political support for her project, recalling that the book "had a big impact on me... In every meeting I went into I carried a copy of that book with me, ready to whip it out if any MP ever said to me 'I don't think this is of importance.' I was ready to go: 'there it is, read this and tell me you don't think that Canada has enough of a role and has had enough participation in this dark time in history.'"[56] *None Is Too Many* has since remained an important part of the discourse. In some cases, like the addresses made by Irwin Cotler, the book is not referred to directly (although it has clearly set the tone).[57] In other cases, the book receives detailed exposition. One of the most extensive discussions was given by Senator Joan Fraser during her address to the Senate in which she provides three reasons to support bill C-442, with the final one being that "Canada has its own inglorious chapter in the Holocaust."[58] She proceeds to anticipate how "Many of you will have read the devastating book by Irving Abella and Harold Troper," quoting the book's introduction and providing a summary of its key arguments. Fraser uses the work to deliver a criticism of Canadian history, concluding "The fact is that all through the Hitler years, Canada systematically refused entry to the Jewish refugees" and "This policy was not an oversight [but] was decided at the highest levels of the bureaucracy and confirmed in repeated cabinet meetings." For virtually every MP and senator who relies on it, the book is uncritically presented as a factual account of this historical period. *None Is Too Many* is not used to refute the claims that Canada was an important Ally or became a haven for survivors after the war, but it does insist that Canadians cannot neglect this aspect of national history.

One key reason for the frequent invocation of *None Is Too Many* is that its narrative helps to reproduce Canada's national myth. The national myth is one of progress and civilisation wherein European settlers transformed a savage and empty land into a tolerant and civilised society.[59] Histories of violence or state-mandated hatred can be easily integrated into this narrative so long as one demonstrates that Canadian society has since overcome this troubling past. In fact, it is necessary to commemorate histories of intolerance – the *MS St. Louis*, Indian Residential Schools, Japanese internment camps – because they allow Canadians to celebrate how far they have come. *None Is Too Many* presents a history of pervasive antisemitism in Canadian society that ultimately led to the suffering of many Jewish refugees. But it also suggests that, since reforms to immigration policy in 1948, the relationship between Canada

and the Jewish people has been transformed. Jews living in Canada have been safe since 1948 and today are visibly living the educated and secure Canadian dream. Politicians need not shy away from a history of antisemitism but, on the contrary, can instrumentalise it for the purpose of nation building by using it to reinforce the national myth. This narrative, in conjunction with the book's popular appeal and its status as the only major work on the topic, illuminates why *None Is Too Many* was so readily adopted in the discourse surrounding the NHM.

Though these two narratives of Canadian history – that of Canada the Allied hero and that of Canada the antisemite – are ostensibly at odds with one another, they do not seem to be in competition with each other. Each narrative is stressed at different times by different people, but it does not appear that anyone feels one interpretation must dominate the other. Both are necessary to reproduce the national myth because it relies upon contrasting who Canadians are with who they have been. Thus, both histories can be mentioned in the same breath. For example, Rabbi Daniel Friedman, Chair of the NHMDC, recalled in conversation how one of the problems facing the development council is "whether [the monument] should incorporate both Canada's role – or lack thereof – in the safety of World War II Jewry, or whether the focus should be on Canada's commitment moving forward to 'never again.' It remains to be seen which of these two will be the focus, if not both."[60] Rabbi Friedman lists three potential focuses: Canada as a boon to European Jewry (their 'safety'), Canada as a bane to European Jewry (the 'lack thereof'), and the universalist moral of 'never again' (which is not specific to the Canadian context). Yet Friedman does not view these as mutually exclusive interpretations, preferring instead to consider them as potentially compatible with one another, even if not necessarily harmonious. Whereas some national memories attempt to manufacture somewhat more linear and less paradoxical narratives,[61] it may be this capacity to contain several conflicting narratives – the ability to tolerate a hydra-headed memory that simultaneously views Canada as both the 'good guy' and the 'bad guy' – that makes Holocaust memory in Canada unique from those memories in other nations.

A Uniquely Canadian Memory?

This study demonstrates that the discourse surrounding Canada's forthcoming NHM has produced a memory of the Holocaust particular to the national context. Historical themes weave Holocaust memory into the national narrative to produce a memory that can be easily digested by Canadian society. But is the resulting memory distinctly Canadian? After all, similar debates have taken place in other nations to a similar effect.

A distinct feature of the 'Canadianised' Holocaust is that this memory is not homogeneous, but instead contains several conflicting – though not necessarily compet-

ing – narratives. On one hand, Canada is framed as a member of the Allies during the war and as a haven for survivors after it. On the other hand, a counter-discourse emphasises the narrative of *None Is Too Many* and the *MS St. Louis* which views Canada's wartime policy as exclusive and anti-Semitic. This is surprising because there appears to be no competition between these narratives and Canadians involved in the debate seem content to remember their nation as both a hero and a villain in the Holocaust.[62] Jeremy Maron has observed a similar impulse in Canadian cinema, and he argues that Canadian Holocaust films embody a conflict between experience and inexperience that remains fundamentally 'unbridgeable.'[63]

While many nations suffer from conflicting narratives of the Holocaust, Canadian rhetoric does not seek to resolve it. One clear example of this is in Austria where, based on its 1938 annexation by Nazi Germany, the nation has come to view itself as Hitler's first victim (*Opferstolz*). When initiatives were taken in the 1990s to shift this narrative towards one that also recognised the nation's complicity in the suffering of European Jewry, it was met with considerable backlash from the public.[64] Likewise in Germany and France, there were attempts (albeit unsuccessful ones) to achieve 'national consensus' and 'national reconciliation' by establishing unified and consistent memories of the Holocaust.[65] The American context is one of the most helpful points of comparison. American pluralism means that many groups instrumentalise many narratives of the Holocaust, and that Holocaust memory in the United States is actually a multiplicity. However, each memory seeks to become the dominant narrative and most of these memories are in competition with one another. For example, while the 'official' narrative of the Holocaust presented at the USHMM recounts a primarily Jewish genocide in which Americans were the liberators, other narratives conflict with this and seek to usurp it.[66] Whereas memory is conflicting in both the United States and Canada, it is competing only in the United States. In Canada, we do see competitions emerging from the debates around the CMHR. While the 'Oppression Olympics' concern whose genocide should be recognised by the museum and whether or not the Holocaust should be compared with other atrocities, they do not address which narrative of the Holocaust should be told.

The advent of Canada's NHM signals a significant shift in Canadian consciousness, particularly in relation to how national society constructs its historical identity in relation to the Holocaust. A memory has emerged from the debates surrounding this monument which, rather than conforming to an international archetype, has assumed a distinctly regional flavour. While Canadians may have once remembered the Holocaust only as a people living in a post-Holocaust world, it seems that now they are beginning to remember it as Canadians.

1
I draw on discourse that focuses specifically on the NHM, but not necessarily the larger discourse about Holocaust commemoration in Canadian society. The latter has seen more dissenting voices than the former, such as the debates surrounding Jenny Peto's master's thesis. Bill C-442 was active in parliament before the publication of Peto's thesis in 2010, and I did not notice this debate intersecting with those about the NHM. The only voices I observed that objected to the monument in principle were the expected ones left in the comments section of online news articles.

2
Lynne Cohen, "Former B'nai Brith Intern's Efforts Credited for National Holocaust Monument Bill," *Jewish Tribune*, 29 September 2009; Laura Grosman, interview by author, digital recording, Ottawa, 13 November 2012.

3
An example of this is Holocaust memorials in Austria, which I discuss later.

4
Nadine Blumer, "Memorials are Built of Public Discussion as Much as Stone," *Ottawa Citizen*, 8 May 2015; Elizabeth Payne, "Most Canadians Oppose Communism Victims Memorial: Poll," *Ottawa Citizen*, 25 May 2015.

5
Ian Macleod, "New National Holocaust Monument to be Erected near Canadian War Museum," *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 April 2013.

6
Martin Knelman, "National Holocaust Monument Design Unveiled in Ottawa," *Toronto Star*, 12 May 2014; National Holocaust Monument, accessed 20 September 2015, www.holocaustmonument.ca.

7
Martin Knelman, "Holocaust Monument in Ottawa Corrects 70-Year Mistake," *Toronto Star*, 14 May 2014; National Holocaust Monument, www.holocaustmonument.ca.

8
Mohammed Adam, "Holocaust Memorial for Ottawa Gets $4 Million Boost," *Ottawa Citizen*, 2 April 2012; National Holocaust Monument, www.holocaustmonument.ca.

9
Don Butler, "Tendering Problems Cause One-year Delay in National Holocaust Monument," *Ottawa Citizen*, 9 August 2015.

10
James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), vii-xiii, 1-15.

11
Ibid., 2.

12
Edward Linenthal, *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1995), 192-3.

13
Ibid., 15.

14
Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany since 1989: The Origins and Political Function of the Vél' d'Hiv' in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin* (New York: Bergahn Books, 2005), 22.

15
Ibid.

16
Ibid., 219.

17
Norman Hillmer, "The Canadian War Museum and he Military Identity of an Unmilitary People," *Canadian Military History* 19/3 (2010).

18
Catherine Chatterley, "Canada's Struggle with Holocaust Memorialization: The War Museum Controversy, Ethnic Identity Politics, and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 29/2 (2015).

19
Dirk Moses, "The Canadian Museum for Human Rights: The 'Uniqueness of the Holocaust' and the Question of Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 14/2 (2012).

20
Olena Hankivsky and Rita Dhamoon, "Which Genocide Matters the Most? An Intersectionality Analysis of the Canadian Museum of Human Rights," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 46/4 (2013).

21
Dirk Moses, "Does the Holocaust Reveal or Conceal Other Genocides? The Canadian Museum for Human Rights and Grievable Suffering," in *Hidden Genocides: Power, Knowledge, Memory*, ed. Alexander Hinton et al. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2014).

22
Tricia Logan, "Memory, Erasure, and National Myth," in *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, ed. Andrew Woolford et al. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014).

23
From the mid-1980s to early 1990s, Holocaust deniers James Keegstra and Ernst Zündel were tried for disseminating revisionist versions of history. Both trials ultimately went to the Supreme Court of Canada and became highly-publicised media affairs.

24
The visibility of Holocaust deniers in law and media stimulated a need to include the Holocaust in public school curricula. During the 1990s, provincial ministries of education and regional school boards began to include the Holocaust in significant ways. In Ontario, knowledge of the Holocaust is required of all high school students. In British Columbia, some history courses devote entire units to the Holocaust.

25
National Holocaust Monument Act, *Statutes of Canada* 2011, c.13, §5.1.

26
Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Standing Committee on Transport, Infrastructure and Communities, *Evidence of Proceedings* (3rd sess., 40th Parliament, Meeting No. 21), 25, 27-8.

27
Volpe repeatedly argues that it does not matter what the Jewish community wants because the NHM is a *national* monument, yet he continues to ask the committee chair to allow representatives from the Canadian Jewish Congress (Volpe's speech was before the CJC became CIJA, which occurred in 2011) to speak on behalf of the community.

28
Ibid., 8-10.

29
National Holocaust Monument Act, preamble.

30
Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 27 October 2010 (Mr. Glenn Thibeault, NDP), 5454.

31
Canada, *Debates of the Senate*, 10 February 2011 (Hon. Yonah Martin), 1800.

32
Ibid., my emphasis.

33
Standing Committee on Transport (Meeting No. 17), 3.

34
Ibid., 6.

35
National Holocaust Monument Act, §6, §7.

36
Andy Levy-Ajzenkopf, "Ottawa seeks input on Holocaust memorial," *Canadian Jewish News*, 1 November 2011.

37
National Holocaust Monument Act, §6.b.

38
Joe Volpe, letter to John Baird, 14 May 2010; Canada, Parliament, Senate, Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, *Evidence of Proceedings* (3rd sess., 40th Parliament, Issue No. 23, Report No. 17, 2011), 16. One reason the NHMA was realised through parliamentary process rather than another means is partly because it began with a private citizen, Laura Grosman. Grosman initiated the project from the bottom-up, introducing the idea at the local level – her regional MP – where it travelled upwards through the two houses. That is, it was a practical method for a private citizen. But it also suggests that a Holocaust monument was low on the radar for Jewish lobbyists who would have been able to expedite the process. I suspect that Jewish lobby groups were so focused on getting a Holocaust gallery into the CMHR that a national monument was not a priority.

39
Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*.

40
Standing Committee on Transport (Meeting No. 21), 3-13.

41
Ibid., 6-7.

42
Ibid., 3, 10.

43
Most likely, this is the only disagreement because any objection to Holocaust memory is political suicide. The Holocaust has attained an almost sacred status in Western societies (Alexander 2002) so that any criticism of it opens one up to allegations of hate speech and antisemitism. Politicians cannot openly criticise it, and can only challenge it on technical grounds such as funding.

44
House of Commons Debates, 8 December 2010 (Mr. Dennis Bevington, NDP), 6984.

45
Debates of the Senate, 10 February 2011 (Hon. Yonah Martin), 1800.

46
Ibid.

47
House of Commons Debates, 8 December 2010 (Mr. Tim Uppal, CPC), 6986.

48
Debates of the Senate, 17 February 2011 (Hon. Mac Harb), 1858.

49
House of Commons Debates, 27 October 2010 (Mr. Tim Uppal, CPC), 5450.

50
Debates of the Senate, 22 March 2011 (Hon. Joan Fraser), 2081.

51
National Holocaust Monument Act, preamble.

52
Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, 9.

53
Debates of the Senate, 17 February 2011 (Hon. Mac Harb), 1857.

54
House of Commons Debates, 8 December 2009 (Hon. Irwin Cotler, Lib.), 7816.

55
Ibid.

56
Grosman, interview by author.

57
House of Commons Debates, 8 December 2009 (Hon. Irwin Cotler, Lib.), 7816-7; *House of Commons Debates*, 27 October 2010 (Hon. Irwin Cotler, Lib.), 5456-7.

58
Debates of the Senate, 22 March 2011 (Hon. Joan Fraser), 2081-2.

59
Angela Failler, "Hope without Consolation: Prospects for Critical Learning at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 37 (2015); Tricia Logan, "National Memory and Museums: Remembering Settler Colonial Genocide of Indigenous Peoples in Canada," in *Remembering Genocide*, eds. Nigel Eltringham and Pam Maclean, 112-130 (London and New York: Routledge, 2014); Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Lairssa Wodtke, "A Lovely Building for Difficult Knowledge: The Architecture of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights," *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 37 (2015).

60
Daniel Friedman, interview by author, digital recording, Ottawa, 6 December 2012.

61
Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 45-153.

62
In some ways, this is an ideal way to remember the Holocaust given that it is often viewed as a rupture in historical time.

63
Jeremy Maron, "Unbridgeable Barriers: The Holocaust in Canadian Cinema" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 2011).

64
Rebecca Comay, "Memory Block: Rachel Whiteread's Holocaust Memorial in Vienna," in

Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust, eds. Shelly Hornstein and Florence Jacobowitz, 251-71 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Abigail Gillman, "Cultural Awakening and Historical Forgetting: The Architecture of Memory in the Jewish Museum of Vienna and in Rachel Whiteread's 'Nameless Library'," *New German Critique* 93 (2004): 145-73; Eva Kuttenberg, "Austria's Topography of Memory: Heldenplatz, Albertinaplatz, Judenplatz, and Beyond," *German Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (2007): 468-91; Young, *Texture of Memory*, 91-112.

65
Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 49-153.

66
Linenthal, *Preserving Memory*; Young, *Texture of Memory*, 283-349.

The Archives Matter / Les Archives importent

Introduction

Irving Abella and Harold Troper chose a quote about the importance of archives as the concluding words for *None is Too Many*'s 1983 edition. The book ends with an excerpt from a 1940 letter written by a Canadian Pacific railway agent:

> The day will come when Immigration will be under debate, and then the Ottawa Immigration Service will be judged by [its] records. For us it will not be unimportant to have these records at our fingertips. They shall then find us as their bad conscience (Abella and Troper 1983: 285).

This observation was proved right by the revelations and far-reaching effects of the publication of *None Is Too Many* in the 1980s. It continues to resonate no less powerfully now, as increasingly detailed cataloguing methods and new means of disseminating the contents of archival collections continue to make available new materials related to Canada's wartime immigration story.

In this section we look at World War II era immigration-related materials housed in heritage repositories in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, especially in light of the new resources and new areas of research that are now available.

Janice Rosen, *Archives Matter* Editor
Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives
The Canadian Jewish Heritage Network

Introduction

Pour conclure l'édition de 1983 de *None Is Too Many*, Irving Abella et Harold Troper choisissaient une citation rappelant l'importance des archives. Le livre se termine en effet avec un extrait d'une lettre d'un agent de la *Canadian Pacific* datant de 1940 :

> The day will come when Immigration will be under debate, and then the Ottawa Immigration Service will be judged by [its] records. For us it will not be unimportant to have these records at our fingertips. They shall then find us as their bad conscience (Abella and Troper 1983: 285).

La véracité de cette observation a été démontrée par les révélations et le large impact de la publication de *None Is Too Many* dans les années 1980. C'est encore plus évident aujourd'hui. Grâce à des méthodes d'inventaire plus précises et à la diffusion des collections d'archives, il y a toujours plus de nouvelles sources disponibles sur l'histoire de l'immigration du Canada pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

Dans cette section, nous analyserons des collections traitant de l'immigration pendant cette période se trouvant dans des centres d'archives en Ontario, au Québec et au Nouveau Brunswick, à la lumière des nouvelles ressources et recherches disponibles aujourd'hui.

Janice Rosen, rédactrice en chef de la section *Archives Matter*
Archives juives canadiennes Alex Dworkin
Réseau canadien du patrimoine juif

Janice Rosen
Archives Director, Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives

Once Is Not Enough: The Canadian Jewish Archives and other Montreal Collections Reconsidered after *None Is Too Many*

It may not be overstating the case to say that *None Is Too Many* was the making of the Canadian Jewish Archives. Prior to the researching of the book in the late 1970s, there was no professional order to the repository once known as the Canadian Jewish Congress National Archives, and now called the Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives (C J Archives for short). The questions that the authors posed to former Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) officers and staff and the attention which they paid to the CJC and United Jewish Relief Agencies (UJRA) papers piled up in the Samuel Bronfman Building vault in Montreal clearly galvanized the organization to take its historical legacy seriously, prompting the hiring in 1981 of professionally-trained archivist Judith Nefsky to work alongside and complement the talents of historian David Rome. The impetus of the writing of the book also spurred CJC's pursuit of the major Social Science and Humanities Research Council grant that funded the initial cataloguing of these core collections of immigration-related material, and in turn led to the acquisition by the Archives of the vast Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS) collection.

The CJC records, The UJRA collection, the papers of the Jewish Colonization Association and the administrative and case file records of JIAS, all initially catalogued under that three year grant, became the nucleus of the Archives' 20th century holdings. Central to the writing of *None Is Too Many*, these holdings have been used for countless studies since then. However, their potential for new interpretations has not yet been exhausted.

What has changed since 1983? On the negative side of the balance, Abella and Troper had the advantage of being able to directly interview the key Jewish community figures of the 1930s and 1940s, all of whom are no longer with us; Saul Hayes, Monroe Abbey, Ben Lappin, David Rome, and others.

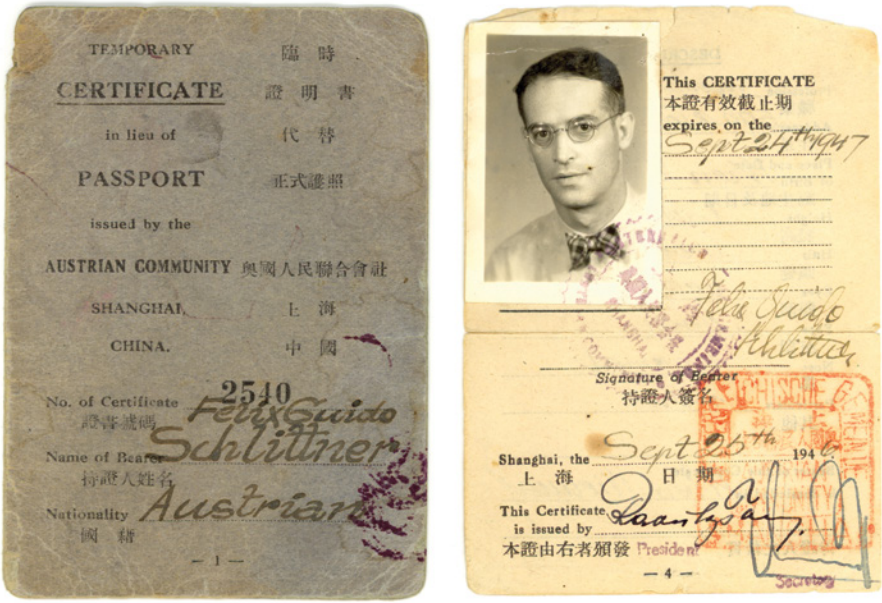
On the other hand, in the years since their research was carried out, and particularly in very recent years, additional material has become available through new acquisitions and through enhanced cataloguing methods for existing materials. These developments can deepen scholars' understanding of the assertions of *None Is Too Many*, and lead to additional, more nuanced interpretations.

At the time that the book was being researched, the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services collection was still housed at the JIAS headquarters under the watchful eye of its director Joseph Kage. Since that time more than 1000 boxes of JIAS records have come under the management of the C J Archives and the indexing of tens upon tens of thousands of case files has been carried out, often at a precise enough level so as to enable researchers to identify files pertaining to specific immigration groups and to discern the complex inter-relationship between JIAS, the Jewish Colonization Association, and the UJRA. Joseph Kage's voluminous office records and writings have also been catalogued in detail.

Complementing these community organization records, and compensating for the absent voices of those who have passed away, numerous private collections received at the C J Archives since 1983 tell the personal side of the wartime immigration story. To speak for the German-Jewish internees, we can refer scholars to the memoir writings of orthodox internee Julius Pfeiffer, and to the early 1940s correspondence and graphic materials donated by internment camp veteran Hans-Dieter (Alfred) Haiblen. Personal letters from co-workers and clients make up a collection received from a descendant of JIAS case worker Ethel Stern. The prose poem memoirs of post-war child immigrant Sophie Soil document her reaction to the immigration and adaptation experience. Papers received from travellers on the Serpa Pinto (the ship that brought two of the very few Jewish refugee groups allowed into Canada in 1944), and photographs from former Displaced Persons camp residents are a few other examples among many.

Photo from Bergen Belsen Displaced Persons Camp circa 1947, from the Aaron Rosengarten collection donated in memory of his parents Alex and Esther Rosengarten. The family immigrated to Canada in the early 1950s. The presence of a sewing machine in the picture may indicate that these people had applied to immigrate as tailors. Collection P0249, Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives.

A Shanghai refugee's papers showing business cards in Chinese, passports meant to be used for one way only, and 1930s Yiddish letters to and from overseas relatives, sometimes donated with translations by the writers' children, all add layers of additional information. In most cases, digitized samples from new collections such as these are available for viewing on our shared web platform, the Canadian Jewish Heritage Network (http://cjhn.ca).



Temporary visa issued to Austrian refugee Felix Schlittner in 1946, during his time in Shanghai, Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives collection P93/17.

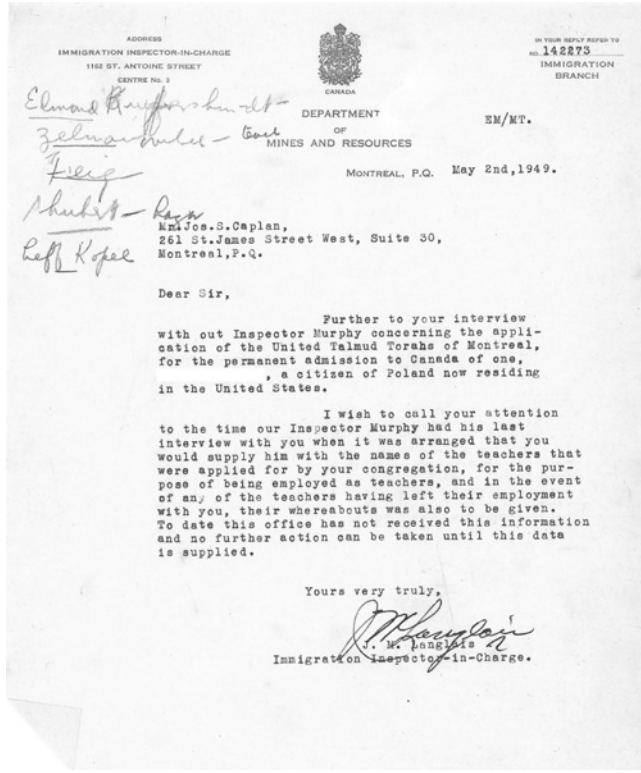
Detailed videotaped interviews with survivors, produced during the Holocaust Documentation Project, a major CJC initiative carried out immediately after *None Is Too Many* was researched, have now been digitized and indexed in detail as part of a joint initiative with the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre. These enhancements make it easy to focus on details about the period of postwar immigration and other migration related references in the interviews. An online index is in preparation.

Another cataloguing enhancement of recent vintage is a precise detailed index to Canadian Jewish Congress' weekly newsletter, Inter-Office Information (IOI). These article descriptions allow researchers to follow the course of various immigration-related initiatives as they developed from 1946 onwards.

Complementing the holdings of the Canadian Jewish Archives, Montreal is also home to two other repositories that document aspects of the wartime immigration story. Shannon Hodge, Archivist of the Jewish Public Library Archives of Montreal writes:

> For the last several years, the Jewish Public Library Archives (JPL-A) has been developing the strategic digitization of areas of its collections. This work also involves the identification of singular moments related to the community's growth through immigration and other major themes. The majority of researchers who contact the JPL-A for archival material on this topic usually hope to find collections that can provide highly synthesized

sets of data such as immigration case files. Through the continued integration of digitization as part of the regular work flow however, the JPL-A can more easily pull materials that are underutilized because of factors such as being "buried" in what was considered an unrelated collection. For instance, in assessing the United Talmud Torah Fonds for digitization, several letters detailing the efforts of staff there to bring over Jewish refugee teachers were found amongst office correspondence. While these letters are by no means exhaustive, if they are used with similar materials they help to document the attempts made by small community organizations and institutions to aid refugees. The increased visibility and accessibility of these brief records could be extremely valuable in creating qualitative narratives and perhaps building details from like materials across archival repositories. (Email with Shannon Hodge.)



ADDRESS
IMMIGRATION INSPECTOR-IN-CHARGE
1102 ST. ANTOINE STREET
CENTRE No. 3

CANADA

DEPARTMENT
OF
MINES AND RESOURCES

IN YOUR REPLY REFER TO
No. 142273
IMMIGRATION
BRANCH

EM/MT.

MONTREAL, P.Q. May 2nd, 1949.

Mr. Jos. S. Caplan,
261 St. James Street West, Suite 30,
Montreal, P.Q.

Dear Sir,

Further to your interview with out Inspector Murphy concerning the application of the United Talmud Torahs of Montreal, for the permanent admission to Canada of one, , a citizen of Poland now residing in the United States.

I wish to call your attention to the time our Inspector Murphy had his last interview with you when it was arranged that you would supply him with the names of the teachers that were applied for by your congregation, for the purpose of being employed as teachers, and in the event of any of the teachers having left their employment with you, their whereabouts was also to be given. To date this office has not received this information and no further action can be taken until this date is supplied.

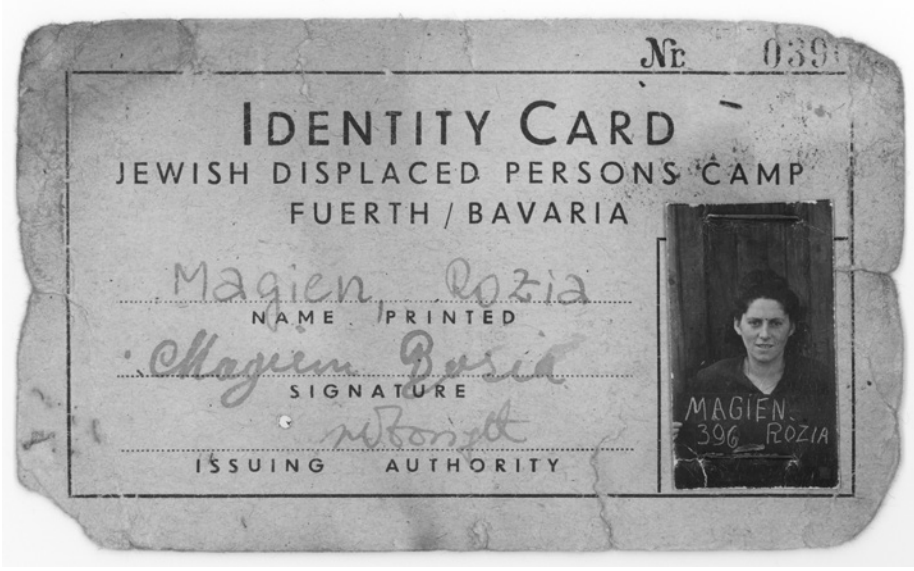
Yours very truly,

J. M. Langlois
Immigration Inspector-in-Charge.

Letter from the Department of Mines and Resources of Canada to Joseph Caplan of the United Talmud Torahs of Montreal, regarding the Talmud Torahs' role in facilitating Jews to immigrate to Canada. United Talmud Torahs Fonds (1047), Series 2, File 00042, Jewish Public Library Archives.

And Andrea Shaulis, Museum and Collection coordinator of the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre notes:

> The Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre is the only recognised museum in Canada on this subject. It has a collection of over 11,600 artefacts. While the majority of objects, photographs and documents relate to Jewish life before and during the Holocaust, the Centre also collects items pertaining to survivor immigration and integration. These documents allow researchers to gain insight on a process that was often challenging. Objects such as boarding tickets and immigration papers give an understanding of travel to Canada while government correspondence sheds light on individual efforts to facilitate immigration of relatives, despite highly restrictive policies. The Centre's collection includes much correspondence between individuals in North America and Europe and focuses, at times, on progress in the emigration/immigration process. In general, it offers opportunities for researchers to study the trials, concerns, and hopes and issues related to resettlement of those who wished to start anew in North America and of those who were concerned for the safety and ability of Jews to rebuild lives in Europe. (Email with Andrea Shaulis.)



Displaced person identification card for Rosa Magien, a Holocaust survivor originally from Lodz, Poland. This card was issued to her in the Fürth Displaced Persons camp, Germany, where she and her husband, Emil Kroo, resided before immigrating to New York in 1950. They eventually settled in Montreal. Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre, 2001.17.04, donated by Emile Kroo.

In recent years we have noticed that many of the scholars who seek out our war-era immigration related records come with a background of direct involvement in the story; sometimes a parent who recalls her treatment by JIAS social workers, at other times the story of a relative who was turned away. We have also noted an increase in interest by young scholars coming to us from universities in various European countries. These personal insights and new perspectives add additional nuances to their scholarship, and ensure that the impact of *None Is Too Many* on the archival records of this community will continue to inspire new growths and new branches of inquiry.

Melissa Caza
Archivist, Ontario Jewish Archives, Blankenstein Family Heritage Centre (OJA)

Organizing Relief: A Review of the Records of the United Jewish Relief Agencies of Toronto, 1938–1953

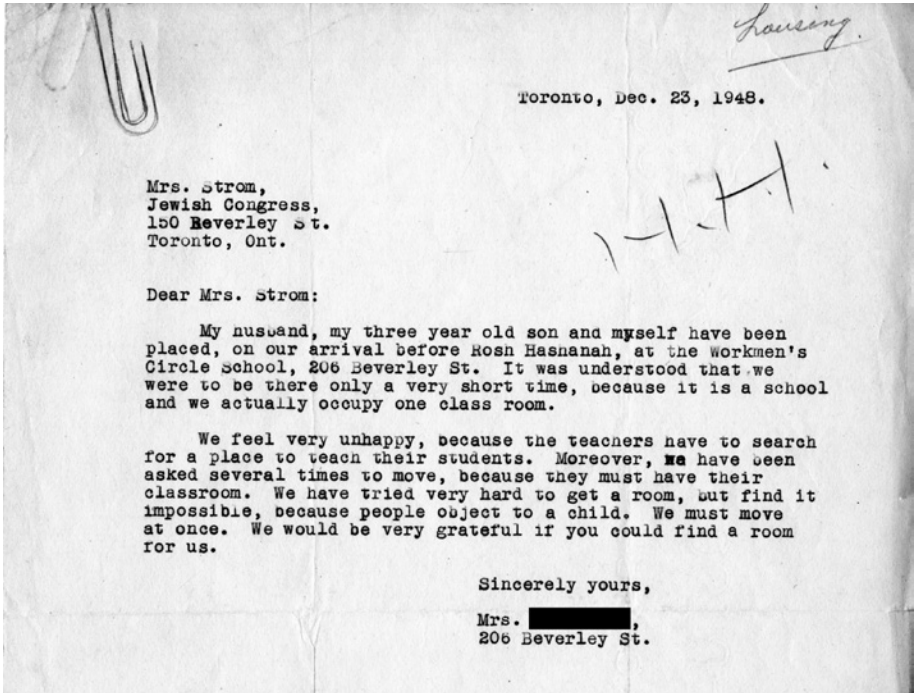
The Ontario Jewish Archives, Blankenstein Family Heritage Centre (OJA) is home to the records of the United Jewish Relief Agencies (UJRA), Toronto office. Created between 1938 and 1974, UJRA Toronto's records hold a wealth of information about the Ontario Jewish community's efforts to assist and settle refugees in the province. Although this collection has been used only infrequently by researchers in the past, its potential value to the study of Canada's Second World War era refugee crisis is tremendous.[1] This article will focus on the records in UJRA Toronto's collection created between 1938 and 1953. It will briefly review UJRA's history and provide an overview of the records and their value for further research.

A Brief History of UJRA to 1953

The United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies (UJR&WRA) was formed in 1939 by a number of Jewish agencies eager to assist the Jews being persecuted in Europe. These partner agencies included: the Canadian Jewish Congress's Committee for Refugees, the Canadian Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT Federation), the Federation of Polish Jews, the Jewish Peoples' Relief Committee, and the Joint Distribution Committee. UJR&WRA operated as an arm of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), sharing a President and Director and submitting a budget to its Executive Committee, yet remained an autonomous arm's-length agency.

Just prior to and during the war, UJR&WRA facilitated the entry into Canada of as many refugees as possible and provided them with assistance upon arrival. Although the number of refugees arriving during this time was small, UJR&WRA did assist a few groups of refugees: Czech farmers, rabbis and their families who were living in Shanghai and refugees living in Spain and Portugal. During the war, UJR&WRA also assisted the German refugees who had been interned in Canada (many of whom were Jewish). UJR&WRA helped to facilitate their release from the internment camps, find employment, enrol at various schools and secure student scholarships.

After the war, UJR&WRA changed its name to the United Jewish Relief Agencies (UJRA). UJRA organized a massive effort to assist the millions of Displaced Persons in Europe, providing food, medical care, and rehabilitation services. UJRA's role was largely to oversee and coordinate the immigrant assistance services available to refugees through a variety of local agencies including, Jewish Family and Child Services, Jewish Immigrant Aid Society, Jewish Vocational Services, Mothers and Babes Rest Home and the Young Men's Hebrew Association. UJRA also established temporary committees to help solve urgent needs, such as a Housing Committee to purchase and manage permanent housing for refugee families, a Loan Committee to adjudicate Ontario refugee applications for loans and manage the re-payment process, and a Deportation Committee to assist refugees at risk of deportation.



Housing

Toronto, Dec. 23, 1948.

Mrs. Strom,
Jewish Congress,
150 Beverley St.
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Mrs. Strom:

My husband, my three year old son and myself have been placed, on our arrival before Rosh Hashanah, at the Workmen's Circle School, 206 Beverley St. It was understood that we were to be there only a very short time, because it is a school and we actually occupy one class room.

We feel very unhappy, because the teachers have to search for a place to teach their students. Moreover, we have been asked several times to move, because they must have their classroom. We have tried very hard to get a room, but find it impossible, because people object to a child. We must move at once. We would be very grateful if you could find a room for us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. [redacted],
206 Beverley St.

A refugee's letter to UJRA Toronto regarding her housing situation, 23 Dec. 1948 [name redacted]. Ontario Jewish Archives, fonds 17, series 4-5, file 14A.

The Records

Included among the 6 metres (18 banker's boxes) of textual records in UJRA Toronto's collection are meeting minutes, reports, correspondence, case files, subject files, statistics, and financial records with details on all aspects of UJRA Toronto's work. Not only do the records contain a wealth of administrative data (such as the types and number of clothing donated for the refugees), they also tell us a great deal about the larger socio-political environment in which UJRA Toronto operated as well as its challenges (such as the cultural differences between the refugees and the existing community) and successes (such as providing loans to help refugees establish businesses). Information pertaining to UJRA Toronto's work with all the various groups of refugees is well documented, including: the Czech immigrants settled as farmers, the orphans, the tailors and furriers, the internees, and refugees from Shanghai. The collection is also a wonderful resource for examining the integration experiences of refugees and their reception by Ontario society. In particular, the records of the Housing Committee, case presentations delivered at meetings of both the Loan Committee and Deportation Committee, and general UJRA Toronto case files are useful for understanding the individual experiences of refugees. Although presented through an organizational lens, they contain detailed information about the circumstances of specific immigrants, including their living conditions, employment

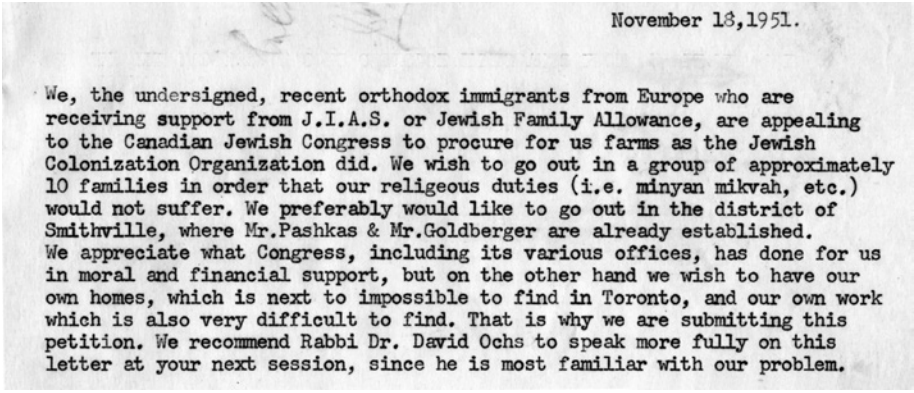
situations, physical and mental health issues, and language and cultural differences. They also reveal how the community responded to these issues.

Integration of Refugees in Small Ontario Communities

One of the topics well documented in the UJRA Toronto collection is the role played by the smaller Ontario communities in assisting refugees and their relationship with UJRA Toronto. Scattered throughout UJRA Toronto's collection is information about the numbers of refugees settled in various Ontario cities, employment and housing arrangements for the refugees, financial support given by UJRA to the small communities, and the funds raised within small communities for UJRA Toronto. While these records demonstrate the desire within small communities to help the refugees, they also hint at the challenges of settling refugees in smaller cities with fewer resources and support services than Toronto.

For instance, the Jewish community in Chatham arranged housing and attempted to secure employment for two tailor families. However, the refugee families sent to Chatham were deemed unsuitable by the community. As Chatham's representative, P. Sherman writes in a letter to UJRA Toronto, "It is the unanimous decision of the Chatham people that the two DPs [Displaced Persons] who came here are not suitable in Chatham. There is resentment felt here because of their conflicting stories told and their approach."[2] It is unclear exactly what transpired between the Chatham community and these refugees, but the letter speaks volumes about the complex integration process faced by the refugees and the expectations of well-meaning communities. Still eager to help the "proper people" for Chatham, Sherman explains that although the community cannot guarantee immediate employment for the replacement families UJRA Toronto might send there, "We will see to it that they will not go hungry until they secure work."[3]

Another letter concerns the case of a rabbi who was hired in Sarnia. Initially the Jewish community in Sarnia had been eager to hire a rabbi, having been without one for some time. However, the community later contacted UJRA Toronto for help returning the rabbi to Toronto because "they felt that a small community such as Sarnia had not the means to cope with an individual as deeply disturbed as the rabbi seemed to be and that he would have to leave their community for Toronto."[4] These cases demonstrate how UJRA Toronto was thrown into the role of mediator in disputes between smaller communities and refugees and was called upon to help solve integration issues that arose. It is also interesting that in both these cases the roadblock to successful integration was not financial. However, they also highlight the potential benefits refugees offered smaller communities that lacked the refugees' specific skills and knowledge and the ways these refugees may have re-shaped and re-invigorated Jewish life in these communities.



November 18,1951.

We, the undersigned, recent orthodox immigrants from Europe who are receiving support from J.I.A.S. or Jewish Family Allowance, are appealing to the Canadian Jewish Congress to procure for us farms as the Jewish Colonization Organization did. We wish to go out in a group of approximately 10 families in order that our religeous duties (i.e. minyan mikvah, etc.) would not suffer. We preferably would like to go out in the district of Smithville, where Mr.Pashkas & Mr.Goldberger are already established. We appreciate what Congress, including its various offices, has done for us in moral and financial support, but on the other hand we wish to have our own homes, which is next to impossible to find in Toronto, and our own work which is also very difficult to find. That is why we are submitting this petition. We recommend Rabbi Dr. David Ochs to speak more fully on this letter at your next session, since he is most familiar with our problem.

Petition sent to UJRA Toronto from an orthodox group of immigrants, 18 Nov. 1951 [partial image]. Ontario Jewish Archives, fonds 17, series 4-2, file 9B.

Other records suggest some tension between Toronto and the smaller communities regarding financial resources. For instance, disagreement arose between UJRA Toronto and the Kingston Jewish community when UJRA Toronto refused to send funds to Kingston to assist a refugee, recommending instead that the refugee obtain assistance through the Department of Public Welfare. Ben Lappin defends UJRA Toronto's decision in a letter to Sheldon Cohen of Kingston, explaining that the small amount of money raised by small communities is allocated towards overseas relief, and when small communities ask for their allocation back

> to assist the occasional new-comer who finds his way there, there is nothing left for overseas remittances, and this must be made up by the larger communities...there are even occasions (and these have by no means been scarce) where small communities have requested that a greater amount be turned back to them for assisting new-comers than they initially contributed to the UJRA and then the large community is required not only to make up the over-seas allocation, but to take from funds it provides for local services and divert them to the smaller community. The reason why these funds are paid is, frankly, to avoid friction between Congress and the smaller localities. There is always the implied threat that unless Congress coughs up, there won't be any money at all next year.[5]

These documents raise a number of questions for further exploration, including: What were the experiences of survivors who immigrated to small communities and how did these communities help them integrate? How did refugees shape the small communities in which they remained? How do the experiences of survivors who immigrated to smaller communities compare to those of survivors who immigrated into larger cities? How did UJRA Toronto and the smaller communities work together to assist the refugees?

This article offers just a small sample of the topics that can be explored with UJRA Toronto's collection. Since the collection touches on nearly every aspect of the refugee assistance work being done within the Jewish community in Ontario, it is of immense value to scholars in this field of research. Consulted in conjunction with related collections at the OJA and other archives, UJRA Toronto's records significantly contribute towards our understanding of the experiences and challenges faced by the refugees and by the agencies and communities assisting them.[6] Researchers interested in viewing this collection can contact the OJA by email at ojainquiries@ujafed.org or by phone at 416-635-5391. A researcher agreement may need to be signed to access some files containing personal information.

1
The Canadian Jewish Archives in Montreal holds the records of UJRA's National office, which focus on UJRA's work across all areas of Canada. The UJRA Toronto collection at the OJA is specific to UJRA's activities in Ontario and is an important complement to the UJRA National material.

2
Letter from P. Sherman to Mrs. Hellowitz, March 10, 1949. Ontario Jewish Archives (OJA), Fonds 17, series 4-3, file 21.

3
Ibid.

4
Letter from Ben Lappin to Sarah Rhinewine, March 27, 1953. OJA, Fonds 17, series 4-3, file 30.

5
Letter from Ben Lappin to Sheldon Cohen, October 23, 1953. OJA Fonds 17, series 4-3, file 30.

6
Some of the complementary collections at the OJA include: The Jewish Immigrant Aid Service of Toronto fonds, the Jewish Family and Child fonds, the Jewish Vocational Services fonds, the Samuel Posluns fonds, the Canadian Federation to Aid Polish Jews in Israel series, the Henry Cassel fonds, and the Canadian Jewish Congress, Ontario Region fonds. The OJA also holds a number of oral history interviews with individuals who worked for organizations assisting refugees as well as a few with refugees themselves.

Katherine Biggs-Craft
Curator, Saint John Jewish Historical Museum

Documentation of the Holocaust in the Maritimes

A small black and white photograph shows a man with a thick shock of white hair standing behind barbed wire holding his infant son in his arms. In another snapshot, his wife sits on the ground with their son in her lap. Another photograph shows a young man leaning from a train window to say goodbye to his mother; would he ever see her again? A Saint John shoemaker receives a tersely-worded telegram from a cousin – the first word they have heard that extended family members have survived. These are some of the few examples of archival materials to be found in the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum, a collection which also includes newspaper clippings and research files.

About a dozen Holocaust survivors made their way to Saint John after the Holocaust. Some came with sponsorships extended by cousins living in the city, others came for professional reasons, such as medical professionals and tailors. Most of the survivors became involved in the life of the Saint John Jewish community, but there were some who felt somewhat isolated because of their wartime experiences.

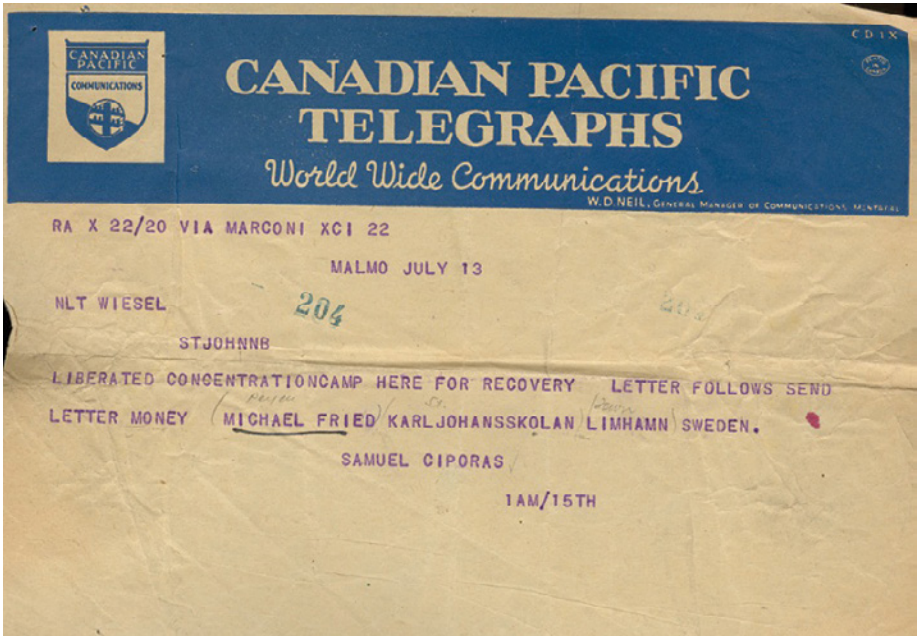
In 2014, the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum decided to create a small exhibition to tell the stories of the survivors who came to the city. We found we had to rely on oral interviews to tell these stories, often with survivors' children or grandchildren. The stories of two survivor families had been recorded in the 1980s, and with the surviving family members' confirmation of details, those stories could be shared. We also recorded interviews with one survivor and with three children of survivors which allowed us to share more stories. The use of personal memoirs (published and through correspondence) and other published works aided us in telling more stories of Holocaust survivors in Saint John.

Albert Featherman was sent to the Lodz ghetto in 1942. When the ghetto was liquidated, he was taken to Auschwitz and then Bergen-Belsen where he was used as a slave labourer. After the war he was sent to a DP camp near Bergen Belsen where he met and married Rose Wiezel who was originally from Hungary and transported to the camps late in the war. Their first child was born in the camp. With the assistance of Rose's cousins, Herman and Joseph Wiezel, the family arrived in Halifax on October 1, 1948. In addition to a recorded interview with Sydney Featherman, the Jewish Museum was also given access to more than 300 family photographs, many of them taken in the camp and at the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) offices.

Rolf Duschenes and his family escaped from Hamburg in 1937. Rolf and his older brother Herbert went to Czechoslovakia as students, where they were among the very last to be issued visas at the Swiss Embassy before it closed. After a harrowing trip they joined their mother and another brother in Geneva, before moving on to England in 1939. There, Rolf was among the many hundreds of young men who

carried German passports who were rounded up after the fall of Dunkirk and sent by ship to internment camps in Canada. After two and a half years of internment in Sherbrooke, Quebec, he was sponsored to study architecture at McGill. Upon graduation he was employed by Ross and MacDonald, a well-known Montreal firm. He was assigned to oversee a project in Saint John and made the decision to move there after much travel. Interestingly, the family chose to store all of their belongings in Hamburg before they left and when family members returned after the war, they were able to reclaim their possessions intact. Among their possessions were many boxes of German books – studies of art, history, literature, many of them now rare. Some of these books have been incorporated in to the Museum's collections and added to the exhibition.

Equally as rare is correspondence between survivors and their sponsors. The Wiezel family of Saint John had corresponded with one cousin, Rose Wiezel and sponsored their arrival in the city in 1948. They also sought to sponsor another cousin, Michael Fried. Their first news of his survival came as a brief telegram which also asked for financial help. A 14 year correspondence followed, maintained by Dolly Wiezel of Saint John, who copied many family members on the correspondence. Michael chose to stay in Sweden where he had been taken for recovery after liberation. This correspondence was re-discovered and preserved many decades later.



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LIBERATED CONCENTRATIONCAMP HERE FOR RECOVERY LETTER FOLLOWS SEND LETTER MONEY MICHAEL FRIED KARLJOHANSSKOLAN LIMHAMN SWEDEN.

SAMUEL CIPORAS

1AM/15TH

Telegram sent by Michael Fried to Joseph Wiezel, Saint John. Courtesy of Saint John Jewish Historical Museum.

In 1999, the private papers of Louis Ferman, a Holocaust survivor who settled in St. John's, Newfoundland were donated to the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum. The papers included more than 150 pages of personal correspondence, most of it in Russian and Yiddish from the 1950s, as well as more than 20 years of programmes commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising at the local synagogue. Mr. Ferman was also extensively involved with several survivors' organizations and saved material from reunion events held across North America.

Additional material about the Holocaust can found elsewhere in the Maritime Provinces – the New Brunswick Internment Camp Museum in Minto, New Brunswick and the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Visitors to the Internment Camp Museum will find a scale model of the internment camp and its environs and a large collection of artifacts. Many of the inmates created models, paintings, woodcrafts and other objects to pass the time and many of these were presented to the guards, several of whom lived nearby. Archaeological digs at the site of the former camp unearthed pots, plates, cups and other objects used by the inmates while in the camp which had been discarded and buried after the closure of the camp. From August 1940 to June 1941, this camp interned more than 700 German Jewish men who had been rounded up as enemy aliens. The camp was closed briefly and reinforced to hold German and Italian seamen caught in Canadian waters and Nazi sympathizers found within Canada. The camp closed permanently on September 1, 1945.

A two-volume history of the camp was researched and written by Ted Jones and was published in 1988 (volume 1) and 1989 (volume 2). The author acknowledges documents from Library and Archives Canada, the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, the University of New Brunswick as part of his source material. For the personal stories he relied upon interviews, correspondence, camp diaries and other documents retained by the former inmates. Most of these documents would have been returned to them after the book was complete. The Museum itself maintains an archive of newsletters which add some elements to the story of the camp. More can be learned about the camp and the museum on their website: http://nbinternmentcampmuseum.ca/.

The Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 opened in 2011 as one of Canada's national museums, building on a smaller museum developed in 1999 to tell Canada's immigration story. The waterfront buildings in Halifax, Nova Scotia welcomed thousands of immigrants from the 1920s to the 1970s including a number of Holocaust survivors in the late 1940s. Much of the information about the immigrants to Canada are preserved in a vast oral history collection including over 2000 stories and 500 interviews along with thousands of photographs and documents (newspa-

per stories, immigration documents, ship information) including those preserved as digital files.

The image collection includes thousands of scanned newspaper clippings, immigration related documents and ship memorabilia, as well as digital photos donated by individual families and organizations. Information can be searched on line or onsite at the Scotiabank Family History Centre. An examination of the online documentation at http://www.pier21.ca/ turns up about a dozen written accounts of Holocaust survivors arriving in Canada. These stories include horrific accounts of the murder of the Jews of Poland and in the camps, the difficulties faced after the war, the journeys to Canada and the challenges of adapting to a new life in a new home.

Stories of Holocaust survivors can be found in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and on-going efforts are in place to ensure that these stories are found and shared through published memoirs, permanent and temporary exhibits in museums and on museum website and Facebook pages.

Book Reviews / Comptes rendus

Pierre Anctil, À chacun ses juifs : 60 éditoriaux pour comprendre la position du Devoir à l'égard des Juifs. 1910–1947. Réunis et commentés par Pierre Anctil. (Québec : Éditions Septentrion, 2014), 418 pp., ISBN: 9782894487990.

Comme l'écrit avec justesse Ira Robinson, dans la préface du livre, l'une des tâches les plus pressantes pour les historiens et spécialistes des études juives canadiennes réside dans l'analyse des phénomènes liés à l'antisémitisme au Canada et au Québec. Face à une augmentation importante de l'immigration juive se traduisant par l'établissement durable de la communauté au Québec dans la première moitié du XX^e^ siècle, les relations, parfois tendues, entre ces nouvelles populations et la majorité canadienne française et catholique laissent entrevoir les relents d'un antisémitisme qui seront à l'origine de diverses controverses et polémiques qui dépasseront largement le cadre académique.

Pierre Anctil entreprend dans ce livre l'analyse de la position du *Devoir* face aux Juifs par le dépouillement des éditoriaux publiés par le journal entre 1910 et 1947. Pour combler une historiographie abordant le rapport entre les Canadiens-français et la communauté juive, qu'il estime encore trop souvent constituée d'impressions générales et de témoignages indirects, Anctil propose une étude quantitative approfondie. Des 11 000 éditoriaux publiés par le journal pendant la période, il en sélectionne soixante pour former un échantillon représentatif de l'évolution de la position du *Devoir* face aux Juifs. Son livre n'aborde donc pas la couverture des questions relatives au judaïsme dans les autres sections du quotidien ; ce qui pourrait constituer une piste à explorer. Cependant, le travail colossal de traitement quantitatif des sources auquel se consacre Pierre Anctil constitue définitivement l'une des forces du livre.

Il est néanmoins important de noter que plusieurs de ces éditoriaux ne traitent pas directement de la communauté juive. Effectivement, c'est souvent par l'entremise d'autres thèmes (immigration, éducation, politiques d'urbanisme, contexte international et Deuxième Guerre mondiale, etc.) que l'opinion des éditorialistes du *Devoir* sur les Juifs s'exprime dans ses pages. Reprenant ces thèmes, Pierre Anctil présente les éditoriaux en les regroupant en 18 sous-sections commentées qui permettent une lecture contextualisée évitant de se trouver face à un matériau brute difficilement assimilable.

Alors que le *Devoir* de la première moitié du XX^e^ souffre d'une très mauvaise réputation pour son antisémitisme autant au sein de la communauté juive que du monde académique, le travail de Pierre Anctil permet d'apporter certaines nuances. Effectivement, en exposant la concentration de la production éditoriale relative à la communauté juive dans les écrits d'un nombre restreint de journalistes, l'auteur nous éclaire sur certaines disparités dans son traitement. Alors qu'Henri Bourassa ne s'intéressait que très peu aux questions juives, son traitement fût en général rela-

tivement neutre et dénué d'animosité. Ce fût également le cas de Louis Dupire, qui publie 44 éditoriaux pendant la période et dont les analyses sociologiques, souvent appuyés par des données empiriques sérieuses, ne démontrent que très rarement un point de vue négatif par rapport à la communauté juive. À l'opposé, les éditoriaux rédigés par Omer Héroux (50 articles négatifs sur 90) et par Georges Pelletier (34 articles négatifs sur 45) sont majoritairement caractérisés par une position défavorable à cette communauté et participent à la propagation de stéréotypes à l'égard des Juifs. Anctil expose également une distinction importante quant à l'opinion négative des éditorialistes du *Devoir* face aux juifs : l'animosité témoignée envers cette communauté tend à s'exprimer plus librement lorsque le sujet de l'article ne touche pas directement la communauté juive locale. Effectivement, les éditoriaux traitant de questions internationales témoignent d'un sentiment significativement plus négatif envers les Juifs; situation qui pourrait cependant s'expliquer par la surreprésentation des textes de Dupire concernant la communauté juive montréalaise et qui ne se caractérisent que très rarement par un antisémitisme plus présent dans les écrits de Pelletier ou d'Héroux.

Bien que le livre de Pierre Anctil propose une analyse quantitativement significative et caractérisée par un travail d'archive impressionnant, il semble y avoir certaines limites quant aux possibles nuances à apporter à l'antisémitisme des éditoriaux du *Devoir*. Comme l'expose très justement l'auteur, cet antisémitisme ne s'exprime presque jamais sur une base raciale et biologique à l'image des thèses développées en Europe à la même époque et qui trouveront leur apogée dans les politiques d'Hitler et du parti nazi au cours des années 1930. Il s'agirait, selon Anctil, de l'expression d'un antisémitisme issu des courants idéologiques catholiques qui influencent fortement les éditorialistes du journal. Cette distinction s'illustre notamment par la condamnation du traitement infligé aux juifs par les nazis ou de la haine aveugle du juif qualifiée « d'odieuse et stupide » dans les pages du journal. Cependant, au fil des éditoriaux choisis, on voit se développer une conception de la communauté juive définie comme un « autre » inassimilable aux sociétés québécoises et canadiennes. Qu'il s'agisse de la prétendue puissance financière et politique des Juifs, du contrôle que la communauté exercerait sur les médias ou de la place disproportionnée qu'occuperaient ses membres dans la société, la perpétuation constante de stéréotypes antisémites à travers les éditoriaux du *Devoir* nous semble à souligner.

Loin de suggérer que Pierre Anctil sous-estime l'impact négatif qu'aurait pu avoir la ligne éditoriale du *Devoir* sur les échanges intercommunautaires dans le contexte québécois du XX^{e} siècle, il semble que l'attitude de ses éditorialistes aura certainement contribué à ce qu'Anctil appelle lui-même le « rendez-vous manqué » entre la communauté juive et le Québec. Ce livre apporte cependant une lecture nouvelle et approfondie sur la question de l'antisémitisme au Québec en exposant le rapport complexe du journal à la communauté juive. Cet ouvrage nous montre que l'attitude du *Devoir* face aux Juifs, bien qu'en rien comparable à l'antisémitisme obsessionnel

des publications d'Adrien Arcand, reste porteuse d'une animosité palpable envers « l'autre » juif et souligne la difficulté d'analyse d'un tel phénomène, dont les diverses modalités d'expression peuvent prendre les formes les plus insidieuses.

Olivier Bérubé-Sasseville
Université du Québec à Montréal

Pierre Anctil et Simon Jacobs, *Les Juifs de Québec: quatre cents ans d'histoire*. (Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2015), 264 pp., ISBN: 9782760542488.

Publié en 2015, l'ouvrage collectif *Les Juifs de Québec : Quatre cents ans d'histoire* rassemble les études de neuf intellectuels–les issus–es de plusieurs disciplines, ce qui permet de porter un regard diversifié sur l'histoire de la communauté juive de la capitale. Simon Jacobs, codirecteur de la publication avec Pierre Anctil, souligne qu'elle découle de recherches effectuées dans le cadre de l'exposition *Plusieurs fibres, une même étoffe : les Juifs de Québec, 1608–2008*. Cette communauté ayant fait l'objet de très peu d'études, Anctil est conscient qu'il reste beaucoup d'angles d'analyses à explorer. Il explique la pauvreté du champ historiographique par le fait que les études des minorités et de l'immigration sont récentes, mais que leurs dernières avancées ont stimulé les recherches sur les Juifs–ves de Québec. Malgré le fait que 400 individus–es y vivaient au seuil du XX^{e}, les études sur les communautés juives au Canada ont principalement porté sur de plus grandes communautés. Cet ouvrage, dont l'approche est fortement biographique et dont les chapitres se succèdent selon une logique chronologique, est divisé en trois parties qui rassemblent des sujets très diversifiés.

La première section, *Premiers reflets*, débute par l'un des cinq chapitres signés par Pierre Anctil, « La présence juive en Nouvelle–France ? » L'historien tente de déterminer s'il y a eu une migration juive à l'époque de la Nouvelle–France, tout en s'intéressant aux conditions d'existences des Juifs de France, et ainsi voir s'il serait logique que certains–es d'entre eux et elles y ont immigré. Même s'il y a peu de cas connus, celui d'Esther Brandeau est le seul, Anctil est persuadé que la présence juive en Nouvelle–France était une réalité, même si les sources ne peuvent le prouver. Ira Robinson signe « 'No Livaks Need Apply.' Judaism in Quebec City », dans lequel il s'intéresse au développement de la vie religieuse, et aux Rabbins qui y ont été influent, et analyse son organisation à travers les archives des synagogues. Il rythme son étude avec des évènements déterminants dans l'histoire des communautés juives de Québec : l'immigration Est–Européenne, la fondation d'une nouvelle synagogue dans les années 1940 et la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Dans « Les débuts de la vie juive à Québec (1760–1900) », Christian Samson, doctorant en histoire ayant travaillé sur l'exposition, rend compte de la vie d'acteurs de la communauté juive de la capitale en les mettant en relief avec des évènements politiques, et présente les luttes pour l'accès à des droits civils qui ont longtemps été déterminés par l'appartenance religieuse. Il explique l'absence des femmes de son récit par le fait que les sources accessibles ne permettent pas de faire aussi facilement l'histoire des Juives que des Juifs. Le chapitre est tout de même suivi d'une courte capsule portant sur Annette Pinto, importante figure du mouvement philanthrope. L'ingénieur Antonin Zeruba propose un portrait de Sigsimund Mohr qui a travaillé dans le domaine de la télégraphie et de la

téléphonie avant de jouer un rôle déterminant dans le développement de l'éclairage des rues de la capitale, et de son électrification alors qu'il était directeur général de la Compagnie d'éclairage électrique de Québec et de Lévis. Mohr, dont Pierre Anctil retrace les origines, est également à l'initiative de la centrale du Sault Montmorency. Enfin, dans un chapitre principalement construit autour de la tradition orale, Franklin Toker dresse le portrait de différentes familles juives, s'intéressant à leurs origines et à leur établissement.

La deuxième partie, « L'âge d'or de la vie juive à Québec » débute avec une étude de Pierre Anctil, « La grande migration est-européenne au début du XX^{e} siècle » à travers laquelle il présente l'impact des persécutions que vivaient les Juifs-ves de Russie sur la société québécoise. Anctil démontre la rapide ascension de ces communautés, principalement dans le domaine commercial, ce qui aurait eu pour conséquence de faire émerger l'antisémitisme. Une brève capsule sur l'antisémitisme dans Saint-Roch s'en suit, ainsi qu'une sur la militante Léa Roback. Le chapitre suivant s'inscrit dans la continuité de celui sur les migrations est-européennes. A travers le parcours de Maurice Pollack, immigré d'Ukraine, Anctil illustre ses précédents propos à travers un exemple concret. Toujours signé par Pierre Anctil, « Bâtir une synagogue à la haute-ville (1932-1953) » met en lumière les difficultés qu'a eues la communauté juive de Québec à mettre en place un second temple ainsi que l'antisémitisme et le discours nationaliste canadien-français bien présent à Québec. Dans « L'internement de Juifs allemands sur les Plaines d'Abraham à l'été 1940 », après avoir présenté le contexte européen qui a mené à la déportation de nombreux-ses Juifs-ves d'Allemagne vers le Canada, Pierre Anctil présente la mise en place des camps, et leurs conditions. Ira Robinson, dans « Finding a Rabbi for Quebec City. The interplay between an American Yeshiva and a Canadian Congregation », présente les difficultés de trouver un leader religieux de 1930 à la désintégration de la communauté dans les années 1960. Guy Mercier, Frédérick Leclerc et Francis Roy signent collectivement « Marcel Adams à Québec. Les destins croisés d'un homme et d'une ville » qui rend compte de l'influence de ce dernier sur l'urbanisation de la ville alors qu'il a grandement investi dans l'immobilier et la mise en place de centres commerciaux.

Dans la troisième partie, « Legs et témoignages », Marylin Bernard présente les mutations qu'a subies la communauté juive de Québec depuis les années 1960, basant son étude sur des entrevues réalisées avec des membres de celle-ci. Dans les deux derniers chapitres, « Growing up Jewish in Quebec city » de Bernice Pedvis Shaposnick, et « Sept ans à Québec (1984-1991) » de Marc-Alain Wolf mettent en valeur les témoignages d'un Juif et d'une Juive qui ont tous deux vécu à Québec.

Cet ouvrage, qui met fortement en valeur l'iconographie, brosse un portrait intéressant de la communauté juive de la ville de Québec en présentant à la fois l'histoire de leur immigration, l'élaboration de la vie religieuse et des trajectoires d'individus s'y étant établis. Par la diversité de ses approches et de ses regards, cet ouvrage comble

en partie le vide historiographique autour des Juifs-ves de Québec et pose les jalons d'une histoire plus approfondie de cette communauté.

Christine Chevalier-Caron
Université du Québec à Montréal

Mark Celinscak. *Distance from the Belsen Heap: Allied Forces and the Liberation of a Nazi Concentration Camp* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 306 pp., ISBN: 9781442615700.

The liberations of hundreds of concentration camps and their satellites by American, British, Canadian, and French troops in Austria and Germany during April and May 1945 have had a strangely marginal standing in the history of Nazi genocide, one that has sorely underestimated their importance to public memory of Nazi genocide. To be sure, these camps—Buchenwald, Dachau, Mauthausen, Belsen, among myriad others—were not extermination camps but rather the ruins of brutal labour and transit camps that had become, by the end of the war, destinations for prisoners of forced marches from Poland and sites of mass death from typhus, starvation, and other forms of cruel neglect. These western camps, many of which were once deemed "mild" by prisoners within the system, supplied the shocking images of wanton murder that moulded and still helps to mould public and private memory of the Holocaust even today. The liberations lent an unimaginably horrific face to mass murder that the Nazis had more or less successfully hidden for most of the war.

Mark Celinscak's *Distance from the Belsen Heap* is a signal contribution to the relatively small literature on the liberations, one that introduces new actors and strives to be more multidimensional in its understandings than most past treatments. It is the single best book on the liberation of Belsen or any other one of the camps that became symbols of Nazi depravity. For Americans, the key names were Dachau and Buchenwald. For those within the colonial or cultural reach of the British Empire, the camp was Belsen. It has taken till now for a historian to do full justice to Canadian participation in Belsen's liberation and the attempted relief of its often-doomed survivors, as well as the Anglo-Canadian the literary-artistic contemplation of what Belsen meant. Indeed, one achievement of this volume is Celinscak's identification and integration of Canadian and Canadian Jewish soldiers and their army units into a solid, comprehensive account of the liberation as a military operation. At the same time, he carefully researches Canadian sources for eyewitness reactions to Belsen among those who accepted the surrender of the camp or arrived soon after. He thus gives added transnational texture to an operation mostly considered British in prior popular and academic accounts.

Not surprisingly, in most ways the first reactions of Canadians on the scene and at home differed little from those of others as they confronted the camps: sometimes traumatic shock, disgust, and a battle between the recognition of an unavoidable assault on the mind and the senses and an urgent need to forget. The very title of the book encapsulates these ironies and contrasts. "Distance from the Belsen Heap," a quotation from the Leonard Cohen poem, "Lines from My Grandfather's Journal"

(1961), speaks of the necessity to distance oneself from the horror, to "get up each morning to make a kind of peace" and yet a few stanzas later the poet admits that he "will never be free from this tyranny." Aside from its use of Belsen as a reference point, however, the sentiment echoes those of others, whether British, American, or Canadian, who felt trapped in the first-hand or immediate second-hand memory of the scenes at Belsen, Dachau, or Buchenwald.

While Celinscak's depiction of the initial days at Belsen adds crucial detail in its addition of Canadians to the mix and its careful reconstruction of the military operations surrounding the Nazi handover of the camp, his most original contributions to the historical literature come in more longitudinal interpretive discussions. He depicts the weeks and months after liberation through the work of doctors, nurses, and chaplains, and surveys the attempts of British and Canadian artists and photographers to elicit order and meaning from their experience. In the chapter, "A Camp on Exhibit," he uses the later theoretical observations of such philosopher/psychologists as Julia Kristeva and Karl Jaspers and a variety of later historians to guide first-hand evidence that illustrates or modifies discussions of responsibility, complicity, and the very meaning of witness. Furthermore, among British and Canadian Jews who were at Belsen it is exceedingly interesting to see how the experience sometimes shaped significantly the rest of their lives. Nor was that only the case with Jews. At the same time, some confessed (with some underlying embarrassment) that being at Belsen had no extraordinary, long-lasting effect. More than most scholars, Celinscak has created a dialogue between these eyewitnesses and more theoretical looks at what meaning that experience might hold.

The chapter, "The Impossible Real: Bergen-Belsen in Art and Photography," accomplishes a similar task in setting forth some of the theoretical work on representation of the Holocaust with the actual work and words of photographers and artists who attempted to depict what they saw at Belsen. Celinscak contributes to the difficult discussion of representation not only the in work of familiar artists and photographers but also some whose work is hardly known today. Particularly interesting is his elaboration of the British and Canadian War Artists who were given the official task of documenting Belsen. A final chapter that assesses the experiences of chaplains, doctors, and nurses at Belsen as they helped both survivors and military personnel is both moving and insightful. Burying the dead, healing the sick, in short creating an increasingly resilient community from the depths of hell—Celinscak peoples these tasks and humanizes them beyond statistical measures.

In all, the research and the comprehensive vision that *Distance from the Belsen Heap* brings to the liberation of Belsen greatly advances our view of that impossible to comprehend not only the shock of recognition that the liberations brought but also to the transition from slavery to freedom for those lucky enough to survive. The questions Celinscak poses may not be new but the thoroughness and sensitivity

with which he has presented his answers make *Distance for the Belsen Heap* a model study of events that have for too long been considered footnotes to history.

Robert H. Abzug
University of Texas at Austin

Hasia R. Diner. *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 247 pp., ISBN: 9780300178647.

The subject of Jewish peddlers is very close to my heart, a primary reason being that my great-grandfather, Morris Miller, was himself a peddler, ultimately settling in Ayer,

Massachusetts (outside Boston). The Miller family lived in Ayer for a very long time as a result of his peddling activities. This kind of family background is quite commonplace in the story of Jews, Ashkenazi and Sephardi alike, over the past century or more – not only in the United States but also in Canada (well represented in this book), South and Central America, the Caribbean, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as in Great Britain and Scandinavia. Depending on where they went, peddlers were called by different names – such as *smous* in South Africa and *cuentanik* in Latin America. However, despite the diversity of lands to which these Jewish peddlers immigrated, the United States is the country to which most Jews from Eastern and Central Europe (plus the Mediterranean Basin) aspired to relocate, and it is in the United States where immigrant Jews were accepted and integrated most thoroughly.

All these Jewish peddler stories are covered in Hasia Diner's book, *Roads Taken*. Diner discusses how peddling became the occupation of choice for many Jews (particularly single males fresh off the immigrant boats) before moving on to more stable and lucrative occupations. While peddling very often took place in small towns and rural areas, the peddlers often (though not always) moved to bigger urban centres once they finished their peddling activities. Diner writes that peddlers cut through many barriers between different social groups that might be present in a given country, and also that peddlers were interested above all in selling their wares, so that sociocultural differences did not matter much to them. A good example of this is the American South, where the Jewish peddlers overlooked the tensions between whites and blacks. As a matter of fact, blacks preferred to buy their wares from the peddlers rather than from the non-Jewish white-owned stores. The peddlers and their clients managed to learn each other's culture, language, and religion; in fact, the peddlers had no option but to learn the dominant language of their new countries, such as English or Spanish. Their clients, in return, had the opportunity to learn about Judaism, including the concept of kosher food. This kind of interaction sometimes went sufficiently far for peddlers to marry local non-Jewish women, an action not always welcomed. Furthermore, in many cases (especially in poorer countries), it was through peddling that the masses were introduced to everyday consumer items.

The peddlers, however, experienced many difficulties and dangers along the way. They found themselves in lands in which the culture and geography were unfamiliar to them, and they faced loneliness away from their families, girlfriends, and wives. The only real time that they rested – i.e. remained in one place and be with their families or spouses – was on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays. At times, they faced anti-Semitism – the most vicious incident taking place in Limerick, Ireland, in 1904 – as well as more general anti-foreigner agitation. More frequent dangers on the road included inclement weather (like blizzards and heat waves) and robbers (attracted to the value of the peddlers' goods). As a result of all these dangers and annoyances, some peddlers were killed, and some even took their own lives. Nonetheless, peddling proved to be a very attractive starter occupation for many immigrant Jews seeking a way to eventual prosperity for themselves and especially for their descendants. This book is recommended especially for readers wanting to know about the lifestyles of the peddlers who founded many Jewish communities in North America and worldwide.

Yosef D. Robinson
Concordia University

David Fraser. *"Honorary Protestants": The Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1867–1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 536 pp., ISBN: 9781442630482.

If I had a nickel for every time I had to explain the legal aspects of Quebec's former school tax panels in a lecture on Jewish education, I would have – well, a lot of nickels. Small compensation, nevertheless, for the inevitable glassy looks I get from an audience more interested in hearing about the efforts of the province's Jews to forge a place within the system through court action, political agitation and even strikes. Happily, with the appearance of David Fraser's *"Honorary Protestants": The Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1867–1997*, I can refer to a full legal history of the topic that is exhaustive in its attention to detail. The book is extensively researched and forcefully argued, outlining the passage of laws pertaining to Jewish education, the debates over their implementation, and their impact on human rights. It is also, despite the detail, lacking in historical context and frustratingly short on nuance.

Take the quotation marks in the title, for instance. The phrase comes from my own work, *A Meeting of the People: School Boards and Protestant Communities in Quebec, 1801–1998* (McGill–Queen's University Press, 2004), co-authored with Mary Anne Poutanen, and is the carefully chosen title of Chapter Seven, about the place of Jewish pupils under Protestant school boards. Learning of Fraser's monograph, we were happy, as always, to see that part of our ambitious study had inspired more detailed research. We were less happy to find that Fraser had lifted "our" phrase and used it sarcastically, in the manner of quoting a mildly outrageous historical statement in a conference paper title. We intended the phrase to be read with a certain irony, reflecting the manner in which most titles of an honorary nature sound rather grand but really offer little in the way of privilege. Fraser, however, referring to us rather glibly as "historians of Quebec Protestant education," assumes that we saw the Protestant school system as entirely welcoming to Jewish pupils. "Honorary" is paraded throughout his book, always sporting quotation marks to remind readers of the irony that presumably escaped us.

This is a pity. Fraser's heart is in the right place, and he and we are essentially on the same page on the issue of Jewish educational rights. The following telescoped history of the subject could easily have been distilled from his book. Section 93 of the 1867 British North America Act (essentially Canada's constitution) only guaranteed Protestant and Catholic educational rights in Quebec; consequently, people of other religious backgrounds discovered that they had no inalienable right to send their children to public school and had to rely on Christian charity. For complex reasons, Jews came to send their children to Protestant schools and agreed that their school taxes should support the Protestant school system – but their presence was forever a matter of convenience, never an acknowledged right, and was perpetually subject to the whim of Protestant school commissioners and trustees, who resisted any move

to enable Jews to sit on school boards or even to vote. In 1903, legislation was passed equating Jews and Protestants "for school purposes," an equality that nevertheless did not extend beyond taxation and the accommodation of pupils (hence the notion of "honorary"). Moreover, turf wars and anti-Semitism made the educational life of Quebec's Jews tense at the best of times. Only in two rural communities, Sainte-Sophie and La Macaza, did Jews succeed in exercising the democratic rights implied by the 1903 legislation and in forming their own school boards. In 1928, equality for school purposes was declared unconstitutional, and the Jewish community was obliged to negotiate contractual agreements with Protestant boards, which they did right to the time of the Quiet Revolution – indeed, right to 1997, when Section 93 was amended.

Fraser might well concede that applying the phrase "Jewish School Question" (normally associated with the 1910s and 20s) to this entire 130-year period is slightly misleading, rather like calling the entire history of the Soviet Union "the Russian Revolution." Still, Fraser's point is well-taken: Jews were consistently ill-served by all public education regimes in Quebec until the abolition of confessional school boards in 1998, and therefore schooling remained a "question," even a crisis, throughout the entire period. At least, I assume this is Fraser's point; the absence of any effort to position his work within the often contentious literature on the subject frequently makes for confusing reading. Things become no clearer on a number of occasions when Fraser introduces a particular issue as "the next Jewish School Question" and one senses that the phrase is being stretched a little thin.

Fraser's unwillingness to engage with us, or with any of the literature on Quebec schooling (other than on one occasion tearing into Gerald Tulchinsky for apparently attributing a motive to the wrong party), suggests that he views other scholarship simply as material from which information may be gleaned, rather than the result of careful thinking (albeit always with potential bias) on complex issues. The manner in which he cites other works – for content, never for interpretation – confirms the impression that he reads broadly but not carefully. More attention to the nuances of historical argument would have avoided many of the generalizations, sweeping statements and outright errors that plague this book.

Fraser might have appreciated, for instance, that there was a tension perpetually at the heart of Protestant education over whether it was essentially a liberal, secular form of public schooling in keeping with most of North America, or a narrower educational programme geared to a particular religious group. Protestant school officials were capable of resorting to either definition, depending on the context. Normally, they presented themselves as liberal and tolerant, but sometimes tensions would give rise to various strains of anti-Semitism and the rhetoric would shift to extolling Christian values. Fraser's critical assessment of this rhetoric is reasonable, but he all but ignores the liberal tendencies within Protestantism; at best, his oc-

casional references to "revanchist" elements serve to imply the existence of other points of view, but these are never articulated. Instead, Fraser repeatedly refers to the "fundamental nature" of Protestant education or to the "core Protestant nature of Protestant schools" without ever explaining what he means – although he clearly believes that rejecting the company of Jews is somehow fundamental to Protestantism. Part of the problem lies with Fraser's sources, which are for the most part documents generated by lawyers and others at the time who researched cases on behalf of the Jewish community, rather than Protestant school board records. Many of these legal documents, since deposited in the Canadian Jewish Congress archive, contain extensive quotations from school board minutes, but the information is still cherry-picked and only provides part of the story.

Fraser's lack of nuance perpetuates age-old stereotypes about Protestant intransigence that all too often serve political interests in Quebec. He casually cites Pierre Anctil's claim that Protestants were the province's first anti-Semites – which is true only if one denies the fact, as Robert Gagnon and Jean-Philippe Croteau have done, that Catholic boards did not admit Jews in their schools, thereby avoiding the public occasions when Protestant discourse became conspicuously anti-Semitic. Fraser appears unaware of this contentious issue, although he does pepper his text with "probably," "almost never," and "perhaps" as if that were enough to permit him to move on to the next legal argument. The conspicuous aside describing Anctil as "the noted historian of Quebec Jewry and intercultural relations" is perhaps Fraser conceding that he may be on thin historiographical ice and in need of reinforcement. In any event, it is clear to me that Quebec Jews saw the Protestant educational system as the lesser of two evils by far, largely because its schools functioned for the most part like secular public ones.

Fraser does much to undermine the liberal aspect of Protestant schooling by his problematic use of certain terminology and by making assumptions that, when repeated often enough, sound like facts. One relatively minor irritant is his constant use of the term "denominational" rather than "confessional" when characterizing Quebec's school systems; the former has a very different meaning for Protestants, who saw their schools as expressly non-denominational. Fraser also betrays a lack of awareness of Quebec educational history when he asserts that both Catholic and Protestant curricula included "religious instruction," when in fact the Protestant school day never devoted more than a few preliminary minutes to prayer and scripture – still awkward for Jewish pupils, though hardly so onerous as an hour's catechism. Fraser's narrative spends very little time in the classroom, preferring to make sweeping statements based on information drawn from an abstract level of legal discourse.

Much more serious is Fraser's frequent assertion that Montreal's Protestant school board segregated Jewish students. This claim is introduced in the context of a situa-

tion at Dufferin School, which in 1895 was (according to Fraser but not corroborated by any statistics I have seen) overwhelmingly Jewish, that prompted the Protestant commissioners to consider creating a segregated system. A few pages later, Fraser writes of segregation as if it was central to board policy, and the next reference a further twenty pages along is to "the de facto and almost de jure segregation of Jewish and Protestant pupils in schools." None of these claims is accompanied by proof, and in the only real discussion of the issue Fraser asserts that segregation had little to do with residential patterns. By the early twentieth century, several schools (but not as many as nine, as Fraser claims) had populations that were majority Jewish, but that surely does not constitute segregation; the schools were overwhelmingly Jewish because the families who lived nearby were almost all Jews. Fraser's error here may be due to his evident ignorance of Montreal geography: he frequently refers to the Downtown Jewish area as "the east end" and later to Hampstead as lying "just west of Mount Royal" within easy reach of the centre. Even so, to claim that Jews were segregated in Montreal goes beyond a mere sweeping statement. Yes, a case could be made that the Protestant commissioners opened Baron Byng High School in the heart of The Main (as the area is known, never by Fraser's insulting term "ghetto") in order to diminish the percentage of Jewish students at the prestigious High School of Montreal, but one could also argue that they were simply building a high school in the midst of a major working-class catchment area, just as they were doing in other parts of town. In any event, Baron Byng's creation in the 1920s can hardly serve as an example of segregation when discussing an earlier period. By contrast, what happened in Outremont in the 1940s was a clear case of a Protestant school board wanting to segregate its Jewish students. The board did so in defiance of not only the local Jewish community but also much of the Protestant population – to say nothing of international opinion in the wake of World War II. Unfortunately, by having repeatedly dropped unsubstantiated claims about the Montreal board, Fraser diminishes the significance of the anomalous Outremont project and completely undermines the efforts of local Jews and Protestants to defeat it.

If Fraser had understood more about the evolution of Quebec school boards he would not have made the countless petty mistakes he does in discussing them. He would have known how important it is to get their names right, even at the level of proper capitalization: for much of this period there was a Montreal Protestant school board (it was called the Protestant Board of School Commissioners for the City of Montreal) but never a Montreal Protestant School Board. In the latter chapters, the apparently interchangeable use of these terms, along with the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (a different beast again), renders the text all but unintelligible. It does not help that Fraser often refers to suburban municipalities on the Island of Montreal as lying within Montreal city limits (which Hampstead and Côte-Saint-Luc were not, as its residents will emphatically confirm) so that when he says "the Montreal Board" you cannot tell if he means the PSBGM (with which Hampstead etc. were affiliated) or the PBSC founded in 1846. Such imprecision is odd

coming from a legal historian who is clearly very particular about wording when it affects constitutional law.

Fraser is also very particular about the differences between "common" and "dissentient" school boards, as well as about that third variety: boards created by Order-in-Council. Except that he never refers to "boards" in this part of the discussion, only to "schools." The key players in this story, at least on the Protestant side, are school boards, the recipients of school taxes and the makers of most decisions regarding schools within their jurisdictions. Fraser has people paying taxes to schools (impossible) and has schools petitioning for changes to their confessional status (illogical), when he should have been talking about boards. Yes, when a group of individuals under a common school board wished to dissent they would form a dissentient school, but more crucially they would form a dissentient board to administer the school – or schools, if more were needed. Fraser talks of schools as being "common" or "dissentient" as if these were inherent, essential qualities they possessed instead of being mere buildings operated by a particular type of board. He also talks of "Order-in-Council schools," an institution that has never existed. Since the differences between these boards are crucial to his entire argument in the book's latter chapters, this confusion is particularly unfortunate.

Above all, Fraser is particular about the law. Section 93 may have been unjust but it was the law of the land from 1867 to 1997, and therefore any deviation from it during this period was unconstitutional. But by insisting on this fundamental interpretation of legality, Fraser is obliged to characterize every attempt to mitigate Section 93's inherent injustices as illegal. Although he is technically correct in this characterization, the cumulative effect is to undermine the legitimacy of every effort by Jews to carve out pockets of educational jurisdiction for themselves. In the truly remarkable story of the all-Jewish "Protestant" school board of Sainte-Sophie, Fraser's account paints the Jewish farmers as obstinate in their procedurally unorthodox pursuit of dissentient status and the Protestant bureaucrats as the frustrated party searching for legally viable solutions to what was allegedly tying their hands. It is only via a direct quotation from our article on Sainte-Sophie that Fraser implies the possibility of anti-Semitism in the officials' actions; he is apparently unwilling to assert this interpretation directly. Curiously, although no one at the time questioned the farmers' self-identification as "Protestants for school purposes" under the 1903 law, Fraser cannot resist making an aside that borders on the patronizing: "Of course we know now [since the law was struck down in 1928] that their interpretation was faulty, but at the time it was perhaps understandable that they would rely on the equivalence established in the statute." But the farmers' interpretation was clearly not "faulty" if it won them the educational services they sought. For that matter, can any interpretation be considered wrong just because a later decision disagreed with the terms on which the reasoning was based? Is there a legal reality distinct from our various efforts to interpret the law – a constitutional tree falling in the interpretational for-

est, as it were? The answer may seem straightforward to a legal mind such as Fraser's (who, incidentally, consistently misuses the word "existential"), but the repeated assertion that people's actions were illegal diminishes their capabilities as historical agents.

Aside from the errors and confusing passages, the book's real shortcoming is the lack of a sense of human agency. The genre of legal history offers no more excuse than any other to downplay the efforts of individuals; many legal historians strive to show how ordinary people coped with injustice, making much more creative use of the phrase "the shadow of the law" than Fraser does. If the book ever goes to a second edition – and given its clear strength as a useful reference work this may indeed be necessary – Fraser would do well to rethink his analysis, tease out the motivations of people at the heart of this story, and rely a good deal less on unsubstantiated claims.

Roderick MacLeod

Adara Goldberg. *Holocaust Survivors in Canada: Exclusion, Inclusion and Transformation, 1947–1955* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 312 pp., ISBN: 978-0887557767.

A little more than a year after the defeat of Nazi Germany and the rupture of the wartime alliance between the Soviet Union and the Western democracies, the first few Jewish Displaced Persons, Holocaust survivors, began arriving in Canada. By 1955, approximately 35 000 survivors had resettled in Canada, putting an end to more than twenty-years of draconian restrictions against Jewish admission to Canada. The story of Canada's denial of sanctuary to the condemned Jews of Europe and the gradual lifting of immigration regulations in the postwar era is now accepted as part of the chronicled history of Jews in Canada and of Canadian immigration in general. However, the story is far from complete. One area of omission, and one that Adara Goldberg's *Holocaust Survivors in Canada: Exclusion, Inclusion, Transformation, 1947–1955* goes a long way to fill, concerns the often-difficult postwar adaptation of Holocaust survivors to new homes in Canada and the uneasy if not testy interaction many survivors had with the established Canadian Jewish community. Goldberg's book, written with considerable grace of style and with obvious compassion for the struggles of survivors attempting to rebuild their lives in Canada – some successfully; others less so – is a 'must read' not just for those interested in the survivor experience but also for those interested in the adaptation of refugees more generally.

One of the highlights of the book is the way Goldberg skilfully integrates the lived experience of individual survivors into the larger story of survivor adaptation in Canada. Some of this material is drawn from interviews Goldberg conducted with postwar stakeholders, from testimony of Holocaust survivors preserved in various oral history collections and from the case files of Jewish social agencies tasked with facilitating the settlement and Canadian integration of Holocaust survivors. These materials allow Goldberg to put a human face on the not-always easy encounters between survivors – many dealing with unresolved Holocaust-related issues – and the larger Jewish community and its social service agencies. As Goldberg explains, many survivors came to regard the larger Jewish community as indifferent to the Holocaust and uncaring of the suffering that survivors endured. And, Goldberg argues, this indifference was not without some justification. In the aftermath of war, few in the established Jewish community, including Canadian-born and educated social workers and other gatekeepers, had a clear notion of what individual survivors had suffered. In their ignorance, they too often misread or minimized the impact of Holocaust trauma. As a result, many assigned to help in survivors' settlement could not understand why the survivors could not pull up their socks, put it all behind them and get on with it. As a result, Goldberg explains, survivor relations with the larger Jewish community were often marked by distance, silence, and mutual mistrust.

If the encounter of survivors with the established Jewish community was often problematic, specifics varied among different subsets of survivors. Among the survivor categories Goldberg centres on for in-depth discussion are: child survivors; the very observant; those who sought to distance themselves from Judaism if not the Jewish community; and women. Well aware that each of these categories is inclusive of a patchwork quilt of individual narratives, Goldberg is able to draw the reader's attention to common threads of experience.

Take but one example – the case of children and young adults. Goldberg's analysis differentiates the experiences of two distinct groups of child survivors. One group was the approximately 1200 Jewish orphans, most in their mid-to-late teens, brought to Canada under the umbrella of a postwar government-approved scheme authorizing the organized Jewish community to sponsor their arrival and settlement. The other group of child survivors were those who came to Canada as part of family units. Goldberg notes that the organized Jewish community was the official guarantor of these orphans' welfare, it invested its communal energy and resources behind the settlement program, and it attempted, with varying degrees of success, to monitor the orphans' integration into Jewish households that stepped forward to take them in. Some of these placements worked well. Others didn't. But until an orphan reached the age of majority, his or her welfare remained a community concern.

Those children who entered Canada as part of established family units, Goldberg observes, did not receive nearly the same amount of community attention or support as the sponsored orphans. The reason, Goldberg argues convincingly, was not that children in family units were ignored. It was that they were invisible. How so? It was widely assumed that if the family was adequately housed, the head of household gainfully employed and the children in school or easing into the workforce, the family as a whole, including the children, was well on the road to integration. Children in survivor families might have had emotional or other problems, but few who worked with survivors regarded this as any different from what existed in families more generally. The result was a downplaying or sweeping under the community rug of Holocaust-related trauma suffered by many youth survivors.

Goldberg's analysis of other subsets of survivors is equally thoughtful and thorough. Ultimately, Goldberg's research makes clear to the reader that while it is common to reference Holocaust survivors as a single cohesive group, this can be misleading. No doubt the Holocaust was a shaping experience for all survivors. But particulars of that experience were markedly different from place to place, group to group, and individual to individual. And as Goldberg ably demonstrates, the same is true of survivor resettlement in Canada. How survivors were received by the established Jewish community and the different paths open to survivors once in Canada also differed from place to place, group to group, and individual to individual.

Just one small but important factual error in an otherwise first-rate book: With reference to prewar and wartime Canadian immigration policy regarding Jews, Goldberg makes reference several times to a Canadian "Jewish quota." There was no quota. A Jewish quota would have required immigration officials to set a number for Jews admissible to Canada. They never did so. And as we know, if Canadian immigration authorities had specified a Jewish quota number, it would likely have been zero.

Harold Troper
University of Toronto

Na Li. *Kensington Market: Collective Memory, Public History, and Toronto's Urban Landscape* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 144 pp., ISBN: 9781442616219.

Nostalgia often colours our view of the past. That's not necessarily a bad thing, but it has frequently blurred the academic vision of researchers trying to determine what made iconic

North American ethnic neighbourhoods throb with a unique vitality during their heyday. Na Li's monograph on Kensington, a downtown Toronto neighbourhood known as "the Jewish market" from the 1920s to the 1960s, which remains a zone of ethnic cross-pollination amidst unique architecture, powerfully situates nostalgia within Toronto urban history and geography. In doing so, she sheds a brilliant light on what precisely makes ethnic neighbourhoods "ethnic" in the eyes of both residents and outsiders, and how to preserve these neighbourhoods in the face of gentrification driven by rapidly rising real estate prices in Toronto's central core.

The core of Li's clarity comes from her insistence on two key concepts: that history is best understood through personal and experiential sources, and that the "collective memory" of residents is the best prism through which to focus scholarly analyses and reconstructions of how urban places impact them. Nostalgia thus becomes part of the collective memories' "sense of space"—in this case Kensington—but its influence is limited by the realization that the cultural memories of North American ethnic enclave inhabitants are vastly different and depend on a host of factors. While some recall only "a place of daily struggle and menial employment", outsiders see as "an enthralling social situation". The truth can only be uncovered by carefully balancing interviews with various area residents who lived in the area during the last sixty years, studying Kensington's history, the architecture, symbolism, and role of key institutions with a deep sense of respect for the resilience of the residents' consistent realization that Kensington was a special place to live.

Li, who loves Kensington, argues its uniqueness stems from its repeated use as an area of first settlement, its unique "architectural inventory", and its cultural diversity. She believes these three elements combine to create a sense of "insiderhood" among the residents that helps define a unique "sense of space". She interestingly observes that the successive immigrant waves that used Kensington's narrow streets were all from cultures in which urban street life played a key role. This heightened their awareness and attachment to Kensington; they became "insiders" very conscious of the value and boundaries of their neighbourhood and its "sense of history." Unique businesses and places of worship mirrored and further cemented this connection. To prove this point, Na devotes considerable analysis to the "geography and memory of place" in her survey of the histories of selected Kensington institutions: the Anshei Kiev Synagogue, United Bakers Dairy Restaurant, Tom's Clothing, the Perola Super-

market, and Hyman's Books. The latter closed its doors after six decades on Spadina Avenue and the restaurant has moved uptown to one of the new centres of Jewish population, but the others still thrive downtown.

These interviews are remarkably useful in separating nostalgia from history by providing short but insightful histories of each site, carefully noting the architectural features that tie them to the area. Only then does Li analyze these interviews, which yield key information she usefully terms "places of memory" and "memoryscapes". All the businesspeople stressed that their stores were not merely businesses, but places where many generations came to shop, meet, mingle, and exchange memories—key activities Na calls "emotional investment in the neighbourhood". She then roots nostalgia firmly into the collected and collective memories that each of these key neighbourhood businesses evoked.

For example, long after Ben Zion Hyman sold his bookstore, he would encounter people who regaled him with stories about their experiences at the store with his father or grandfather. At United Bakers, the co-owner recalled that at least once a day a customer would come who would share their memories of the bustle of Spadina tradesmen, union leaders, and Canadian Jewish Congress officials who packed the restaurant at lunch. Nostalgia doesn't simply exist—it is rooted in the geography of place, which catalyzes memory even away from Kensington's domains. "Places conjoin time and space", writes Na Li, and the moving narratives of the interviews certainly underscores the truth of her observation and her passion for this fascinating neighbourhood.

In the final section of her book, Li addresses the challenges Kensington faces from urban planning and pressure for gentrification. Certainly many residents are aware of the uniqueness of their neighbourhood—but how can they withstand these economic and political forces? Na Li calls on urban planners to act creatively and responsibly to proactively work with residents and local politicians to preserve the unique character of Kensington while ensuring that building also meet municipal codes.

She applauds careful use of historical designation (as in the case of the Anshei Kiev Synagogue) to ensure the survival of unique structures. A good deal of space is devoted to urban planning theory and how public policy must be shaped to recognize local residents' deeply held memories, especially because many of these residents would normally be estranged or aloof from the public planning process.

This is an important addition to the fields Canadian Jewish, Ethnic, and Urban History. Li's passionate understanding of the geography of place and Kensington has produced insightful and vital data on key area institutions and crystallized their emotional role in the community. Its relative brevity makes it accessible to scholar and layman alike, although the latter might find some of her methodological expla-

nations overly long. There are some minor issues with place names; both captions and text often refer to the synagogue as "the Kiev", when it is correctly known as "the Kiever". More significantly, Li never discusses the extent to which Toronto urban planners have already engaged her agenda and consulted with "grassroots residents". Judging from a recent successful effort to ban big-box stores from proximity to Kensington, it would seem that Torontonians and their planners are already onside with neighbourhood preservation. Another significant omission involves the lack of discussion, let alone analysis of how the growing Chinese and South Asian migration into Kensington has affected the area.

This is especially notable because in his interview with Na Li, Tom Mihalik of Tom's Place observes that Chinese and South Asians are the newest ethnic groups occupying Kensington. Given that the presence of both groups has been growing for the past twenty years, and has created a significant number of commercial, religious, and cultural sites, this is a significant omission. One wonders whether these street-based cultures also share previous generations' feeling for the area. Certainly, these omissions highlight the ample room for more scholarship here, and that will be to Na Li's credit. She has laid down a useful pastiche of interdisciplinary methodologies to study a key area of ethnic settlement and ethnic succession in a major Canadian metropolis now famous for its ethnic diversity and desire to preserve neighbourhoods. Hopefully, her methodologies will be transposed to Vancouver, Montreal, and other cities with similar urban features. Certainly this engaging and important work deserves a wide readership and will fill a key gap in the scholarly literature.

Jack Lipinsky

John Lorinc, Michael McClelland, Ellen Scheinberg and Tatum Taylor, eds. *The Ward: The Life and Loss of Toronto's First Immigrant Neighbourhood* (Toronto: Coach House Books, 2015), 320 pp., ISBN: 978-1552453117.

While there is a substantial body of literature about the history of Toronto, works depicting life in ethno-cultural neighbourhoods, with the exception of Spadina, are rare. This volume helps fill the gap. It is composed of sixty short essays, by approximately fifty authors, including the editors. The pieces display a diversity of themes, writing styles, descriptions, analyses, and laments. The collection makes for fascinating and informative reading, for scholars, students and the general public. It provides more than a snapshot of the life and times of Toronto's first gathering place for immigrants and industrial workers. Maps, photos and sketches bring the text to life.

John Lorinc is a journalist and author of three books. His introduction provides a valuable and concise history, and his five essays discuss specific aspects of that history. Michael McClelland is an architect whose essay on "Alternative Histories" closes the volume. Ellen Scheinberg is a past director of the Ontario Jewish Archives who contributes seven essays, five of which spotlight Jewish life. Tatum Taylor is a community preservationist whose essay is on storytelling.

The Ward was the shortened name of St. John's Ward, land that been donated by the Macaulay family, part of the Family Compact of Upper Canada, situated north and west of Yonge and Queen Streets, which were the limits of Toronto in the 1840s. The Ward's northern boundary was College Street, and its western limit was University – an area of 0.57 square kilometres. It was Toronto's first suburb. Initially, its purpose was to build a new Anglican Church, Holy Trinity, to serve Toronto's growing population of poor and indigent souls, at the behest of Bishop John Strachan in 1845. Its first residents were Protestants, who worked at the port and in the fledgling manufacturing industries. They were joined by sailors on furloughs, and members by the African-Canadian community who had arrived via the Underground Railroad, and became professionals and port and railroad workers. This community built the British Methodist Episcopal Church. As Toronto's population increased following Confederation, another six churches were established, flimsy cottages were built on unpaved streets and alleys, and stately homes on the main avenues. By 1880, a thousand people predominantly of Anglo-Celtic and African origin had settled, joined by the initial Chinese, Italian, and Eastern Europeans Jewish arrivals, creating the first diverse ethno-cultural neighbourhood in the city.

By 1900, the Ward had transformed into a slum. Fueled by the Great Migration, squeezed between the financial district to the south, the commercial strip on Yonge St., the prominent homes and institutions on University, and the Legislature and the University of Toronto to the north, the municipal authorities were hard put to pro-

vide services to the neighbourhood. Its residents lived in shacks, teeming tenements, and 'rear houses' that could only be accessed through basements. In 1908, a survey revealed that ten percent of homes had running water. A Globe editorial in 1905 "fretted about an 'influx population foreign in race, speech and customs'", singling out Russian Jews. Three years later, the paper intoned: "Practically the whole Ward is a city ghetto." (15–16) By 1908 it housed 11,000 people and 18,000 in 1917, rivalling the densities of the worst slums in London and New York. Of these, Jews were the primary ethno-cultural group. The Ward is also where many of its denizens worked, shopped and prayed. Peddlers, street hawkers, produce stands, street musicians, and artisans clogged the streets, as did sweat shops, from the "stern fortifications" of the four Eaton's factories that by 1913 employed between 6500 and 9000 people, to those who slaved at their sewing machines doing piecework at home. (135)

The conditions aroused reformers. Among them was William Lyon Mackenzie King who wrote four articles for the Mail and Empire in the summer of 1897 after his graduation from The University of Toronto. Myer Siematycki writes in "King of the Ward" that they were the first articles on immigrant immigration in Canada. The last article, 'Toronto and the Sweating System' was, according to Siematycki, a "blockbuster". (58) In 1911, Charles Hastings, the new medical officer of health, commissioned a report on slums, including The Ward that immediately led to the demolition of outhouses, the installation of sewers and the prevention of unsupervised construction. As John Lorinc writes in "'Fools Paradise': Hastings Anti-Slum Crusade", by his retirement in 1929, the living conditions in the Ward were similar to today's Kensington Market. (91–94) From 1945 to the 1960s, much of the Ward was razed, and today is undergoing further development under the moniker, "The Discovery District".

Approximately twenty essays profile the Black, Italian, Chinese and Jewish experience, and several more are biographical, including Ellen Sheinberg's piece on Gladys Smith, alias Mary Pickford. Scheinberg's contributions on Jewish life include depictions of bootleggers, Christian missionaries, newsboys, schvitzes (steam baths) and Queen Street merchants. Ruth Frager writes about the Eaton's Strike of 1912, Jack Lipinsky on the construction of the Goel Tzedec Synagogue on University Avenue in 1907, Richard Dennis on tenement landlords and Deena Nathanson on peddlers. This reviewer's favourite piece is a three-page essay by Howard Moscoe, a long time municipal politician, about his grandmother, Getel Shumacher, who arrived with her husband in 1908 and lived first on Centre Avenue and then Edward Street (the current site of U of T's dental school). Her husband Percy was a peddler, so to supplement his meagre income, Getel dispensed bootleg whiskey by the shot. Although her daughter told Moscoe that it was actually Getel's brother, Shmuel, who was the criminal, and that Getel merely took over on the Sabbath, Getel was charged with assault and illegal possession of liquor in 1925, for which she paid a fine of $50 and spent a week in jail. (36–38)

The Ward is a treasure of analysis, whimsy, and description of the life of poor Torontonian immigrants a century ago. It was the first gathering place for non-Anglo-Celtic minorities. Today, the greater Toronto area is home to about two million people, whose origins are African, East Asian, Mediterranean and Eastern European. Their predecessors' first home was the Ward. This work is a fitting evocation of their lives and a welcome volume accessible to scholars, students, and the general public.

Franklin Bialystok
University of Toronto

Richard Menkis and Harold Troper. *More Than Just Games: Canada and the 1936 Olympics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 281 pp., ISBN: 9781442626904.

Early on, Richard Menkis and Harold Troper query the relationship between the Olympics and human rights. As quickly as they pose the question, they resolve it. They run through sixty years of controversy, from the boycott of the Melbourne, Australia Games (1956) over the Soviet invasion of Hungary to the proposed boycott of the Sochi Games (2014) in response to Russian discrimination against the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. Frequently, tensions have arisen juxtaposing the stated ideals of the Olympic movement, the supposed apolitical purity of amateur athletics, discriminatory and violent behaviour on the part of host nation governments, and the corruption or dishonesty of Olympic committee members. With these strains as a backdrop, the campaign against the 1936 Berlin Olympics was the "grandfather" (xiii) of all human rights-related boycotts. This is the story of Canadian preparation for, participation in, and opposition to the Nazi Games. Woven into that story is a second central narrative, the Jewish Canadian response to the Games.

None of the opening musings on the failure of the Olympic movement to live up to its lofty ideals will surprise readers familiar with the outlines of Olympic history. With new information here and there, much of the book is a solid review of what the secondary literature has long established – the rise of Nazism, growing anti-Semitism, the 1936 Games as Hitlerian spectacle (successful in large measure for the participation of the "great powers"), the triumphs of US track star Jesse Owens, and with a few vociferous exceptions, an international community largely indifferent to the plight of German Jews. The scene having been set by the authors, with plenty of evidence that Canadians had all the information they needed to understand the evils of Hitler's Germany, we learn of fascinating villains who held sway in popular opinion. In 1934, for example, "Rev. Dr. Bingham" (41) returned to Toronto from the World Assembly of Baptists in Germany to report that Hitler was an idealist and that "Jews were over-represented in Germany as doctors and lawyers" (41). Starting with the prominent Toronto Daily Star sports columnist Lou Marsh, there is a cast of those who may simply have been dull-witted and possibly anti-Semitic in ignoring Nazi violence, or in Marsh's case, were perhaps too close to members of the flaccid Canadian Olympic Committee (COC) ("Old Boys," according to the Vancouver Sun (61)) in rejecting calls for a Canadian boycott of the Nazi games. In November 1935, Marsh summed up his views: "Canada has no real reason for dropping out of the Olympics unless Great Britain decides to withdraw her team" (107).

The most compelling story protagonists are COC chair P. J. Mulqueen and Holy Blossom Temple spiritual leader Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath. Mulqueen is typical of the worst we know of officious, small-minded Olympic Committee members over

the past decades (minus the financial scandals). In the two years leading up to the 1936 Olympics, Mulqueen and the COC repeatedly made "sympathetic noises about ensuring the Olympic Charter [was] respected," while proceeding privately "as if nothing was wrong" (33)." The authors show brilliantly how Mulqueen claimed publicly and in at least one private meeting with Eisendrath to have considered with care the arguments of those calling for a boycott, while never wavering privately from his firm commitment to Canadian participation, and to derailing the efforts of boycott proponents. Eisendrath is the most interesting figure in the book. He was "scathing" (213) in his criticisms of Nazi violence, a powerful public and behind-the-scenes voice against participation, and an intelligent strategist who worked diligently to exploit political opportunities to block a Canadian Olympic presence.

As much as anything, this is a story of Jewish Canadians working to sound the alarm on Nazi aggression and to stop Canada from sending athletes to the Olympics. The authors draw more heavily on Jewish institution archival collections than on any others. They explain masterfully the evolution of labour, Communist Party, and other politics in regard to Jewish community responses and debates with regard to Canadian preparations for and participation in the games. Most important, they identify key community actors that have not until now been examined in much detail, such as the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA), in crafting an analysis of Jewish community organizing and politics that goes well beyond the problem of the Nazi Olympics.

At the same time, the Jewish focus raises methodological questions. Why the Jews? In part, the answer is obvious – this was the most significant persecuted minority in Nazi Germany. Even so, why have the authors not asked themselves whether other ethnic communities were engaged in the boycott movement, particularly when we know how diverse the Canadian contingent was that traveled to Spain to fight against the Franco dictatorship during the Spanish Civil War? The authors delve into no archival or community/non-English-language newspaper sources for Finnish-Canadians, Ukrainian-Canadians, or other groups with strong political affiliations and important working-class identities, and that would have come into contact with Jewish-Canadians in the Communist Party and other organizations. This has the de facto methodological effect of recreating in the Canadian context a binary that reflects Maurice Eisendrath's grim, anticipatory vision of the world's response to Nazism, where an international Christendom had left Nazis triumphant, while consigning German Jews to an unimaginable fate (213)."

The binary – Jews versus others – is confirmed in how Menkis and Troper address cases of non-Jewish support for a Canadian boycott. Consistently, they are either anecdotal, or, if more significant, never part of a sustained political action in the manner of Jewish-Canadian opposition. "Across Canada," the authors write, "Canadian Trades and Labour Congress affiliates pledged to boycott the Nazi Games

(85)." But there is never any detailed explanation for, or analysis of, Labour Congress boycott activities. The British Columbia Amateur Athletic Union strongly supported a boycott in specific response to the Nazi treatment of Jews. The authors offer no analysis of the evolution of that position in regional or other contexts. In a third of many examples, in reference to the vital role of the YMHA in the politics of the boycott movement, the authors include a poster for a March 1936 symposium in Montreal sponsored by the Canadian League Against War and Fascism. Featured speakers include Norman Gillespie (President, Quebec Football Association), Harvey Golden (Executive Director, YMHA), Madeleine Sheridan (Member, Women's Catholic League), J.B. St. John (Member, Youth Forum, Emmanuel Church), and Stanley Ryerson (Member, Montreal Council, League Against War and Fascism). While Golden's work is extensively documented in *More Than Just Games*, as is that of the YMHA, there is only brief reference to the activities of the League Against War and Fascism. Readers learn nothing of why Gillespie, Sheridan, St. John, or Ryerson were speaking that night or what their roles might have been in the boycott movement.

The Jew/non-Jew binary leads to three methodology-related queries in an otherwise interesting history. First there is little theoretical or methodological engagement with a growing literature on Jews in sports around the world. That literature tends increasingly to hold that sport marked a point of evolving Jewish identities in the United States, France and elsewhere, where those identities became framed not by the Jewish/non-Jewish binary, but by unprecedented and multiple forms of contacts between Jews and non-Jewish citizens. This approach contrasts sharply with the story in *More Than Just Games*, which places Jewish-Canadians apart – politically, socially, and culturally – from others in Canada at the time. Here, Jewish Canadians act as and reflect identities as "Jews" rather than as "Canadians". Was that identity divide so rigid, particularly when we know that sport in Canada and the United States frequently led to evolving Jewish identities that integrated rather than set themselves further apart from "Canadian" identities? Second, in the Communist Party and other contexts, there are tantalizing hints suggesting that there might be more to this story on how Jews and non-Jews might have worked together and outside the boundaries of Jewish community institutions on the boycott movement. Finally, readers will find it is difficult to know ultimately how average Canadians in Calgary, Rimouski, and St. John felt about Nazis, Jews, the Olympics, and the boycott movement.

David M. K. Sheinin
Trent University

Lillooet Nördlinger McDonnell. *Raincoast Jews: Integration in British Columbia*. (Vancouver: Midtown Press, 2014), 224 pp., ISBN: 9780988110120.

In *Raincoast Jews: Integration in British Columbia*, Lillooet Nördlinger McDonnell sets out to answer two ambitious questions: "How and why did Jewish integration take place in British Columbia from the beginning of the gold rush era in 1859 through to and until the dawn of multiculturalism in 1971? What was the historical nature of social relations between Jews and their non-Jewish compatriots?" (16) She attempts to answer these questions by examining the lives of five B.C. Jews whose lives together span over a century: Cecelia Davies Sylvester (1848–1935), Hannah Director (1886–1970), Leon Koerner (1892–1972), Harry Adaskin (1901–1994) and Nathan Nemetz (1913–1997). She uses microhistory as her method of analysis.

Nördlinger McDonnell focuses on British Columbia because "the study of Canadian Jewry has focused predominantly on Quebec, Ontario and to some degree the Prairies – where Jewish settler populations have historically been higher." (19–20) She rightly points out that limited attention has been paid to B.C. in some of "the most comprehensive volumes pertaining to Jewish Canadian history – including works by Benjamin Sack, Louis Rosenberg, Gerald Tulchinsky, Richard Menkis and Norman Ravvin," and that David Rome and Cyril Leonoff's works "remain some of the few contributions to the field." (20)

Her choice of subjects is less convincing. While each represents "an example of Jewish integration in B.C. society for his or her era," (17) and they are of "divergent backgrounds" and "experienced integration differently," they are hardly "peripheral Jews." (20) Indeed, the description on the book cover refers to them as "five leading

Jews," which they were. By Nördlinger McDonnell's own account, Davies Sylvester, one of the first Jewish residents of Victoria, was involved more than most of her contemporaries in the Jewish and general communities, as were her father J.P. Davies, her brother Joshua and her husband Frank Sylvester.

Director "made an indelible mark on Canadian history," writes Nördlinger McDonnell. "Not only was she the first woman to be elected as a trustee and become chairman of the school board in Prince George, but she also became the first known Jewish woman elected to public office in Canada." (51) When Director and her husband, Isidor, who was a well-known businessman, moved to Vancouver, they remained active in the mainstream community, and were also important members of the Jewish community, including being the first to publish a newspaper for the community.

Koerner did not identify publicly as a Jew for most of his life, so perhaps could

be considered peripheral in that sense, but he was a prominent businessman and philanthropist who was recognized with many honours both during his lifetime and posthumously. For his part, Adaskin helped form and was part of the internationally known Hart House String Quartet, and helped to establish and then headed the University of British Columbia's music department. Among his many honours was being invested as an officer to the Order of Canada. Nemetz rose to the highest judicial position in the province, becoming chief justice in 1988. As Nördlinger McDonnell notes, he "was the first Jewish Justice of the Supreme Court of B.C. He was the first Jewish person to be a member of the senate and board of UBC, as well as being the university's first Jewish chancellor. He was also one of the first Jews to be allowed membership in the Vancouver Club since the time of David Oppenheimer (who served as Vancouver's second mayor between 1888 and 1891 and who was one of the Vancouver Club's original founders)." (159)

Despite having chosen more known individuals who, therefore, may have left more of an historical trail behind them, Nördlinger McDonnell runs into a problem common with microhistory: a lack of data. Her main primary sources are oral histories from the Jewish Museum and Archives of British Columbia, as well as letters, photographs and other material from family- or personally-donated fonds at the JMABC and archival collections at the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria.

The detail gleaned from this material ranges from charming encounters – that Director led sing-songs with the labourers who boarded at her and Isidor's home and that Nemetz thought his mother "was a remarkable person" (195) – to the more mundane, such as Davies Sylvester's husband eating bacon and beans when he was on the road or

Koerner's letters reporting to then director of immigration Frederick Blair about the number of people his company employed and how much capital it had brought over from Europe. These details add to the readability of *Raincoast Jews* and offer a personal, not widely known, perspective to what has already been written about these Jewish Canadians. However, the majority of information in *Raincoast Jews* comes from secondary sources or published primary material, such as *A Fiddler's Choice*, Adaskin's memoir, on which much of his chapter is based.

There is just not enough primary material (interviews, diaries, letters, government documents, etc.) to shed much light on the reasons for the subjects' actions. Thus, Nördlinger McDonnell is unable to say with any authority why any of her subjects became involved in voluntary organizations, public service or philanthropy and what, if any part, their Jewishness played in these decisions. She must speculate and some of her connections and explanations are questionable. Rejection of Judaism, or at least a fluid interpretation of its laws and rituals, seems to be a requisite for integration, which Nördlinger McDonnell defines as "the social incorporation

of individuals into the social, economic and political structures of a larger society." (17) Even the fully assimilated "Raincoast Jews" she examines exhibit elements of Jewish tradition congruent with liberal ideals and culture, such as fulfilling the duty of charity. However, none is a religious Jew, and this omission makes it difficult, if not impossible, to generalize the book's findings for Jews as a group.

In addition to other individual factors – socio-economic status, commitment to profession and/or the remoteness and size of community in which a person lives – Nördlinger McDonnell argues that the level of integration is influenced by the social relations between Jews and non-Jews, the second question she explores. She explains how Canadian society was more open to immigrants in general, and less anti-Semitic in particular, prior to the First World War and in the early days of multiculturalism, so it was easier for Davies Sylvester, Director and Nemetz to be identifiably Jewish, while Koerner and Adaskin lived in the more intolerant inter-war (Depression) and Second World War period.

One of the few original sources used to answer this second question is a fascinating discussion with Rosalie Segal about the Vancouver Club, and it is unfortunate that no reference is given for this exchange. Another important source for the Nemetz section is not given a complete reference in the endnotes and there are other typos, incorrect institution names and editing issues in the book as a whole that, though minor, make a reader question slightly the diligence of the research, which is not fair to Nördlinger McDonnell. Given the constraints of the available resources, she has done an excellent job of introducing readers to five notable Jews and she deftly sets the individuals into their larger society.

In *Raincoast Jews*, there is some attempt to minimize biases – including those posed by what people choose to donate to archives – but, by the author's choice or because of insufficient data, there is little critical of her five subjects. The closest the book comes is with regard to Nemetz who, though "a positive influence on the bench, he was never known as a profound legal authority … he did not contribute any radical changes to the legal landscape." (183)

Raincoast Jews gives readers a tangible idea of what it meant to be a Jew in British Columbia in various decades, by giving individual examples, but it falls short of being an in-depth study from which concrete conclusions or new hypotheses can be drawn. Looking at a century of Jewish life in British Columbia with a sample of one person in each era was not the ideal approach if the goal is to learn more about the integration into mainstream society of B.C. Jews, as opposed to that of other immigrant groups or Jews elsewhere in Canada. Perhaps more could have been learned by an examination of five (or more) diverse contemporaries because, while Nördlinger McDonnell successfully illustrates how each of her subjects "reflected or challenged the larger historical changes taking place around them and the manner in which they reinforced or crossed existing social boundaries," (20) a

more challenging question is whether their experiences were unique or whether they were representative of a broader B.C. Jewish experience.

Cynthia Ramsay
Jewish Independent

Ira Robinson, Rivka Augenfeld and Karen Biskin, eds. *The Future of the Past: The Jewish Public Library of Montreal, 1914–2014* (Montreal: Concordia Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies, 2015), 97 pp., ISBN: 9781771855457.

In late October 2014, on the occasion of the centenary of the Jewish Public Library of Montreal, scholars, writers, librarians, and Jewish community members and leaders gathered at this most important institution to share research and reflections on its history and its future. In assembling a number of these presentations, this volume contributes not only to the commemoration of the JPL's special birthday, but to the history of Yiddish language in Montreal, and more broadly, to the recognition of the importance of the library and its archive to the social, cultural, and political history of a community. The volume, edited by Ira Robinson, Rivka Augenfeld, and Karen Biskin, comprises ten chapters including research papers, reflections, and a transcription of an engaging round-table discussion between library specialists on the future of libraries, making for a lively and enjoyable read.

A number of essays focus on immigration's impact on the history of Montreal's Jewish community, and subsequently, the Jewish Public Library. Eugene Orenstein locates the founding of the JPL, a secular institution, within an ancient Jewish history of literacy and libraries, the tastes and interests of the nineteenth-century Jewish Enlightenment (*Haskalah*), and most important, a fin-de-siècle context of Jewish socialist labour politics imported to Montreal from Eastern Europe. The JPL, Orenstein explains, was borne of socialist-Zionist desires to break free from a wealthy anglicized upper class of Jews who had previously stored their collections at the Baron de Hirsch Institute, Montreal Jewry's social welfare institution (14–15). After a period of strikes against powerful Jewish manufacturers, Yiddish Labour activists founded an institution to cater to "the new social and cultural life emerging among Jewish working class immigrants. The *Yidische Folks-biblyothek* (Jewish Peoples', or Public, Library) would quickly emerge as a vibrant social space for Montreal's Jewish working class seeking to "advance the creative future of the Jewish people"(17). In the 1950s, the JPL was a transformed institution. Rebecca Margolis examines these changes by interrogating the decline of the use of vernacular Yiddish among Montreal Jews after the Second World War. Associates of the JPL and its *Folksuniversitet* (People's University) responded to the dwindling of a Yiddish readership among children in a number of ways; by promoting Yiddish language education and programming, by focusing its attention on developing secular Jewish culture, and finally, by offering multilingual education and programming to address the needs of the new waves of immigrants and the wider community, an approach still favoured today. By envisioning Montreal's Jewish community as one in constant flux, the JPL has managed to expand its relevancy while simultaneously retaining its core mandate to promote Yiddish language. On the topic of immigration, Anna Dysart explores how the JPL's program was shaped by the arrival of thousands of Francophone and

North African Jews in the 1960s, a wave precipitated by French decolonization. For the most part, French-speaking Jews were able to integrate socially and professionally into Quebec society, but "religious and cultural integration into the existing Jewish society," a heavily Ashkenazic one, "was more difficult" (60). With successive waves of immigration of both Ashkenazic and non-Ashkenazic migrants from North Africa, France, and the Middle East, French speaking Jews "tended to cleave to one another" by creating their own schools and institutions rather than "integrate into the mainstream Jewish community." Beginning in the 1970s, the JPL's cultural committee began the process of creating distinct sections for different languages – Yiddish, Hebrew, English, and French. By the 1990s, Dysart argues, the Francophone committee was separate from the English one, and began to engage Jewish and non-Jewish francophone communities in cultural and educational programming such as photography exhibitions, conferences, and archival development on the Iraqi and Lebanese Jews (63-64). Mark Groysberg's brief essay makes note of the significant contributions made to Montreal and Canadian Jewish life by the influx of Jews of Russian roots at the turn of the 20th century, after the Second World War, and at the end of the Cold War. This fascinating topic deserves closer examination, particularly with regard to the long and evolving relationship between Russian Jews and the JPL.

Reuven Brainin, the founder of the Jewish Public Library, is the subject of two essays. Naomi Caruso outlines some of the major events of his life. Born in Belorus, Brainin began his public life as a Zionist and a Hebraist, but eventually moved to Communism, choosing Yiddish as his language of politics and artistic expression. In spite of the community work he led in Montreal, his creative and academic writing, and his extensive work in the Zionist and Communist movements, Brainin's reputation was destroyed after H. N. Bialik accused of him being a Soviet spy in the late 1920s. While Brainin was editor of the Yiddish daily *Keneder Adler* at the time he founded the JPL with other Yiddishists, Menachem Rotstein focuses on this "conflicted spirit's" background as a Hebraist to examine the origins of the library's Hebraica collection as well as its century-long shift from Yiddish to Hebrew. As an aside, Rotstein makes note of the role of Israeli culture in Montreal Jewish institutions in the 1990s and until today. This unfolding story certainly merits further investigation, not only in the case of Montreal, but in other major Jewish communities in Europe and the Americas.

Two more essays explore elements of the JPL's archival collections. Zachary Baker reflects on his research in the JPL's audio archives and argues the recordings of public ceremonies in honour of the institution reveal a transforming institution, firmly "Jewish" in its commitment to Yiddish language as well as to cultural and educational services for Jewish immigrants arriving in Montreal. However, Baker points out, these very public services actually reveal the JPL's emergence as an important civic Canadian institution during the decades after the Second World War, "when the

phrase "New Canadians" was coming into vogue, when multiculturalism was on the not-too-distant horizon." (55) Esther Frank's fascinating contribution outlines the story of Yiddish writer Rokhl Korn's archive, which came to the library in the 1980s. Her papers reveal the extent to which this prolific and much-loved Jewish writer retained strong links with Poland, the Soviet Union, and other locations where she lived and worked before arriving in Canada in 1948. Korn, like many others discussed by essays in the volume, lived a transnational life. In many ways, this is the ultimate story of Montreal Jewry: a fragmented life of language, politics, and creativity scattered across many cities and continents; and the JPL is an institution borne of, and shaped by, these groups and individual historical experiences.

Finally, a transcript of the conference keynote presentation which was a roundtable among library specialists and writers, provides a gripping conclusion to the collection. Guylaine Beaudry, Barbara Clubb, Alberto Manguel, and Brad Sabin Hill, moderated by Bernie Lucht, discuss the transforming role of the institution of the library. The conversation spans topics such as the history of the book, the evolution of education and literacy, preservation, technology and digitization, as well as the role of a library as a social space. This rich conversation offers points of departure for a plethora of studies on related topics. *The Future of the Past* is a fascinating compendium of research and reflection on the occasion of the centennial of Montreal's Jewish Public Library, though its interest and significance expands well beyond the particular history of this institution.

Erin Corber
New Europe College

Contributors / Contributeurs

Pierre Anctil is a member of the Royal Society of Canada and a full professor at the department of history of the University of Ottawa, where he teaches contemporary Canadian history and Canadian Jewish history. He has written at length on the history of the Jewish community of Montréal and on the current debates on cultural pluralism in Québec. He is the author of a literary biography of Montreal Yiddish poet Jacob-Isaac Segal, entitled *Jacob-Isaac Segal (1896-1954), un poète yiddish de Montréal et son milieu* (Presses de l'Université Laval, 2012). He recently published a study of anti-Semitism in the Montréal daily *Le Devoir* entitled: *'À chacun ses Juifs'. 60 éditoriaux pour comprendre la position du* Devoir à l'égard des Juifs 1910-1947 (Septentrion, 2014). His latest publication is: *Les Juifs de Québec, 400 ans d'histoire* (Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2015).

Katherine Biggs-Craft has been the curator of the Saint John Jewish Historical Museum since 1998. She holds degrees in History from the University of New Brunswick.

Antoine Burgard is a PhD candidate in History at Université Lumière Lyon 2 (France) and Université du Québec à Montréal (Canada), co-advised by Yolande Cohen and Isabelle von Bueltzingsloewen. Recipient of the Fondation Auschwitz – Bourse de recherche 2012 and of the Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies (Concordia University) Yaacov Zipper Award 2014, he is a 2015-2016 fellow of the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah (FMS). He has been published in *Bulletin d'Histoire Politique* and *Globe*. Études *Québécoises*.

Melissa Caza has been an archivist at the Ontario Jewish Archives, Blankenstein Family Heritage Centre since 2010. She holds an Honours BA in History from the University of Waterloo, and both a BEd and a MISt from the University of Toronto.

Jason Chalmers is a PhD candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta. His research focuses on the relationship between genocide, settler colonialism, and public commemoration. Jason's dissertation explores how genocide narratives reproduce and resist national mythology, and focuses on three sites of Canadian memory: the National Holocaust Monument, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

Justin Comartin is currently an elementary school teacher with the *Conseil scolaire catholique Providence* (CSC Providence). He was the recipient of the Jacob Freedman Memorial Award from the Ottawa Jewish Historical Society in 2009 and received the Gaston Héon Graduate Scholarship in History from the University of Ottawa in 2012. He completed his MA thesis entitled *Humanitarian Ambitions – International Barriers: Canadian Governmental Response to the Plight of the Jewish Refugees (1933-1945)* in 2013. His areas of interest include: Canadian Immigration History, Commemoration and Memory, and Canadian participation in the World Wars.

Norman Erwin earned his PhD in history from the University of Waterloo and specializes in the Holocaust's impact on Canadian Jewish political discourse. His current research focuses on North American Jewish responses to the rise of Arab nationalism during the Cold War.

Simon-Pierre Lacasse complète une maitrise en histoire à l'Université d'Ottawa vers l'été 2016 sous la direction de Pierre Anctil. Sa thèse se penche sur le parcours d'un groupe hassidique de la région montréalaise — les Tasher — alors qu'ils intègrent le Québec durant la période subséquente à la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Il s'intéresse particulièrement aux rapports entre les communautés hassidiques, la plus grande communauté juive et la collectivité francophone du Québec dans leur dimension historique. Il s'engage actuellement dans des études doctorales à l'Université d'Ottawa.

Rebecca Margolis is associate professor in the University of Ottawa's Vered Jewish Canadian Studies Program. Her research interests deal with the transmission of Yiddish language and culture before and after the Holocaust. She is the author of *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil: Yiddish Culture in Montreal, 1905–1945* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).

Lillooet Nördlinger McDonnell is a historian and writer and lives in Brooklyn, NY. She is specialized in Jewish integration, assimilation, and fringe Jewish communities.

Janice Rosen has been the Archives Director since 1989 of the Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives, formerly known as the Canadian Jewish Congress CC National Archives. Her publications include various surveys of Canadian Jewish archival resources and repositories for the Canadian Jewish Studies Journal. She is a co-creator of the Canadian Jewish Heritage Network, a database-driven website showcasing the holdings of several partner Archives and Museums.

Sheena Trimble, docteure en histoire contemporaine, a soutenu sa thèse à l'Université d'Angers, France, en octobre 2015 : « Femmes et politiques d'immigration au Canada (1945–1967) : au-delà des assignations de genre ». Ses recherches portent sur l'influence que les actions de femmes, conçues ou perçues comme politiques ou non, peuvent avoir sur les politiques de l'immigration.

Repositories of Canadian Jewish Archival Materials, Going from West to East

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, Vancouver
6184 Ash Street, Vancouver, BC, V5Z 3G9
Archivist: Archivist: Alysa Routtenberg
Tel: 604-638-7286, Museum: (604) 257-5199 | archives@jewishmuseum.ca | http://www.jewishmuseum.ca/

VANCOUVER HOLOCAUST EDUCATION CENTRE, Vancouver
50 - 950 W 41st Ave Vancouver, BC, V5Z 2N7 Canada
Executive Director: Nina Krieger; Archivist: Elizabeth Shaffer
Phone: 604.264.0499 | Fax: 604.264.0497 | info@vhec.org | http://vhec.org

JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN ALBERTA, Calgary
1607-90th Ave. S.W., Calgary, Alberta T2V 4V7
Archives Director: Agi Romer Segal
Telephone: 403-444-3171 | jhssa@shaw.ca | www.jhssa.org

JAHSENA (Jewish Archives & Historical Society of Edmonton & Northern Alberta), Edmonton
10220-156 St., Suite 200, Edmonton, AB T5P 2R1
Archivist: Paul Gifford
Tel: (780) 489-2809 | jahsena@shaw.ca | http://www.jahsena.ca/jahsena_001.htm

JEWISH HERITAGE CENTRE OF WESTERN CANADA, Winnipeg
C116 - 123 Doncaster Street, Winnipeg, MB, Canada R3N 2B2
Archivist: Ava Block-Super
Tel: (204)-477-7460 (7461) | jhc@jhcwc.org | http://www.jhcwc.mb.ca/

ONTARIO JEWISH ARCHIVES, Toronto
4600 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario, M2R 3V2
Archives Director: Dara Solomon, Assistants Melissa Caza, Donna Bernardo-Ceriz
Tel: (416) 635-2883, ext. 5170 | oja1@ujafed.org | www.ontariojewisharchives.org/

OTTAWA JEWISH ARCHIVES, Ottawa
21 Nadolny Sachs Private, Ottawa, ON K2A 1R9
Archivist: Saara Mortensen
Tel: (613) 798-4696 ext.260 | archives@jewishottawa.com | http://www.jewishottawa.org/

ALEX DWORKIN CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES, Montreal (formerly CJCCCNA)
1590 Avenue Docteur Penfield, Montreal, Que., H3G 1C5
Archives Director: Janice Rosen, Archives assistant: Hélène Vallée
Tel: (514) 931-7531 ext. 2 | archives@cjarchives.ca | http://www.cjarchives.ca

JEWISH PUBLIC LIBRARY ARCHIVES, Montreal
1 Cummings Square, 5151 Côte Ste-Catherine Rd., Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3W 1M6
Archivist: Shannon Hodge, Archivist Emeritus: Eiran Harris
Tel: (514)345-2627 ext. 3015, 3000 | archives@jplmontreal.org | www.jewishpubliclibrary.org/en/archives/

MONTREAL HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL CENTRE, Montreal
1 Cummings Square, 5151 Côte Ste-Catherine Rd., Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3W 1M6
Museum & Collection coordinator: Andrea Shaulis / Julie Guinard (on leave 2016)
Tel: (514) 345-2605 | info@mhmc.ca | http://mhmc.ca/

JEWISH GENERAL HOSPITAL ARCHIVES/ ARCHIVES DE L'HOPITAL GENERAL JUIF, Montreal
3755 ch. de la Côte-Sainte-Catherine Rd., A-200, Montréal, QC H3T 1E2
Digital Archives Consultant: Linda Lei.
Telephone 514-340-8222 #3277 | legacy@jgh.mcgill.ca | http://www.jgh.ca/en/archives

SAINT JOHN JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM ARCHIVES
29 Wellington Row, Saint John, New Brunswick, E2L 3H4
Curator/Archivist: Katherine Biggs-Craft
Telephone: (506) 633-1833 | sjjhm@nbnet.nb.ca | http://www3.nbnet.nb.ca/sjjhm/