

IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN POST-WAR CANADA:
A CASE STUDY OF HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS IN VANCOUVER 1947-1970

By

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ABSTRACT

Using as a sample a group of nearly 400 Jewish survivors of the Holocaust who entered Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, between 1947 and 1970, this thesis discusses themes in the history of an ethnic community. The thesis combines oral interviews of survivors with data on their residential, occupational, and affiliational patterns over a twenty-year period, comparing them with the native-born Jewish group. The thesis illustrates the structural factors that led to the rapid integration of the survivors into the existing Jewish community, as well as the shared ideology that brought survivor and host community together.

The thesis argues first that survivors already began reconstructing personal and communal lives in the displaced persons camps. Second, it shows that while Canadian immigration policy after World War II blocked large-scale Jewish immigration to Canada, the effect of this policy was to reinforce links between Canadian Jewry and the survivors, so that the survivors entered Canada with strong instrumental ties to the ethnic community. Finally, by examining the residential, occupational, and affiliational ties of immigrants, the thesis demonstrates that, rather than forming separate neighborhoods, occupational networks, and institutions, the survivors integrated into existing patterns already established by the host Jewish group. Survivors not only strengthened institutions already in place but contributed to the ideology of destruction and rebirth now prevalent in North American Judaism.

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CHAPTER ONE

THEMES, METHODOLOGY, AND HISTORIOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

I.1 THEMES

This thesis concerns itself with the experience of that group of Jewish Holocaust survivors who entered Vancouver after World War II. It traces their integration until 1970, analysing their immigration in several contexts. In the context of Canadian history, the thesis examines the effect of post-war Canadian immigration policy on the integration of survivors into the host Jewish community. It shows how restrictive immigration practices and attitudes within the Canadian Immigration Department after the war and the refusal to allow Jews into Canada created a situation whereby the Jewish community had to rely primarily on its own institutions in order to resettle survivors.

Second, in the context of Holocaust studies, it argues that survivors acted rationally in reconstructing their post-war lives. They began this reconstruction in the displaced persons camps of Europe. They retained their pre-Holocaust awareness of economic and social strategies for advancement and utilized them in a North American context. The thesis tests various sociological models suggested for the study of ethnic groups against the actual objective and oral data available. By examining residential, occupational, and affiliational ties of the survivors to the receiving Jewish community, it shows how the immigrants integrated into the larger host Jewish community, both structurally and ideologically. This analysis suggests ways in which Vancouver's established Jewish community was strengthened and changed by the new immigration. Where information is available, comparisons are made to other post-war immigrant groups in Canada.

The study of a survivor group in this context is relatively rare within the larger framework of Holocaust history. Studies of specific communities such as that in Vancouver will contribute to the total picture of the post-war North American survivor experience. Post-war survivor accounts are often anecdotal and personal; more analysis of the group experience is needed. Indeed, no general agreement has been reached as to how to analyse the Holocaust experience. Some historians distrust the ability of their own profession to do it

justice.¹ More recent scholars have insisted that the Holocaust should be subjected to the same kind of rigorous historical objectivity as other great events.² This mistrust of analytical treatment is also true for the survivors, who are viewed as victims or heroes, but rarely as three-dimensional people with wills of their own.³ Often, survivors have been scrutinized for signs of dysfunction, or guilt, but rarely as a healthy part of the North American Jewish experience. In this paper, however, the experience of the refugees is considered as immigrants rebuilding individual and communal networks.⁴

Third, in terms of the history of Jews in Canada, the thesis examines the survivors in the context of Canadian Jewish community life in the post-war era. By examining the residence, occupations, and affiliations of survivors vis-a-vis the host Jewish community, the thesis suggests ways in which the Holocaust has influenced post-war Jewish identity and the polity and governance of the Jewish community. Vancouver has been a part of a major post-war ideological transformation in Jewish consciousness, and the way in which survivors acted in Vancouver demonstrates in part how this transformation has been achieved. While survivors needed to feel that they had "done it on their own," it is clear from community

¹Lucy Dawidowicz, The Holocaust and Historians (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 142-146, takes this view, although she herself has contributed greatly to the historical study of the event.

²Michael Marrus, The Holocaust and History (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Denys, 1987), pp. 8-30, 199-202.

³As two examples of many see Leo Eitinger, "Concentration Camp Survivors in the Postwar World," American Journal of Orthopedic Psychiatry 32 (1962), 367-375; Gertrude Schneider, "Survival and Guilt Feelings of Jewish Concentration Camp Victims," Jewish Social Studies 23 (1974), 74-83. But see, in contrast, studies which emphasize the continued strength of survivors and their abilities to re-establish family and community ties: Robert Krell, "Aspects of Psychological Trauma in Holocaust Survivors and their Children," in Genocide: Critical Issues of the Holocaust, ed. Alan Grobman and David Landis (Champaign, Ill: Rossel Books, 1983), 371-380; also Anne Ornstein, "The Effects of the Holocaust on Life-cycle Experiences: the Creation and Re-creation of Families," Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry 14:2 (1981), 135-154; and, for the Canadian scene, Morton Weinfeld, John J. Sigal, and William Eaton, "Long-Term Effects of the Holocaust on Selected Social Attitudes and Behaviors of Survivors: A Cautionary Note," Social Forces 60:1 (1981), 1-19.

⁴Among general histories of post-war Jewry alluding to this factor is S. Ettinger in his section on "The Modern Period" in the mammoth History of the Jewish People, H.H. Ben-Sasson, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 1049-1051. See also W. Gunther Plaut, "Canadian Experience: The Dynamics of Jewish Life Since 1945," in Movements and Issues in American Judaism, ed. Bernard Martin (Westport, Conn. and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1976), pp. 288-290.

records that they not only participated in existing patterns, but also contributed to the institutions of the host community. Every encounter was not pleasant; survivors often felt misunderstood, or their experiences ignored. They had to decide in what ways they would honor their lost families and communities. By 1970 strong instrumental and ideological bonds had been formed, both through their membership in various organizations, and through their unique perspective on the emerging ideology of post-war North American Judaism, an ideology that sought to explain the Holocaust and the rise of the state of Israel as interconnected events. By so contributing, survivors became a part of the process of changing and strengthening the Jewish community. Where possible, comparisons are made between the Jewish experience and other similar displaced groups.

I.2 METHODOLOGY

A list of survivors who had come to live in Vancouver by 1960 was compiled from immigration files, community lists, and informants who added names of people no longer living in Vancouver. By identifying 376 survivors⁵ who came to Vancouver before 1960, 170 women and 206 men, and tracing their residence and occupations through city directories from the time of their entry⁶ until 1970, it was possible to utilize objective information on living patterns of the survivors. In addition, community records proved vital for tracing the affiliations of survivors to document their participation in the institutions and organizations of the community. The basic source was the community card files that list known memberships, subscriptions to the ethnic press, and the names and Jewish education of children. Other files

⁵Between 1941 and 1951 the Jewish population of Vancouver went from 2742 to 5467, an increase of 99.3%. From 1951 to 1961 the population increased again, to 7374, an increase of 35.0%. The actual number of survivor immigrants is unknowable; they joined the influx of newcomers, most, it seems, from other parts of Canada. They then were free to leave Vancouver for other parts of Canada, Israel, or some other destination, as some of them did. However, Jewish immigration from Europe was tightly circumscribed by government regulation; displaced persons were carefully accounted for, as will be shown in this thesis. It is unlikely that large numbers of survivors could have entered Vancouver without some tie to the community, and it is therefore assumed that few survivors entered and disappeared into the general population rather than maintaining some identifiable link with the community.

⁶Entry time was determined by their appearance in the directory, unless informants indicated otherwise.

in the archives of the Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia recorded membership lists and donor lists to specific campaigns. The cross-reference of this data with oral interviews was crucial, since survivors' accounts of their reception and integration needed to be augmented by more objective information.⁷

Oral interviews with survivors form a part of the documentation for two reasons. First, there is little published work on this segment of Canadian Jewish history, and survivors themselves are a crucial component in the documentation of this period. Also, since survivors are the focus of the thesis, no historian can afford to ignore their unique perspective on their own experiences.⁸ A sample of twenty survivors was chosen at random from a current list of survivors resident in Vancouver for the series of interviews. Sixteen interviews were completed, after a number of the original choices had to be by-passed either because the survivors were not willing to participate, or not able to complete the interview.

I.3 HISTORIOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

The transition from immigrant to ethnic group in North America has engendered a vast literature in the sociology as well as the history of the United States.⁹ The study of immigrant and ethnic groups in Canada has drawn heavily on this work. In his recently published

⁷This process of cross-checking is used by Tamara Hareven in her landmark study of the French-Canadian cotton workers for Amoskeag. See Tamara Hareven and Randolph Langenbach, Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), especially pp. 29-33.

⁸It must be recorded that often survivors themselves felt that this period of their lives would be of no interest to an historian. Their Holocaust experiences were, to them, the important part of the story they had to tell; they were witnesses to an event in human history without precedent, and anything they did upon coming to Canada seemed mundane and without significance.

⁹An excellent summary of the literature and trends is found in Rudolph Vecoli, "European Americans: From Immigrants to Ethnic," The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture, ed. William Cartwright and Richard Watson (Wash. D.C.: National Council for Social Studies, 1983), pp. 403-434; John Higham, "Current Trends in the Study of Ethnicity in the United States," Journal of American Ethnic History 2:1 (Fall, 1982), 5-15; and Oliver Zunz, "American History and the Changing Meaning of Assimilation," Journal of American Ethnic History 4:2 (Spring, 1985), 53-83.

survey, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography,"¹⁰ Roberto Perin sharply criticizes the filiopietism of early histories of immigrant groups to Canada. Instead of such ancestor worship, Perin argues, scholars should study immigrant culture as a "tool to penetrate the complexity of industrial society and to elucidate important chapters of Canadian history."¹¹ Perin prefers to talk about "immigrant communities" and "immigrant cultures" rather than "ethnic" ones. He argues that eventually every distinct immigrant group is assimilated, and to analyse ethnic cultures is to analyse an ephemeral entity which does not have a permanent impact on Canadian society. While agreeing that Canadian ethnic groups are often the victims of roseate treatment, this thesis argues that ethnic communities, with their roots in immigrant experiences, have developed a permanency both in Canadian society and in government policy. Without accepting the argument that ethnicity is ultimately irrelevant, this work utilizes elements that Perin specifies as forming the basis of a new look at the immigrant experience in Canada. These are: emphasis on context, placing the immigrant experience into some larger historical framework; analysis of the strategies of resettlement -- economic, familial, social, religious -- used by immigrant groups; and redress of earlier views of the immigrant experience as disastrous for both immigrant and ethnic identity.¹²

Ethnicity, in the study which follows, is understood to include this combination of historical memory and measurable structural factors such as residence, occupation, and voluntary affiliation. The ethnic group is defined as

a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, or any combination of these.

¹⁰Canadian Historical Review LXIV:4 (1983), 441-467. Charles Hirschman makes similar points in his article "Immigrants and Minorities: Old Questions for New Directions in Research" International Migration Review 16:2 (Summer, 1982), 474-490.

¹¹Perin, op. cit., p. 445.

¹²Perin includes the study of the influence of urban or rural location in his list, but it is not addressed specifically here since the setting is obviously urban. Jews in British Columbia, by the end of the war, lived largely in Vancouver.

A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.¹³

In regard to Jewish identity, one must also include the shared sense of religion, history and culture.¹⁴

Earlier formulations of the immigrant experience, largely by sociologists, emphasized the inevitable assimilation of immigrants and their disappearance as distinct groups; thus Louis Wirth and his school, and more recently Perin, viewed the immigrant-cum-ethnic as an ephemeral entity.¹⁵ The immigrant occupied space in a transitional world of the ghetto; after the first generation, irresistible pressures from the host society would take over and eventually the ethnic group would disappear. If anything contributed to the persistence of ethnicity, according to this view, it was the prejudice and hostility of the outside world. Should a third generation return to the historical immigrant culture, it would be due to the realization that despite all attempts of the immigrant group to assimilate, it was still not accepted into the larger society. Ethnicity was therefore a fall-back position for those rejected by their adopted culture.¹⁶ As late as 1977, using this model of assimilation, Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimer argued that "coming after 1880 and now producing a fourth generation, [immigrant groups] have assimilated, although some Jews, Italians, Poles and others still retain aspects of their traditional cultures...We believe that we are on the threshold of the disappearance of the European ethnic minorities... [Furthermore] modern Judaism, Protestantism, and Catholicism have grown together ritually and theologically [sic],

¹³R.A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 123. This definition is broad enough to include religious as well as secular components. When writers speak of Judaism as an ethnic church, it seems that they are trying to stretch beyond a theological basis to encompass the total historical and cultural heritage of the Jewish people.

¹⁴Talcott Parsons in his essay "Some Theoretical Considerations on the Nature and Trends of Change in Ethnicity," Ethnicity, eds. N. Glazer and D. Moynihan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 53-83, cites the Jewish example as the one most difficult to contain within a narrow definition. Yancey's definition of ethnicity would be too sparse; it requires as well a cultural tradition plus an element of "social contract" composed of elements of kinship, communal association, and religion.

¹⁵Assimilation here is defined as the disappearance of a group's distinctive language, religion, sense of historic or separate identity, or identification with another homeland.

¹⁶Louis Wirth, The Ghetto (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926). The studies which used Chicago as a model of immigrant succession are the paradigm for the arguments of the assimilationists.

thus further reducing differences and conflicts."¹⁷ The authors assumed that the pressures of mass culture, mass media, and upward mobility would eradicate ethnicity. Only "small and dedicated groups" like the Amish would be able to hold out indefinitely against the tide of assimilation. Complementing this picture of assimilation was the view advanced by Oscar Handlin that the history of immigration was a history of alienation and its consequences. Immigrants were helpless in their uprootedness; the restructuring of immigrant lives in North America was essentially a painful process, entailing the jettisoning of traditional cultural baggage and the disappearance of subsequent generations into the host community.¹⁸

Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan took issue with these assumptions in their landmark study, Beyond the Melting Pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City.¹⁹ They argued that ethnic identities persisted and overtook other identities, such as occupation or social class, while religion declined as a touchstone of group identification. While a valuable corrective to the assimilationist school, this position regarded ethnicity merely as a strategy whereby groups advanced their position in society. They recognized ethnic persistence as a reality, yet failed to see, in the case of the Jews, the strength of community. For them the "real achievements" of the Jews had been their contributions to the arts, radical politics, and the labor movement. Middle class Judaism was vapid, a "failure in Jewish life." Thus they bypassed a discussion of the very residential, economic, and cultural factors so important to studies of immigrants and ethnicity today.

While Glazer and Moynihan developed their approach on a case-by-case basis, Milton Gordon approached the question of ethnic persistence by examining the transformation in attitude of North American society towards ethnicity. Gordon argued that while the immigrant might be absorbed into the host culture structurally through language, educational goals, occupational achievements, and class, in terms of inter-personal relations and cultural

¹⁷Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimer, Ethnic Americans: A History of Immigration and Assimilation (New York: New York University Press, 1977), pp. 140, 150.

¹⁸Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951).

¹⁹Beyond the Melting Pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City, (second edition , Cambridge, Mass: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, second edition 1970).

or religious matters the group would retain its ethnic identity.²⁰ Gordon defined ethnicity almost purely in cultural terms, that is in shared religion, ideology, and history. Structurally immigrant-cum-ethnics would be absorbed as they gained in economic and political power. His model of "cultural pluralism" explained both the persistence of ethnic groups and the changes immigrants underwent as they became ethnics. John Higham further divided pluralists into "soft pluralists," who perceived cultural differences as intrinsic, preceding any new world experiences and determining new world patterns; and "hard pluralists," who regarded class interests, developed in a new world setting, as dominant in shaping ethnic responses to these new world settings.²¹

Often these two positions seem antagonistic: one is either a proponent of the school that sees ideas and belief systems as regnant in the formation of a new world ethnic identity, or one believes that new world ethnicity is a creation of economic, geographical, and class factors. It is argued here, however, that both ideas and structural factors are critical to the process of this particular post-war Jewish experience. Jewish ethnicity relies on shared historical and religious memories; at the same time it is equally important to study the structural bases of that ethnicity in a North American setting.

Although William Yancey argues that ethnicity is a totally New World "emergent phenomenon," owing its formulation to events taking place after immigration, he has neatly

²⁰Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion, and National Origin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

²¹"Current Trends in the Study of Ethnicity in the United States," Journal of American Ethnic History 2:1 (Fall, 1982), 5-15. Will Herberg, in his work refined soft pluralism further, arguing that North American society, tolerant of religious differences but not of potentially divisive "national" differences, nurtured the growth of three melting pots, one for each of the three denominations of religion. Thus old-world differences between national groups became subsumed under three major religious identities. Homogeneous Jewish, Protestant and Catholic denominational identities developed, based on North American patterns of religious, rather than ethnic, affiliation. Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1955, revised 1960). For example, Polish, Irish, and Italian Catholics would intermarry and cease to be "ethnics" while continuing to be Catholics. Lithuanian Jews would marry Moroccan Jews, and create a new North American Jewish denomination. For Jews the melt has been largely achieved: Judaism is no longer divided along lines of old-world affiliation, but into denominations, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform, all of which have developed in specifically North American situations despite their old world origins.

defined the structural factors which are used here to analyse the adjustment of survivors.

Yancey writes:

Ethnicity, defined in terms of frequent patterns of association and identification with common origins, is crystallized under conditions of residential stability and segregation; common occupational position; and dependence on local institutions and services which reinforce the maintenance of kinship and friendship ties.²²

While utilizing Yancey's formula as a tool of analysis, this thesis maintains that post-war Jewish identity in Vancouver (as elsewhere) was not merely a product of economics or geographic proximity, but related as well to the identification of Jewishness rooted in a sense of a distinctive immediate past and future. Using patterns of residence, occupation, and affiliation of survivors, and linking them to an emerging post-Holocaust ideology of destruction and redemption, the processes of change and continuity within this particular group is elucidated.

Over the past twenty years, as sociologists came to terms with the persistence of ethnic groups, historians were documenting the internal workings of immigrant groups in their adjustment to North American life. The literature is vast: scholars have studied, among others, Italian, German, French Canadian, and Jewish immigrants.²³ Basing their histories on ethnic group persistence, they argued that immigrants, rather than being totally at the mercy of impersonal economic forces, exploitative employers, and zealous assimilationists, brought with them strategies by which their communities flourished in post-migration

²²William Yancey, Eugene Ericksen, and Richard Juliani, "Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and a Reformulation," American Sociological Review 41 (June, 1976), 391-403.

²³A few examples of many are: Josef Barton, Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Roumanians and Slovaks in an American City 1890-1950 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); Elizabeth Pleck, "Two Worlds in One: Work and Family," Journal of Social History 10 (Winter, 1976), 178-195; Caroline Golab, Immigrant Destinations (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977); Deborah Dash Moore, At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Tamara Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Judith Smith, Family Connections: A History of Italian and Jewish Immigrant Lives in Providence RI, 1900-1940 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985); Virginia Yans-McLaughlan, Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo 1880-1920 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978) .

settings.²⁴ Canadian historians have followed their American counterparts in analysing the structural factors of immigrant life and the reasons for the persistence of ethnic groups. The continued strength of Perin's "Third Force" has meant that in Canadian history a place must be found somewhere parallel, or complementary to, the major Anglo-French dichotomy. Progress has not been as swift as in the United States. Historical attention needs to be directed first to a study of the particular Canadian circumstances. As Harold Troper points out, "immigration has always been one of the basic contributory factors to Canadian growth and development;" yet the history of immigration laws is one of restrictions, "racially or ethnically derived."²⁵ Immigrants were classified in order of desirability beginning with British and Americans, ending with the undesirables, Jews, Italians, Slavs, blacks and orientals. The tension between need for labor and residual prejudices colored immigration policy throughout Canadian history. On the other hand, studies of the impact of immigration on Canada have often been entirely devoted to analysis of the structural factors of occupation, educational attainments, language, residence, income, fertility and citizenship of the immigrant population, in comparison to the native born and in contrast to the founding British and French cultures.²⁶

From the mid-1970's on, however, Canadian historians of the immigrant-cum-ethnic have begun to analyse this experience in terms of the same strategies identified in studies of American groups. An outstanding example of this type of analysis is the work of Robert Harney, whose studies of the Italian community examine immigrant strategies for accommodation to a new environment through networks of kinship, neighborhood and

²⁴John Bodnar, The Transplanted: a History of Immigrants in North America (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), shows how ethnic networks of family, occupation, church, and region of origin produced a re-formulated sense of ethnicity as these networks encountered North American industrial capitalism.

²⁵"Immigration: an Historical Perspective," Human Relations XVI (1976-1977), 3-11. Freda Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1989), pp. 3-11, 16-31, 35-41.

²⁶Warren Kalbach, The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970); Anthony A. Richmond, Post-War Immigrants in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); A. Richmond and W. Kalbach, Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and Their Descendents (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1980).

occupation, mutual benefit organizations, church, and other formal and informal arrangements. Harney has set a standard for probing the structural as well as the less measurable, although equally important, cultural factors which led to the creation of an ethnic group in Canada.²⁷

For the Jewish community of Canada, no such intensive work exists. The two major studies are The Jews of Toronto: a History to 1937 and Jew or Juif?: Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians, 1759-1914.²⁸ The former deals largely with institutions, rather than with the processes by which Jewish immigrants to Canada modified and maintained their identities. The latter is largely comparative, setting the Canadian Jewish experience in the context of English Ontario, French Quebec, and the American community to the south. The work most relevant to this study is the landmark book by Irving Abella and Harold Troper, None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948.²⁹ Their analysis of the immigration policies of the King government from the 1930's until after the war reveals the dark side of Canadian immigration policy, detailing the stratagems whereby Jewish refugees from Hitler were excluded. The immigrant-to-ethnic experience of the Jews in Canada awaits the kind of detailed scholarship Harney has provided for the Italian community. One unpublished thesis by Leslie Anne Hulse analyses the integration of survivors in Toronto and Montreal.³⁰ To date, only two other works specifically examine the integration of other

²⁷"Men Without Women: the Italians in Canada 1885-1930," Italian Immigrant Women in North America, ed. B.B. Caroli (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 79-101; "The Commerce of Migration," Canadian Ethnic Studies IX:1 (1977), 42-53; "The Padrone and the Immigrant," Canadian Review of American Studies V:2 (Fall, 1974), 101-118; "Ambiente and Social Class in North America: Little Italies," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 2 (Fall, 1974), 208-224; "Boarding and Belonging," Urban History Review 2 (1978), 8-37; with Harold Troper, "Immigrants in the City", Canadian Ethnic Studies IX:1 (1977), 1-5, and Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930 (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd, 1975).

²⁸Stephen Speisman, The Jews of Toronto: a History to 1937 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979); Michael Brown, Jew or Juif?: Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians 1759-1914 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1987).

²⁹Toronto: Lester and Orpen Denys, 1982. Would-be immigrants faced other problems: in the Cold War climate, Jews and other Eastern Europeans were regarded with suspicion and treated as security threats. Israelis were also regarded as communist sympathizers. The attitudes and policies of the security service have been documented in Reg Whitaker's Double Standard: the Secret History of Canadian Immigration (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Denys, 1987).

³⁰"The Emergence of the Holocaust Survivor in the Canadian Jewish Community" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Religion, Carleton University, 1979).

displaced persons. Milda Danys has published an account of Lithuanian refugees, culled largely from oral interviews.³¹ And in an unpublished thesis, L.Y. Luciuk has described the disparities in ideology, economic status, and outlook between the host Ukrainian community and the Ukrainians who came with the post-war refugee influx.³²

It is instructive in particular to see the conclusions Hulse reaches; her analysis is based on the public disputes between survivors and host community Jewish leadership of the Canadian Jewish Congress in the early 1960's, when neo-Nazi groups appeared in Toronto. According to Hulse, survivors felt Jewish leadership had reacted too mildly, and public confrontations exposed a rift in the community that was not healed until years later. There is no question that a major confrontation occurred, and that one of the outcomes was a more militant survivor organization antagonistic to the native-born leadership. However, Hulse limited her oral documentation to the leadership of both groups and did no quantitative comparisons. This thesis, while recognizing that survivors were not always easily accepted, and their particular concerns not always addressed by the host community, argues that survivors in Vancouver did affiliate with major community organizations and did not create a parallel immigrant set of institutions. By 1970 the survivor community resembled its host in residential patterns and in occupation. By formally affiliating with host institutions, survivors were able to take on leadership roles in a number of organizations. They also brought a unique perspective on recent Jewish history, both in the realm of ideas and in the realm of teaching and documenting the Holocaust.

³¹DP: Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War (Toronto: Multicultural Historical Society of Canada, 1986).

³²L.Y. Luciuk, "Searching for Place: Ukrainian Refugee Migration to Canada after World War II" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Department of Geography, 1984).

CHAPTER TWO

THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE: DISPLACED PERSONS IN POST-WAR EUROPE

At the end of World War II, Jewish survivors of Nazi persecution joined hundreds of thousands of displaced persons on the move. Over the summer and fall of 1945, Jews from the concentration camps, labor battalions, partisan groups, and hiding places began to gather in makeshift camps set up hurriedly in the occupied zones of the former Third Reich. It soon became clear that, unlike most of those uprooted by the war, the Jews were, for the most part, unable either to return to their former homes or to resettle in Germany, Austria, and Italy, where they found themselves. By the fall of 1946, following a summer of vicious pogroms in Poland, the number of Jews in the category of displaced persons had grown to between 250,000 and 300,000, out of at least one million permanent refugees.¹ The majority of Jewish survivors preferred the American zone, where at least twelve camps became designated as Jewish assembly centres.² Bergen Belsen in the English zone of occupation, by virtue of the fact that it had been the end point of forced death marches from such places as Auschwitz, became and remained a major Jewish displaced persons camp until 1950.³ Despite problems of organization and administration, the hostile attitude of military authorities, and Britain's refusal to recognize the survivors' demands to be allowed access to Palestine, several positive factors influencing the future of the survivors stand out. First, the survivors, rather than being in an "unbalanced emotional condition," in a mental state "abnormal and

¹Zorach Warhaftig, Uprooted: Jewish Refugees and Displaced Persons After Liberation (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1946), p. 43; Malcolm J. Proudfoot, European Refugees, 1939-1952: A Study in Forced Population Movement (London: Faber and Faber, 1956), pp. 320, 341; Leonard Dinnerstein, America and the Survivors of the Holocaust (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982). The continual movement from camp to camp in search of surviving family or friends, and the search for a way out of Europe, make figures difficult to report with precision. At least 150,000 Polish Jews who had fled into Russia in advance of the German armies returned to Poland in the summer of 1946, and they were the target of these pogroms.

² Proudfoot, *ibid.*, pp. 342-343.

³ Sam E. Bloch, ed., Holocaust and Rebirth: Bergen-Belsen, 1945-1965 (New York, Tel Aviv: Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1965).

offensive," guilty of "provocative, violent incidents and complaints,"⁴ were well aware of and able to implement strategies for re-establishing communal and family life. Second, after a summer of delay and bureaucratic snags in 1945, they were supported externally by such international Jewish organizations as The Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training (ORT), the American Joint Distribution Committee (The Joint), and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.⁵ In a relatively short period of time they were able to regroup themselves into certain major camps, such as Feldafing or Bergen-Belsen, and develop autonomous community control.⁶

In February 1946 the "Central Committee of Liberated Jews for the U.S. Zone of Germany" held a three-day conference with 212 delegates, elected by some 30,000 displaced persons.⁷ Bergen-Belsen inmates were even more militant. They organized themselves into "Kibbutzim" to prepare for their arrival in Palestine; they named the streets in the camp with Hebrew names; and as the years wore on, they mounted demonstrations against the British authorities.⁸ A miniature society grew up behind the barbed wire:

In the course of time, the Jews of Belsen became a fairly stable unit. The experiences of the past notwithstanding, people sought out the normal life. Individuals with their own particular interests and inclinations began to stand out of the mass. Life broke through the harsh, alien German soil, to assert its superiority over death. Jewish artisans, professionals, merchants, all seemed impelled to shake off the paralysis of inactivity, to make their contribution to community life in the poor and strange surroundings and circumstances. Thus, too, the educators came forward...Six weeks after the arrival of the British Army, the first Jewish school in the British zone was founded

⁴ Proudfoot, op. cit., p. 345, Michael R. Marrus, The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 300.

⁵ Warhaftig, op. cit., p. 45 passim; Marrus, *ibid.*, pp. 303-305.

⁶ Ethel Ostry, in the diary kept while employed by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency, responsible for administering the Displaced Persons camps, describes in detail the organization of several camps, the clashes between Jews and Germans, and the insensitivity of the American military to the survivors, both administratively and personally. The diary is in PAC, Box MG 30, C119.

⁷ Proudfoot, op. cit., p. 345.

⁸ Yehuda Bauer, "The Initial Organization of the Holocaust Survivors in Bavaria," Yad VaShem Studies on the Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance (Jerusalem: Yad VaShem, 1970), pp. 127-158.

Displaced persons camps have not traditionally been viewed as places where family and communal life re-emerged. Yet the camps and their immediate surroundings were precisely those places where survivors met, married, and trained for their post-war occupations. While the camps were physically unappealing, and outside appearances shocked early visitors, community and family life began to be reconstituted.¹⁰ Children were born, synagogues built, plans made.¹¹ The survivors began new lives both as individuals and families, remembering whence they had come, but ready to rebuild in these temporary places. As did so many thousands of others, "MG" had been forced to march from the Russian border to Bergen Belsen, where he lived for three years:

I lived there [in Bergen Belsen] in 1945, in 1946 I got married, she's also a survivor, she was born not far from, about fifty kilometers from my village, but I didn't know her. On some days [in Bergen Belsen] we got over thirty weddings, we got Rabbis, many Rabbis.¹²

Not all survivors were ready to start families right away, but they were ready to assert their freedom and individual abilities. For six weeks after her liberation, another survivor was too ill with typhus to recall the day British troops arrived. She remembered waking up in a field of bodies, in which she was the only living person, having marched to Bergen Belsen with the remnants of her slave battalion. After her recovery, she was quickly recruited by the camp administration, where her language abilities in German and Hungarian stood her in good stead. She became a translator for other Hungarian refugees.

We had a Rabbi who happened to be a Yugoslavian who spoke

⁹Holocaust and Rebirth: Bergen-Belsen 1945-1965, ed. Sam E. Bloch (New York and Tel Aviv: Bergen-Belsen Memorial Press, 1965), p. L. Survivors acted as teachers; some worked for ORT and the "JOINT" in administering the training programs, searching for relatives in Europe and overseas, and, later, facilitating immigration. Vancouver survivors were among this administrative cadre.

¹⁰See the lists of childrens' clothing and toys being sent to the camps from overseas, Canadian Jewish Congress Annual Report, 1948, no pagination.

¹¹Simon Schochet, Feldafing (Vancouver: November Press, 1984); Leon Kahn, No Time to Mourn (Vancouver: Laurelton Press, 1975).

¹²Tape MG. The English in the interviews has not been corrected.

Hungarian, and he was in the British army, and he became the Rabbi of the camp, who was sort of a father figure to all of us. I was seventeen, and after a short while... when I was well enough to get out of hospital, I got a job as an interpreter, a German interpreter. So I got a job and I had a salary and I could support myself.¹³

Not every survivor lived in the displaced persons camps; many moved restlessly from place to place, registering wherever it seemed best. Those with professions from pre-war days were the most likely to find administrative positions within the refugee system, but this did not guarantee them faster exit from Europe. One woman, a pharmacist before the war in Poland, recalled her wanderings after the war and escape from Poland:

There were thousands of people who did the same thing as we did -- I was travelling with my very close friend and her husband, Dr. D---, and we landed in a small transit camp in Austria, not far from Linz... Dr. D--- immediately took charge of the pharmacy and the medications. We were therefore much better off than the general public. While waiting there to get out to Germany, I met my husband, who was traveling with his sister and small boy, survivors too.... We crossed the border in cattle trains and we came to Germany, not far from Regensburg...where they had military tents and courts provided by the UNRRA, later the IRO¹⁴, where we stayed together... We were not married then, we just knew each other... The six of us, we took up one big tent. Again, Dr. D--- was given medical responsibility and I helped him as a pharmacist. We tried our best not to be too long in this transit camp. We lived outside and worked there in the camp. We filed for immigration to the United States...We had a little money sent to us from the States, from my relatives. Then we settled in Munich, privately. My husband took a position as Director of ORT. We got married in 1946, actually New Year's Eve, with a Rabbi, and then [my husband] worked as the Director of ORT of a very large school in Munich and I was in charge of the dispensary, but we lived outside the camp, and we waited for our papers to be processed.¹⁵

The elements of post-war personal reconstruction represented in these recollections -- the quick utilization of skills, self-sufficiency, the perception of Rabbis as father figures rather than as bureaucrats -- dominate oral accounts of the survivors' immediate post-war experiences. It is not uncommon for a sense of family and community to have carried people

¹³Tape KF.

¹⁴International Relief Organization, which superseded the UNRRA in the summer of 1947.

¹⁵Tape SW.

through the concentration-camp experience. Women especially speak of their "lager-sisters"¹⁶ and their sense of loss when the groups disbanded upon liberation.¹⁷ Some, hidden by sympathetic non-Jews, had to choose to leave these families at the end of the war. C--- was living with a Polish peasant woman who had rescued her from the gutter of her town's ghetto. After the war her childhood friend persuaded her to join a group training for life in Palestine. This group became her new family.

My heart ached for having left Helga, but I was returning to Judaism as my mother would have wished. My friend said to me, 'so what will be? You'll marry a peasant and your mother will turn over in her grave.'¹⁸

An ideological support system also grew out of the post-war Zionism nurtured in the camps.¹⁹ Zionism, the idea of a Jewish state, was a kind of "glue" that rebuilt survivors' confidence. As one recalled,

I was not [a Zionist], but when I was in ghetto, there I met a large group of Zionists, all young like I was...They were very enthusiastic and they kept us going in camp, too. I learned Zionist songs, and this was before I was in concentration camp, and this is probably why I was very anxious to go to Palestine. It would have been wonderful. Instead I went back Hungary.²⁰

Going back to search for family, friends, even just a picture, was often a dangerous business; many lost their lives after the war or were trapped behind the Iron Curtain. The situation in Poland serves as the worst-case paradigm. Surviving Jews in 1945 found their homes and businesses taken by Polish nationals, who resented the Jews' return from the grave, as it were. In 1946 Polish citizens were allowed to return from Russia, whence they

¹⁶*Lager* was the German name for the barracks inside the camps.

¹⁷ Tapes MF and VS; if the Nazis realized the incoming Jews were mother and daughter, they separated them. By claiming to be sisters, some did manage to survive together, as in the documentary "Kitty in Auschwitz," and VS and her mother. Again based on oral testimonies it would appear that men expressed their support systems as groups of friends, while women spoke more in family terms. See Susan Weidman Schneider, Jewish and Female (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1984), p. 602, citing a paper "The Unethical and the Unspeakable: Toward a Feminist Interpretation of the Holocaust," a paper presented at an interfaith meeting on Women and the Holocaust in New York, 1981.

¹⁸ Tape CL.

¹⁹ Tapes MZ, CL, MK, document at the individual level what was happening throughout the displaced persons camps.

²⁰ Tape CF.

had fled in 1940, and an estimated 150,000 Jews returned from Russia. Pogroms erupted in the summer of 1946. One woman recalled her experiences:

We went to Lodz because my husband found out his brother was there; so as we are going, on both sides [of the road] stand the Polish people, and they were screaming at the coach men who were Polish-- 'we're sending to Russia coal and Russia sending back to us -- 'the Jews! the Jews! Throw them into the river, kill them.' So we had the welcome before, and the Kielce [pogroms] afterwards a few days, and I was scared to death. My husband, he was in between because his brother was there--and I said, 'look I came through the war, I'm alive, I came to this stupid Poland, they want to kill me. Come on-- or you're going, or you're staying -- I am going!' So when he saw that I mean business, he's going too.²¹

But however strong the pull was out of Europe and towards Palestine, not every survivor was destined to escape the blockade which remained in force up until the day the State of Israel was proclaimed. Other factors intervened -- time, health, and the needs of new families. The survivors who had escaped Russia as Poles were now barred from the United States by the Polish quota; other quotas barred Eastern European Jewish nationals, as well as German Jews. The Dominions of Britain were for many the only immediate hope. Many survivors had experiences similar to M---, who had planned to go to Palestine in 1939, the year her native Poland was invaded. She had spent her teen years as part of an active Zionist "cell." When the Germans advanced, she fled east into Russia with the retreating Russian soldiers, only to be herded into cattle trains scarcely more livable than those the Nazis were preparing, and sent to Siberia. There she spent the war years as a virtual slave, cutting trees and even in a prison for condemned prisoners. Returning to Poland in 1946, she and the man she had married in Russia formed part of the chain that led Jews out of Poland and into the displaced persons camps.²² Her husband began a tailoring course offered by

²¹ Tape SB.

²² This process was called "infiltration," and the Jews fleeing the Polish pogroms, as well as other survivors who had returned east to look for families, "infiltrates." The authorities at first did not want to admit them to the status of displaced persons, nor provide for them. In Belsen, the inmates defied the British and opened the gates. Elsewhere the United Nations and the American administrators showed more understanding and allowed the "late-comers" to receive the same support as the earlier displaced persons.

ORT, while she worked in the camp infirmary, as she had worked in the infirmaries in Siberia and the military hospitals in Asian Russia. They waited for a chance to leave for Palestine.

We lived in what had been a bathroom, in the barracks. The walls were mouldy. We lived there two years. I was sick -- I lost a baby. One day my husband came home and said, 'Come on, we're going to Canada.' 'Wait a minute,' I said, 'that's not in the plan.' 'Look at you,' he said, 'we can't live like this. At least in Canada we can live.' So he was chosen to come as a tailor, and we came.²³

Community support and life; Zionism; reconstitution of families: these were the major factors re-knitting post-war survivor life. The post-war experiences of survivors in Europe heightened their sense of Jewish identity. While they had suffered for it, Jewishness was reinforced as camps were organized around the idea of aliyah, immigration to Palestine, and against the British policies in the Middle East. Furthermore, survivors were anxious to reconstruct family and communal life; they were soon made part of a network of support that reached from North America to Eastern Europe. By the time survivors were able to leave Europe, they had begun to direct their energies in two directions, towards community and towards Zionism.

Like the Jews, other Eastern European groups had formed communities within the displaced persons camps. Lithuanians who had fled the Russians, or had gone to Germany to work during the war, also rebuilt their lives within the camps, setting up educational and cultural institutions, as well as starting new families.²⁴ They used the time to build and strengthen their sense of Lithuanian nationalism, expecting that after the war which they anticipated would soon break out between the western powers and Russia, they would be able to return home to an independent Lithuania. Like the Jews, they created a strong and enduring sense of achievement in the face of persecution. Ukrainians, too, who had retreated

²³ Tape MZ. Because they had no children, they were sent to Vancouver, which at the time was considered by Canadian Jews to be an outpost, since there was no Jewish day school. Presumably arrangements were made to settle families with children in the large Jewish centres where the communal network would provide for their education.

²⁴ Milda Danys, DP: Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War (Toronto: Multicultural Historical Society of Canada, 1986), pp. 41-61.

with the Germans, founded a post-war national leadership-in-exile, bringing from the camps to North America a re-formulated nationalism not necessarily shared by their Canadian host communities.²⁵ By contrast, both Jewish survivors and host communities in Canada shared a strong commitment to Zionism. Although many survivors would find homes in the western democracies, Zionism continued to be a mainstay of their mentality. The reinforcement of their ethnicity in Europe after the war, and their reliance on the host Jewish communities of the West, assured that the survivor community in North America would begin with strong instrumental and ideological ties to the receiving Jewish community.

²⁵L.Y. Luciuk, "Searching For Place: Ukrainian Refugee Migration to Canada After World War II" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Department of Geography, 1984), Chapter 5.

CHAPTER THREE

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY AND JEWISH IMMIGRATION

In 1945 the Canadian government showed little understanding of the actual situation of displaced persons and totally rejected any comprehensive adjustment of regulations to accommodate large numbers of immigrants. The reluctance of the Canadian government to develop a comprehensive immigration and citizenship policy during the critical years 1945-1952 forced Jews to rely on their co-religionists for integration into Canadian society. In so doing Canada impeded further the process which it claimed it wanted: quick assimilation of immigrants to some uniform "Canadian" identity. The Departments of Immigration and Labour had different agendas in the post-war period, and immigration policy was often a result of these inter-departmental wars. The Department of Labour emphasized the need for labour,¹ while the Immigration Branch maintained the direction set for it by F.C. Blair, resisting suggestions that Canada should recruit immigrants.² Even after the advocates of increased immigration began to make headway, Jewish survivor immigration proceeded in a manner unlike others from post-war Europe. If purely economic motives had obtained in Canada's policy-making circles, Jews would have been selected impartially along with thousands of others for work as lumberjacks, sugar-beet workers, farmers, and domestics. In fact, they were not. While Labour imagined that immigration could be managed to react to upswings and downturns in the economy by what Freda Hawkins calls the 'tap-on, tap-off'

¹Allan Green, Immigration and the Post-War Canadian Economy (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976) writes as if labour and the economy were the prime determinants of who would be let in. As later studies have shown, this was not true, either from the point of view of the Department of Labour, or from the bureaucrats in Immigration.

²Irving Abella and Harold Troper, None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948 (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Denys, 1983); Gerald E. Dirks, Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism? (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1977); also his "The Canadian Rescue Effort: the Few Who Cared," The Canadian Jewish Mosaic, eds. M. Weinfeld, W. Shaffir, and I. Cotler (Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 1981), pp. 77-92.

process of recruitment of immigrants,³ it is clear from the records of the Immigration Department and its correspondence with the Department of Labour that the country's manpower needs should be filled by immigrants from the preferred northern European races. In turn, when the barriers to immigration began to fall in 1947, the government's refusal to allow open and unregulated immigration of Jews reinforced their reliance on Canadian Jewry during the period of resettlement.

In None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948,⁴ Irving Abella and Harold Troper demonstrate conclusively that antisemitism was an important factor in pre- as well as post-war policy. The Department of Immigration files are replete with pejorative statements about the character of Jews and other Eastern European "races."⁵ Although Howard Palmer characterized the post-war period as a "period of transition" from an assimilationist view of immigration to one of "cultural pluralism," the approach of the King government is more understandable if viewed as a continuation of the assumption that immigrants must not form separate ethnic communities.⁶ In fact assimilation was the ruling idea for most of Canada's history.⁷ Even the future Prime Minister of Canada, Lester Pearson, agreed that the "basic directive" of immigration policy was to assure that immigration "shall not be used to effect a major change in the racial, religious, or social

³Freda Hawkins, Canadian Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1972), pp. 102-107.

⁴Abella and Troper assert that Canada may have supported the creation of the State of Israel in order to steer off unwanted refugees from her shores, but David Bercuson in his Canada and the Birth of Israel (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Denys, 1985) asserts that he found no evidence to support this argument. In fact, Canada under Mackenzie King supported the British position on Palestine until the bitter end, despite the probability that fewer Jews would have applied to Canada had they been given immediate post-war access to Palestine.

⁵The term "race" was used throughout this period in census data and in referring to what we would call today ethnic groups. There is no question that it carried unpleasant connotations and assumptions about the inborn character of a group such as the Jews.

⁶Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation, eds. Douglas Francis and Donald Smith (Toronto: Harper-Row and Winston, 1986), pp. 185-201.

⁷In his account of Jews in his Strangers Within our Gates (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1909, reprint 1972), James S. Woodsworth, while appreciative of their tenaciousness and fidelity to their ancient traditions and their work ethic, still supported attempts to assimilate the immigrants of North Winnipeg. His was the prevailing view; see Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 68-75.

constitution of the country."⁸ Ken Carty and W. Peter Ward have aptly summarized the history of Canadian immigration policy as follows:⁹

The great immigration promotion schemes of the Laurier years, unprecedented before and unparalleled since, sought potential Canadians far more energetically in Britain and the American Midwest than elsewhere. Until the 1960's most policies encouraging migration reflected the assumption that northwestern Europeans and Americans of like descent made the best prospective citizens.¹⁰

In the first year after the war, the Canadian government had no intention of admitting any significant number of refugee immigrants. In March 1945 External Affairs wrote to A. Joliffe, the new Director of Immigration, regarding the "refugees" already in Canada. These refugees were a polyglot group of Polish technicians, German POW's, Jewish internees from the 1940 deportation from England, and nearly 500 refugees who had been allowed to enter Canada from the Iberian Peninsula in 1944. Joliffe's inclinations were to deport them all. That the Jews among them were allowed to stay was due more to the fear of national outcry than to any change in attitudes.¹¹ Meanwhile the national organization of Canadian Jewry, Canadian Jewish Congress, had requested admission of surviving relatives of Canadian Jews whom it had located in Europe. On October 12, 1945, Joliffe submitted a lengthy memorandum to the Minister, T.A. Glen, regarding this request. Jewish refugees, said Joliffe, were "only a small part of the general problem of displaced persons in Europe" and the solution was to be found "through international action," rather than through any initiatives by

⁸Luciuk, op. cit., p. 298, quoting from a letter of Pearson dated 17/1/48 in PAC, RG26, Vol. 105.

⁹For a provocative discussion of ethnic identity and the uses of political influence, see also the collection of essays by Jorgen Dahlie et al, Ethnicity, Power and Politics (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), especially the essay by Yaacov Glickman, "Political Socialization and the Social Protest of Canadian Jewry: Some Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," pp. 123-150.

¹⁰Ken Carty and Peter Ward, editors, "The Making of a Canadian Political Citizenship," in National Politics and Community in Canada (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), p. 68.

¹¹Immigration Files RG 76, Vol. 442, File 673931, Pt. 9, microfilm C-10320 contains this correspondence. While an Order-in-Council covered these cases, with the exception of the POWs, the no-admissions rule remained. Paula Draper described the internee experience in "Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Interned Refugees," Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal II:1 (Spring, 1978), 1-38 and II:2 (Fall, 1978), 80-120.

the Canadian government. If the Jews got in, he wrote, other groups would ask "Why not give our relatives the same consideration that is being given the Jew?" Canada would be flooded with people whose physical and mental condition would be "below par" and "to date we have not reduced the medical standards for refugees."¹² The movement of refugees would require extra immigration staff and procedures, and Canada could not provide these. Joliffe advised against the request being granted; handwritten on the bottom of this memo is the inscription dated 15/10/45: "The Minister decided that favourable action cannot be taken at this time."¹³ Certainly, admission of one group of refugees would have led to requests for many more from the non-preferred races.¹⁴ Rather than agreeing to take a specified number of displaced persons, including Jews, Canada claimed credit for accepting "hundreds of persons who had been granted temporary refuge in Canada...It is the intention of the Canadian Government to continue to support the early establishment of the International Relief Organization. It is hardly necessary therefore for the Canadian Government to make now a further general statement on this subject."¹⁵

However, by April 1946 Canada had to have a policy to announce at the UN session creating a mechanism to deal with displaced persons.¹⁶ Canada's answer was two negatives: no displaced persons would be taken before Canadian servicemen and their families returned home; and no long-range implications for Canadian immigration policy should be construed from the May 1946 expansion of relatives' categories that was to proceed as an Order-in-Council rather than as a new Immigration Act.¹⁷ On May 28 the policy was announced in the form of P.C. 2071. Refugees would be allowed into Canada if they were part

¹²This was not to remain true. When the 4000 Polish officers of Anders army were admitted in 1946, undetected venereal disease and TB discovered after their arrival were never used as grounds for deportation.

¹³RG 76, Volume 443, File 673931, Pt. 10, microfilm C-10320. Indeed the files are filled with requests from other ethnic groups, Ukrainians, Poles, Mennonites, Norwegians, even Dutch nurses from the East Indies.

¹⁴For example, reply to the Aide Memoire dated August 19, 1946 regarding the British requests, July 26, 1946. RG 76, File 673931, Vol 443, pt. 11, microfilm C-10320.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy*, p. 111; Abella and Troper, *op. cit.*, p. 207 *passim*.

¹⁷Letter from Robertson to Turgeon, April 1946, RG 76, Vol. 443, File 673931, Pt. 10, microfilm C-10320.

of the following classes: the father, mother, unmarried son or daughter, less than 18 years of age, the unmarried brother or sister, the orphan nephew or niece less than 16, of any person admitted to or legally resident in Canada who was in a position to care for such relatives; and agriculturalists. But, while inching the door open a bit, the Immigration Department kept the chain-lock on. There were no immigration officers in Germany, where the bulk of displaced persons remained, and in any case most Jewish refugees could not establish such close connections with Canadian relatives.¹⁸

In May 1946 the King government also announced the establishment of a Senate Committee on Immigration to hear representations from the Canadian public on the issue of increased immigration.¹⁹ Hundreds of briefs came from government officials, labour unions, business and industrial interests, ethnic and religious groups, railway and transportation companies, provincial, local, and federal politicians. The opening presentation from Joliffe still opposed any changes in the restrictions; however, the tide was running in the other direction, as groups with large immigrant constituents and overseas interests presented their cases. Even organized labour, feeling the effects of post-war prosperity, was less hostile than it had been. In sum, the first year's presentations largely favoured increased immigration.²⁰ On July 3, 1946, the Canadian Jewish Congress presented its first of two briefs to the Committee, asking for expanded categories. Had the Jews come alone they would have gone unheeded; but by the close of the first year's hearings, chairman James Murdock had concluded that

The admission of a considerable number of immigrants to engage in farming, lumbering, mining and shipping, and as well, those skilled in urban production, would not now lower the standard of living in Canada, but rather at present would tend to improve it....There are available in Europe numbers of skilled

¹⁸The Orders-in-Council for the period (the only way in which Jews could be admitted) show that the few who met the relatives category had to have made their way to Western Europe, where they could contact an immigration officer. RG 76, Vol. 443, File 673931, Pt. 11, microfilm C-10320. The file contains letters from the Canadian National Committee on Refugees and from the Canadian Jewish Congress congratulating the government on its May initiative, even though the regulations would benefit few survivors.

¹⁹The Senate of Canada, Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, published annually from 1946-1952.

²⁰Dirks, Canada's Refugee Policy, pp.126-137.

artisans, technicians and professional men, workers experienced in new trades and masters of various established arts, men having creative and managerial capacity capable of founding new industries or improving old ones, "entrepreneurs" and so forth. Such men should be welcomed to this country in all cases where there is a reasonable assurance that they will add to our knowledge, capacity or efficiency, contribute to our economy, or assist us in competition.²¹

Yet, despite the guarded support of the Senate committee, public opinion was still anti-immigrant. In December 1946, Mr. Molson, of the office of the Canadian High Commissioner to London, toured the displaced persons camps and sent back a lengthy report. He had harsh words for the morals of the Ukrainians and Poles in the camps and of the "black marketing, dirty living habits and general slovenliness" of the Jews. He was sceptical of the claim that Jews had been forced to flee Poland because of renewed antisemitic attacks, "for," he reported, "it is claimed that particularly in Poland there is a revulsion of feeling against the Jews, notably those who had occupied responsible positions there during the war."²² Rather than comment on Molson's vast ignorance of what had actually transpired in Poland with regard to the Jews, it is more fruitful to see his comments in the context of the public opinion of Canada. A Gallup poll of that opinion taken in October 1946 makes very clear who Canadians perceived as being undesirable immigrants. The poll asked "If Canada does allow more immigration, are there any of these nationalities which you would like to keep out?" The private prejudices of officials reflected these public preferences. Jews and Japanese, victim and enemy, headed the list of unwanted immigrants, while Germans were acceptable to two-thirds of Canadians.

²¹Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour, Vol. II, 1946, p. 398. See RG 76, Vol. 391, File 541782, Pt. 5 for correspondence between Immigration Director A. Joliffe and the Minister in Charge of Mines and Immigration J. A. Glen, in which Joliffe expresses his fears that Jewish immigration would lead to the "perpetuating of overseas culture to the exclusion of Canadian ideas, education, and methods of life."

²²Letter from Molson to Immigration, RG 76, Vol. 443, File 673831, pt. 12, microfilm C-10323.

TABLE 3.1

GALLUP POLL ON POSTWAR ATTITUDES

GROUP	PERCENTAGE INDICATING THEY DID NOT WANT THIS GROUP
Japanese	60
Jewish	49
German	34
Russian	33
Negro	31
Italian	25
Chinese	24
Middle European	16
Ukrainian	15
Polish	14
Others	3
None	18

Source: Nancy Tienhaara, Canadian Views on Immigration and Population: an Analysis of Post-war Gallup polls, Ottawa, Manpower and Immigration, 1974, p.59.23

Mackenzie King, meanwhile, had been reading the results of the first year's work by the Standing Committee with his practiced eye; the economic depression so feared in the post-war world had not materialized, and Canada needed labour. In his May 1, 1947 speech to Parliament, King announced a policy to bring in large groups of workers.²⁴ Yet he was careful to limit the government's commitment by assuring Canadians that immigration would still be selective and related to "absorptive capacity;" immigration remained a domestic

²³ The original sheets have been destroyed and only newspaper reports of the poll exist. A poll taken at almost the same time in the United States elicited almost the same responses. 46% opposed Jewish immigration, 59% opposed German, and 75% opposed Japanese; Charles Stember et al, Jews in the Mind of America (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 144-154.

²⁴ Danys in her book on Lithuanians has researched the Department of Labour files carefully and documented Labour's view that workers could be brought in without altering the fundamental character of Canada, since the labourers were -- only to labour. The short-sightedness of this view was a boon to non-Jewish DP's, since it seems that no one counted on creating a new chain of immigrants from Europe.

policy, and not one to be dictated by outside interests; immigration would not become a fundamental right of immigrants, but would remain a privilege granted by Canada.²⁵

Between June 1947 and October 1948, a series of Orders-in-Council authorized the entry of 40,000 displaced persons.²⁶ By 1952, 165,000 had entered Canada. The privilege of immigration to Canada was granted through a number of bulk labour schemes including farm and sugar beet workers, miners, lumbermen, railway workers, hydro workers, and domestics. Yet in all of these categories, Jews were systematically excluded on two bases: first, that their natural proclivities for urban life made them unfit for farm or rural labour; and second, that their educational level made them unwilling to remain in meaningless and mundane tasks. The government either excluded Jews or limited their number wherever possible.²⁷ Yet German scientists, some of whom had left behind them unsavory skills and work places, were whisked into Canada between 1946 and 1948.²⁸ At the same time, the humble positions of household domestics and labourers were major battlegrounds for Jews. For example, one overseas officer complained of pressure "to accept Jewish domestics, and would propose to include a dozen in first thousand." He felt, however, that "acceptance by Canada [of] Jewish orphans and garment workers [was] the answer to these pressures," a

²⁵See Hansard for May 1, 1947. Hawkins attributes the formulation of the policy statement to King, Robertson, and Pickersgill. It was "not a special emanation from King", but a distillation of the attitudes and proclivities of Anglo-Canada. Martin Levine in his thesis "Compassion When Convenient: Canadian Attitudes Toward Immigration in 1946 and 1947," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1975) argues that those who favored immigration did so out of a social and economic base of power which was not threatened by immigrants. Unskilled bulk labour was fine for the business sector; intellectuals and the media could afford to be humanitarian, since displaced persons did not threaten their positions.

²⁶PC 2180 (June 6, 1947); PC 2856 (July 18, 1947); PC 3926 (October 1, 1947); PC 1628 (April 22, 1948) and PC 4079 (October 1, 1948).

²⁷There were voices raised in the defense of displaced persons in general and Jews in particular. See Saturday Night editor B.K. Sandwell, "Our Immigration Problem: Some Facts and Fallacies," Queens Quarterly LIII:4 (Winter, 1946-47), 502-510; Philip Stuchen, "Canada's Newcomers: the Displaced Persons" Queens Quarterly LV:2 (Summer, 1948), 197-205, and "Mass Employment for Displaced Persons" Queens Quarterly LIV: 3 (Summer, 1947), 360-365.

²⁸RG 76, File B6737, Vol. 649, Microfilm reels 10588-10589. Termed "Operation Matchbox", it overrode restrictions on enemy aliens, bringing German scientists to work at Chalk River, as well as in Canadian chemical and machinery manufacturing plants.

sop which would keep the Canadian Jewish community quiet and the numbers of Jewish immigrants minimal.²⁹

As each ship departed Europe with its freight of workers, dispatches were sent counting every Jew. For example:

General Black sailed from Bremerhaven March fifth with 826 persons stop 334 nominated cases 283 workers dependents 102 domestics 1 farm worker 33 Jewish garment worker [sic] accompanied by 70 dependents one non-Jewish garment worker accompanied by 2 dependents stop breakdown garment workers Jewish one single 4 couples 15 married 1 child 10 married 2 children stop non Jewish one married with one child stop.³⁰

Immigration officials were indignant that the educated would try to slip in as domestics: one "Hungarian Hebrew" was caught admitting to having a profession (manicurist) and the officers were warned not to allow anyone in who misrepresented their unskilled level. As late as 1950 arguments continued over whether Jews could qualify for labour schemes outside the "Jewish" plans. Field Officer Bird remarked tartly to Smith of Immigration in April 1950 that "it has always been our policy to select Jewish people under the ordinary bulk labour schemes only on advice from Dr. MacNamara that placements had been arranged in Canada, and until I receive word to the contrary, Jewish people will not be dealt with under such schemes unless a special request from the Department of Labour is received."³¹ At the same time Canada was implementing a campaign to entice British

²⁹RG 76, Vol. 656, File B 46936, Pt. 1, microfilm 10592. The same cable pointed out that there were nurses to be had among the German population, and hoped that their service during wartime "in a civilian capacity" would not disbar them from coming to Canada.

³⁰RG 76, Vol. 653, File 29300, Pt. 11, cable dated March 3, 1949. There were innumerable countings by religion in every plan, over the years from 1946 to 1952, when the schemes drew to a close and a new Immigration Act came into effect. One half of the girls brought under the domestic scheme were to be Protestant, and the other half Catholic. Hugh Keenleyside directed the choice of the first five, who went to himself, C.D. Howe, and Lester Pearson. He specified that they all be Christians.

³¹Memo April 22, 1950, Bird to Smith, RG 76, Vol. 855, File 55418, Pt. 1. Since MacNamara is revealed in the files as one of those guilty of racial judgments on the abilities of Jews, Bird would wait a long time. The particular immigration under discussion was a late one from displaced persons camps in Lebanon. A "Hebrew" was at issue, one who was a "very fine type of superior labourer". The officer in charge of selecting immigrants wished to make an exception in this case. An uproar ensued at the same time over charges brought by Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, who claimed that files with the notation "no Jews or Armenians" did exist. The Canadian Jewish Congress issued angry disclaimers of discrimination, but history

immigrants. In 1950 over 10,000 British immigrants were flown in to Ontario; they were recruited in a concerted effort to fill labour-intensive industries' quotas without turning to non-Anglo-Saxon immigration.³² Even Ukrainian and Lithuanian displaced persons were entering Canada under these schemes without facing the quotas placed on their Jewish fellow refugees.³³

The policy's details may have been unknown to Canadian Jews, but both they and the survivors in Europe knew how narrow the eye of the needle was that would allow Jews into Canada. Survivors had begun their schooling in the immigration practices of western democracies in Auschwitz, where the name "Kanada" indicated the closed-off store-house of food and warm clothing; it continued in the displaced persons camps, where they faced the United States' quota system, the closed doors to Palestine, and the continued refusals from Canada. Brought by the Jewish Orphans Project, one survivor recalled his endless train trip from Halifax westward:

We were going by train, and it seemed like an eternity. I said, 'My God,' the place was -- my first impression of Canada was, I knew the place was big but -- for days and days there was nothing but prairies, and it was in the wintertime, covered with snow. You know everyday I just looked and I thought to myself, 'My God, look at all this space.' And when this book came out, None Is Too Many, it reminded me of my trip because I looked at the open spaces and I kept thinking, 'How many people could have come, how many people.' The size of the country was absolutely overwhelming.³⁴

Nevertheless, the survivors and the Canadian Jewish community persisted in efforts to rescue the displaced. Excluded from the general schemes, Canadian Jewry turned to best account its occupational networks. By creating a need for garment workers, furriers, tailors,

has proved the Rabbi correct. RG76, File C46567, Vol. 669, "Special Mission to Middle East to Examine DP's."

³²RG 76, Vol. 670, File 57318, Pt. 2, "Reports of the Overseas Settlement Service," microfilm C67560.

³³Danys, op. cit., Chapter 4, praises the "good humor, flexibility, and energy" of MacNamara. Balts were certainly among the preferred races, as many letters on their behalf in the Immigration files attest. Nor does Luciuk find any sign of discrimination against Ukrainians in the selections for workers. See Luciuk, op. cit., pp. 316-317. For the quotas on Domestic workers see RG 76, Vol. 656, File B46936; for Garment Workers, RG 76, Vol. 663, B29300, Pt. 11.

³⁴Tape RW.

and milliners, and by appealing to humanitarian instincts of rescue, the Canadian Jewish community succeeded in bringing in over 16,000 survivor immigrants. The need to sponsor and integrate these survivors meant that the Canadian Jewish community would create a strong instrumental tie to the refugees.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL JEWISH RESPONSES

IV.1 THE NATIONAL JEWISH RESPONSE

In light of the government's policies, a major actor in bringing survivors to Canada would have to be the national organization of Canadian Jewry. Where family networks no longer existed, communal and ethnic ones replaced them.¹ At both the national and local Vancouver level, the ethnic community took on the role of advocacy, thereby assuring continuity between the ethnicity of the immigrant and the host Jewish communities. Canadian Jewish Congress was the major national institutional actor in bringing Jewish displaced persons. "The Congress" (or CJC) had first convened in 1919 as the overall representative of Canada's Jewish community to alleviate the distress among Eastern European Jews after World War I.² It then lapsed into inactivity until the rise of Hitler. In 1934 the Congress brought elected delegates from all over the country to a Plenary, at which time a number of educational, cultural, and relief programs were proposed. However ineffective Congress may have been in rescuing European Jews between 1933 and 1939, Congress leadership maintained immigration to Canada as a major policy goal of post-war Canadian Jewry. Two strategies prevailed both before and after the war: first, a unified

¹June G. Alexander, "Staying Together: Chain Migration and Patterns of Slovak Settlement in Pittsburgh Prior to World War I," Journal of American Ethnic History 1:1 (Fall, 1981), 56-83; John Briggs, An Italian Passage (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); Harvey Choldin, "Kinship Networks in the Migration Process," International Migration Review VII:2 (Summer, 1973), 163-175; Arcadius Kahan, "Economic Opportunity and Some Pilgrims' Progress: Jewish Immigrants from Eastern Europe to the United States 1890-1914," Journal of Economic History 38 (March 1978), 235-251; A. Ross McCormack, "Cloth Caps and Jobs: Networks Among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg 1900-1914," Histoire Sociale/Social History XVII:34 (November 1984), 357-374; John and Leatrice Macdonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly 42 (1964), 82-94.

²Pathways to the Present: Canadian Jewry and Canadian Jewish Congress, ed. Faygie Schwartz (Toronto: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1986) is an account of the Congress nationally and regionally; although written from the inside, it is a clear account of the genesis of the organization. See also the entry for "Canada," Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol. IV, pp. 102-114.

approach combining the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society (JIAS), Congress, and other smaller organizations into the United Jewish Relief Agencies (UJRA), that wedded the lobbying efforts of Congress to social service aspects of immigrant resettlement; and second, a coalition strategy that led Congress to form, along with other supporters of humanitarian rescue, the Canadian National Committee on Refugees.

The first strategy of lobbying for access to Canada contrasted sharply with the policies of United States Jewry. In 1943 American Jewish organizations had already designated Palestine as the post-war haven for surviving Jews of Europe.³ Thereafter the organized Jewish community was officially committed to a Jewish homeland as the major refuge for survivors. Canada's Jews were no less committed to the founding of a Jewish state; at the same time, their efforts were largely dedicated to alleviating the immediate hardships of displaced persons, and to bringing as many as possible to Canada.⁴

The second strategy was built on the association of Congress and the Canadian National Committee on Refugees. Some argue that the CNCR, founded in 1938 and chaired by Senator Cairine Wilson throughout the war years, was an independent creation of liberal humanitarian non-Jews. Yet the CNCR founding conference was held after Jewish representatives had joined the League of Nations, the CNCR's parent body, in late 1938.⁵

³S. M. Neuringer, "American Jewry and United States Immigration Policy, 1881-1953" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Department of History, 1969), pp. 274-275; Leonard Dinnerstein, America and the Survivors of the Holocaust (New York: Columbia University Press 1982), p. ix. The resolution was passed by the American Jewish Conference, which included major national groups such as the American Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith. The German-Jewish and assimilationist American Jewish Committee and the American Council for Judaism walked out of the coalition, and the Committee did not declare its Zionism until the post-war period. The Council has remained actively anti-Zionist to this day.

⁴No record has been found of any decision being taken at the national level in Canada similar to that of the United States Jewish organizations. Congress took note of the American Jewish Conference decision, but Congress's post-war activities were overwhelmingly concerned with bringing survivors into Canada.

⁵Irving Abella and Harold Troper, "The Politics of Futility: Canadian Jewry and the Refugee Crisis, 1933-1939," Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, eds. Jorgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), p. 246, and Gerald Dirks, "The Canadian Rescue Effort: the Few who Cared," The Canadian Jewish Mosaic, eds. M. Weinfeld, W. Shaffir and I. Cotler (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, 1981), pp. 77-92 both argue for independent genesis of the CNCR without prodding and influence from the organized Jewish community; however,

Many Jewish representatives were involved in the founding conference in December 1938.⁶ While the CNCR was ostensibly formed to lobby for liberalized immigration policy, it became largely committed to educate Canadians about the benefits of increased immigration. While Congress welcomed this added pressure, there was no way that the CNCR could sponsor refugees. Instead, Congress and the CNCR launched a series of pleas to the Department of Immigration stressing humanitarian rescue and the economic benefit which would accrue to the country. In fall 1945 Congress submitted a list of survivors and their Canadian relatives,⁷ requesting that the Canadian Government use its power through the Order-in-Council to allow the "reunification of families" -- the strategy which stressed humanitarian concerns.⁸ Also, between 1945 and 1948 the CNCR issued ten pamphlets, entitled Beginning Anew, illustrating the benefits Canada had reaped from earlier refugees. From paprika to Alaska Pine, from shoes to surgical instruments, immigrants were held up as examples of what trade and industry could expect from refugee entrepreneurs and professionals.⁹ In January 1946 the CNCR added its voice to that of the Congress, asking that immigration categories be widened to include close relatives, Jewish orphans, and refugees waiting in such outposts as Tangiers and Lisbon.¹⁰

Craft argues in his unpublished thesis on the CNCR, "Compassion When Convenient", pp. 7, 21, that the Congress was instrumental in founding and in setting the agenda for the CNCR. ⁶A full list of attendees is included in the NAC CNCR File 24 along with accounts of the 3-day meeting, including, on behalf of the National Council of Jewish Women, the wife of future Congress Executive Director Saul Hayes, .

⁷RG 76 Vol, 442, File 673931 pt. 9 microfilm C-10320. There is no doubt, however, that certain relatives did come in under the order-in-council. RG76 files also show hundreds of individuals brought in under Orders-in-Council between 1945 and 1956 and beyond; one of them was the mother of refugees who had made it on the last boat from England to carry Jews to Canada in 1940. Somehow she had come from Poland to France and was brought from there to Canada under an Order-in-Council in 1945 or early 1946.

⁸NAC file CNCR Box 6, Minutes, files 29 and 30 recounts a November 30, 1945 meeting with Glen at which time the CNCR asked for relatives' admission.

⁹NAC file CNCR Box 4, File 6. The pamphlets feature industries and scientists, the Koerner success story, and Jewish refugee soldiers, scientists, and toy-makers. As well it published testimonies from organized labor on the benefits of immigrants, and from agriculturalists touting European agricultural techniques known to refugees that would benefit Canada.

¹⁰NAC file CNCR Vol. 4, File 37, letter from C. Wilson to J.A. Glen, January 21, 1946. Wilson travelled to Europe in the winter of 1946 and upon her return crossed Canada to describe conditions in the displaced persons camps. Her B.C. visit was written up in the

How successful this double strategy was is hard to assess. P.C. 2071, passed on May 28, 1946, did widen the categories of relatives. As this order was being readied, Prime Minister King announced his Senate inquiry into questions of immigration, giving both Congress and the CNCR -- along with hundreds of other ethnic and church groups -- a chance to convince the public and the policy-makers to open the doors.¹¹ Congress asked that the relatives' category be expanded to include first cousins, nephews and nieces past sixteen, married brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts; that continuous passage requirements, and preferred and non-preferred categories, be removed; that other occupational categories besides farming be allowed; and that the permission given in 1942 to bring one thousand Jewish orphans be renewed and applied to surviving orphaned children.¹² The CNCR echoed these requests.

The categories of relatives were subsequently widened to include the widowed daughter or sister with her unmarried children under eighteen, orphaned nieces and nephews up to eighteen,¹³ then to age 21, while including husband or wife and unmarried children of first degree relatives.¹⁴ Congress also received permission for its 1000 orphans,¹⁵ and the first group arrived in September, 1947. However it took another visit and another year of correspondence and cajoling for Congress, without the aid of the CNCR, to develop a plan that would bring in large groups of survivors: the labour schemes to recruit tailors, milliners, furriers, and cap-makers. The plans drew on the "Jewish" trades in clothing and related garment manufacture. If Jews could not be farmers or lumber-jacks, everyone knew they could certainly be tailors. Permission was granted for a series of such schemes and in the winter of 1947-1948 representatives of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association, the garment

Daily Colonist [Victoria], May 3, 1947, although she seems not to have spoken in Vancouver.

¹¹Canada, Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour for 1946 and 1947 contain accounts of Congress' presentations to the Senate Committee.

¹²An orphan was defined as a child under the age of 18 bereaved of both parents. Not surprisingly, there were very few such children alive at the end of the war.

¹³P.C. 371, January 30, 1947.

¹⁴P.C. 1734, May 1, 1947.

¹⁵P.C. 1647, April 27, 1947. RG 76, File 739325, Vol. 447, Microfilm 10412 contains the correspondence on this group plan.

workers' union,¹⁶ and the government set out for the Displaced Persons camps of Germany to recruit skilled garment workers for the first Tailors' Project.¹⁷ Abella and Troper rightly score the government for its restrictions on the proportion of Jews allowed in each plan, but they should also acknowledge that the Jewish community did use to good advantage its occupational network. This was truly an example of the ethnic chain forging new links.

When Congress representatives reached the camps, both real and putative tailors presented themselves. The delegation did not understand the full range of hostility and prejudice to Jewish displaced persons among both government bureaucrats in Canada and IRO officials in Europe. They did know that they were entrusted with the one possibility for mass Jewish immigration. If they appeared too lenient in their definition of skill they endangered future immigration schemes; too strict, and they condemned the survivors to remain indefinitely in physically wretched and morally degrading camps. An account of the delegation's experiences appeared in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle in a series of articles, beginning in February 1948, under the title, "In Search of Tailors".¹⁸ At their first examination point, Camp Bucholtz, the problem of determining who was a tailor became clear. Wrote Bernard Shane:

Before us appeared an intelligent looking young man. After giving us his name he stated bluntly that he knew little of tailoring but that he was anxious and willing to learn. I told him that we were not sponsoring a general immigration scheme, but that we were obliged to bring only experienced tailors to Canada. Perhaps there would be another project he would eventually fit into, I tried to encourage him. 'Impossible,' he answered bitterly, 'I am a scholar, a doctor

¹⁶Michael Brown, Jew or Juif? (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986), pp. 94-95; Stephen Speisman, The Jews of Toronto (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), pp.192-193. Jews occupied both management and union positions.

¹⁷Documented by Bernard Shane, one of the delegation, in articles in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, [Toronto], "In Search of Tailors", for Feb. 20, 1948, Feb. 27, 1948, March 12, 1948, March 19, 1948, March 26, 1948, April 9, 1948, April 16, 1948. Even in Europe the group found, in addition to hunger and crowding in the camps, an IRO that sabotaged the operation by refusing to cooperate with the delegations' requests.

¹⁸The delegation included representatives of the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, the Canadian Cloak Industry, and the unions: Association of Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Unions, Sam Posluns, David Solomon, Bernard Shane and Sam Herbst.

in philosophy and was a professor at one of the great Eastern European universities. I ask you, sir, is it my misfortune that I chose the career of a teacher? What is to become of us, that small group of intellectuals who were the first and worst sufferers of Hitlerism? I pride myself on my intellect and I think that my aptitude is good enough for me to become a tailor in a very short time.'

Needless to say, many applicants did not qualify. There was much difficulty in deciding how to choose skilled garment-workers without bringing in non-category workers who were their dependents. Eventually many non-workers came, and in turn these families sponsored others. However the decisions that the commission had to make were painful, pitting humanitarian as well as Jewish considerations against the bureaucracy:

There was the refined aristocratic-looking woman who lived through the experience of being a displaced person twice in her lifetime. She had been an emigrant from Czarist Russia, escaped from her country after the Russian revolution in 1917, wandered through Europe till the end of the first World War, and recently forced to repeat her bitter experiences. She was a good tailoress. She had worked in first class establishments and knew the trade. This was obvious the moment she threaded her needle and sat down at the machine. But she was out of category. Her husband was not a tailor, he was an automobile mechanic. And the regulations were that only married men-tailors could bring their wives or families. Married women-tailoresses were not to be included. The woman broke down. All the bitterness accumulated during her lifetime of wanderings and disappointments streamed down her bloodshot eyes.¹⁹

Despite all the road-blocks, eventually over 6000 Jewish workers and their dependents came under a series of garment-worker plans, in addition to the 1010 orphans. From hand- recorded tallies kept by an anonymous scribe in the Congress offices, the following rough figures for the four major plans have been compiled:²⁰

¹⁹Both quotations from the Feb. 27 article, p. 9.

²⁰Cap-makers and leather-workers were also brought, but there are no recorded figures; the numbers were probably not more than a few hundred.

TABLE 4.1

NUMBERS OF WORKERS AND DEPENDENTS OF FOUR MAJOR PLANS
1947-1952

PLAN	INDIVIDUALS	DEPENDENTS	TOTAL
Orphans	1010		1010
Tailors	2351	2409	4760
Milliners	288	428	716
<u>Furriers</u>	<u>423</u>	<u>431</u>	<u>854</u>
Total	4072	3268	7340

Source: United Jewish Relief Agencies file DA Statistics, Canadian Jewish Congress Archives, no date.

This number should be compared to the total number of Jewish Displaced Persons who entered Canada between 1948 and 1953, in order to measure the importance of the Group Plans.²¹

²¹Before 1948 there was no Displaced Persons category. Some Jews did enter under Orders-in-Council or, after May 1946, as relatives. However they could not enter from the DP camps until 1947 when Canadian officers were in place. "Year" in immigration figures runs from March to March.

TABLE 4.2

TOTAL IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, GENERAL DISPLACED, AND
JEWISH DISPLACED, 1948- 1953

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL IMMIGRANTS</u>	<u>TOTAL DISPLACED</u>	<u>JEWISH</u>
<u>DISPLACED</u>			
1948	125,414	14,250	2,181
1949	95,217	50,610	6,298
1950	73,912	33,197	2,585
1951	194,391	24,911	1,757
1952	164,498	41,016	3,461
<u>1953</u>	<u>168,868</u>	<u>1,713</u>	<u>131</u>
Total	822,300	165,697	16,413

Source: Compiled from statistics of the Department of Immigration (until 1950 in the Department of Mines, and from 1950 on, in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration) for years 1948-1953.

Displaced persons' immigration for these years was 20% of total immigration from all countries. Jews, it is estimated, made up at least one-quarter of the refugee population of Europe at the same time, yet were only 10% of the Canadian figure. Out of 16,413 estimated Jewish displaced persons, at least 45% were brought through group plans.²² Of these immigrants, over 53.0% went to Quebec, and 36.5% to Ontario, leaving only 10% to be absorbed by Western Canada. Consequently the group sampled for Vancouver was small indeed, a mere 2.2% of the displaced.

However, examination of the structural factors of residence, occupation, and community affiliation, as well as the less well-defined issue of shared ideology, suggests that this group, while small, reflected characteristics of the larger group of post-war Jewish survivor-immigrants who settled elsewhere in Canada. The immigrants were tied by law into

²²These hand-written tallies are in a typescript in the files of the United Jewish Relief Agencies, Canadian Jewish Congress Archives, file DA Statistics, no date. The government had insisted that only 60% of those recruited for all plans except the orphans be Jewish, and a separate tally was kept showing 2342 non-Jews. There are no figures for Jewish domestics or others who came under the "general" plans.

the ethnic network both occupationally and financially, if for no other reason than that they were required to pay back their passage money out of their earnings. Ironically, by requiring close family ties as a major component of immigration policy on the one hand, and by insisting that Jews coming under group plans be structurally linked to Jewish agencies and Jewish occupational patterns on the other, the government was strengthening reliance on the ethnic community and family networks, rather than hastening the anticipated assimilation of immigrants.

Before turning to the specific local situation of the survivor immigrants in Vancouver, one must ask why Canadian Jewry did not couple its efforts on behalf of refugees with a strong lobby effort on behalf of immigration to Israel, as did its sister community in the United States. The answer requires speculation on the Canadian Jewish mind, and on the community agenda since 1940. Michael Brown in his study of Canadian Jewry has documented the early and enduring ties of Canadian Jewry to the ideals of modern Zionism.²³ One cannot say that Canadian Jews were less committed to a Jewish homeland than were American Jews, for even a cursory glance at the Jewish press of such an outpost as Vancouver in the immediate post-World War II period shows a stream of front-page news from Palestine, the Displaced Persons camps, and the negotiating tables. Part of the answer may lie with the leadership of the Congress during the post-war period.

Confidential memoranda prepared during the war by Executive Director Saul Hayes suggested post-war directions for Congress. Hayes anticipated a flood of refugees seeking haven in Canada. Nowhere in the documents is Palestine suggested as the preferred destination for survivors of the war. The only reference to Palestine is in regard to Jews who had escaped from continental Europe and were waiting in Teheran for permits to enter mandate Palestine.²⁴ By 1943 Hayes was writing about the need for Canada to "contribute

²³Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 255-256. In his study of the pre-war period, he attributes non-Jewish enthusiasm for a Jewish state to the desire to deflect pressure for Jewish immigration to Canada. The same could be said about American Jewry at the time, since it understood the unpopularity of publicly opposing the quota system and popular prejudices demonstrated in the survey cited above.

²⁴See Canadian Jewish Congress archives, United Jewish Relief Agency (UJRA) file GE6, Memorandum dated June 19, 1942.

materially to the alleviation of Jewish suffering by admitting Jewish refugees after the war."²⁵ In anticipation of the lobbying necessary to allow this, he reported resolutions passed at recent meetings of the Canadian Trades and Labour Council and the Canadian Congress of Labour endorsing the need to "offer the sanctuary of Canada to all refugees."²⁶ This was a hopeful sign to Hayes that post-war opposition to Jewish immigration would lessen. Furthermore, the Bronfman family imparted to the Congress a standpoint that was strongly Canadian nationalist. Congress-affiliated relief workers assumed that refugees should prefer Canada to Palestine. Reports of UNRRA worker Lottie Levinson of Vancouver record her fear that too much concern with Zionism and Palestine might be seen as precisely the kind of ultra-nationalism that started the Second World War.²⁷ David Bercuson, in his work on Canada and the creation of Israel, documented a post-war meeting between Congress and Canadian immigration officials at which the topic was immigration to Canada, not Palestine.²⁸

Even Saul Hayes once confided to a survivor that he knew neither Yiddish nor Hebrew; he had been brought up a proper Westmount Jew tied to the Canadian, not the Palestinian, Jewish experience. Congress leadership was Canadian-born, highly acculturated and anglophile. They may have feared that open support for a Jewish State, in view of the White Paper and the pro-British stance of the Canadian establishment, would do harm to their rescue efforts. They were convinced that if Canadian policy could only be modified, Canada would offer the surviving Jews of Europe freedom, equality and economic and social benefits. Since little work has been done on the intellectual and ideological sources of

²⁵Canadian Jewish Congress archives, UJRA file Hd, Memorandum dated June, 1943.

²⁶Document dated December 10, 1943, "Preliminary Compilation of Some Documentary Material for Consideration of the Canadian Jewish Congress Committee on Social and Economic Research and Post-War Planning", Canadian Jewish Congress Archives, Canadian Jewish Congress, File Ad Memoranda.

²⁷Jewish Western Bulletin, letter from Levinson, Jan. 4, 1946. Ms. Levinson, who spent a year working for UNRRA and then a year with the Joint Distribution Committee, was distressed by the "fallacy of too much nationalism" among the refugee survivors. Zionism and Palestine were disruptive, she felt, of a natural post-war adjustment. "We should," she wrote, "reach some agreement whereby some of our people here could be absorbed into other countries." The positive power of Zionism as a healing force escaped her.

²⁸Canada and the Birth of Israel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 52.

Canadian Zionism, this theory remains to be demonstrated; but the focus on bringing immigrants into Canada, rather than into Palestine, points in this direction.²⁹

IV.2 THE LOCAL JEWISH RESPONSE

While Vancouver's Jews had little effect on the outcome of negotiations between the Canadian government and the Canadian Jewish Congress, they followed events during and after the war both in Canada and in the Middle East through the ethnic press, The Jewish Western Bulletin (JWB). They knew well the conditions in the displaced persons camps and shared in the anxiety of the rest of Canadian Jewry over the fate of the survivors. Some had relatives whom they had tried to rescue before the war, and now they waited anxiously for news of their fate. By looking at the residential, occupational, and ideological patterns of the Vancouver host Jewish community, we can see the context into which the survivor immigrants were to fit.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 235, 216. Bercuson finds no evidence that Canada supported the establishment of a Jewish State to relieve pressure on Canada to admit Jews, as Abella and Troper suggest. Canadian opinion was not overwhelmingly in favor of a Jewish state, and its support for Partition in the UN Commission was not followed by enthusiasm for Israel. Furthermore, if King was firm on restricting immigration to Canada, he was adamant in his refusal to disagree with British policy in Palestine, even if this meant continued pressure to admit Jews to Canada. In his "Re-examination of Zionism in Canada" in The Canadian Jewish Mosaic, op. cit., pp. 343-358, Harold Waller traces the development of Zionism in Canada, attributing its success as an accepted pan-Canadian Jewish ideology to the Eastern European Zionism of the 1900-1919 immigrants. He presents no evidence that the Zionist organizations had any effect on either immigration or foreign policy after World War II.

The immigrants came at a time when the host community was undergoing growth and change. Vancouver's Jewish population virtually doubled between 1941 and 1951, growing from 2742 in 1941 to 5467 in 1951.³⁰ Christine Wisenthal has portrayed early Jewish settlement of Vancouver as two mutually exclusive settlements: one, German-Jewish merchants who were largely reform and assimilationist; the other, Eastern European and largely orthodox. Each community had different residential, occupational, and affiliational ties.³¹ This dichotomy no longer applied by 1950. Vancouver's east end, where Eastern European Jews had lived, was rapidly emptying of Jews, and new institutions were being created on the west side. The earlier distinction between reform and orthodox based on country of origin had been replaced by congregational affiliation based on factors associated with life in North America. By 1945, although many businesses remained located to the east of the down-town core, residentially the community had started its trek westward.³² As early as 1933 the Jewish Community Centre building had been erected at Oak and Eleventh, a clear statement that the Jewish area was moving into middle-class neighborhoods forming on the south side of False Creek.³³ This major shift in geographic location of the Jewish community occurred between 1941 and 1951, just as survivors were entering the population.

For example, in 1940 the community synagogue, the kosher food stores, and an afternoon Hebrew school for children were located in the area around Main and Pender Streets. Yet the new Jewish residential area was locating south of False Creek and west of Cambie, along a north-south axis. In a half-sardonic, half-resigned tone a Rabbi in the JWB

³⁰While Vancouver was a distant fourth in size to the larger centres of Jewish population, far behind Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, the population increase had great impact. Vancouver's Jewish population was .86% of the city population.

³¹Christine Wisenthal, "Insiders and Outsiders: Two Waves of Jewish Settlement in British Columbia, 1858-1914," (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, Department of Geography, 1987).

³²Twenty businesses of prominent individuals were mapped against their residence. All lived on the west side; with one exception, all the businesses were in the old down-town area, and the one exception was down-town on the western end of Hastings, the eastern end of which was the core of the east end commercial area.

³³Patricia Roy describes the neighborhoods in her Vancouver: an Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1980).

observed in 1943 that "one day buildings will be wheeled on rollers from one area to another, so as to catch up with the migration of people into the newer residential areas."³⁴ His remark may have been prompted by the 1943 opening of a second orthodox congregation at Sixteenth Avenue and Heather. Certainly by 1951 the communal map was a different one. The Schara Tzedek (orthodox) Congregation opened its new building at Nineteenth and Oak in 1947; a new (conservative) congregation, Beth Israel, was located at Twenty-Seventh and Oak, across from a new day-school, the Talmud Torah, both of which opened in 1948; a home for the aged had been built just west of Oak and Eleventh; and the kosher food markets had moved to the area around Broadway and Oak. The Rabbi's vision had in fact come true; although they had not come on wheels, the institutions had followed the population into its new neighborhoods. The changes in population distribution by percentages and institutional configuration are illustrated in Map 4.1 (page 51). The 1940 configuration of institutions is indicated by stars, and that of 1950 by circles. Vancouver's Jews had made a major shift, investing not only in housing but in the construction of a network of institutions which served it from cradle, or at least from school age, to old age.

Occupationally the Jewish community was distinctive. Not only were the Jews concentrated in certain areas of the city, but they were concentrated in certain sectors of the economy. In 1931 Vancouver was second only to the Maritime Jewish community in its reliance on merchandising (wholesale and retail trade) as an occupation (47.2% for B.C. versus 69.9% for the Maritimes). By the time of the 1951 census the white collar firmly dominated the blue.³⁵ Jews engaged in blue-collar work (extractive industries, agriculture, manufacturing, unskilled labor, and construction) were 10.5 % of the Jewish population, while non-Jews totalled 33.3% in the same job categories.

³⁴Jewish Western Bulletin, "What the Rabbi Dreamed," January 22, 1943, p. 3.

³⁵The figures given are for all of B.C. Jews, but since 91.5 % of B.C.'s Jewish population lived the lower mainland area, there should be little discrepancy between the figures for B.C. as a whole and Vancouver.

TABLE 4.3

**JEWS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA BY OCCUPATION, COMPARED WITH WORK
FORCE OF ALL ORIGINS IN VANCOUVER BY PERCENTAGE, 1951**

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>All Origins</u>
Proprietors/Managers	40.4	9.6
Commercial/Sales	14.1	8.5
Professionals	12.9	8.6
Clerical	10.8	10.5
Mfg/Mechanical workers	7.3	16.9
Service	5.0	12.2
Finance	2.0	1.4
Transportation	1.7	9.8
Construction	1.0	6.2
Laborers	0.9	6.6
Agriculture, logging, Mining/Quarrying Fishing/Hunting	1.3	3.6
Other	2.5	4.7

Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1951 Census, Vol. IV, Labour Force: Occupations and Industries.

The nature of Vancouver's Jewish population is further reflected in the pages of the Jewish Western Bulletin. At the Jewish New Year in September and at Passover in April businesses saluted their Jewish customers, using their "greetings" as advertisements. Hundreds of independent businessmen, professionals, and manufacturers sent greetings in this fashion. The community's fund-raising structure also reflected its occupational configuration: each division was headed by a member prominent enough to encourage significant levels of giving.³⁶ In 1947 the community was canvassed in distinct divisions: women's wear, men's wear, jewelry, produce, cleaners, electrical, shoes, furriers, furniture, insurance, cafes, metals-machinery, lumber, hotels and theatres, second-hand dealers, a "miscellaneous and financial," and a "new-comers" category, perhaps in recognition of the sudden growth of the community. Professions were divided into medical, dental, legal,

³⁶The major campaigns at this time were run by men; women had their own charities, such as Hadassah, Pioneer Women, or the Red Cross, as well as their own division of the community campaign.

pharmacy, and accountants. There was a "Polish Group" and, not to miss those still out in the smaller towns, "out-of-town" and Victoria.³⁷ By 1948 the "Polish Group" was no longer canvassed separately. Between the two years a significant change occurred in the way the campaign was organized, pointing to the beginnings of a more highly centralized structure. For the first time the campaign collected funds for both local and overseas needs under the heading of "United Jewish Appeal."

Control of the central organs of the community was vested in an oligarchy of businessmen and professionals. Between 1946 and 1949 the same individuals appeared again and again as officers of major organizations. This leadership encompassed the presidencies of the local Jewish Community Administrative Council, as well as the presidency of the Zionist organization, the local Canadian Jewish Congress, the heads of the Community Centre and the community day-school, as well as the two major synagogues. Of twenty-eight names that appeared more than twice serving as leaders of major fund-raising campaigns, 21 were self-employed heads of businesses, 3 were lawyers and one a doctor, 2 were salesmen and one was manager of a Jewish-owned company.³⁸ These were the men who raised the money for, established, and controlled local institutions.

Women had their own separate charity system for both local good works and "overseas relief." In 1939, Hadassah-Wizo, Pioneer Women, B'nai B'rith Women's chapters, and The National Council of Jewish Women formed an ad hoc working group called Federated Jewish Women. By the end of the war they had collected 239,000 articles of clothing, as well as running a canteen for Jewish servicemen.³⁹ It was from the leadership of these mens' and womens' groups that the committee in charge of settling the survivors was formed.

³⁷JWB, March 8, 1947, p. 1.

³⁸These names were traced in the 1950 Vancouver City Directory. The businesses included 5 clothing manufacturers, 2 hotel owners, 2 brothers who owned a lumber company, 5 food supply companies, 1 jewelry firm, 3 retail stores and a sack business.

³⁹The role of Jewish women as dispensers of community charity has been documented for the earlier period of North American Jewish communal history. See essays in The Jewish Woman in America, eds. Charlotte Baum, Paula Hyman, Sonya Michal (New York and Scarborough, Ont: New American Library, 1975), especially pp.164-170.

That settlement itself created a community mythology. For more than two years after the war, the Jewish Western Bulletin was filled with accounts of the Holocaust, life in the displaced persons camps, the struggle to open Palestine, and the briefs that the Canadian Jewish Congress had been presenting on Jewish immigration. Finally, in October 1947, under the headline "Baruch Ha-ba" ("Welcome"), the community was called on to help in the rescue:

Who is there among us who has not wished to be able to help Europe's unfortunate? Who is there that will not rally to the call that is now being made? Who is there who will refuse to take advantage of the opportunity to help AT LEAST ONE

CHILD? The heart of Israel has been filled with the deepest sorrow and anguish during the horror of the Nazi regime. Let it now know the joy of giving help to the orphan. Let it rejoice in opening its arms, and with cries of the ancient welcome, greet the children who have come to them to make a new start.⁴⁰

Early stages of this resettlement were divided between men's and women's tasks. The women were assigned to settling the orphans' group and establishing and maintaining contact with refugee women; to the men, especially one of their number in the retail clothing business with the necessary network of occupational contacts, was assigned job-finding for the men.⁴¹ The first children arrived in January 1948.⁴² Suddenly the suffering Jews of Europe became real people; the destruction of families, kinship networks, and whole villages became tangible when names and faces of survivors appeared in the local press.⁴³ The orphans were followed by tailors. Throughout the next two years the community read about the arrival, education, housing, and personal stories of these immigrants. In April 1948 a report on twenty-three orphans described their advances in English and school. The same

⁴⁰JWB October 17, 1947, p.2

⁴¹JWB Dec. 4, 1948, p. 4, "Congress Story in B.C."

⁴²"Eight Jewish Children Arrive," JWB, Jan. 2, 1948. This appeared on the same page as an announcement and picture of two other survivors' arrival being reunited with their family. Since there was no Jewish Children's Aid Society, the children were looked after by the municipal Children's Aid Society worker. See "Report of the Coordinating Committee for the Reception of European Children," Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia Archives, Box 13, File Canadian Jewish Congress, 1947.

⁴³Vancouver Province, December 18, 1948, ran an article on the tailors, although the orphans seem to have gone unmentioned.

issue featured the *seder*⁴⁴ held at the home of Sam Tenenbaum, whose original help for the tailors had expanded to include providing jobs for many more immigrants. A picture of forty guests crowded into Tenenbaum's living-room was captioned:

Here we see a truly Jewish tradition at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Tenenbaum, 6608 Adera Street. Guests were a group of nine Jewish Refugees, recently from DP camps and who are now working as "section hands" on the CPR at Penticton, Princeton, and points. Their home while at work is a railroad caboose but they are happy to be in Canada. Others in the group are tailors and artisans who were recently brought to Canada also from DP camps and who are presently gainfully employed in Vancouver and vicinity. While in Vancouver for Passover, the men from Penticton were taken care of in the Congress House, 2953 Ontario Street.⁴⁵

The next issue of the paper carried not only a list of new arrivals for the Tailors' Project, but a thank-you letter from one of the CPR employees:

As one of the nine Jewish refugees who were invited to Vancouver to participate in the Pesach Seder and festivities, I take the opportunity of expressing my heartiest thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Sam Tenenbaum who worked untiringly to arrange the Seder... Thanks to brotherly attitude of a number of Vancouver's Jews whom we had the opportunity to meet. After this I feel very hopeful about our future which seemed very dark to us for the first four months in Canada.⁴⁶

By June 1948 the JWB was publishing short profiles of newcomers to the city. One column featured a lawyer who had fled Poland in 1940, become a barrister in England and had made his way to Vancouver after the war. The second newcomer was a Polish tailor, hidden

⁴⁴The *Seder* is the Passover home service (literally, "order") celebrating the Exodus from Egypt. Several guides to this service, called *Haggadah* (literally "telling") were written in the camps after the war with special reference to the Holocaust and liberation. Therefore the service at Passover had already assumed important overtones for survivors.

⁴⁵JWB April 29, 1948, p. 4. Canadian Jewish Congress operated a temporary rooming house for immigrants from 1948 to 1951.

⁴⁶JWB May 6, 1948, p. 5 "Thanks for Happy Seder"; also "Seven Tailor DP's Here From Poland," which included the following observation on newcomers' distress: "The refugees were amazed at many things in Canada, not the least of which was Mr. Tenenbaum's tie. It is a flamboyant silk affair, showing a gentleman in a loin cloth aiming a hefty arrow at a snarling leopard in a billowing tropical tree."

for the war years in Belgium, who had just arrived to take up the tailoring business in partnership with his brother.⁴⁷ Other similar stories followed.

The community provided more than jobs. Beginning in December 1948 the National Council of Jewish Women created a special program for newcomers that included not only a brief synopsis of "How to Become a Canadian Citizen" (with a precis of the steps involved) but also a three-month series of events that aimed to bring newcomers and hosts together in social circumstances to talk about such matters as "Food", "How to Improve One's Personality", "Dress and Make-up" (this was only for women), "An Evening of Television" (men and women); and "Health and Hygiene", (women only).⁴⁸ Whatever the participants thought of the assumptions behind these efforts to Canadianize and sanitize the survivors, the settlement of newcomers as a well-performed task entered the mythology of the community. In every subsequent community account of post-war activities, resettlement of the survivors was cited as being of paramount importance, both for the survivors' well-being and as an indication of the strength and cohesiveness of Vancouver Jewish networks and institutions.⁴⁹

At the time of the survivors' arrival, then, the host ethnic group was itself in the process of ramifying its institutional structure with new congregations, schools, and services, as well as more centralized communal funding and overseas relief work. It was residentially on the move, but still cohesive; and occupationally concentrated in the areas of entrepreneurial, managerial, and professional skills. Its leadership mobilized behind the effort to integrate the survivor immigrants. In turn this host community provided occupational opportunities, residential areas accessible and desirable to the new-comers, and institutions which accommodated them. Tracing their residence and occupation will show how the survivors integrated into the host Jewish community, and what impact these factors had on

⁴⁷JWB June 3, 1948, "Welcome to Vancouver", p. 3.

⁴⁸Movies and cards were other co-ed programs. JWB December 3, 1938, p. 2.

⁴⁹JWB for Oct. 17, 1947; Nov. 7, 1947; Nov. 14, 1947; Nov. 21, 1947; Nov. 28, 1947; Jan 2, 1948; Jan 16, 1948; Jan. 23, 1948; Feb. 13, 1948; Feb. 27, 1948; March 25, 1948; April 8, 1948; June 3, 1948; July 2, 1948; Sept. 30, 1948. The work was still being cited as an example of community caring in the 1970's.

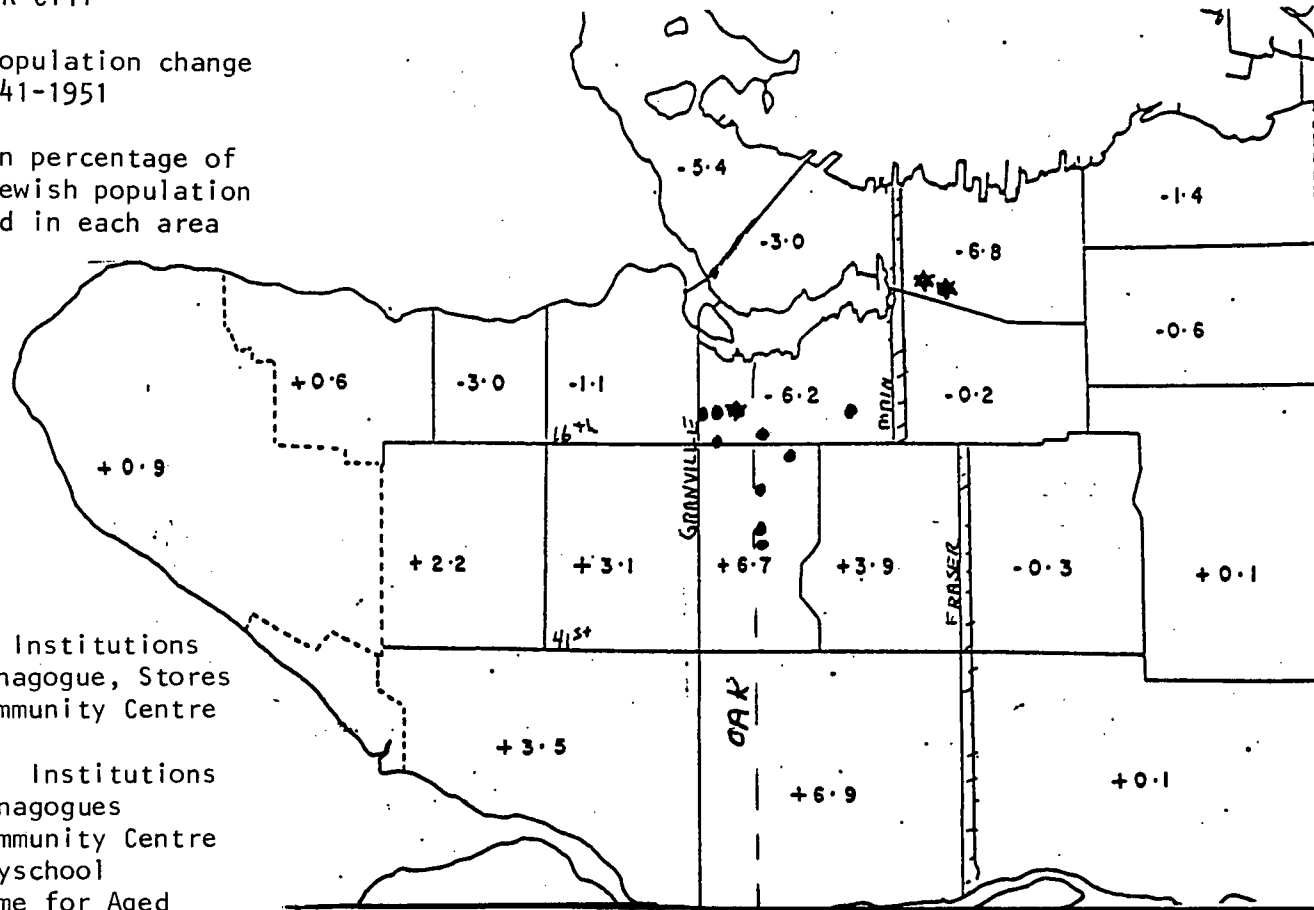
the two groups. Once the communities' congruence is shown residentially and occupationally, it will be time to turn to the matter of survivor integration into the institutional and organizational life of the community, and the impact their presence had on the community at large.

VANCOUVER CITY

Jewish population change
1941-1951

Change in percentage of
total Jewish population
recorded in each area

- ★ 1941 Institutions
Synagogue, Stores
Community Centre
- 1951 Institutions
Synagogues
Community Centre
Dayschool
Home for Aged
Stores
Congress House
Peretz School



Source: Base map from Freda Walhouse, "The Influence of Minority Ethnic Groups on the Cultural Geography of Vancouver." Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Southampton, 1955.

CHAPTER FIVE

SURVIVORS' RESIDENTIAL INTEGRATION

By examining the residential and occupational characteristics of the survivors in Vancouver in relation to the host Jewish population, structural affinities between the two populations become clear. Vancouver's Jewish community had already established a distinct residential pattern, characterized by a resolute westward and southward movement of population in the decade preceeding the post-war arrival of the survivors. Rather than recapitulating the total residential experience of the earlier Jewish settlement on the east side, where rents were cheap and other immigrant populations continued to enter, the survivors moved quickly into proximity to the host community. Both on their own initiative and with the help of the host group, survivors located themselves geographically near the "new" Jewish community, signalling their intention to use the facilities of the host community rather than trying to establish their own. Furthermore, by moving quickly out of low-skilled entry jobs into entrepreneurial or skilled occupations, they achieved economic parity with the host community, thereby asserting their ability to match the achievements of their hosts. In both geography and economics, therefore, survivors created and maintained close links with the host Jewish population. They thereby contributed to the maintenance of a homogeneous group identity by personal and business contact with the native Canadian Jewish community, rather than creating a parallel and distinct society. Conflict between the two groups was minimized, and chances for the receiving community to learn about the unique nature of the survivor experience maximized, both in the work area and in the informal neighborhood context as well. The experience of the survivors can be set nicely into the framework of newer sociological theory about the behavior of immigrants; articulating the processes of residential and occupational integration demonstrates the structural factors behind the maintenance of this ethnic community. This chapter deals with the residential patterns of survivors in relation to the host Jewish community up until the 1971 census. The next chapter will describe comparable occupational patterns.

Earlier analyses of immigrant residential patterns assumed both the need for and the existence of concentrations of ethnic groups in definite clusters (usually of low-cost housing) as a first stage in immigrant life. Basing his argument on the theories of James Park, Louis Wirth argued that as residential concentrations were diluted by movement out of the original immigrant cluster, ethnic associations were similarly diluted and eventually the immigrant ethnic became assimilated.¹ Stanley Lieberson and others have argued that affiliation with a particular ethnic group is weakened as geographical isolation is broken down, in conjunction with upward mobility, acculturation,² and generational succession of native-born children to better housing opportunities.³ More recent studies of immigrant-cum-ethnic groups have argued that geographical proximity is not the major determinant of behaviour that earlier sociologists assumed. Studies of actual immigrant neighborhoods have shown that the degree of concentration of one particular ethnic group was not so monolithic nor so exclusive of other groups as previously thought; and the role of geographical proximity might not have been as central as other factors in creating and maintaining ethnic identity.⁴ Moreover, the dispersion of the particular group might not have been so vivid and significant a measure of assimilation and disappearance of that particular ethnic group.⁵ In particular, analyses of Jewish settlement patterns in New York City for both Jewish Harlem and for second-generation Jewish neighborhoods demonstrate that lower concentrations of one ethnic group,

¹Wirth, The Ghetto (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 125

²That is, in terms of language and occupational similarity to the host culture.

³Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in America (New York: Free Press, 1963), p. 18. Leonard Dinnerstein and David Reimers, Ethnic America: A History of Immigration and Assimilation (New York: New York University Press, 1977), pp. 36-55.

⁴Veronica Strong-Boag, "Living," Working Lives: Vancouver 1886-1986 (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1985), pp. 89- 97, and in the same volume, Louise May, "Strathcona," p. 117; Richard Harney and Harold Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience 1890-1930 (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975), p. 23; "Opening Doors: Vancouver's East End," eds. Daphne Marlatt and Carole Itter, Sound Heritage VIII:1,2 (1978).

⁵H. Chudacoff, "A New Look at Ethnic Neighborhoods," Journal of American History 60:1 (June, 1973), 76-93; J. Alexander, "Staying Together: Chain Migration and Patterns of Slovak Settlement in Pittsburgh Prior to World War I," Journal of American Ethnic History 1:1 (Fall, 1981), 56-83; Kathleen Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues," Journal of American History 66:3 (December, 1979), 603-615. Sam Bass Warner and Colin Burke, "Cultural Change and the Ghetto," Journal of Contemporary History 4 (October, 1969), 173-187.

as well as multiple neighborhood clusters, are not inimical to vigorous ethnic identification.⁶

As important as geographic clustering has been, the ties maintained by communication networks, associational memberships, family and friendship ties, as well as occupational proximities-- what Amitai Etzioni calls "situational ethnicity" -- are equally important.⁷

Many other recent studies of particular groups agree that while residential patterns may show some geographical dispersion over time, the quality of ethnic affiliation does not decline while distinct ethnic areas continue to exist. In the case of the Jews, while the population may disperse, it still maintains areas of concentration with easy access to communal institutions. In fact, the argument over neighborhoods and their importance is really part of the larger argument over assimilation and the search for tests that would indicate structural factors that indicate progressive weakening of ethnic ties.

Recent studies by Calvin Goldscheider and others have documented actual contemporary North American Jewish residential patterns. They found that while secularization of Jewish life has continued and religious motivations are no longer a prime factor in dictating residential preferences,⁸ residential concentrations continue to characterize urban Jewish life.⁹ Residence, they found, has continued to have a major impact on other factors such as social affiliations and informal networks of friends, business acquaintances, children, and family.¹⁰ During the period under scrutiny here, Vancouver's Jewish community demonstrated its tenacity in remaining distinct and unmeltable while moving from east to

⁶D.D. Moore, At Home In America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Jeffery S. Gurock, When Harlem Was Jewish (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

⁷Amitai Etzioni, "The Ghetto-A Re-evaluation" Social Forces 37 (March, 1959), 255-262.

⁸This is not to say that there are not religious neighborhoods in North America where large numbers of observant Jews live. There are whole suburban concentrations in the outer limits of the New York area, for example, as well as in Toronto.

⁹Calvin Goldscheider and Alan Zuckerman, The Transformation of the Jews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 224-227; Calvin Goldscheider, Jewish Continuity and Change (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986), pp. 29-40.

¹⁰Frances Kobrin and Calvin Goldscheider, Ethnic Factors in Family Structure and Mobility (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger Press, 1978), pp. 57-73.

west sides; concomitant with this move, it absorbed the incoming survivors into its geographical configuration in the relatively short span of twenty years.¹¹

Mapping the two communities illustrates clearly the momentum. In 1951, as Map 5.1 illustrates (page 59), 55.2% of the survivors lived west of Main and Fraser Streets and East of Granville Street, higher in fact than the 44.5% of the total Jewish community. Only 6% more survivors lived in the low-income areas of the downtown core, and east of Main and Fraser -- 13.8% of survivors versus 8.1% native -- than did the general Jewish population. Despite their less favorable economic position, survivors immediately favored the west side areas. This in itself did not of course assure Jewish neighbors. Jews lived along side concentrations of other ethnic groups, especially, in south Vancouver, German families. This proximity meant survivors would early have to come to terms with the demands of a new multi-ethnic reality. One survivor described her experience:

When my son was 7, we had German neighbors. They had a son. My son said, 'I'm not going to play with him, he's German.' I said, 'No, he's an innocent child like you.' That really scared me when he said that. We didn't want to bring him up like that...I was afraid he was going to hate Germans. I didn't want this to happen to them, to live with this, to hate somebody, [I don't hate them but] I don't know how to love them, either.¹²

Most survivors managed to separate the pain of their Holocaust experiences from their encounter with the general, non-Jewish populations in their new neighborhoods. Another survivor, who even spoke German in the home to make sure her children learned a second language, described the feeling many had in moving west; not away from the non-Jewish world, but towards the host Jewish institutions:

We wanted to be close to the community. If you feel Jewish, we wanted to be close... When we bought a house, we wanted

¹¹Ethnic concentrations continue to be a hallmark of Vancouver residential patterns of many ethnic groups. This was true as late as 1981, when four ethnic groups were mapped by J. Robinson Lewis in his article "Vancouver: Changing Geographical aspects of a Multicultural City," *B C Studies* 79 (August, 1988), 59-80.

¹²Tape BF. The discussion of what impact survivors' experiences had on their children has been avoided here. Speculation is rife, but the subject did not lend itself to the main argument of the thesis.

to be close to the Talmud Torah [Hebrew day school]. My husband wasn't even religious, but I went through so much, I didn't want to give it up. It was much cheaper in the east [side]. So my husband said, 'There are hundreds and thousands in the east, do you have to go to the west!'... You want to be together with your own. I wanted to, not because I wanted to keep up with them, but because I wanted to be there.¹³

Survivors entered Vancouver at a propitious time in the housing market. The areas between Cambie and Granville, Forty-first and Marine Drive, were opening up to single-family dwellings. There were suites available both in homes and in apartment houses. As one recalled, the area included both survivor immigrants and local Jewish families, who took responsibility for the newcomers:

We were living amongst ourselves, between Cambie and Oak, Eighteenth, Seventeenth, Sixteenth Avenues. We'd get together, most were living in rooming houses. Some people were very kind, used to help us integrate, so we used to gather at the houses to have a little dance, a party, whatever it was.¹⁴

The host community facilitated survivors' entry to the west side by the acquisition of "Congress" house at Eleventh and Ontario streets as a temporary shelter for newcomers. Where family ties existed often relatives or migrants from the same region helped seek out accommodations nearby.¹⁵ The community was on its mettle to provide housing and since its own housing preferences were to the west, it naturally looked there rather than to areas which it had recently abandoned. Public transportation systems carried the survivors to work, so that they did not have to seek housing near the factories or businesses where they had found employment.

As the survivors moved up the economic ladder, they moved westward with the host population. By 1971, the survivor and the community as a whole had roughly the same

¹³Tape ED.

¹⁴Tape LK.

¹⁵J. Alexander, discussing Slovakian immigrants to Pittsburgh, discovered that migrants from similar regions chose different sites in the city. See "Staying Together," *op. cit.* There is no way to replicate that study here, as the old world origins of most survivors are not known.

percentages of residence in each area. Map 5.2 (page 60) shows the 1971 residential patterns of both host and survivor communities. The corridor between Main/Fraser and Granville Streets held 58% of the Jewish population and 65.4% of the survivors. The areas east of Main/Fraser held only .8% of survivors but 5.0% of the total Jewish population; west of Granville lived 20% of the survivor population, and 29% of the total Jewish population. Only 8% of the survivors had moved outside the Vancouver city limits, compared to nearly 23% of the total Jewish population of the lower mainland area. While the survivors show some lag in their residential patterns, the trend follows that of the total Jewish population: a strong cluster near the area of the Jewish institutional complex and a slower spread into the western areas of the city and into the suburbs.¹⁶

Clearly, geographical location is part of the process by which the survivors became integrated with, and identified with, the larger host ethnic community. Survivors moved to the neighborhood where they could avail themselves of the services of synagogues, community centre, and schools. For Vancouver's Jewish population it was not what John Bodnar calls "the cultural content of the immigrant working class" (described by him as generated by the new world situation the immigrant encountered) that brought both host and immigrant to the same neighborhoods, but the cultural content of an emerging middle class, with shared values between immigrant and host.¹⁷ Residence, of course, is influenced by the level of economic achievement. Therefore the changing occupational profile of the survivors must be explored in order to demonstrate the concomitant importance of survivors' occupational metamorphosis to their integration.

A word must be said about residence in the context of Jewish religious practice. An observant Jew would not travel, other than a short distance by foot, on the Sabbath or festivals. To ride, to kindle a fire, or to combine the two prohibitions by starting a car, is forbidden by Jewish law. Therefore observant Jews sought to live within walking distance of

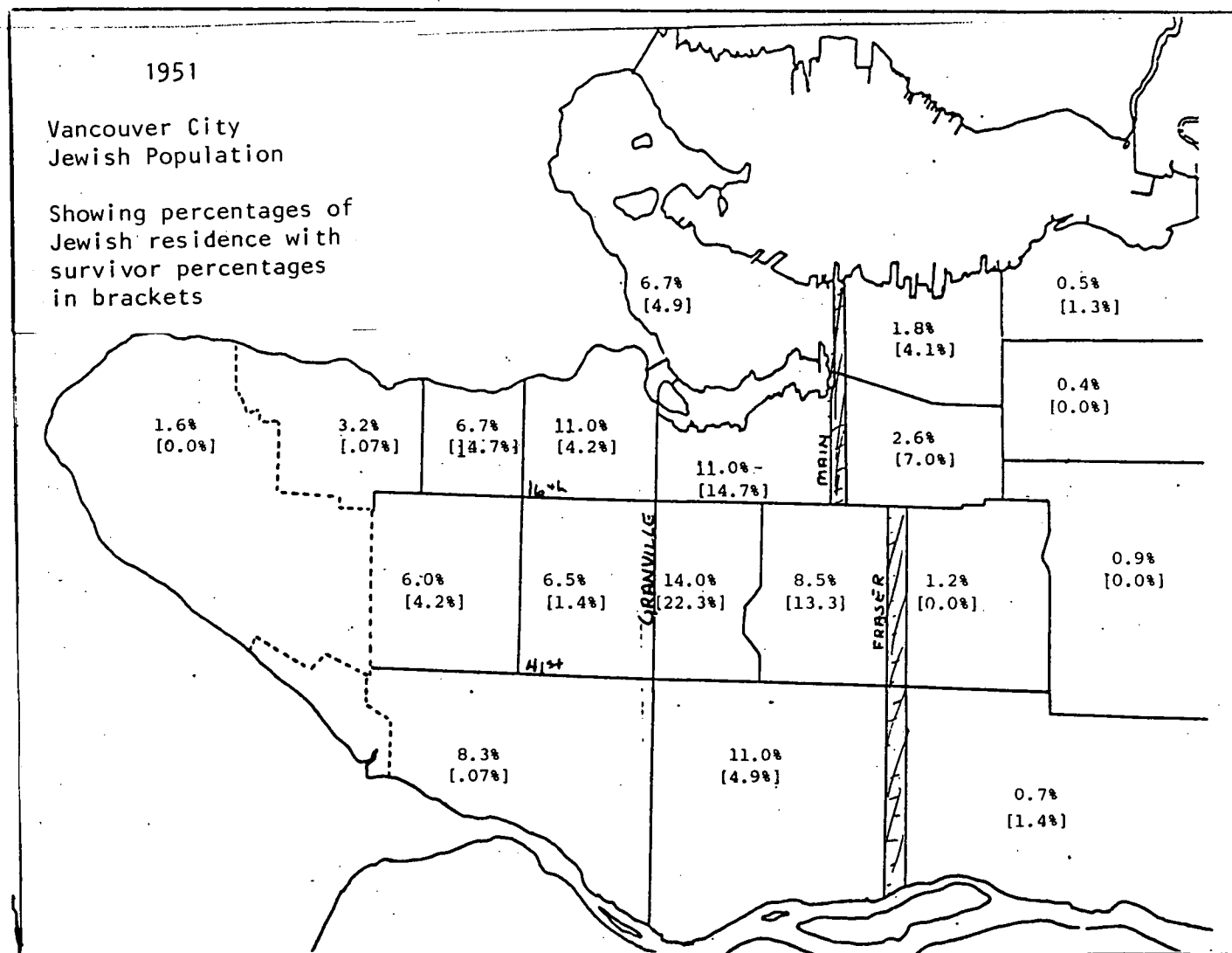
¹⁶Beyond the purview of this thesis is the increasing suburbanization of the Jewish community in the 1970's and into the 1980's. That, however, is a matter for another study.

¹⁷John Bodnar, "Immigrants, Kinship, and the Rise of Working-Class Realism in Industrial America," *Journal of Social History* 14 (Fall, 1980), p. 59.

a synagogue, so that they could participate in public prayer.¹⁸ If this was made impossible by distance, a Jew could pray at home, but the preferred mode of celebrating the Sabbath or festivals is with a congregation. Vancouver's Jewish residential pattern, however, reflected not so much the religious motivation, as it did community imperative. While there were some observant families in the Vancouver community, most Jews drove to synagogue, whether they considered themselves orthodox, conservative, or reform. Neither the host nor the survivor community as a whole based their residential patterns on piety. Other community factors were at work; one factor identified as critical to survivor parents was schooling for their children, both religious and secular. They identified the west side with educational excellence; this motive, along with the need to associate with their co-religionists, moved them westward. Neighborhoods were a combination of ethnic preferences, available and affordable housing, and ease of access to public transportation to work places. Yet the neighborhood needed other things to sustain it. The process of integration was also dependent on the occupations into which the survivors moved. An examination of the occupational profile of the survivors in comparison to that of the host Jewish community will show how the two groups became more occupationally similar by 1970. Once the structural factors have been identified, the way will be cleared to consider the ideological compatibility of the two communities.

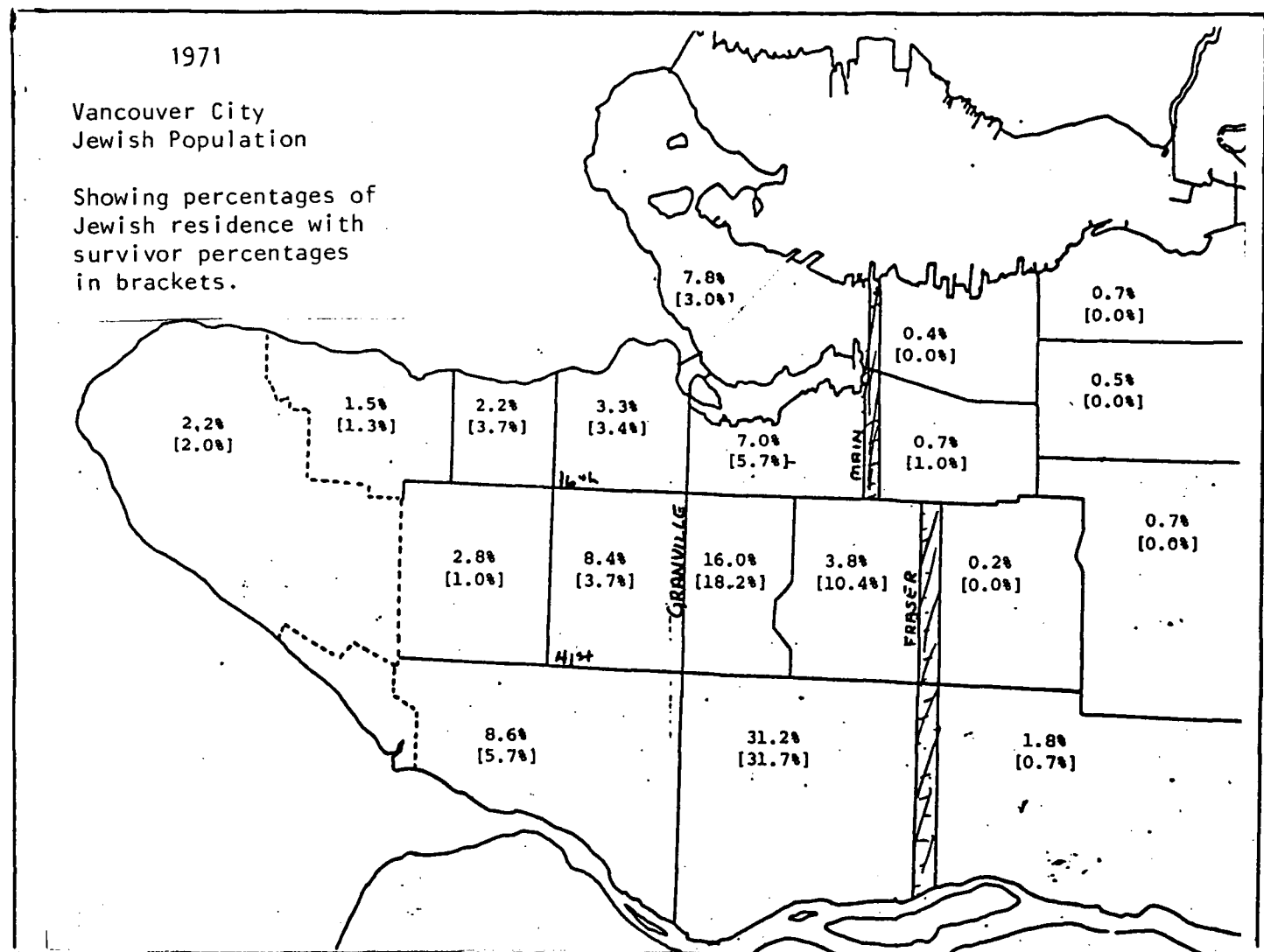
¹⁸In fact, one extended family traced for this study remained positioned near the orthodox synagogue long past its economic ability to move into other areas, for precisely this reason. They were an exception to the general pattern.

Map 5.1



Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1951 Census

Map 5.2



Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census

CHAPTER SIX

SURVIVORS' OCCUPATIONAL INTEGRATION

The occupational profile of an ethnic group is a critical determinant of ethnic continuity and maintenance. The survivors came from every country in Europe; at the time of their arrival many had no established occupation, due to the interruption of their lives during the Holocaust. Yet both by "old world" inclinations and by "new world" absorption into the host occupational structure, the survivors, whatever their entry occupation, by 1970 had moved close to the profile of the host Jewish community. This economic similarity with the host community adds another dimension to the interaction of the two groups. John Bodnar argues broadly in his book The Transplanted that immigrants to North America came with certain expectations and skills, which they changed and modified to fit the commercial, business, and professional opportunities of their new setting.¹ The survivors were no exception. Whether they came from the Polish-speaking acculturated Warsaw Jewish community, genteel Budapest Jewish society, or the traditional ultra-orthodox world of the Carpathian mountains, their communities had undergone sharp economic (and other) transformations in the brief inter-war period, changes by which they were undoubtedly influenced. They also came to a community that valued education, professionalism, and business acumen and encouraged survivors to emulate the host economic structure. This eagerness on both sides led to rapid integration.

Ezra Mendelsohn, in his study of the interwar period in Central Europe, documented the processes of modernization and acculturation that the Jewish communities were undergoing.² In the cities of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, as well as the Baltic States, Jews occupied a disproportionate percentage of business, professional, and

¹John Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in North America (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 117-143.

²Ezra Mendelsohn, The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

managerial positions.³ With some exceptions⁴ these were highly urbanized communities.⁵ The same was true for Jews in the western European countries of Germany, Austria, and France.⁶ Even in the small towns of more traditional areas, such as the Carpathian sections of Hungary and Rumania, Jews were landless small shopkeepers, peddlers or craftsmen, as well as rabbinic scholars, if not doctors or grand entrepreneurs.⁷ Also during this period the pattern of urban settlement was intensified for the Jews of every country in Europe. The contrast with the non-Jewish occupational profile is clear in each of these instances. Even in those areas where Jews' economic status declined as a result of post-1918 conditions, including competition from a growing non-Jewish middle class, Jews remained largely a business, managerial or professional caste.⁸ In the same inter-war period Jews also began to attend secular schools and to speak the language of the country in increasing numbers. The refugees, therefore, were already quite likely to be linguistically flexible, accustomed to a high degree of educational or entrepreneurial achievement in an urban environment, and aware of the strategies for economic and social mobility. In Vancouver, they would find a host community ready to reinforce these strategies.

A Yiddish proverb runs, "A tailor or a shoemaker is not a human being." The tailors and shoemakers of the ghettos were stigmatized by following trades not highly regarded by popular Jewish culture. Yet it was precisely as tailors, leatherworkers or seamstresses that half of the survivor immigrants came to Canada. The Canadian Jewish community was

³Ibid., pp. 26-27 for Polish figures; p. 226 for Lithuania; pp. 180-181 for Romania; pp. 142-143, 146, 159 for Czechoslovakia; p. 101 for Hungary.

⁴Regions of the Carpathians, Eastern Hungary, and parts of Rumania.

⁵Again, the exceptions would be in countries like Germany and cities like Budapest, where intermarriage was on the rise.

⁶See Table X, p. 534 and accompanying discussion on Jewish interwar communities in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, editors, The Jew in the Modern World: a Documentary History, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). For an impressionistic division of European Jewry into four socio-economic strata see the same source, Table XIII, "The Four Strata of European Jewry", p. 537.

⁷See for example Mendelsohn, op. cit., pp. 26-27 for Poland, p. 226 for Lithuania, pp. 180-181 for Romania, p. 101 passim for Hungary.

⁸In some specific areas Jews were rural (such as Eastern Hungary) or had a large proletariat (such as Warsaw and Lodz); nevertheless the general picture still obtains.

occupationally suited to provide entry level jobs and the precious guarantee of work.⁹ In Vancouver, the task of finding jobs for the incoming immigrants fell largely to men like Sam Tenenbaum, owner of retail mens' clothing shops.¹⁰ While most survivors arrived with little money and few possessions, they entered an expanding post-war economy¹¹ and an ethnic community well entrenched in light manufacturing and wholesale trade where jobs were plentiful. Even Jews who came in under other schemes were soon absorbed by the Jewish community. One survivor recalled his family's experiences in Vancouver:

The CPR were looking for strictly single people, after the war there was a labour shortage in Canada, and they contracted people to work for the CPR. And my brother got ahold of that deal, and after a bit of effort, because it wasn't easy to get to Canada, there was all kinds of Ukrainians, it wasn't strictly for Jewish DP's, but finally my brother, being a healthy young man, signed a contract for one year. He came and worked for the railroad near Penticton, and the Jewish community got ahold of them. There was nine Jewish boys in that railroad gang, so the Jewish community of Vancouver got permission, and they brought them down for *Pesach* and they had a *seder* for them. And he decided when his contract expired that he's going to come to Vancouver and settle. Being a tailor by profession it was very easy for him to get a job here.¹²

Tailors or not, the refugees understood the value of being skilled with a needle, or even appearing to be skilled. This skill had saved many in the concentration camps: "I really had to sew," recalled one woman survivor, "and it saved my life. The [German] soldiers needed someone to sew their coats, and I said I could, so I sewed those big heavy coats."¹³ The immigrant whose tailoring skills found him a job in Vancouver soon sponsored his brother and

⁹In holiday issues of both the local Vancouver Jewish press, the Jewish Western Bulletin, and in the national Jewish magazine the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, page after page of clothing manufacturers and retailers wished their customers a Happy New Year. Both manufacturers' organizations and unions were led by Jews; see "Inside the Needle Trades Industry" by Elizabeth Kastner, Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Feb. 27, 1950, pp. 9, 11, 16.

¹⁰"How the Vancouver Jewish Community Looks After Newcomers," JWB Thursday, Sept. 7, 1950.

¹¹Norbert MacDonald, Distant Neighbors: A Comparative History of Seattle and Vancouver (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), Chapter 8.

¹²Tape BF and IF.

¹³Tape LF.

wife, who had remained behind in Feldafing.¹⁴ "We came to Canada," recalled his wife, "because my brother-in-law was here. He had to look for a job for his brother, at National Dress. There were lots of newcomers working there. I was working there, too."¹⁵

The tailors, it must be said, were not all tailors. Typical of many experiences at entry was that of a young partisan during the war who became a tailor by necessity. Having escaped both Nazis and the Red army, he reached Austria and established contact with relatives in the United States.

I waited for three solid years. Affidavit after affidavit came from the U.S. giving guarantees for me, but they still wouldn't let me in.¹⁶ An opening came to go to Canada...so I became a tailor, when I did not know anything about it. You always find a way of doing things if you want to...They gave me a piece of material and you had to produce a pocket. So I paid [this fellow] and he went into the room and he produced a pocket and so I came to Canada.¹⁷

Each group of tailors was met at the Vancouver train station by the indefatigable Sam Tenenbaum, who took them to a rooming house. According to the putative tailor, "I think it was \$60.00 a month room and board."

Now the next morning Mr. Tenenbaum met us and we started getting jobs. To say I was petrified, don't let me underestimate, I was scared to death that I would be found out and sent overseas. Anyway I told Mr. Tenenbaum that I was not, and he said, 'you're not the first one, don't worry about it.' He took us to National Dress...Mr. Tenenbaum took me in there and introduced me to Mr. Kaplan, and he was a very big man, over six feet, and he looked down at me and scared the living daylights out of me and I understood that he spoke to Mr. Tenenbaum ... and he rejected me, he wouldn't let me work in the factory, which was very heart-breaking.¹⁸

¹⁴Feldafing was one of the twelve major Jewish displaced persons camps in the American sector of Germany.

¹⁵Tape BF and IF.

¹⁶An added irony was that many survivors escaped Russia through Poland by claiming Polish citizenship. They then became subject to the Polish quota for the United States, which kept them out, since the number of "Poles" far outstripped the few spaces in the quota.

¹⁷Tape LK.

¹⁸Tape LK.

Settled in a new tailoring job, he struggled with the intricacies of the pocket and the seam until a distant relative located him and took him to a third Jewish businessman who employed him in his wholesale warehouse.

Now [as a packer] you got to have a board. and on it says one-third dozen cars, six dozen planes. Now mathematics I was good at it, but I didn't know how to read what was written down. And the foreman, he said to me 'Louie, I'll tell you once and if I have to tell you again -- you see that back door? Out you go.' So I was afraid to ask him when I didn't know, so many times I know I packed the wrong things in the boxes...I was making by the way twenty dollars a week. Eighty a month, sixty for room and board. After a year and a half I left and started a grocery business on my own.¹⁹

This experience was repeated over and over again as the newcomers arrived.

The following table illustrates the entry positions for 311 of the 376 survivors traced for this study whose entry occupation could be documented in the city directories.

TABLE 6.1

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOR ENTRY POSITIONS OF
SURVIVORS, 1948-1959

CATEGORY	MALES		FEMALES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Unskilled	58	33.0%	8	5.8%
Skilled	66	38.0%	33	24.1%
Clerical/Sales	20	11.5%	20	14.6%
Manager	7	4.0%	--	--
Professional	17	9.7%	8	5.8%
Proprietor	5	2.9%	5	3.6%
Student	2	1.1%	--	--
No occ/housewife	--	--	62	45.3%
Total	175	100.2%	136	99.2%
No. Untraceable	31		34	

Source: Vancouver City Directories, 1948-1959.

¹⁹Tape LK.

Unskilled labourers included workers on the railroad, in sawmills, lumber or junk yards, warehouses, and meat plants of local Jewish businessmen, a few hardy peddlers, and several merely listed as "labourer." Skilled positions included jobs as machine operators, hand-tailors (largely women), plumbers, metalworkers, barbers, jewellers, and shoemakers. Jewish employers hiring survivors were concentrated in certain areas: clothing manufacturers and retailers accounted for one-third of the nearly 100 Jewish-owned businesses that employed survivors; light manufactures, furniture and appliance retailers accounted for another 20%, wholesale, scrap, meat-packing and lumber for another 25%. Other entry jobs ranged from pawnbroking to engineering. The professionals included doctors, lawyers, engineers, pharmacists, and religious teachers. Not all survivors went to work for Jewish employers, but they did find work in similar niches. Nearly one-third of the non-Jewish employers headed light manufacturing companies; another third ran retail or wholesale businesses.

Entry positions for the women were more difficult to trace, as many listed as housewives actually took in boarders, did piece-work at home, or worked alongside their husbands in the peddler's cart.²⁰ Ingenuity was a prime criterion for women in the survivor community. Many women brought with them new families started after the war. Wartime experiences had made these children precious. Few mothers remained in the workforce full-time once their children were born, and many women had to combine work with child-care and home-care. Even if they had finished the *gymnasium* program they were handicapped by language and other restrictions. One woman washed dishes in a restaurant; another found work through the relatives who had sponsored her:

I started to work right away in the Army and Navy. [Mr. Cohen] was very nice. Mind you I had a letter of recommendation to him, but he employed lots of newcomers. They were very nice and understanding so I got a job right away, and my cousin, she got a job too as a nurses' aid. I worked until the children were born. We had rented an

²⁰Robert Harney, "Boarding and Belonging," *Urban History Review* 2 (1978), 8-37, describes the undocumented women's work of taking in boarders. Several women interviewed for this study did exactly that in order to help pay for the family's first home.

apartment, but then when we wanted as family and we had saved a few dollars, then we started to look around for a house; because we couldn't afford a house, so we bought a rooming house that would help us with the mortgage payments. And I could stay home and look after the children, maybe eight years.²¹

Another, prohibited from studying nursing in pre-war Poland, had trained as a "practical" nurse, a skill which saved her when she fled to Russia and was deported to Siberia. In Vancouver she found that Canada had plenty of trained nurses, "so I took in two refugee boys who come and nobody wants them... and I had a job as a nurse for Camp Hatikvah and made \$100.00 which was a nest-egg for our first house."²²

Boarding was an integrating experience for the survivors, as it had been for earlier immigrants.²³ For women who had to stay at home, the experience combined home-centered work with language acquisition and friendship.

We came in April, [reported one Hungarian survivor] and on November 7 we moved into [a boarding house] and my English improved so fast that maybe within two months I learned to type and right after that I typed essays for university students. [My land-lady] took the job for me because my English, my accent was so bad that I felt nobody would bring work for me. She answered the phone and I had a huge dictionary and I learned to type and I typed master's theses and everything; and they asked me to correct their spelling! They really did. And I typed for seven years at home so I didn't have to go out and leave my daughter. I made enough money during those seven years that it was enough to live on.²⁴

Those who came to Canada young enough to enter school, and with the necessary financial support and encouragement from their adopted families, had a chance to enter the professions. This was not, however, a foregone conclusion. The national guardians of the

²¹Tapes SB and ED. Many women had completed their educations with private tutors after the imposition of the Nuremberg laws and before the war broke out.

²²Tape MZ.

²³Harney, op. cit., makes this point in regard to the Italian community which had many unattached males as boarders. They found the boarding-house atmosphere an extension of their home village and family.

²⁴Tape KF

children had a paternalistic and, at times, patronizing attitude towards the refugees.²⁵ As Congress Director Saul Hayes wrote regarding a "shipment" of orphans,

Occasionally we make plans for certain children and we find they make other plans. The most difficult thing in the world is to convince these orphaned children that the plans they have made will not be accepted. Let us hope these children have not set ideas.²⁶

Among the orphans who arrived in Vancouver were several who became doctors and lawyers, while others chose business careers. No women from the Vancouver group attended college, perhaps based on their guardians' assumption that secretarial skills and marriage would be sufficient. One orphan, already fluent in Polish, Yiddish, German, and French, was warmly welcomed by his adoptive family of bakers. They were not wealthy, but gave their new son every chance to advance in a profession.

In the daytime I worked in the bakery and at night I went to night school to learn English and that's how I finished my education. I got a job, Smith-Built hats, I worked for them for some time. When my English got better they gave me a car and they put me on the road to sell hats. So I got to know the country a little bit and all the while I was going to school at night and working in the daytime. Smith-Built Hats paid me \$18.50 per week, of which I gave [his family] \$7.50 for room and board and the rest I put in the bank....I went into accounting and when I was quite proficient I approached another family who had a chain of ladies-wear and they gave me a job in the office. I started doing accounting work. I always wanted to go back to take electrical engineering [but] accountancy gave me a living very quickly and I started making more money.²⁷

Not all survivors were deprived of their educations by the Holocaust. Many had completed their professional degrees and established themselves before the war. In applying to enter Canada they faced a different problem. Professional associations had erected barriers to immigrants well before 1945, and after the war these barriers were not lowered.

²⁵Ben Lappin, The Redeemed Children (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1960) is a glowing account of the successes of the orphans, written from a social work point of view.

²⁶United Jewish Relief Agency papers, Canadian Jewish Congress archives, File Orphans, letter from Saul Hayes to Henry Walfish dated March 5, 1948.

²⁷Tape RW.

Several husband-and-wife teams of professionals reached Vancouver. One couple, both physicians, came with Polish officers who fled to England and remained there after the Communist take-over in Poland. Another couple was sponsored by relatives. In each case they met the resistance of native professional associations. The wife who had been originally a pharmacist was told bluntly that she had to be certified by the Canadian professional association, and the chances were slim. "I cannot blame them," she admitted, "because we did the same thing in Poland before the war. We didn't want outsiders in the Association." But, "if I didn't get something easy I just gave up and did something equally successful."

I decided to take a course in medical technology and I applied to several hospitals which they would give training while you work and I was accepted immediately to St. Paul's Hospital. The course was two years but after one year I was ready to take my exams. I wrote my exams and I passed them very well and I started to work in the lab at St. Paul's. Then I was asked to take over the ECG department and consequently I was in charge of the Neuro-Physiological Laboratory for close to twenty-five years.²⁸

Yet, while the professionals were able to re-enter similar fields, most survivors began their new lives in Canada, as we have seen, in low-skill occupations. In Vancouver survivors encountered a prosperous business class who not only provided jobs and encouragement but also a model of economic achievement to which they could reasonably aspire. The community had a Free Loan Society, the Achduth, which provided small interest-free cash advances to anyone wishing to start up a business.²⁹ Given the occupational profile

²⁸Tape SW.

²⁹The first society was founded in 1915 to enable newcomers to get "a horse, wagon, and business license" to peddle. Reorganized in 1927, the Achduth Society sold shares at \$10.00 each to build up a "credit union" for small loans. See "JFSA Spearheads Re-establishment of Hebrew Free Loan Association," *JWB* Thursday, June 7, 1979. The records for the post-war period are not available, but oral documentation confirms that survivors were among those who borrowed from the Society. For accounts of earlier free loan or credit associations see Shelley Tenenbaum, "Immigrants and Capital: Jewish Loan Societies in the United States, 1888-1945," *American Jewish History* 76:1 (September 1986), 67-77; Oliver B. Pollack, "Communal Self-Help and Capital Formation: Omaha's Jewish Loan Associations 1911-1979," *American Jewish History* 78:1 (September, 1988), 20-35. Another source of income was reparations payments from Germany. The Canadian Jewish Congress, acting as legal mediator, recovered over \$400,000 for close to four hundred claimants in Vancouver in the period before 1970. While no record was kept of the eventual totals per claim, even this small

of the survivors' communities in inter-war Europe, and the host community model, it is not surprising that survivors chose an entrepreneurial route to economic self-sufficiency. Survivors moved quickly into the area of independent business, using, as one laconically described his assets, "a little money, a little brains." Graph 6.1 (page 75) illustrates the prevailing entrepreneurial bent of the survivor community.

While the number of Jewish businesses hiring survivors over the 20-year period rises and then declines and the non-Jewish numbers increase slightly, survivors were not absorbed evenly into the general working population. By 1970 there were over 100 survivor entrepreneurs. A declining number of survivors were employed by non-Jews, while those working for Jewish employers was leveling out. Survivors maintained their occupational distinctiveness from and dependence on non-Jewish employers by becoming independent businessmen or self-employed professionals, while their entrepreneurial skills brought them into the same areas as their hosts.³⁰ By 1970 both survivor and host Jewish entrepreneurs sold retail and wholesale in the same areas of clothes, furniture, and real estate, as well as pharmaceuticals, scrap and junk, meat and food products. They manufactured clothes, furniture, batteries, and other light wares. They were building contractors, vending machine operators, as well as owners of photography and pharmacy shops. As salesmen the two groups sold real estate, insurance, stocks, and retail goods. Members of both groups worked in offices as sales or credit managers. The following table compares survivor and native born Jews in Vancouver.

infusion of capital would be important. More critical, however, was the sense that the community was supporting survivors' claims.

³⁰One book that describes the world of Jewish businesses in a community similar to Vancouver's is William Toll's The Making of an Ethnic Middle Class: Portland Jewry over Four Generations (Albany: SUNY Press, 1982). Unfortunately Toll does not extend his analysis to the post-war period, but the tendency to independence is similar. The distinctiveness of the Canadian Jewish occupational profile is documented for both pre-war and post-war immigrants and native born in Warren E. Kalbach, The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970), pp. 233-235, 274-281.

TABLE 6.2

MALE SURVIVOR OCCUPATIONS 1970 COMPARED WITH NATIVE-BORN SAMPLE WITH FEMALE SURVIVORS FOR COMPARISON BY PERCENT³¹

CATEGORY	MALE SURVIVORS	MALE NATIVE BORN	FEMALE SURVIVORS
Proprietor	52.8	38.0	19.6
Professional	13.3	26.0	8.2
Clerical/Sales	10.8	13.0	7.6
Unskilled	10.3	7.0	1.9
Skilled	8.2	3.0	6.3
Managerial	4.6	11.0	1.3
No occupation/ housewife	--	2.0	55.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Vancouver City Directory for 1970.³²

As a source of advancement for survivors, education had to take second place to entrepreneurial opportunities. The entrepreneur "needs the kind of education that prepared him for surviving in the open," wrote a student of free enterprise.

Very often this means that his first education comes from being shoved into the open at a very early stage and learning how to survive by his wits and his ability to deal with others. The kind of training he needs cannot be learned in the ordinary school with its neat, orderly educational process for socializing the child to take his place in established society.³³

None more than survivors had received their educations by "being shoved into the open" at an early age. Men and women who had marched for days in the snow, escaped the crematoria by remaining healthy in the midst of starvation, or survived death squads and forced labour, had little fear of starting a small business from scratch. Striking out on one's

³¹The native profile was created by drawing a random sample of males from the Jewish Community Telephone Directory and tracing them through the city directories. Only males could be traced, since at the time, unless the woman was single, only the husband's name was listed in the Jewish Community Directory.

³²The total number of survivor males for this table was 195, with 11 unknown, and 158 females, with 12 untraceable.

³³A. Etzioni and L. Halevy, "The 'Jewish Ethic' and the Spirit of Achievement," Jewish Journal of Sociology XIX:1 (June 1977), pp. 49-66.

own was exactly what the host community encouraged.³⁴ This experience was repeated over and over again:

Then I worked for a very well-known Jewish personality here, I would call him a philanthropist and a very ardent Zionist. I worked for him in his warehouse for ten years, for both brothers. They had a used sack business. They made their money and it was a good business in those days. And when we got our first child, we had to work both to make a living, we decided my wife should stay home and raise the children. So I told my boss, listen, I would like to try on my own. And he say by all means, there's always an open door here for a good job. We said shalom to each other and I never looked back.³⁵

Both survivor men and women participated in an entrepreneurial economy. Although their work is less well-documented, women in the survivor community worked as partners and as independent businesswomen and property owners and managers. Twenty-seven husband and wife partnerships were traced among the survivor group. Another seventeen survivor women were in business for themselves, at least four managing their own apartment houses.³⁶ Thirteen survivor partnerships with non-survivors were documented as well as sixteen survivor partnerships other than husband-wife teams for the same period.

Some survivors tried their hand at a succession of businesses. The following experience is typical. One erstwhile "tailor" had soon left the factory to become a Hebrew and Yiddish teacher, a skill highly prized in the non-Hebrew-speaking Canadian Jewish community. After some years in the classroom, the teacher turned his hand to business:

I went together with my father-in-law. He had a factory of *schmattes* [literally, rags, but used to mean clothing]. I worked until 1960, and my brother came, and both of us went into real estate. We took over a small real estate company and we ran it until about 1969. We were quite successful there and then...I don't know for what reason, people made

³⁴Indirect evidence of the loans made to survivors comes in reports that the newcomers had paid back their loans more promptly than did native-born applicants. See "Community Council Minutes' Annual Report, Family Welfare Bureau," Feb. 14, 1954 CJC Box 19, File Jewish Community Council, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Archives.

³⁵Tape IF.

³⁶The ownership of real estate in this study is vastly under-estimated, since without access to land titles the extent of rental property ownership is unknown.

This inter-reliance led to the further homogenization of the Jewish community and the growth of an integrated middle class of both survivors and native-born Jews, rather than a continued distinctive native-born middle class and an immigrant working-class. The ethnic group shared an economic base, one which integrated survivor with host community through networks of occupational similarity and reliance on entrepreneurial as well as professional and managerial skills. A comparison of Jewish and general occupational patterns drawn from the 1971 census underscores the continued dissimilarity between the Jewish occupational profile and the general population, as the following chart shows.

TABLE 6.3

COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS IN 1971 OF JEWS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA WITH OCCUPATIONS OF GENERAL POPULATION IN VANCOUVER BY PERCENTAGES³⁸

CATEGORY	JEWISH	NON-JEWISH
Manager/Administration	6.9	4.4
Professional	22.7	13.0
Clerical	16.5	18.7
Sales	22.5	11.8
Service	8.2	12.4
Farm/Fishing/ logging/mining	2.9	6.6
Manufacturing/ processing	5.2	9.4
Construction	2.3	6.8
Transportation	3.0	4.0
Other	10.3	10.4
Totals	100.5	97.5

Source: Statistics Canada Census for 1971, Vol. III.3 and III.5, Economic Characteristics

³⁷Tape RP. Twenty-six entrepreneurs who started more than one enterprise were confirmed in the directories.

³⁸As above, the Jewish population for Vancouver is not available in the published census by these occupational categories. However since 90% of the Jews lived in the Vancouver area at this time, the table has high validity for this study.

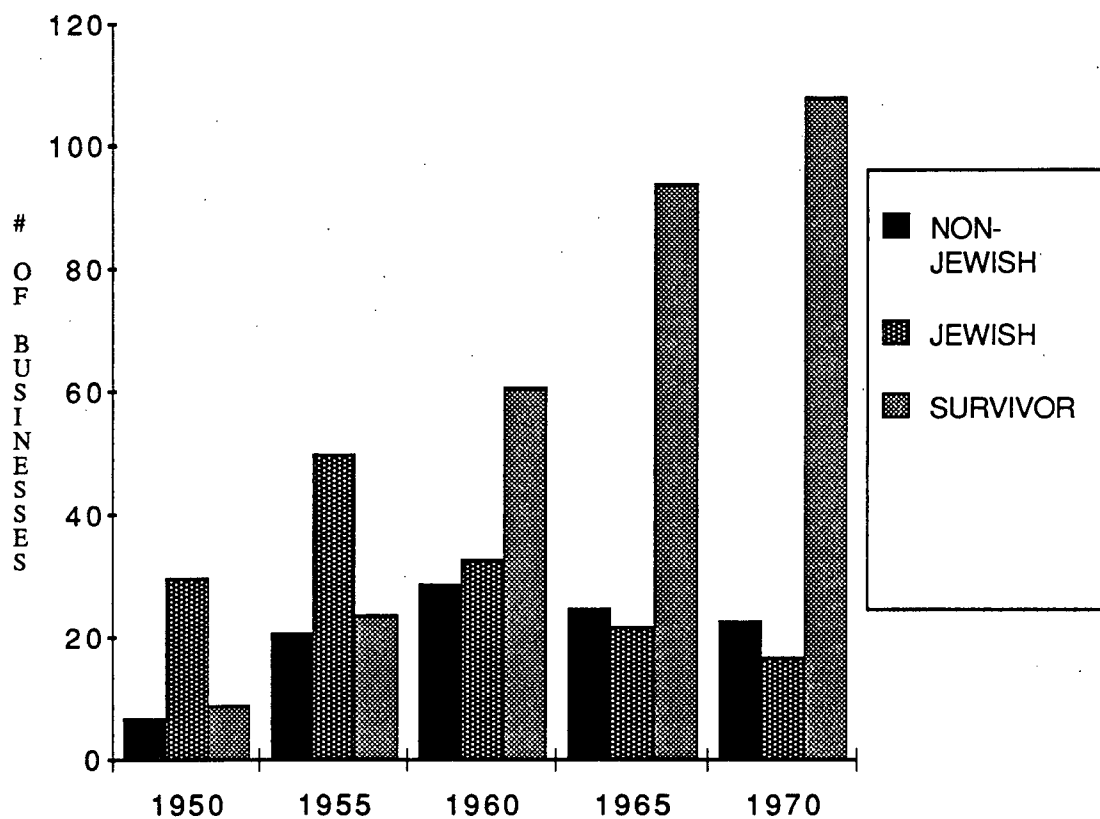
By 1971, nearly 30% of Jewish men and 22% of Jewish women were in the white-collar categories of administration and professional occupations, while only 13% and 17% respectively, of the population at large were so employed. Nearly equal in clerical occupations, the two groups again diverged in the sales categories; primary industries -- mining, fishing, agriculture -- found few Jews at all. Jews in general occupied a white-collar occupational niche that continued to distinguish them from the general population of the province.

By contrast, overlapping employment patterns did not characterize host and immigrant groups such as Ukrainians. Pre-war economic profiles of the native-born communities showed a high degree of rural occupation and residence for the Ukrainians, as well as large numbers employed as workers in factories, mines, or other resource extractive industries. Post-war Ukrainian immigrants tended to find jobs in the eastern cities, unlike Canadian Ukrainians whose roots and occupations were largely rural and western. Such differing economic standards (and the ideological rifts between host and newcomer) weakened a sense of common identity and retarded integration. For the Jews of Vancouver, the increasing similarity within the ethnic group and the continued disparity between the occupational profile of Jews and non-Jews meant not only that that no great conflict based on economic dissimilarities stood between survivors and the receiving Jewish community, which in fact stood ready to reinforce the convergence, but also that Jews retained their sense of occupational networks and solidarity.

However, even with the factors of residential proximity and occupational similarity accounted for, the softer aspects of human social contact have yet to be addressed. The neighborhood afforded access to the host Jewish community, and shared enterprises and occupations made the business day contacts important. But shared commitment to institutions and ideology were equally important to the ethnicity of both immigrant and host. It is therefore necessary to explore the participation of the survivors in the polity and institutional life of the Jewish community, in order to illustrate the need for similarity of commitment to ideas that helped to define post-war Judaism in Vancouver.

GRAPH 6.1

**JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH BUSINESSES EMPLOYING SURVIVORS, AND
SURVIVOR OWNED BUSINESS 1950- 1970**



	NON-JEWISH	JEWISH	SURVIVOR
1950	7	30	9
1955	21	50	24
1960	29	33	61
1965	25	22	94
1970	23	17	108

CHAPTER SEVEN

SURVIVOR INTEGRATION INTO THE POLITY AND CULTURE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Holocaust survivors in Vancouver moved quickly to take up residence in the Jewish neighborhoods; they sought their first and subsequent occupations within the business, professional, and managerial sectors of the economy where the bulk of the host Jewish community had found an economic niche. Residentially and occupationally they aligned themselves with the host Jewish community, living near its institutions and seeking community services and support. Furthermore, survivors began to integrate into what Daniel Elazar termed the "Jewish polity," that "set of institutions supported mainly by voluntary contributions and fees raised within the Jewish community" and providing its governance in matters of defense, education, and social services.¹ They not only strengthened the already existing framework of services and institutions, but by their proximity and special status as eye-witnesses to the Holocaust, influenced the direction of community thinking about the nature and meaning of Jewish life. The emergence of post-war Judaism, what Jacob Neusner called the Judaism of Holocaust and Redemption,² has been a world-wide phenomenon. However, by examining the way survivors interacted with their host community on a social and personal basis within the Vancouver context, the mechanisms by which survivors contributed to this ideology and to the host institutional framework can be described. As survivors affiliated with synagogues, educated their children in the community Hebrew schools, and identified with Zionist causes, they also created unique events which expressed their identity as survivors. While participating in the community polity, they also asserted their particular qualifications to speak as ones whose lives, after the despair of extermination camps, had been given new meaning through the rebirth of a Jewish State. This new "Judaic

¹Daniel Elazar, Community and Polity: the Organizational Dynamic of American Jewry (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1976).

²Jacob Neusner, Death and Rebirth of Judaism: the Impact of Christianity, Secularism, and the Holocaust on Jewish Faith (New York: Basic Books, 1987), pp. 254-284.

system" incorporated the Holocaust and the State of Israel into an ideology³ of modern Jewish existence, with survivor and non-survivor sharing personal commitment to the same communal goals.⁴

Yancey, in his formulation of benchmarks for ethnicity, argued that, along with residence and occupation, formal and informal networks of affiliation determine ethnicity. Affiliation could take place via existing institutions which absorb the immigrant into the host culture; or it could involve the formation of new immigrant institutions such as schools, synagogues, or mutual benefit associations (*landsmensschaften*) based on old world affiliations which, after a transitional period of service to their membership, would disappear or be amalgamated with host institutions.⁵ In the case of Vancouver, new immigrants joined existing organizations, strengthening them, rather than creating a parallel network. From oral evidence, they also joined non-Jewish organizations as volunteer members. Survivors have identified such disparate affiliations as the Vancouver General Hospital auxillary and the Red Cross,⁶ a variety of professional organizations,⁷ and sports associations.⁸ But these affiliations cannot be quantified, nor do they indicate a lessening of commitment to the Jewish network. It is to Jewish affiliations that we must look to see the affect host and immigrant had on each other.,

In the only other study of Jewish survivors in a Canadian context, Leslie Hulse argued that survivors "remained aloof and segregated from the established [Jewish] community," as " memories that tormented them were not understood, and appeared to be largely ignored by, the community."⁹ Until the emergence of Neo-Nazism in Canada in the sixties, she suggests,

³By ideology is meant the filter through which ideas and experiences pass.

⁴Jonathan Wocher, Sacred Survival: the Civil Religion of American Jews (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986), pp. 72-76, 193-198.

⁵Affiliation is defined as a documented sign (either through lists or oral affirmation) that the individual or family was associated with an institution or organization, or subscribed to the ethnic press.

⁶Tape RF.

⁷Tapes RW and SW.

⁸Tape ZL.

⁹Leslie Anne Hulse, "The Emergence of the Holocaust Survivor in the Canadian Jewish Community", (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Religion, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1979).

survivors in eastern Canada "were in no way linked or included in the Congress or to any synagogue, but rather displayed a kinship toward each other and a duty not to forget." The experience of survivors in Vancouver seems to have been quite different. While there is no question that survivors were often misunderstood, and that contemporaries sometimes turned away, survivors integrated into the existing structures of Vancouver Jewish communal life. By exploring the formal documented affiliations of survivors, as well as the informal networks they created, and the express reasons behind their affiliations and activities, this chapter shows how survivors strengthened, refreshed, and changed the existing community.

The organizational framework of the Vancouver Jewish community was similar to that of other North American centres. Each of the three main denominations -- Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform -- had its own congregation. Communal societies provided social services: a Family Service Agency, under several different names, had been responsible for social work and, in general, for supplying the immediate needs of immigrants as well as destitute residents; the *Chevra Kadisha*¹⁰ arranged for burial. The community established its first day school (grades 1 through 7) in 1948, but before and after that time Jewish children received Hebrew and religious training in supplementary after-school classes attached to synagogues or, in the case of Yiddish training, at the Peretz School. In addition to the religious and social service organizations serving the local community, Canadian Jewish Congress had a branch in Vancouver, closely linked to the Community Council which oversaw collection and distribution of funds to local agencies and, with the United Jewish Appeal, raised money for Israel.¹¹ Support for Israel was manifested through identification with Zionist organizations including the Zionist Organization of Canada (later the Canadian Zionist Federation), various campaigns on behalf of the Jewish National Fund (responsible for land reclamation in Israel) and the Histadruth (Labour Party of Israel). For women, Hadassah-Wizo claimed pride of place in terms of women's Zionist affiliation, followed by

¹⁰Literally, the "Holy Society" responsible for preparing the body for burial and overseeing funeral arrangements.

¹¹Between 1948 and 1970, the Community Council evolved into the "Jewish Community Fund and Council", with individuals and representatives of local organizations; the Congress hired its first independent director in 1969.

Pioneer Women; both raised money through bazaars and collection drives for a wide range of social services in Israel.

In oral interviews survivors often maintained that they remained "aloof" from the receiving community. The orphans group created a social club (with soccer matches and dances) named after Ralph Moster, a Canadian Jew killed in the Israeli War of Independence.¹² By choosing this name the survivors associated themselves both with Canada and with the reborn Jewish state. In the end, however, host organizations won out; as one survivor described the process:

Mr. Tenenbaum encouraged us right away to form a group of newcomers. But you know, it's the old story, three Jews and ten ideas, and it fell apart. I joined right away the Schara Tzedek synagogue, of which I'm a member since then. They had dances there, for singles, and also at the Community Centre. [But] I didn't want to join any organization. For us it was kind of--I don't know what the right word is to use--we were adverse to organizations because for us organizations was the *Judenrat*.¹³ Starting with the camps, in the ghettos the committees in the DP camps was an organization, and we did not want to belong to any kind of organization.¹⁴

Initial contacts left the survivors feeling outsiders, but this social distance was soon overcome. "Some people," reported one survivor,

were very kind, used to help us integrate, so we used to gather at the houses, to have a little party, a dance, whatever it was. I remember how it was. There was a custom here, to have Yom Kippur dances after the fast, so I remember going to dances at the Commodore, it was a big dance hall on Granville. I was there with my friend and some of the older people. They spoke Yiddish, they brought their children over to introduce them to us. The children spoke English and we spoke Yiddish. They wouldn't talk to us, we were completely rejected because of our lack of a language. This was about a month after we arrived. I would say it took us less than a year, we started going out with local girls.¹⁵

¹²From oral and newspaper accounts the club appeared to be a year-long way of survivor teens bridging the gap between themselves and the local teens.

¹³Jewish Councils set up by the Nazis to govern the ghettos, usually considered to be collaborators.

¹⁴Tape LK.

¹⁵Tape LK.

"I found a community that was cold and rejecting," claimed another survivor. But, on reflection, "maybe the fault lies with us too, because we were too reserved. [In Europe] we were somebodies and here we were nobodies. All of a sudden, finding ourselves at the lowest level, and to have an uncertain future, it made us feel very insecure."¹⁶

Even when survivors joined a synagogue, the experience was not without pain. One woman, not particularly religious, went to the High Holiday services "to be with other Jews." Yet,

When I went to the synagogue here and I looked down and I've seen all the families, all of a sudden it was such a shock to me, I couldn't take it. I felt that we had nobody, that I'm a piece of sand somewhere on an island, like no past. And I went out. I said 'Am I jealous? No, I'm happy for the people', but I couldn't take it. Then I said, 'I have to deal with it.' I bought some records of the famous *Chazzanim*¹⁷ I took a few friends who didn't go to the holidays, and we would sit at home and listen. I couldn't face it for a long time.¹⁸

It was easier for some, although not all, to speak about their experiences on a personal level. The "refugees," as they were called upon their arrival, confronted relatives, acquaintances, and fellow-workers who spoke about sugar rationing while survivors talked about starvation; washing machines idle during war-time for lack of parts were no match for stories about months of slave-labour in underground factories. Some withdrew: "My auntie asked me what happened during the war, but I couldn't tell her" said one woman, who spoke for many unable to describe what they had been through. Others were bolder. "Show a little interest!" exclaimed one on the day when he marched into his employer's office:

After a month I went and knocked on his door. He was sitting in a glass office and he was a short man...And I walk in and say, "can I talk to you?" 'Sure'. So I sat down and said, 'I had a very nice dad, I had a very nice mother, my grandfather was one of the founding members of the community... I wasn't born by some animal somewhere in the bush. I've been here a month, I'm a Jew, you're a Jew,

¹⁶Tape EF.

¹⁷*Chazzanim* are Cantors, the putative operatic stars of the synagogue service.

¹⁸Tape MZ.

you never came out and said, 'Leon, what happened in Europe, I would like to know because I don't know what happened.' But you didn't give a damn... He was a short man but he shrunk in the chair, and finally he stood up. I expected to be fired there and then. He said 'Leon I'm sorry, you're absolutely right.'¹⁹

Gradually, whatever the pain and however unreceptive the community appeared, survivors began choosing among the possibilities for formal affiliation. Tracing individuals and families through community lists and memberships has its hazards; many lists have been destroyed and few record the exact year of first affiliation (usually accompanied by some form of dues payment). Such major community-wide secular organizations as the local Canadian Jewish Congress have no formal "membership" but are composed of delegates from other organizations with an elected Board of Directors chosen at large. Nevertheless, out of the 376 names traced for this study, by 1970 at least 115 had affiliated with one organization; 79 had two affiliations, and 68 had three or more, for a total of 70% affiliation for the total sample.²⁰ While it is impossible to be precise about the affiliation level of North American Jewry in general and Canadian Jewry in particular, some guidelines exist to offer general benchmarks. Estimates of membership in voluntary associations -- synagogues and community centres for instance -- hover between 60% and 70% according to a recent survey.²¹ For Canadian Jewry, generally considered, rightly or wrongly, to be more traditional than its American cousin, a survey of Toronto's Jewish community documented an affiliation level of 67%.²² Survivors, therefore, seem to fall well within the conventional estimates; as with residence and occupation, they show a marked congruence with the host community. Affiliation with the synagogues, with the Community Centre, Hadassah, and subscriptions to the ethnic press have been traced through community lists, and they illustrate some affiliations of the survivor community.

¹⁹Tape LK.

²⁰Affiliation here is used to designate a voluntary membership in a synagogue or other community organization, as well as evidence of subscription to the ethnic press. It also includes evidence of donations to local and Israeli-based charities.

²¹Fred Massarik, "Affiliation and Non-affiliation in the United States Jewish Community: A Reconceptualization," American Jewish Yearbook (1978), 262-274.

²²Raymond Breton, The Ethnic Community as a Resource in Relation to Group Problems (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

TABLE 7.1
AFFILIATIONS OF SURVIVORS BEFORE 1970

ORGANIZATION	NUMBERS	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Orthodox Synagogue	161	43.0%
Jewish Community Centre	95	25.0%
Ethnic Press Subscription	87	23.0%
Conservative Synagogue	46	12.0%
Reform Synagogue	5	1.3%
Country Club	22	5.9%
Other ²³	33	8.8%

Source: Community Card files 1952-1970 listings, plus synagogue membership lists.

In addition to these affiliations, at least one-quarter of the 170 survivor women belonged to Hadassah-Wizo, and others to Pioneer Women. Less easy to quantify, but important nevertheless, is the evidence that over the twenty years since their arrival, survivors began to take positions of leadership. While governance of Vancouver's Jewish community was rather diffuse -- it was not federated until 1986 -- survivors began to appear as representatives of and contributors to organizations, and active canvassers on behalf of annual campaigns such as the Combined Jewish Appeal and the Jewish National Fund.²⁴ As survivors achieved standing, their membership supported common community causes. Records from the 1950's throughout the 1960's show a slow but steady increase in the survivor presence. The Canadian Jewish Congress' Board of Delegates, for example, by 1959 included three survivors: one for a synagogue, one from Pioneer Women, and a third representing the "Zionist Cultural Society." Survivors' names appear on lists of donors to local fund-raising teas and dinners, such as the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, as well as to

²³"Other" includes Burquest suburban Jewish Association 4, Orthodox congregation Bet Ha-Midrash 2, Peretz Yiddish Association 2, B'nai B'rith Hillel 1, B'nai B'rith Men's fraternal society 24. Interestingly, of the 11 unmarried survivors, 10 were unaffiliated with any organization. If the trace is accurate, affiliation and family are related.

²⁴The campaign raised money both for local agencies and for Israel.

the annual Jewish National Fund Dinner.²⁵ By 1965 survivors comprised approximately 10% of the Combined Jewish Appeal campaign's top givers and canvassers.²⁶ By the mid-1960's, survivors sat on the Boards of the Home for the Aged and the Talmud Torah Day School. As they joined a wide spectrum of organizations, they achieved positions of equality with the host community and a chance to make their special voice heard.

Why did the survivors affiliate as they did? First, it must be emphasized that in aligning themselves with the existing base of institutional networks, survivors chose not to create a parallel community of services such as mutual benefit or credit associations, new congregations or schools, based on country of origin or ideology. The host community itself was no longer based on regional old-world affiliations.²⁷ The survivor group, small in size, found easy access to the host institutions. Furthermore, such disparate groups as Polish-speaking Jews from Warsaw and Hungarian-speaking Jews from Budapest had rubbed shoulders in the camps with Hasidic Jews from the Carpathians; Yiddish-speaking Polish Jews had married assimilated Russian-speaking Jews. Gone was the large and uniform immigration from a town or region. The mixture of traditions which the war had precipitated eased survivors' participation in organized community life.

Participation in synagogue life should not be mistaken for religious practice. Social contact rather than religion was important. Most survivors arrived with mixed feelings about their relationship to religious teachings; they also arrived in need of work. Since strict observance of Jewish religious law dictated that no work be done on the Sabbath, it was

²⁵Canadian Jewish Congress records, CJC-PR Box 13A, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Archives.

²⁶Jewish Community Council files for the years 1954-1969, in CJC-PR Box 19, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Archives.

²⁷Some would argue that the Beit Ha-Midrash, a small orthodox synagogue on the west side started in 1943, was just such a regional congregation of Polish, Yiddish-speaking, Jews. Rather it might be viewed as an early accommodation to the growing west-side residence pattern of the Jewish community, one which preceeded the move of the Schara Tzedek major congregation out of the east side. When the Schara Tzedek finally moved westward to Oak Street in 1948, it retained the overwhelming majority of orthodox affiliated; only two survivors have been traced to the smaller congregation.

usually economic need that won out. "I wasn't observant from the beginning," recalled one survivor, typical of many,

because you got to work. If you don't work Saturday, no job. I worked for many years [on Saturday] and now for the past fifteen years [since retiring] I'm observing. Lots of people lost their religion. Like many times when we talked, we asked 'how come God did it to us when so many people religious?' It's still a question. You never could answer it.²⁸

Rabbinic leadership was not always sensitive to the choices survivors had been forced to make in their struggle to stay alive, and this misunderstanding sometimes further alienated survivors from formal religious observance. For example, one young girl, adopted and disguised as a Catholic, had been hidden by a peasant family. Years later she had a visit from her Rabbi:

For some reason my husband brought the Rabbi to the house for a cup of tea... and this Rabbi was interested in my life. I told him just a brief, two-minute outline. But I did tell him that in order to survive I was a Catholic. And he proceeded, oh stupid man, to quote a passage from God knows what that it is better to die than to take on a different religion. That was the most horrendous turn-off. To hell with Rabbis and their outlook.²⁹

Nevertheless, affiliation with a synagogue gave this survivor and many others a place in the community, with whom they could worship or not, as they chose. By the late 1960's survivors were on the boards of both the orthodox and the conservative synagogues. Furthermore, when it came to Jewish education, survivors depended on the host schools to teach the practices and history of Judaism, as well as the language of the new state of Israel. Of survivors' children whose school registrations could be traced (176 out of a possible 300), 68% went to the Talmud Torah day school, and 20% more to the congregational supplementary schools. Only 12% attended the Yiddish-speaking Peretz school, and some of those children attended synagogue school as well. The first principal of the day school, as well as several of its teachers, were survivors; several survivor mothers headed its Parent-Teacher Association.

²⁸Tape MG.

²⁹Tape CL.

Affiliation with Zionist causes was the paramount way in which the survivors identified with the new Jewish state. Zionism in inter-war Europe had been a major ideological component of Jewish life³⁰ and after the war was the ideology around which the displaced persons camps were organized. In Canada the various Zionist organizations, although without lobbying power equivalent to that of Canadian Jewish Congress, were a major component of internal Jewish communal life.³¹ Women, by joining Hadassah or Pioneer Women understood their role in supporting the Jewish state. "I raised money for my Hadassah chapter, for Pioneer Women, they gave me awards and everything!" exclaimed one survivor. Did Israel influence her life?

I don't understand very well the word influence...But the life! The people! To me it's very important. And yet, I have nobody in Israel, I have no relatives at all. But when I come to Israel, I come home. I don't mean home home, it's a special home. It's full of life, full of energy, full of promises. That's how I see it.³²

Survivors derived psychological support and a sense of pride from the existence of the Jewish State. "It's the only way Jews can go with their heads uplifted" was the way one summed up his attitude towards Israel. While synagogue and community centre gave a sense of belonging to a "family," work on behalf of Israel made survivors feel part of the larger Jewish nation on both sides of the ocean, further tying them to a shared sense of achievement. With or without actual family in Israel, survivors came with a strong sense of commitment to the Jewish state. Many had hoped to go there from the displaced persons camps: Canada had been a choice of necessity, as negotiations and war closed the borders to Palestine. Israel remained the homeland of the heart, even as survivors chose Canadian citizenship.

This is not to say that survivors, once in Canada, did not accept their responsibilities as Canadians. By 1971, 99% of all Jewish foreign-born in British Columbia spoke English as

³⁰Ezra Mendelsohn illustrates its relative strength and growth in his various chapters on the Central European Jewries, in The Jews of East Central Europe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983). He argues that the Zionist parties of Europe are the direct precursors of the modern Israeli party system.

³¹See Harold Waller, "Power in the Jewish Community," The Canadian Jewish Mosaic, eds. I. Cotler, M. Weinfeld, and W. Shaffir (Toronto: Wiley & Sons, 1981), pp. 151-169.

³²Tape SB.

their home language (20% also spoke both English and French as a home language).³³ In terms of citizenship, by 1961 93.3% of all foreign-born Jews were citizens of Canada, the highest of any group, including those of British origin (83.3%).³⁴ Survivors equipped themselves with the linguistic and political attributes of other Canadians and expected Canada to reciprocate with recognition and respect.

While survivors were reconstructing their personal and communal networks, they were also searching for a way to explain their own uniqueness. The ideology of the Holocaust is not one of individual death and rebirth, but what Neusner calls a "salvific myth" of the whole Jewish people. As Timothy Smith has suggested, both survivor and host community were participating in a redefinition of what being Jewish meant in this new post-Holocaust circumstance. The beliefs of the ethnic religion underwent a redefinition "of the boundaries of peoplehood, bringing folk memories to bear upon new aspirations."³⁵ As the facts about the Holocaust became more widely known, especially after the arrest of Adolf Eichmann, the status of the survivor and the meaning of the State of Israel evolved into a cause and effect relationship: destruction followed by redemption. Jews developed an explanation of Jewish survival, placing it in the historic context of other catastrophes and yet maintaining a uniqueness within a specific historic context. Clearly this process took place all over the Jewish world, not merely in Vancouver. But the local experience can be used as an example of how one community found its own expression of this ideological development.

From the time of their arrival, certain survivors had insisted on the introduction of a yearly Warsaw Ghetto Uprising memorial event. The choice was partially a function of their own origins: founders of the event were from Warsaw, some of whom arrived in Canada in 1940 with the last boatload of refugees from England; others survived the Holocaust in Poland. In Vancouver they formed a memorial committee sponsored by Congress, under the

³³Census of Canada 1971, Vol. 1.3. A similar 99% of native-born Jews was English-speaking or bi-lingual at home.

³⁴W. Kalbach, *The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1970), p. 357.

³⁵Timothy Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review* 83:5 (December, 1978), 115-185.

leadership of survivors joined by members of the ultra left-wing United Jewish Peoples' order as well as members of the community at large.³⁶ There is little evidence of local rabbinic leadership in the observances; rather, a secular spirit of heroic resistance was the first choice of the events.³⁷ From its inception the project involved both survivors and host community members in readings, plays, and speeches. An essay contest rewarded the youth, and the venue at the community centre made it non-sectarian.³⁸ Even before the Eichmann trial, survivors were telling their personal stories to growing audiences in Vancouver on the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. By 1971 the editor of the JWB made the connection explicit. "With their lives," he wrote on the occasion of the Memorial, "they paved the way for the subsequent heroic struggle which resulted in the re-creation of the State of Israel."³⁹

Memorials were the first reaction, gratitude the second. When a "Righteous Gentile" was discovered living in Vancouver in the mid-1960's, a special committee assembled to pay tribute to his courage. Henry Hulstein had been sent to a concentration camp from his native Holland after the Gestapo learned that he had been sheltering Jews. Survivor entrepreneurs, along with six local businessmen, created a trust fund for the Hulstein family.⁴⁰ This combined effort reinforced the idea of a shared debt of gratitude between survivors and the host Jewish community, owed to non-Jews who had risked their lives in war-time Europe. In

³⁶The UJPO was ousted from the Congress during the early 1950's, but the cooperation with the Warsaw Ghetto Committee continued in Vancouver, even though UJPO was not a member of the Jewish Community Council or the Congress. The ideological ins and outs of this need not detain us here. An account of the formation of the Warsaw Ghetto Committee is contained on tape SW.

³⁷The Warsaw Ghetto Memorial Evening is described each year in the Jewish Western Bulletin, and was held at the time of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising which took place during Passover, 1943. See CJC Plenary Report, Pacific Region, for 1974 (mimeographed booklet) for a precis, entitled "The Past Twenty-Six Years of the Warsaw Ghetto Memorial."

³⁸See Warsaw Ghetto Committee files in the Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Archives, Box 15, for yearly reports on the event. By 1961 it was being held at the Park Theatre, and survivors and local speakers shared the podium.

³⁹JWB March 26, 1971, "Ghetto Memorial to Mark 28 Years Since Uprising," page 14.

⁴⁰CJC Box 13, File Hulstein Fund, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Archives. 176 names appear as donors; 27 were survivors and their gifts totalled 25% of the amount raised. Average survivor gifts were \$96.00 as against \$57.00 for non-survivors. Gifts in both categories ranged from \$5.00 to 500.00.

1968, to mark the twentieth year of their arrival in Canada, this core group held an anniversary celebration marked by an award to Sam Tenenbaum, as well as a gift to the Talmud Torah Day School. At the same time a bursary was established at the University of British Columbia School of Social Work in honor of Mrs. Jean Rose, surrogate mother to so many of the orphans' group.⁴¹

The survivors, then, were developing a framework for expressing their unique experience within Jewish society in Vancouver; involving host members in memorial, in charity, and in appreciation, they were creating a useable past to guide them in their integration within the Jewish polity and culture. They were also secure enough in their place within the Jewish polity to take on the responsibilities for future refugee crises, should there again be a need. One survivor wrote to Mrs. Rose during his last year in medical school to affirm his connection to the community:

No words are adequate for the great work of Congress in changing the lives of so many youngsters. I can only say that the great example of charity and compassion will remain with me for the rest of my life. I can assure you that I will, in the future, do my best to help with any good works the Congress might undertake, albeit with the fervent hope that no similar rescue program will be needed.⁴²

The same survivor who had challenged his host employer to listen to his story of what had happened in Europe addressed a 1973 tribute dinner to announce the gift of an ambulance by the survivors to G.F. Strong Hospital, linking his generation's survival to the emerging historiography of the Holocaust.

The immigration we are remembering tonight is quite different from any other immigration throughout Jewish history, or for that matter throughout human history. Our spiritual survival thus became a link in the chain of the "saved remnant" which has always been the spiritual

⁴¹News releases to the ethnic press, Jan. 29, 1968 and Feb. 16, 1968. File CJC Minutes 1968, Box 19, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Archives.

⁴²File Congress Minutes, typescript dated Oct. 30, 1963, CJC Box 19, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Archives. During the Boat People emergency of the late 1970's survivors were among the initial organizers of sponsoring groups that eventually brought twelve families to Vancouver.

bond from generation to generation.⁴³

Israel, both the people and the State, were reborn from the destruction. "From the molten mass," quoted the speaker, "a people of iron have been forged." Survivors in Vancouver were not only reconstructing their lives, families, and connections with the host Jewish society. They were contributors to an explanation of those experiences, shaping the practice of Judaism at the level of community polity and culture, and creating their place within the historiography of post-Holocaust Judaism.

This is not the conclusion reached by all historians of the post-war North American Jewish community. "Survivors," wrote Lloyd Gartner, "after 1945 found a fully formed American Jewry. Their limited influence on American Jewish life, with the possible exception of its orthodox religious sector, also shows that the formative years had ended."⁴⁴ This statement is indeed true in that the major institutional and organizational "polity" had its framework of synagogues, school, and federations in place by 1945. However, the content of that framework, as Neusner and others have argued, underwent a transformation after the Holocaust. The contribution of survivors in Vancouver to that content operated, not at the level of practical observance (although individual survivors identified themselves with the orthodox congregation), but at the level of participation in organizational life, and in the particular task of presenting the Holocaust to fellow Jews as an event to which all bore a responsibility. Survivors did not withdraw from the community, but participated in its governance and in its ideology.

The shared ideology of survivor and native-born made integration possible. Luciuk, in analysing the post-war Ukrainian Canadian experience, argued that the host Ukrainian community differed greatly from the post-war immigrants. The latter came to Canada with a greatly enhanced Ukrainian nationalism, very anti-Soviet, and very old-world oriented. The host Ukrainian community was largely Canadian-born and much less unified around the idea of an independent Ukrainian state. This clash of commitments meant that the integration of

⁴³Typescript of speech delivered by LK September 8, 1973.

⁴⁴"Immigration and the Formation of American Jewry, 1840-1925," Journal of World History 11 (1968), 312.

the newcomers was delayed, and that eventually host Canadian-Ukrainian institutions would undergo a radical transformation in leadership and ideology.⁴⁵ The shared ideology of destruction and redemption, Holocaust and a reborn Jewish State meant that no such gap opened between survivor immigrant and host. The formative years for large institutions and organizations may have ended by 1945, but the formative years for late twentieth-century Judaism were just beginning.

⁴⁵Luciuk, along with Harold Troper and Morton Weinfeld, Old Wounds (Toronto: Markham: Viking Press, 1988), pp. 34-35, argue that in fact the post-war Ukrainian and Jewish immigrant populations were more similar than were pre-war and post-war Ukrainian populations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

In 1947 thousands of displaced persons began their voyage to Canada aboard transport ships such as the U.S.A.T. General M.B. Stewart. Its polyglot human cargo published a simple mimeographed magazine in a dozen languages, addressing the enormous changes that their new lives would bring. "What does it mean for us, this new life?" wrote Leslie Dan on the "Jewish Page:" "It is rather difficult to explain, in words."

What we are expecting from Canada - we hope that we shall find it - is appreciation of the total human independence and that life standard which the individual deserves as the result of his diligent work and honesty. Where people are not slaves to conflicts and hates of various nationalities and races. But Canada, like a furnace, accepts people of all nations and transforms them into understanding citizens of a healthy democratic land....We hope we shall be worthy of this trust and become valuable citizens of the democratic and independent Canada.¹

Then, in a Yiddish paragraph addressed to the host Jewish community of Canada, to "Our dear brother and sister in Canada, from your brother from German Exile":

We send our great appreciation to our brothers and sisters in Canada, that they helped take us out from Germany... to a democratic land, to a normal life. We hope for a joyous life together.

The preceeding study has focussed on this new life by exploring the fate of a particular group of newcomers, the Holocaust survivors who entered Vancouver, British Columbia, after World War II. The thesis has three main themes: the impact of life in the displaced persons camps; the effect of post-war Canadian immigration policy on Jewish ethnic networks; and strategies used by survivors to integrate into the economic, residential, and institutional life of the host Jewish community, as well as the effect of ideological ties on post-Holocaust Jewish identity. Taking issue with earlier accounts of immigrants that anticipated

¹This and the following quotation from "On the Ocean Waves", preserved on microfilm in RG 76, Vol. 22, File 873331, Pt. 17. The author is familiar with the image of the melting pot, but also reaffirms his connection to the Canadian Jewish community.

eventual assimilation, it argues that the survivors attained economic and social stability and acceptance while maintaining an enthusiastic identification with their ethnicity.

It has been argued that rather than undergoing further trauma and disorientation in the displaced persons camps, survivors quickly rebuilt individual, family, and community networks. These networks and a strong Zionism bound survivors together and increased their similarities with the North American Jewish community in general, and the Canadian one in particular.

An examination of Canada's immigration policy has demonstrated that Jewish ethnicity in Vancouver was enhanced, not retarded, by restrictions that Mackenzie King's government placed on the entry of Jews into Canada. Canadian post-war immigration policy itself was at odds with the vague concept of "absorptive capacity", the desire to preserve the nature of Canadian society, a nature which by implication was white and Christian,² Canada felt the necessity for a larger work-force, easily available from the displaced populations of western Europe. But no one grasped the implications and long-term consequences of these contradictory imperatives.³ Increased immigration dependent on existing ethnic groups in Canada led inexorably to the growth and strengthening of these communities. The much-praised policy of official multiculturalism introduced in the 1970's, while in no way intended to give true political power to ethnic minorities, nor to strengthen ethnic identity, almost accidentally acknowledged a fact of Canadian life which earlier attempts at assimilation had been intended to combat: ethnic networks had been strengthened by the immigration of a variety of ethnic populations.⁴

²Peter Ward, White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1978); Jean Burnet, "The Social and Historical Context of Ethnic Relations," A Canadian Social Psychology of Ethnic Relations, eds. Robert Gardner and Rudolf Kalin (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), pp. 17-35.

³Freda Hawkins, Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1988), pp. 3-41, succinctly describes the "white Canada" attitudes that characterized Canadian immigration policy until the 1960's.

⁴Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), second edition, p. 308. But see Allan Smith in his essay "National Images and National Maintenance: The Ascendancy of the Ethnic Idea in North America," Canadian Journal of Political Science XIV:2 (June, 1981), 229-257. The prejudice of the Immigration Department officers and the political unwillingness

Even after it became apparent that Canada was experiencing a post-war labour shortage, every effort was made to ensure that few Jews would be included in the labour schemes that were the touchstone of immigration strategy well into the 1950's. Therefore Jews were forced to rely either on relatives or on a Jewish network for entry into Canada. Relief and rescue efforts undertaken by the Canadian Jewish community through the Canadian Jewish Congress linked host Jewish community and survivors. Nearly half the survivor immigrants to Canada were sponsored through group plans developed with the aid of the Jewish-dominated garment and related industries. The newcomers, therefore, entered Canada with strong instrumental ties to their host ethnic community. Using objective criteria identified by sociologists as bench-marks of ethnic maintenance, as well as oral accounts by survivors of their post-war experiences, the thesis has argued that survivors integrated occupationally, geographically, and institutionally into the host Jewish culture, and at the same time strengthened and changed the parameters of its self-definition. They did this not only by appealing to a shared distant past, but by presenting a Judaism in which survivor and native-born could share a sense of history as well as a destiny.

Vancouver Jewry became host to this group at a time when the community was becoming more highly ramified, growing both in numbers and in organizational complexity. Its decision-makers, a small oligarchy of businessmen and professionals, viewed the rescue and integration as a shared responsibility. The small size of the incoming group and its heterogeneity in terms of countries of origin made the formation of immigrant institutions less likely. The fluid nature of the receiving Vancouver Jewish society allowed survivors easy access to institutions and economic mobility. Relying heavily on the ethnic network for entry jobs, survivors entered a city with expanding commercial opportunities. A residential and occupational network operated to find the survivors housing and jobs, strengthening existing residential concentrations, occupational distinctiveness, and, ultimately, its institutional framework.

to confront it, as well as the popular distaste for Jewish refugees before, during, and after the war makes it difficult to argue for a shared vision of a multicultural and multi-ethnic Canada.

While some survivors were able to re-establish their professional qualifications, most relied on entrepreneurial, sales, and managerial skills. By 1970 their preponderance in white collar jobs paralleled the profile of the native-born Jewish community.⁵ Entrepreneurial skills found great cultural approval and concrete support, binding the immigrant further to the host Jewish society.⁶ In a larger context, Canadian society itself was becoming more like that of the immigrant, rather than assimilating the immigrant to its earlier less urban, less industrialized character. Post-war Canada was marked by increased urbanization and technological change, a national trend away from agriculture and resource extraction, and industrial growth. Survivors, overwhelmingly urban, skilled in linguistic and economic adaptation, and business-oriented, found a secure place in the emerging Canadian economy.⁷ At the same time, Jewish occupational and residential distinctiveness did not diminish by 1971; significant residential clusters still existed around an institutional core, and Jews, both survivors and hosts, remained concentrated in white-collar occupations.

The Vancouver experience demonstrates the similarity between North American and inter-war European Jewry. Both communities were already emphatically urban, educated, business-oriented, and increasingly committed to Zionism. The immigrants thus resembled their North American counterparts much more closely than did the earlier wave of Eastern European Jews.⁸ Despite the disruption of the Holocaust, and the loss of the great European Jewish communities, there was no great discontinuity between North American and European

⁵A. Richmond and W. Kalbach, The Adjustment of Immigrants and their Descendents to Canadian Life (Ottawa: Dept. of Immigration, 1974), documented the high congruence between Jewish native-born and immigrant populations in terms of English language home usage, occupation, and income.

⁶Robin Ward and Richard Jenkins, "Ethnic Business in America: A Research Agenda," in Ethnic Communities in Business (London: Cambridge, 1984). The authors propose three models of ethnic business: economic opportunity, cultural predisposition, and marginal economic participation forced on an ethnic community by the prejudice of the host community. It would seem that the case presented here includes elements of both the first and second models, but not the third.

⁷For a discussion of the entrepreneurial function vis-a-vis immigrants, see Arcadius Kahan, "Economic Opportunity and Some Pilgrims' Progress: Jewish Immigrants from Eastern Europe to the United States 1890-1914," Journal of Economic History 58 (March, 1978), 235-251.

⁸Simon Kuznets, "Immigration of Russian Jews to the United States: Background and Structure," Perspectives in American History 9 (1972), 35-126.

post-war Jewry. Shared aspirations of host and immigrant meant that the ethnic community remained homogeneous, rather than separating into two societies, one an immigrant working-class and the other a native-born middle-class, as had been true of the earlier pre-1914 mass immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe. On both sides of the ocean Jews already shared occupational and ideological values, making post-war integration easier, despite the trauma of the Holocaust.

The model developed in this thesis, the congruence between the survivor immigrants and their host community, can be used to re-evaluate the experiences of survivors in the larger Canadian centers where, some have argued, they experienced alienation from their hosts. Indeed the growing uniformity and the urban and middle class nature of Jewish society after 1925 may account more for the cohesion of Jews as an ethnic group than the external threats which are often credited with the achievement of this cohesion. Survivors in Vancouver did not set up parallel immigrant synagogues, schools, and mutual benefit associations; they joined those broad-based synagogues and Zionist organizations already in place in the host community.⁹ In the process, the old German-Eastern European dichotomy of pre-1920 Vancouver was completely destroyed.

Furthermore, the Vancouver experience clearly illustrates the emergence of a survivor-based interpretation of the Holocaust; the shared ideology that evolved in the wake of the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel brought host and immigrant together. Survivors interpreted their experiences in the context of other Jewish catastrophes; the destruction of European Jewry had been followed by the redemption of the Jewish people through the founding of a Jewish State, a country that became not only a physical refuge but also a spiritual haven. The Judaism of the late twentieth century was being shaped by the perceptions of the survivors that their survival as a "remnant" was part of a miraculous rebirth of the entire nation. This ideology was shared by survivor and native-born alike. The

⁹In his Protestant, Catholic, Jew, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955), Will Herberg describes the emergence of North American Jewish institutions that include Jews from many different old-world affiliations blended into a new, North American Judaism of denominations: Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform synagogues replaced older associations based on old-world affiliations of Polish, Lithuanian, or German Jews.

survivors were the essential pivot. They represented the past, the end of old world Jewry, and the remnant which, in the new world, brought both the remembrance of destruction and commitment to a Jewish state. This ideology is not religion in the traditional sense; both believers and non-believers can accept its premises. The process by which ideology, reinforced by economic and social homogeneity, has affected the evolution of a unique late twentieth century Judaism is seen clearly in the Vancouver experience.

What survivors did do as a separate group was to initiate projects which would both memorialize and teach the Holocaust. Using the network of economic, residential, and associational contacts created throughout the 20 years since their arrival, they created an annual memorial event for the entire community; they established a trust fund for a non-Jewish family that had rescued Jews in Nazi-occupied Holland; they donated an ambulance to the local hospital; and, in the decade of the 1970's, they cooperated with larger Jewish communal groups, as well as concerned non-Jews, to create a permanent teaching vehicle to communicate their experiences to public school students. By so doing they confirmed their integration into and trust of both the Jewish and the non-Jewish society in which they had settled.¹⁰

The early demise of North American Jewry was widely predicted after World War II, but reports of its death were greatly exaggerated. Those who agree with Raymond Breton that "with time...the ethnic organizations will themselves disappear or lose their ethnic identity, completing the life-cycle of the community,"¹¹ discovered instead that the Jews of

¹⁰In 1975 the first annual Symposium on the Holocaust was held for 300 public high school students. The Symposium, a collaborative effort of survivors, Jewish and non-Jewish teachers and volunteers under the auspices of the Vancouver section of the Canadian Jewish Congress, now reaches over 1500 students every year. The decade of the 1980's continued this trend. A national Documentation Project, supported by Multiculturalism grants, was initiated from Vancouver and administered by the national office of Canadian Jewish Congress. By 1988 three survivors were heads of major local organizations: Canadian Jewish Congress, the Orthodox Schara Tzedek Congregation, and the Jewish National Fund. Survivor women had been presidents of several Hadassah-Wizo and Pioneer Women chapters, and officers of Canadian Jewish Congress. Men were leaders in the annual Federation campaign that raised money for Israel and local organizations.

¹¹Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," American Journal of Sociology 69 (1964), 94. Breton did not use

North America were capable both of high levels of institutional completeness and high levels of acculturation, in terms of language, educational achievements, politics and the arts.¹² The high levels of Canadian citizenship and English language usage of all Jews attests to this duality.¹³ The North American Jewish community is the product of post-Emancipation Diaspora in a new world setting. The North American Jew wanted "logically contradictory things -- to be at once...Americanized but not assimilated; politically, economically, and to a great degree culturally at home in his native land, but emotionally, religiously, and spiritually apart, or indeed, to some degree, in exile."¹⁴ This sense of separateness found its justification in "a world view [that] stresses the unique character of the murder of European Jews [and] the providential and redemptive meaning of the creation of the State of Israel."¹⁵ Such mundane matters as writing a check to an Israeli charity gains metaphysical meaning from this system that "presents an encompassing myth, linking one event to another as an instructive pattern...as it tells Jews why they should be Jewish."¹⁶ Yosef Haim Yerushalmi observed that rather than analysing the Holocaust and Israel within the political matrix of the twentieth century conflicts, Jews have sought reasons outside the framework of history, in the realm of literature and even myth, where divine providence can still be observed at work.¹⁷ In the construction of any of these systems, survivors have had a role.

the Jews in his original study and his later work recognized the continued strength of community organization.

¹²Amitai Etzioni, "The Ghetto--A Re-evaluation," Social Forces 69 (1959), 255-262.

¹³Joshua Fishman et al, Language Loyalty in the United States: the Maintenance and Perpetuation of non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups (The Hague: Mouton, 1966) was a challenge to the simplistic notion that ethnic groups wanly accepted the demise of their mother tongues. The emphasis on Hebrew as a spoken language in Jewish day schools today is a sign of the strength of commitment to an ancestral and contemporary language of all Jews.

¹⁴Arthur Hertzberg, ed., The Zionist Idea (New York: Atheneum, 1970), p. 91.

¹⁵Neusner, op.cit., p. 254.

¹⁶Neusner, ibid., p. 255. The creation of this cause and effect system has precedent in Jewish history. Gershom Scholem attributed the success of the 17th century messianic pretender Shabbtai Zvi to the distress and fervor of Eastern European Jewry after the Chemielnicki massacres. See Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism (New York: Schocken Books, 1941), pp. 34-35, and David Roskies, The Literature of Destruction: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988), pp. 3-12.

¹⁷Zachor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1982).

At the same time survivors in Canada have participated in the larger society, although this study has not been primarily concerned with this aspect of their integration. The ability to live in complementary spheres reinforces the notion that ethnicity can enhance more general notions of citizenship and national polity; but the nation at large must be ready to deal with the results of ethnic demands upon that polity. Harold Troper argues, in fact, that Ukrainians saw the prosecution of Nazi war criminals resident in Canada as an attack on their own sense of national integrity rather than as an issue of retribution for crimes committed during the war by individual Ukrainians. For Jews, punishment of war criminals was a way in which Canada could make restitution for accepting suspect Nazi immigrants while rejecting Jewish applicants. It was expected that Canada, being a democracy, would do justice after so many years of neglect. It may be a sign of the level of comfort Jews, both survivors and native-born, feel with their Canadian identity that allowed them to assert the need for prosecution of war criminals resident in Canada.

Much remains to be investigated with regard to post-war ethnicity and immigration into Canada. Other survivor communities in the larger centers of Jewish life may, as Hulse suggests, have had radically dissimilar experiences from those of Vancouver's small sample; comparing the experiences of those who went to the giant communities of Toronto and Montreal with Vancouver may illuminate the reasons for the differing conclusions about survivor inclusion or exclusion from the host community. In general, the kind of close attention to particular patterns of daily life given to earlier immigrant experiences needs to be extended to the post-war period, to confirm or modify the profile offered here of a particular example. Few comparisons have been made between different groups. More work on a variety of group experiences would clarify the process of urbanization in Vancouver after 1945. The Jewish community have taken its institutions and organizations with it as it moved from one section of Vancouver to another and, increasingly, spread into the suburbs.

Comparisons between this kind of suburban ethnicity and other groups who maintain residential distance from their "ethnic" institutions would be fruitful.¹⁸

The development of Judaism in a specific Canadian setting requires analysis. Survivors may have strengthened and redirected an ethnic polity already prospering in Canada. There is little work, however, on the content of that polity. Jewish Canadians welcomed the multicultural ideology of the 1970's and beyond as confirmation of their proven ability to live in two worlds at once. Using the processes that illuminated the study of this particular sample -- the scale of the groups, shared economic aspirations, residential patterns, institutional affiliations and ideology -- it should be possible to examine many post-war ethnicities. Canadian identity and the history of that identity should be examined from the point of view of the vigorous emergence of a number of post-war ethnic groups, at home with their own society as well as that of a heterogeneous Canada. Leslie Dan was by and large correct in his prophecy. Jews in Canada have found prosperity, reward for their labour, and relative freedom from the hatreds of forty years ago. They have also continued to participate in a cohesive and far-reaching set of institutions and ideological assumptions that express their ethnicity. Since Canada continues to rely on immigration for economic and demographic reasons, historians of the immigrant experience in Canada should probe further the content and experience of its "Third Force" beyond the presumption of eventual assimilation, and view the ethnic experience as permanent and important to Canada's past, present, and future.

¹⁸Patricia Roy, "A Half-Century of Writing on Vancouver's History," BC Studies Nos. 69-70 (Spring-Summer, 1986), 311-325.

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