"What's got into everyone these days, I don't know. This damned Spanish War, you'd think it was happening here. All these meetings where the same people tell each other the same old things. What do they know about Spain? How the hell do they know whether what they say is true or not? At best, they're guessing, at worst, they're saying what they like to hear .... What's Spain to any of these people except an excuse for them to give free play to their neuroticism?..."

- Hugh MacLennan, The Watch That Ends the Night.

"A victory for the Spanish People's Front Government is a victory for World Peace and Democracy. No intelligent Canadian, unless grossly misinformed can have the slightest sympathy with the rebel leaders in Spain. All our traditions, our mode of life and our temperament place us naturally on the side of the Spanish Democracy, and that is, without doubt where we would be, were it not for the propoganda coming from certain quarters, where love for Spain is measured in the dollars and cents extracted from the Spanish people, and by the same trusts that are bleeding the Canadian people..."

Labour Party of Canada, Quebec Section.

#### PREFACE

This thesis is a study of the ideological repercussions of the Spanish Civil War in Montreal. The discussion will emphasize the conflict of Roman Catholic social doctrine with ideologies of the "popular front" in Quebec, during the Great Depression. The Spanish Civil War served as a catalyst for this ideological confrontation.

Recent diplomatic negotiations between the People/s Republic of China and Canada, have generated an interest in the work of the Canadian surgeon, the late Doctor/Norman Bethune. Dr. Bethune volunteered his services to both the popular front in Spain during its "civil" war, /and the Chinese Popular Front during its resistance to Japanese. invasion. Since his death from a wound received in China in 1939, Dr. Bethune has, since, remained a symbol of heroism for the Chinese Republic, and his legend has become a vital link between the people of China and Canada In 1971, the Canadian Friends of China Association inaugurated nationwide programmes in honour of Dr. Bethune. "Norman Bethune Week", November 6-13, 1971, was celebrated at Gravenhurst, Ontario -- Bethune's place of birth. The outcome of this commemoration was the foundation of a Canadian Memorial Committee for Norman Bethune. This committee proposes to establish a shrine in Bethune's honour at Gravenhurst, as well as a museum in Montreal, where Bethune lived and worked

for eleven years.

The author is grateful for correspondence and interviews by those individuals directly involved in the Spanish struggle, and for the availability of original documents. The Montreal section of the Bethune Memorial Committee deserves special mention here. In due respect, the author-requests anyone who wishes to quote from any document or interview in this thesis, to please secure written permission beforehand.

The author is particularly grateful to Professors
Terry Copp and Dick Wilbur for reading the manuscript, and
for their guidance and advice on problems that arose.

The sole responsibility for the content of this thesis belongs to the author alone.

June 1976

Harvey Levinson

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

IN	roducti	ON	• • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • •			•	• • • •	1
PAF	RT ONE:	1936	· · · · · · · · · ·			, • • • • •		• • • •	16
	Medical Labour ( Front;	Aid Mis Council Montreal cy Spons	sion; Mon Supports Committe	an Bethun treal Tra the Spani ee to Aid unish Repu	des and sh Popul: Spanish	٠.		1	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
PAF	RT TWO: Montrea	1937 Workma	n's Circl	e and Tra	des and	• • • • • •	; • • ;• •	••••	, 56
	Labour ( McGill   Parliam	Council; Unĭversi ent on t	Committe ty's Deba he Betray	e to Aid ting Club al of Rep rand Fas	Franco; 's Mock ublican		Ø .	7	
. \	Sponsor: Bethune Le Jour	s André 's Fund 's Colum	Malraux; Raising V n "Pauvre	Dr. Norma isit to M Espagne" ege; Commu	n ontreal; ; Jane	r			
•	Party Sy Costes,	ponsors	French Po	litician	Alfred	,	-	·	"" e14 KK .
PAF	RT THREE	· ·1938`			• • • • • • • •	• • • •	• • • •	•	91
\	Hazen S. College	ise; Jos ; Montre	e de Pedr al Commit	real Spons roso at Lo tee to Ai ors the Du	yola ` d			^	•
	of Athor	ll; McGi s Club S l Artist	ll Univer	rsity's So Manuel Azc It for Spa	cial . arti; .			•	
PAI	RT, FOUR:	1939		•••••	•••••	••••	• • • •	••••	102
	Monseign Sauve or National	neur Ant n Behalf lists; F ie-Papin	te Societ onuitti a of the S eturn of eau Batta	the	s .				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
į	monior ea	<b>-</b> •	Ţ., <b>*</b>		1				

CONCLUSION	• • • • • • • • • • • • •	11
APPENDIX	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
BIBLIOGRAPHY		

ŗ

7

35.

### INTRODUCTION

Most Canadians remember the 1930's as the decade of the While the stagnant economic conditions terrible Depression. undoubtedly remained the dominant theme, another began to ' cloud the horizon after 1935 -- deteriorating international relations. The 1930's witnessed the failure of the League of Nations to prevent the spread of fascist aggression. Japanese forces invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria. When the League of Nations failed to impose any sanctions on Japan, the invasion of China continued throughout the decade. In 1935, Italian imperialism in Ethiopia encountered weakkneed resistance through partial economic sanctions by League members. Canada's brief moment in the League of Nations spotlight came with the famous Riddell affair over the Ethiopian crisis, but within days this strong stand was repudiated by the recently elected administration of Mackenzie/King.

Rome-Berlin Axis that same year, were further threats to international security, yet the Western democracies assumed a policy of non-intervention, in the hope that the rising fascist states were merely flexing their muscles. This policy of appearement was epitomized at the Munich Conference in 1938, shortly after Hitler's invasion of Austria. The

leaders of Britain and France compromised with Hitler, who promised that the acquisition of the Sudatenland province of Czechoslovakia would be the final stage of repatriation of the homeland.

General elections in the Spanish Republic in February, 1936, brought a popular front coalition into office. licans, Socialists, Syndicalists and Communists were represented by this popular front government. By July, a military rebellion led by General Francisco Franco, had spread from Spanish Morocco into southern Spain. Franco was backed by the more conservative forces in Spanish society, the large landowners and the Roman Catholic Church. Franco's "Nationalists" also received immediate support from both Mussolini and Hitler, even though European nations pledged neutrality in the Spanish Civil War through a Non-Intervention Committee established in September, 1936. Soviet Union sent officers and equipment to Madrid in October to support the Republican Government. The Soviet Union also assumed responsibility for the direction of the volunteer International Brigades, which arrived in Madrid by November. By the close of 1936, the Nazi Condor Legion had assembled at Seville.

Nations of the West were determined to retain positions of neutrality. The United States of America and Canada both respected the pledge of the Non-Intervention Committee. However, as the civil war in Spain progressed,

Prime Minister Mackenzie King defended his policy of neutrality in foreign affairs — particularly in Europe, because of "the wide and violent conflict of opinion as to the policy that should be adopted in regard to the social and political revolution which the nations of Europe were undergoing." Neutrality on Spain was officially sanctioned by Mackenzie King through the following legislation:

On August 1, 1937, an Order-In-Council proclaimed the application of Canada's new Foreign Enlistment Act to the war in Spain, making it illegal for Canadians to enlist with either of the warring groups. At the same time, another Order-In-Council under the Custom's Act banned the export of war materials to Spain.<sup>2</sup>

These Orders-In-Council did not stifle support in Canada for either Republican (Loyalist) or Nationalist Spain. Funds, supplies and volunteers from Canada and many other "neutral", nations managed to reach the Iberian peninsula throughout the Spanish war.

While Montreal remained the center for support of the Spanish Popular Front in Quebec, the metropokis was also a front for Roman Catholic support for the Spanish Nationalists. According to the 1941 Census of Canada, from a total of 1,139,921 inhabitants of Montreal, 836,097 professed the

James Eayrs, <u>In Defence of Canada:</u> Appeasement and Rearmament, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, p. 62.

J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1937 and 1938.

Roman Catholic faith.

The strong repercussions of the Spanish Civil War in Montreal were the outcome of an ideological tradition deeply rooted in Quebecois society. Historian Hugh Thomas thought that Quebec's sympathy for Franco's Nationalist struggle was natural to a society where faseist or semi-fascist organizations existed within a Catholic background. 4 Though an active, well-organized fascist movement -- particularly in .; Montreal, championed Franco's revolution in Spain, a more fundamental and widespread ideology -- Catholic social doctrine -- aligned public sympathy in Catholic Quebe with Franco's crusade. Papal encyclicals urged the adoption of The basic premise of corporation during the interwar years. the corporate state was cooperation between interest groups. in society -- state, church, labour, industry than competition. Comporatism differed from capitalism through its emphasis on national rather than private. economic motivation. Unlike socialism, corporatism defended the principle of private property, and recognized group rather than class interests. A number of Catholic Latin states adhered to corporatist doctrine. Mussolini, Salazar and Franco were among its arch defenders. Corporatist doctrine was proclaimed zealously in Catholic Quebec:

See Appendix A, 1941 Census of Canada.

Hugh Thomas, <u>The Spanish Civil War</u>, England: Pelican Books, 1965, p. 303.

... L'idée n'est pas neuve. Qui n'a entendu parler des antiques corporations? ... On les a définies: "Un système qui établit une autorité professionelle chargé de promouvoir le bien commun et l'intérêt général de la profession et ayant, par conséquent, le droit de promulger des règlements obligatoires pour tous ceux qui contribuent à l'exercise de la profession, et de représenter ceux-ci auprès des autorités supérieures."5

Associational corporatism, at least, was characteristic to the traditional elite groups in French Canadian society -- the clergy and the professionals.

... The traditional rural ideal had the same basic characteristics as the proposed corporatism.

Quebec had formerly been a society of small separated communities. The figure which linked each rural unit to the whole had been the priest, an ecclesiastical rather than a civil official.

To most Roman Catholic citizens of Quebec, the Spanish Popular Front was the anathema of their social, religious and political views. As far as they were concerned, Franco's Nationalists in Spain defended every principle of Catholic social doctrine threatened by the forces of atheism, sacrilege and subversion that underlay the Spanish Popular Front. Religious sermons and circulars delivered throughout the province repeatedly reinforced the pronouncements of the Vatican against Republican Spain. At the outset of the civil war in Spain, Le Devoir supported Vatican policy:

JLe R. Père Archambault, S. J., "Declaration d'Ouverture," <u>Les Semaines Sociales du Canada</u>, Montreal: Ecole Sociale Populaire, 1936, Session 14, 23-24.

Michael Oliver, "The Social and Political Ideas of French Canadian Nationalists, 1920-1945," Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1956, pp. 255-256.

... The Osservatore Romano, official organ of the Vatican, today published on its front page a list of supposed Leftist atrocities against the Spanish clergy, claiming the only reason for this persecution is a satanic hate against God, against trust in God, and against the priests. The articles of the Osservatore Romano have an exceptional importance, because of the character of the journal and the sources of information which it receives. In the Vatican, converge the most precise texts documents and accounts.?

Through a variety of publications, the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec voiced its views on social reform, corporatism and the international menace of communism. Two outspoken clerics in this vein were Abbe Lionel Groulx and Père Georges Henri Levesque, both professors at the University of Montreal in the mid-1930's. The Jesuit Order founded l'Ecole sociale to populaire in 1911, a Catholic literary movement that issued numerous, widely circulated publications. Major periodicals of l'Ecole sociale populaixe during the 1930's included 1'Oeuvre des Tracts, 1'Ordre Nouveau, and les Semaines Sociales du Canada. These periodicals frequently discussed topics such as the values of agricultural life, colonization of new land, the benefits of corporatism and Catholic syndicalism, the dangers of international trade unionism, communism and Republican Spain. Numerous articles dealt with events of the Spanish Civil War. Sources of information for

<sup>70</sup>mer Heroux, "Le Temoinage de l'Osservatore Romano," Le Devoir, Montreal, October 21, 1936 (author's translation).

<sup>8</sup> Pierre E. Trudeau, <u>La Grève de l'Amiante</u>, Montreal: Les Editions du Jour, 1970, p. 41.

these articles were often ill-defined. These periodicals, however, provided the average French Canadian reader with his greatest source of information and opinion on events in Spain.

L'Oeuvre des Tracts were a series of pamphlets issued monthly by l'Ecole sociale populaire. These articles were usually compiled by various Catholic international societies. Reports on the civil war in Spain usually contained descriptions of alleged atrocities committed by the Spanish Loyalists against the Roman Catholic Church. A typical such article follows:

Le Front Populaire en Espagne:
... Le Front Populaire est le grand responsable de la guerre qui ensanglante la peninsule ibérique depuis deux ans. Mais avant que la guerre civile éclatât, il a eu l'occasion de montrer ce qu'il savait faire pendant cinq mois de règne février à juin 1936).

Le bilan de ces cinq mois s'établit comme suit: 113 grèves generales; 218 grèves diverses; 248 edifices incendies; 171 églises détruites; 69 cercles politiques saccagés; 330 assassinats; etc... Les gouvernements de Valence et de Barcelona, sous l'etiquette, Front Populaire, obelissaient en tous points aux directives communistes, autrement dit à celle de Moscou...

No direct source of evidence for these alleged atrocities was cited. Another typical article, written under the auspices of La Commission Internationale Pro Deo, depicted the nature of the Spanish Popular Front:

<sup>9&</sup>quot;Le Front Populaire en Espagne," <u>l'Oeuvre des Tracts</u>, Montreal: Ecole sociale populaire, October 1936, no. 233.

La Situation Religieuse en Espagne:
... chez les rouges, la minorite se compose de fanatiques qui croient sincèrement à l'avènement du paradis marxiste universel et se battent pour cette idée avec rage; quant à la majorité, elle est constituée par les anciens détenus de droit commun, par les brigands, les pistolleros; bref, c'est la lie de la population, qui se moque du régime marxiste, et ne cherche qu'à piller et a assassiner, elle sait bien ce qui l'attend en cas de capture et se bat avec beaucoup de courage.

Initialled S. E. P. E. S., another report defended the .

Nationalist movement in Spain, while it minimized any fascist allegiances:

... A la base du Front Populaire il y eut la duperie anti-Fasciste.

Avant février dernier, le fascisme n'existait pas dans la peninsule ou du moins était si faible que nul ne pouvait raisonnablement le redouter. La "menace fasciste" était un épouvantail électoral destiné à effrayer républicains et libéraux et à les faire se jeter dans les bras de l'extrême gauche.

Une preuve de la faiblesse des fascistes espagnols, c'est que leur chef, Primo de Rivera, ne pût même pas être élu député ....ll

<u>Les Semaines Sociales du Canada</u>, in 1938, interpreted the Spanish Civil War as the struggle between Christian principles and communist paganism:

... Cette haine, elle éclate au grand jour dans la guerre que le communisme a déclenchée en Espagne. Jetez-les yeux sur ces horreurs dans le meurtre. Voila bien ce que le monde peut attendre du communisme. Cette guerre espagnole, en nous montrant la cruauté en action des monstres

<sup>10</sup> La Situation Réligieuse en Espagne, 10 Leuvre des Tracts, November 1936, no. 209.

<sup>11</sup> L'Oeuvre des Tracts, July 1936, no. 205.

produits par le communisme, nous donne un autre spectacle, le spectacle du monde dégénéré par l'abandon des principes chrétiens, du monde allant vers un nouveau paganisme. 12

The following article in 1'Ordre Nouveau acknowledged the defeat of communism in Spain as a precedent for Catholic societies elsewhere.

La Menace Communiste -- Le Conflit Espagnol:
... Si l'Espagne catholique était vaincue, le pays deviendrait un pivot de communisme. Si, au contraire, elle est victorieuse, il sera un exemple où un stimulant pour tous les peuples qui, malgré les flots et remous des révoltes dont ils sont eux mêmes secoués, trouvent là plus qu'ailleurs un avertissement d'avoir à garder fermement la vie et la culture catholiques. 13

Catholic social doctrine was defended through the pages of <u>l'Action nationale</u> during the Great Depression. In 1934, Arthur Laurendeau became the editor-in-chief of this periodical. Writers for <u>l'Action nationale</u> included "members of the intellectual ranks of French Canada -- journalists, artists, clerics." Directors of this review included such renowned intellectuals as Esdras Minville from Montreal's Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales; Abbé Lionel Groulx from the University of Montreal, among others. They comprised "the more extreme elders of the original <u>l'Action</u>

Le Chanione Simard, "L'Erreur du Communisme," <u>les Semaines Sociales du Canada</u>, 1938, Session 16, 66.

April 20, 1937, p. 2. Montreal: Ecole sociale populaire,

<sup>14</sup>P. Sherrin, "Elements of Nationalism In l'Action Nationale, 1933-1939," M. A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1969, p. 73.

<u>francaise</u> movement and a group of ultra-nationalists of the new generation."15

L'Action nationale, under the direction of Arthur. Laurendeau "took on a more aggressive tone ... with impassioned appeals to youth to save the race .... As historian Mason Wade noted, "to English Canadian and American observers ... this was all too reminiscent of the rise of European fascist movements."16 Throughout the 1930's, l'Action nationale crusaded against trusts and communism, favoured corporatism, promoted collective bargaining, colonization and the restoration of agriculture and appealed for the "re-Frenchification of Quebec." 17 "L'Action nationale expressed little support for trade unions except within the paternal structure of corporatism."18 In 1938, 1 Action nationale, under the direction of Andre Laurendeau, the son of Arthur Laurendeau, was pre-occupied with corporatist theories, on which "the most diverse authorities reached agreement,"19

<sup>15</sup>Mason Wade, The French Canadians, 1760-1967, Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1968, p. 901.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 904.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 902.

<sup>18</sup> Pierre E. Trudeau, "Quebec On the Eve of the Asbestos Strike," French Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology, Ramsay Cook, ed., Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969, p. 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 47.

L'Action nationale, together with Le Devoir, were circulated among the classical colleges of the province, institutions known to be skeptical of subscriptions to "current"
periodicals. 20 Le Devoir, edited by Georges Pelletier
between 1932 and 1945, was welcomed as a highly nationalistic,
middle class intellectual press which defended the social
Catholic doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. 21

According to the leading Catholic intellectuals, attempts at social reform by the political left were irreconcilable with Catholic social doctrine during the Great Depression. International trade unions encountered strong opposition from political and religious authorities in Quebec. Pierre E. Trudeau later described the danger that trade unions posed for the Catholic Church:

La vérité est que les misères ouvrières ne sont apparues à nos sociologues que le jour où leur nationalisme les amena à dénoncer les unions internationales. Alors, au nom d'un paternalisme clerico-paternal, ils prêchèrent la confessionnalité des unions, car sans cette methode, aucune authorité ne pourra imposer à ces associations -- ou se mêleront des hommes de toute opinion \*- les principes chrétiens ....<sup>22</sup>

Support for the Spanish Popular Front from the various international trade unions of North America did not improve their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Wade, p. 901.

André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, <u>Les Journeaux du Québec de 1764 a 1964</u>, Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1965, pp. 83-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>Trudeau, <u>La Grève de l'Amiante</u>, p. 34.

status in Quebec. The following article by Anatole Vanier was featured in l'Action nationale in 1936.

La solidarité existe non seulement chez les Juifs et les Anglais, elle existe ailleurs aussi. Les journaux n'ont ils pas appris au monde, il n'y a pas si longtemps, que la Russie sovietique a-envoyé 121,405,000 roubles au gouvernement de gauche d'Espagne, le mois passé? L'Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union of America a remis \$25,000 au fonds de "solidarité internationale" pour être expédiés aux unions Espagnols. Des unions britanniques ont fait de même. Les communistes de foronto ont souscrit plus de \$1,000 pour aider le gouvernement espagnol. 23

The Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation was also ill received in French Canada. The CCF was interpreted in the light of "European socialism" which implied atheism, revolution and a threat to private property. In February 1934, the CCF was officially denounced in a pastoral letter issued by Monseigneur Georges Gauthier, Archbishop of Montreal, who claimed only one difference between the CCF and communism "principalement parce que la CCF ne veut pas atteindre ses fins par des moyens violents." This pastoral was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Anatole Vanier, "Vérité et Solidarité," <u>l'Action</u> nationale, Montreal: Ligue d'Action Nationale, Vol. 8, 1936, p. 59.

<sup>24</sup>W. D. Young, The Anatomy Of a Party: The National CCF, 1932-1961, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969; p. 210.

<sup>25</sup> Trudeau, <u>La Grève</u> <u>de l'Amiante</u>, p. 23. Young, p. 211.

acknowledged by Cardinal Villeneuve, 26 while the Dominican priest Georges Henri Levèsque added: "c'est notre devoir de demander à tous les citoyens qui veulent le vrai bien du pays, d'opposer à ce mouvement socialiste et de lutter énergiquement contre lui."27

The Vatican regarded communism as "the destroyer of the family and of society," 28 and the clergy in Quebec vehemently attacked the communist party, and its popular front affiliations. Not surprisingly, the Canadian Communist Party had great difficulty functioning and recruiting members in Quebec. By early 1937, pressure from the Roman Catholic Church instigated the enactment of Quebec's Padlock Law. Provincial authorities could raid, and close down, any premises suspected of communist or other subversive activity.

Despite a very active campaign on behalf of the Spanish Popular Front in Mintreal, sympathy was confined to a group of predominantly English-speaking professionals and intellectuals, trade unionists and socialists who faced a reactionary English Catholic community as well as the wrath

<sup>26</sup> Trudeau, "Quebec On the Eve Of the Asbestos Strike,' p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Trudeau, <u>La Grève de l'Amiante</u>, p., 45.

Leaf: Fascist Movements in Canada in the 1930's, Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1975, p. 87.

of the social, political and religious milieu of French Canada. The smug Protestant Anglo-Saxon upper class of Montreal turned its back, by and Parge, on efforts to raise public sympathy for Loyalist Spain. Both The Gazette and The Montreal Daily Star endorsed non-intervention in Spain. The hostility to campaigns for the support of the Spanish Popular Front in Montreal must be interpreted within this context.

At the outset of the Spanish Civil War, the CCF proposed the formation of a medical aid mission for Republican Spain. Montreal surgeon Norman Bethune volunteered his service. Bethune had earned great respect in Montreal for his medical and philanthropic efforts. His social and political views aroused considerable controversy, however. Bethune's medical mission in Spain, as well as his return to Montreal for a fund raising appeal, were far better received in this city than any other manifestation for the assistance of the Spanish Popular Front. This thesis will evaluate Bethune's reception in Montreal primarily on the basis of his humanitarian work -- both in Montreal and Madrid. Bethune's medical aid mission came under the direction of an organization of popular front forces that included CCF support, the Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (Spanish Aid Committee). A Montreal branch of this committee was responsible for many functions held in support of the Spanish Popular Front. In October 1936,

Montreal's Spanish Aid Committee hosted a delegation from the Republican Government of Spain, which sought to raise public support. Their visit was viewed as a serious threat to the traditional Catholic social doctrine of the province, and sparked considerable controversy.

. PART ONE: 1936

## THE ORGANIZATION OF DR. NORMAN BETHUNE'S SPANISH MEDICAL AID MISSION

And this same pallid moon tonight,
Which rides so quiet -- clear and high -The mirror of our pale and troubled gaze,
Raised to a cool, Canadian sky,
Above the shattered Spanish mountain tops
Last night rose low and wild and red,
Reflecting back from her illuminated shield
The blood-bespattered faces of the dead.
To that pale moon I raise my angry fist,
And to those nameless dead my vows renew:
Comrades who fall in angry loneliness,
Who die for us -- I will remember you.

- Norman Bethune (1890-1939)
The Scalpel, The Sword.

Montreal in 1929, after recovering from tuberculosis in a New York sanatorium for several years. Bethune carried on his work in this city at the Royal Victoria Hospital, where he became First Assistant with Dr. E. Archibald's Medico-Surgical Pulmonary Clinic. After three years, Bethune was then requested to head a new thoracic surgery clinic at the Sacré Coeur Hospital at Cartierville, just outside of Montreal, and he accepted. Bethune did not work full-time at Sacré Coeur Hospital. He also served as Consulting Surgeon to the Dominion Department of Pensions and National

Norman Bethune, Bulletin of the History of Medicine, Vol. 8, no. 8, October 1940, p. 1145.

Health; Consulting Surgeon to the Mount Sinai Sanatorium in Ste. Agathe, Quebec, and the Grace Dart Home Hospital in Montreal. "Medical pilgrims from all over the world came to Sacré Coeur to study his work." Dr. Bethune was respected by both the staff and the patients at Sacré Coeur Hospital. Films of him performing new medical techniques on patients were kept by the nursing sisters.

As the Great Depression lingered on, Bethune became increasingly concerned with the poverty and suffering of Montreal's destitute. In 1935, he approached the Montreal Unemployed Association, and volunteered his medical assistance for a medical clinic at the Verdun Y. M. - Y. W. C. A. The Verdun "Y" was a well-known social service center during the depression. Bethune converted the Physical Director's Office into a medical clinic, and every Saturday he operated this clinic for the unemployed. This clinic became known as Dr. Bethune's Sick Parade. Aside from his own voluntary

T. Allan and S. Gordon, The Scalpel, The Sword, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1952, pp. 106.

Mrs. B. Fortin (formerly Nurse Levèsque, Sacré Coeur), private interview, Montreal, April, 1972; Dr. Gerard Rolland (Sacré Coeur), private interview, Montreal, April, 1972; Dr. Paul Weil (Royal Victoria), private interview, Montreal, April, 1972.

<sup>4&</sup>quot;Bethune": National Film Board of Canada (N. F. B.).

<sup>5&</sup>quot;Bethune": N. F. B.; A. W. Kemball (Verdun "Y"), private interview; Montreal, April, 1972.

medical assistance, he also persuaded other Montreal physicians to offer their services to the Montreal Unemployed Association.

Dr. Bethune was always interested in artistic activities. In 1936, Bethune and a Montreal artist. -- Fritz Brandtner, set up the Children's Creative Art Center at Bethune's Beaver Hall Hill apartment. Art classes were offered to the children of the unemployed. Ranging in age from five to fifteen years, the students of this art school were, ethnically, a mixed lot. The school was operated by Brandtner, while Bethune would observe on occasion, and supply milk and biscuits. Bethune also financed the Children's Art Center. 7

Dr. Bethune followed the political movements during the depression. Bethune abhorred the growth of fascism, while he showed a keen interest in socialist movements. He was involved with the League for Social Reconstruction, and the CCF<sup>8</sup>, and in the summer of 1935, attended the International Physiological Congress in Leningrad. He was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Allan and Gordon, pp. 79-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Allan Harrison, private interview, Montreal, December, 1971; Stephen Lukian (former student -- Children's Art Center), private interview, Montreal, April, 1972; Nadeau, A T. B.'s Progress, p. 1167.

<sup>8</sup>Dr. Cyril Flanagan, private interview, Montreal, April, 1972.

particularly impressed with the work of the Russian Commissariat of Public Health. On his return to Montreal, he was determined to achieve socialized medicine. In 1936, with the assistance of several Montreal physicians including Dr. F. McNaughton, Dr. H. Schister, Dr. W. MacLeod and Dr. E. Greenspon, Bethune founded the Montreal Group for the Security of the People's Health. On This committee issued a manifestor to political candidates in Montreal, urging them toxadopt socialized medicine into their political platforms (see Appendix -- An Open Letter to All Political Candidates Seeking Election In Montreal). This manifesto disturbed the big business and religious circles in the province, who viewed the socialized medicine campaign as a movement towards the achievement of communism. 11

After Bethune's return from Leningrad, until his departure for Spain, he studied the social proposals of the Communist Party in Canada. His status with the Communist Party has remained a contentious issue. Yet, whether or

Allan and Gordon, pp. 81-82; N. Bethune, "Reflections on Return from 'Through the Looking Glass'," Montreal Medico-Chirurgical Society Monthly Bulletin, Montreal, April, 1936: 31.

<sup>10</sup> Norman Lee, private interview, Montreal, September, 1969.

<sup>11&</sup>quot;Bethune": N. F. B.

<sup>12</sup> Ted Allan, private interview, Montreal, March, 1971.

not Bethune was a card-holding member of the Communist Party is irrelevant, for undoubtedly he flirted with various socialist ideologies during the course of the depression.

However, Bethune's "Red" affiliations and his campaign for socialized medicine began to cause some consternation among the nursing sisters at Sacré Coeur Hospital. 13

Dr. Daniel Longpré, Montreal pediatrician, was a friend of Dr. Bethune and shared Bethune's political convictions. As a result, Dr. Longpré was professionally ostracized by various Catholic hospitals in Montreal. 4 Rumours had spread that Dr. Bethune was requested to resign from his position at the Sacré Coeur Hospital by the Sisters of Providence, due to his "communist activities." 5 When the nursing sisters learned that Bethune would be assisting the Spanish Popular Front, they were shocked, and went so far as to destroy the medical films of Bethune and his work at the Sacré Coeur Hospital. 16

Norman Bethune was alarmed at the growth of fascism

<sup>13</sup>G. Nadeau, M. D., "Norman Bethune: Deux Lettres du Docteur E. W. Archibald à son Sujet," <u>L'Union Medicale du Canada</u>, Montreal, Tome 101, no. 4, April, 1972, p. 713.

<sup>14</sup> Ireen Kon, private interview, Montreal, September, 1971; Gordon McCutcheon, private interview, Montreal, February, 1972.

<sup>15</sup> Nadeau, "Norman Bethune: Deux Lettres du Docteur E. W. Archibald à son Sujet," p. 714.

<sup>16</sup>B. Fortin, interview.

in Europe during the depression. By late summer of 1936, he was scanning the headlines in Montreal newspapers about the Franco-Mussolini thrust into the Republic of Spain.

The Organization of a Canadian Medical Unit to Spain

In September, 1936, a Canadian "Spanish Medical Aid Committee" was inaugurated. This committee proposed to raise funds for a field hospital for the Spanish Popular Front. Initiated by CCF party member Graham Spry, the committee declared itself strictly non-political in character, and sought national support on humanitarian and broad democratic and liberal grounds. The committee also requested medical volunteers. 17 Dr. Bethune volunteered immediately. However, the Spanish Medical Aid Committee was very short-lived. It lacked "efficient machinery for the raising of funds, except by public appeal, which was therefore too slow a method to ensure a stream of money immediately." This committee transferred its purpose to the National Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy for this reason. Most of its

<sup>17</sup> The New Commonwealth, Toronto, September 26, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup>M. Peck, "Red Moon Over Spain: A Study of Public Opinion in Canada Concerning the Spanish Civil War as it Appears in a Selection From the Printed Media of the Period", Unpublished M. A. thesis, Carleton University, 1969, p. 55.

<sup>19</sup> The New Commonwealth, September 26, 1936, p. 1.

members, in fact, joined the Spanish Aid Committee. 20

Dr. Bethune promptly received a visit from "a spokesman from the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy", 21 requesting him to head the Canadian medical unit in Spain. He accepted, and resigned from his positions at the Sacré Coeur Hospital and the Federal Department of Pensions and National Health. The Canadian Medical Unit for Spain would include Dr. Bethune, Montreal architect Hazen Sise, Henning Sorenson — a Danish emigré who served as Bethune's interpreter, Dr. Hene and correspondent Jean Watts. When the medical unit arrived in Spain, it operated a mobile blood transfusion unit from Madrid to the Loyalist front.

The Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (Spanish Aid Committee) campaigned vigorously to raise the required funds for the Canadian medical unit to Spain. It raised close to four thousand dollars in Toronto and another thousand dollars in Hamilton in October, 1936. 23 On October 3, 1936, in Montreal, the committee held a luncheon in honour of Dr. Bethune to raise required funds for the medical unit (see Appendix -- Spanish Aid Committee

<sup>20</sup> The New Commonwealth, October 31, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Allan and Gordon, p. 105.

<sup>22</sup>T. Buck, "Soldiers of Democracy," The Marxist Quarterly, ed. by S. Ryerson, Toronto: Progress Books, no. 18, Summer, 1966, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> The Montreal Daily Herald, October 24, 1936, p. 1.

Invitation to Luncheon for Bethune).

The Canadian medical unit left Montreal in the fall of 1936 for Paris, where Bethune collected necessary medical supplies. By December, the Canadian medical unit was operating out of Madrid. 24

Once Bethune's medical unit was operating in Spain, the Spanish Aid Committee began a publicity campaign for popular support for this Canadian venture (see Appendix -- Canada to the Aid of Spanish Democracy). The Montreal Spanish Aid Committee, together with the Social Problems Club of McGill University, inaugurated a campaign on the campus for medical aid for Republican Spain early in February 1937. McGill's campaign helped raise the weekly quota of one hundred and fifty dollars to maintain Bethune's blood transfusion unit. The McGill Daily, the student newspaper, discussed the nature of this campaign:

A campaign to aid the Canadian Medical Unit in Madrid is being launched on the campus today. This is in line with similar campaigns being initiated in the other universities of Canada and the United States ....

Moreover, the fact that the Blood Transfusion Unit in Madrid is under the direction of three Montrealers, increases our responsibility in this campaign ....26

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Allan and Gordon, p. 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>The McGill Daily, Montreal, February 3, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>The McGill Daily, February 4, 1937, p. 2.8

The McGill Daily also reported the plan for collection on the campus:

... An elaborate system of collection has been worked out which is featured by a system of collecting five or ten cents weekly from some three hundred students on the campus, which would add considerably to the ... weekly quota of Montreal ....27

Bethune's efforts with blood transfusion, and his concern for shelter centers for Spanish war orphans, did earn him considerable respect at home. Norman Lee (Montreal Spanish Aid Committee) recalls a fair amount of public support even in French Canada, for this humanitarian work. 28. The Canadian Forum also expressed gratitude for Bethune's endeavours:

... we can congratulate the Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy for the splendid work which it has initiated in Dr. N. Bethune's medical mission to Spain. Here is a Canadian contribution to Europe of which all sections of the community can be proud. Dr. Bethune has concentrated the efforts of his little group of Canadians on one particular service, that of providing facilities for blood transfusion which can be used in all the Madrid hospitals and, if financial support is forthcoming to extend the service, in hospitals further afield also. methods which he is using have attracted wide-spread attention from medical men throughout the western world; his special technique may mark a great advance in medical science. This is a work which gives real distinction to the name of Canada ....29

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>The McGill Daily, February 5, 1937, p. 1

<sup>28</sup> Norman Lee, interview.

<sup>29</sup> The Canadian Forum, Toronto, February, 1937, p. 5

More support came from the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress, which endorsed the Republican cause in Spain. At their convention in Montreal, in 1936, the following resolution was passed:

That this Congress wishes to express to the workers of Spain our appreciation of their democratic institutions and government, constitutionally elected, and that this Congress places itself further on record in the interests of international solidarity as expressing to the Spanish workers our sincere interest in their struggle and extends to them our whole-hearted support in the fight for justice, freedom, and peace and our hopes for an early and victorious finish. 30

was significant within the international trade union movements. The Montreal Trades and Labour Council, headed by Raoul Trepanier, contained a sizable degree of support for Loyalist Spain. The resolution of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada on Republican Spain, however, was not viewed with favour by the Catholic syndicates in Quebec. In October, 1936, shortly after the C. T. L. C. convention in Montreal, an article appeared in L'Imprimeur, the official voice for the printing syndicates in the province, accusing the international trade unions of supporting anarchy and atheism in Republican Spain:

<sup>30</sup> Where They Stood on Spain, The Marxist Quarterly, ed. by S. Ryerson, no. 18, Summer, 1966, p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> Norman Lee, interview.

# Nos implimants resteront-ils accord

becunotion doubless, some laryquit corto aminno present orte da la province de Buebee e affishe ourextensed so sym parties Breeze Courses moures consint de Madrid et a monthe great hopeograph that see metric consignists comment des-

esere diautres bile service

that ourselves respectively of the control of the c

## A Secretary Allen

### The Montreal Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy

The great sweep of the political left embodied in Republican Spain during the civil war, attracted the support of a variety of political movements, associations and individuals throughout the world. Support for Republican Spain ranged from word of mouth through financial contributions to enlistment in volunteer fighting brigades. Liberals, socialists, communists, trade unionists, clerics, writers, artists and actors were among those who contributed, in one form of another, to the Republican cause in Spain.

In Canada, a National Committee to Aid Spanish

Democracy, affiliated with the larger North American Spanish

Aid Committee, was founded in 1936 as a non-sectarian body

that would accommodate support for Republican Spain from any

association, political movement or individual. National

headquarters of the Committee were located at Toronto. His
torian Victor Hoar later described the nature of the National

Committee:

This committee, one of many bearing the same name created in democratic countries, assumed the responsibility of securing moral and financial support for the Spanish Republic. The committee never sought to recruit combattants, however, this activity was the special charge of the Communist Party of Canada.

Hundreds of citizens contributed time and talent to preparing speeches, canvassing and operating branch offices in Winnipeg, Windsor, Vancouver and Montreal. A deluge of propaganda material poured from the headquarters of the Spanish Aid Committee. Without question, the

issue of the civil war was thus kept alive and in the foreground long after it would have naturally expired as a subject of concern to Canadians. 32

Norman Lee, secretary for the Montreal Spanish Aid Committee, stated that the National Committee soon established branches in every major Canadian city, and campaigned regularly in the smaller towns. 33 The bulk of Canadian support for the Committee, however, came from Toronto and Montreal. 34

Support for the National Committee to Aid Spanish
Democracy in Canada was not confined nor controlled by any
particular faction that sympathized with Republican Spain.
Admittedly, the Canadian Spanish Aid Committee may have been
the initiative of the Communist Party, but the committee
also attracted other left-wing political movements, as well
as non-partisan humanitarians.

The honorary chairman of the National Committee was the Reverend Salem G. Bland, a western Nethodist minister and firm adherent to the social gospel theory. The chairman of the committee was a United Church minister, Ben Spence.

The vice-chairmen included Tim Buck -- national secretary of the Communist Party, Allan Dowd -- a communist, Graham Spry --

<sup>32</sup> V. Hoar, The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1969, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Norman Lee, interview.

<sup>34</sup> Miriam Kennedy, private interview, Montreal, September, 1969.

Ontario Provincial Secretary of the CCF and a member of its National Council. The executive council of the Canadian Spanish Aid Committee comprised sixteen members, and the council was advised by a national council of one hundred members. 35

The Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, aside from the support it received from the Communist Party and the CCF, also was backed by such organizations as the Toronto Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Union of Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers, the Toronto Labour Council (A. C. C. of L.), the Women's Labour League, the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy, the National Committees of the Finnish Society of Canada, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the Democratic Association of Hungarian-Canadians, the Jewish Labour League, and the Women's League for Peace and Freedom. 36

The relatively large support for the National Committee by Canadians of Bast European extraction stemmed from the fact that many had recently immigrated to Canada, and were concerned over the political imbroglio brewing in Europe. Czechs, Finns and Yugoslavs in Canada were particularly heavy financial supporters of the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, recalled Senator Carl Goldenberg,

<sup>. 35&</sup>lt;sub>Hoar</sub>, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> Buck, "Soldiers of Democracy," p. 16.

who was active at the time with the Spanish Aid Committee. 37

The Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy received support from the Quebec Labour Party -- the political arm of the Montreal Trades and Labour Council, and from local members of the CCF. Many prominent English Canadian businessmen added their names and contributions, including the head of Morgan's Department Stores, the presidents of Bell Telephone, Northern Electric and the Montreal Transportation Commission. Quebec Senator A. K. Hugessen (director of International Paints of Canada) and other politicians, as well as influential members of Montreal's English speaking intelligentsia, played no small role in the life of the Montreal Spanish Aid Committee.

Though, at first, the committee lacked popular support from French Canada, an increasing number of French Canadians -- including André Laurendeau of L'Action Nationale, started to attend committee meetings shortly after it sponsored a visit to Montreal by French novelist André Malraux, on behalf of Republican Spain. Several French Canadians, active members of the Montreal Committee, permitted their names to appear on committee letter-heads. 38 (See Appendix). Much of the Montreal Committee's

<sup>37</sup> Senator Carl Goldenberg, private interview, Montreal, September 1975; Norman Lee, interview.

<sup>38</sup> Donna Lee, private interview, Montreal, September, 1969; Norman Lee, interview.

circulation was printed in both French and English.

The Montreal Committee hosted the visits of a Spanish Republian delegation (October, 1936), and the renowned nevelist and Republican air pilot, André Malraux (April, 1937); and financed a return visit by Dr. Bethune (June, 1937). All toured North America under the auspices of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and other organizations sympathetic to the Spanish Republic. The repercussions of these visits to Montreal are particularly noteworthy.

exhibited great enthusiasm and independence during the civil war in Spain. Called at first the Spanish Medical Aid Committee of Montreal, the name was quickly changed to the Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, since the committee supplied more than a cical aid. Later on, a subcommittee entitled the Montreal Committee for the Spanish Children's Relief Campaign was established (see Appendix). This sub-committee was concerned with caring for Spanish war orphans on both sides of the struggle, cooperating with other such committees nationally.

America to care for Spanish war orphans, under the direction of Eleanor Roosevelt.

CH-4627 . 131

Attitudes During the Spanish Civil War, "The Spanish Civil War: Domestic Crisis or International Conspiracy?, ed. by G. Jackson, Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1967.

Taylor's article discussed a national committee in

The committee headquarters were located at Beaver Hall Hill. 40 The Committee Chairman was Jack Cuppello. a prominent trade unionist active with Montreal's Trades and Labour Council. The Secretary-Treasurer was Norman Lee. Active committee members, whose names appear on circulars, 41 represented a wide span of the political "loft" of Montreal, and included a number of individuals determined to check the spread of Fascism in Europe. These included university professors and lecturers E. R. Adair, J. C. Hemmeon, J. W. MacLerd, A. S. Noad, H. R. Reid, Frank Scott, R. B. Scott, TirWalter, Eugene Forsey and H. Carl Goldenberg -- the latter two both future senators. Several clergymen were also committee members: M. F. McCutcheon, D. L. Ritchie and Rábbi H. Stern. Others included Montreal engineers Jacques Bieler and Francis Hankin, Dr. E. A. Greenspon, Høbert Desaulniers (League for Social Reconstruction), W. D. Lighthall (former Westmount mayor), Mrs. Charles Sise (wife of a Bell Telephone president), Mrs. R. C. Harvey (daughter of a president of Shawinigan Water and Power Co.), and . Miriam Kennedy, the wife of the Canadian poet Leo Kennedy. 42

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix -- Statements of the Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Interviews, members of the Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Miriam Kennedy, a social activist with Montreal's Jewish community at the time, handled much of the publicity for the Montreal Committee. During committee campaigns, she always emphasized that the Spanish Aid Committee was not involved with the recruitment of the volunteer battalion in Canada for Republican Spain. As a matter of record, the Communist Party of Canada was exclusively responsible for the "Mac-Paps" (Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion), and the committee wanted this point publicized. 43

The work of the Montreal Committee was not without tribulation. Donna Lee, the Montreal representative to the National Council of the Spanish Aid Committee, remembered the seizure by provincial authorities of much of the Montreal Committee's literature during the early years of the Spanish Civil War, through strong reactionary pressure in Quebec. Committee work was much less harassed in the other provinces. The major French Canadian newspapers of Montreal were either hostile to the Spanish Popular Front or openly in support of Franco. These newspapers blatantly refused to publish committee material. The Montreal Daily Star and The Montreal Gazette were equally refuctant at first, but these newspapers became more receptive as the Spanish war continued. The Montreal Daily Merald, however,

<sup>43</sup> Miriam Kennedy, interview.

<sup>44</sup> Donna Lee, interview.

printed committee material throughout the war. 45

According to Norman Lee, the committee had to take extreme caution not to violate any Orders-in-Council passed by the federal government. It was faced constantly by the hostility of the French Canadian press and the Roman Catholic Church, and was a frequent target of Duplessis' Padlock Law.

Throughout the war, the Montreal Committee sponsored a variety of visits by outspoken personalities on behalf of Loyalist Spain. One such visit, by the British novelist Ralph Baites, filled Westmount's Victoria Hall to capacity. Another visit, by an Írish priest -- rather Flannigan, sponsored by the committee at Notre-Dame de Grace Community Hall, was sabotaged by Catholic students from Montreal's Loyola College, who forced the priest to stop his address. These same students began to circulate prof Franco literature in great quantity, issued by the Roman Catholic Church. 47 Perhaps the most controversial of the Committee's activities was the visit to Montreal of a Spanish Republican government delegation in October, 1936. The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy -- in cooperation with its various urban locals and the League Against War and Fascism,

<sup>45</sup>Donna and Norman Lee, interviews.

<sup>46</sup> Norman Lee, interview.

<sup>47</sup>Donna and Norman Lee, interviews.

sponsored this continental tour.

Principal figure of the delegation was Mrs. I.

Palencia, a member of the Spanish Cortes and delegate for

Spain to the League of Nations. She had recently attended

the British Labour Congress at Edinburgh, where she con
vinced the party delegates to abandon their apathetic policy

for the Spanish government, and declare their enthusiastic

support. Another member of the Republican delegation was

the president of the Left Republican Party of Spain and

former education minister with Spain's Azana government -
Marcelino Domingo. The final, and perhaps most controver
sial delegate, was the Basque Franciscan priest and writer

-- Reverend Luis Sarasola. 48

In Montreal, this delegation was invited to address the Social Problems club at McGill University. The Spanish Aid Committee had also arranged for a public address by the delegation at the Mount Royal Arena.

From the moment of the delegation's arrival in Montreal, trouble was anticipated. "Rumours of friction" at the train station where the delegation arrived did not materialize. Instead, the Spanish party was met by a small number of well-wishers "including Dr. R. Gotfried, whose daughter Alma presented Senora Palencia with a bouquet of flowers on behalf of the medical aid division of the

<sup>48</sup> The McGill Daily, October 23, 1936, p. 1; Peck, p. 45.

Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. 49

What criteria were there for prompting these rumours of friction with regard to the arrival of the Republican delegation? An editorial by Omer Heroux in Le Devoir of Montreal, entitled "Autour de la délégation," reminded readers that the delegation was touring Canada before it visited the United States of America, for its Canadian "friends" were perhaps more numerous, and better organized. Assistance the delegation received from the Congress of Trades and Labour was emphasized. Discussing the nature of the Spanish delegates, Heroux added:

... Mr. Domingo pretends that the struggle is between liberty and tyranny, between democracy and dictatorship, newly won rights and old privileges. Briefly, the struggle is between civilization and barbarism -- and the barbarism is on the Madrid side!

The priest in the delegation pretends to be of the same opinion as his Basque Catholic brothers, but he obtains no mandate of any sort. He stated he wasn't here as a priest, but as a simple Spanish citizen, a member of the delegation of the Madrid government. This settles the truth of his presence in Canada. 50

Republican delegation as anathematic to the traditional values of French Canadian society. Rumilly defined the Spanish Popular Front as a combination of republicanism,

<sup>49</sup> The Montreal Daily Herald, October 23, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Le Devoir, Montreal, October 23, 1936, p. 1. (translation).

communism, anarchy and anti-Catholicism. Stressing the fact that Pope Pius XI condemned both communist and popular front ideologies, Rumilly described Father Sarasola of the Spanish delegation as a banished Franciscan priest who was included in the delegation for the purpose of gaining French Canadian Catholic support. Rumilly reminded his readers that "the delegation has been well received in English circles, and even more so in Jewish circles."

The religious status of Father Sarasola became a contentious issue within Catholic circles of the province, and this controversy obscured, at times, the purpose of the delegation's visit -- to earn moral and financial support for the Spanish Republican government. An article in <a href="Saturday Night">Saturday Night</a> criticized the inclusion of a priest in the delegation's visit to Montreal for this very reason. 52

L'Illustration Nouvelle, edited by Adrien Arcand, reported the action taken by the Archbishop of Montreal concerning the presence and intentions of Father Sarasola:
"L'Archevêché de Montréal a addressé un avertissement à tous les journaux au sujet de la visite à Montréal de ce prêtre apostat portant le costume ecclesiastique." 53 This

Vol. 36, Ottawa: Editions Fides, 1966, pp. 37-39.

<sup>52</sup> Saturday Night, The Canadian Illustrated Weekly, Toronto, Vol. 51, no. 52, October 31, 1936, p. 1.

p. 3. Solution Nouvelle, Montreal, October 23, 1936,

circular was published in the 'Gazette:

"Archbishop's Palace, Montreal October 22nd, 1936

"Father Luis y Sarasola, who, we are informed, will speak in Montreal shortly, has presented to the ecclesiastical authorities neither his credentials from his legitimate superior, nor any document permitting him to celebrate Mass, as he is obliged to, both by Canon Law and Diocesan regulations.

"Moreover, he appears, not to say more from what the newspapers report, to take an attitude contrary to the solemn declarations made by His Holiness, the Pope, some days ago, as well as to those of the Bishops of Spain concerning the sad events that are now taking place in that country.

"We, consequently, warn our Catholics against his affirmations.

"The Chancellor."54

The Franciscan Order in Quebec was considered by Norman Lee as one of the more "left-winged" of the Catholic orders. 55 Nonetheless, the Franciscans did not officially defend Sarasola's position and in a letter published in The McGill Dâily, urged him to bow to the demands of the Catholic hierarchy:

"23 octobre, 1936

"Mý Very Dear Father Sarasola,

"I am charged by the Very Reverend Father Georges-Albert Laplante, O. F. M. Ministre Provinciale, now absent, to offer you the most cordial hospitality at our Convent St. Joseph, 2010 Dorchester Street.

. "We believe you are obliged to act as you are doing. However that may be, since your

The Gazette, Montreal, October 23, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Norman Lee, interview.

presence in the meeting this evening would create a great scandal in our country, we beg of you in the name of our common Father Saint Francis to respond to our insistent and fraternal invitation.

"Very affectionately yours, in our Lord,

"Fr. Archange Godbout, O. F. M. Definiteur Provincial, Fr. Joseph H. Poisson, O. F. M. Secrétaire Provincial."56

Franciscan Order was reprinted in the <u>McGill Daily</u>. <sup>57</sup> He denied any communist affiliations and claimed to be a fellow Franciscan of good standing as well as a representative of the Spanish government. Sarasola reinforced his position in the Republican delegation the following day, during a luncheon interview at the Berkeley Hotel:

... I am a Franciscan, but I am not here as a representative of the Catholic Church or of any section thereof. I am simply a member of a delegation from the constitutional government of Spain. I recognize the duty of Montreal Catholics to obey their ecclesiastical superiors, and I have nothing more to say on that point `...58

The delegation addressed the Social Problems Club at McGill University. The nature of their talk was on the conflict between fascism and democracy in Spain. Prior to the address, several students from the University of Montreal

<sup>56</sup> The McGill Daily, October 26, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> The Montreal Daily Herald, October 24, 1936, p. 1.

attempted to enter the meeting, but were prevented from doing so. The following day, an article in <u>Le Quartier</u>

<u>Latin</u>, the newspaper of the University of Montreal, accused McGill students of preventing their reporters from attending the address. The article commented on the nature of the Social Problems Club:

... ils sont hypocrites et ils cachent sous une façade de démocratie et de liberté le desir d'implanter petit à petit le communisme. Cela ne serait pas étonnant, n'oublions pas que McGill possède un professeur qui, sous un faux nom, agit comme secrétaire du parti communiste à Montréal:59

The delegation's proposed <u>public address</u> for the night of October 23 at the Mount Royal Arena aroused much criticism in French Canadian Catholic circles. The regional committee of the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Montreal -- whose members included delegates from the Montreal and surrounding parishes, held an assembly at the Monument National to discuss the Spanish delegation's intended public address. It was resolved that the St. Jean Baptiste Society's committee would request the procureurgeneral, the president, and the members of Montreal's urban executive committee to disallow "the communist display that is to take place at the Mount Royal Arena, on the occasion of the visit of the delegates of the Spanish Popular Front",

<sup>59&</sup>lt;u>Le Quartier Latin</u>, Montreal, October 30, 1936; p. 2.

on the grounds that it would have endangered peace of public order. 60

delegation of University of Montreal students the day of the proposed public address by the Spanish delegation. Over three hundred students descended on police headquarters and City Hall, demanding that the address be cancelled on the grounds that the meeting would be a communist rally. City Hall Director Dufresne admitted twenty members of the student delegation into his office, assuring them that "no breach of law and order would be allowed" with regard to the public address that evening.

An emergency session of the Montreal Executive Committee was called the same day. Presiding over the session were the president of the Montreal Executive Committee,

M. J. Savignac; the director of police service F. Dufresne;
and the director of municipal constituencies, G. SaintPierre. The following resolutions were enacted, though not enforced -- as events were to prove:

... M. Fernand Dufresne, de par ses fonctions, est obligé de tolérer la tenue de l'assemblée ... à l'Arena Mont-Royal et pour plusieurs raisons. Tout d'abord la délégation sera accueillé dans une salle appartenant à une organisation privée .... Si les orateurs s'attaquent à la réligion, s'ils incitent

1

<sup>60</sup> Le Devoir, October 23, 1936, p. 1. (Translation).

<sup>61</sup> The Liontreal Daily Herald, October 23, 1936, p. 1.

leurs auditeurs à la révolution ou au soulèvement, alors la police aura le droit d'agir et pourra mettre la main au collet des délégués ....62

Tension began to mount in Montreal over the delegation's proposed address. The Montreal Daily Herald informed its readers:

... officials of local organizations to the loyalists had applied for permission to stage an antidemonstration in the vicinity of the Arena. One of the delegations went so far as to ask for permission to wreck tonight's meeting.

Frank Scott recalled no granting of any permit from civic authorities for any such demonstration that night.  $^{64}$ 

More French Canadian students began to mass in front of City Hall, demanding that the public address be cancelled. Many of these students were dismissed from afternoon classes by their teachers -- mostly clerics. 65

Fearing trouble, and under great pressure from civic and religious authorities, "Pro-Mayor McKenna announced amid cheers, that the meeting would be banned." Following this announcement, bands of students and other "patriotic" French Canadian youth groups demonstrated in front of the McGill

<sup>62</sup> L'Illustration Nouvelle, October 23, 1936, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> The Montreal Daily Herald, October 23, 1936, p. 1.

Frank Scott, private interview, Montreal, October,

<sup>65</sup> Thid.

<sup>66</sup> The Canadian Forum, December, 1936, p. 8.

Union, where the Spanish delegates had addressed the Social Problems Club. However, "McGill students were on hand and at the first show of opposition, the French youngsters retired." 67

The sponsors of the Arena address, in the meantime, rented Victoria Hall to accommodate the meeting that evening. Westmount authorities feared they would not be able to provide adequate protection for the address, and anticipating trouble, cancelled permission for the use of Victoria Hall. Rumours of a Westmount meeting for the Spanish delegation had spread, and by evening the Montreal suburb was invaded by several hundred French Canadians who precipitated a minor riot.

Meanwhile, the friends of the Spanish delegates arranged for a small private assembly in the Mount Royal Hotel. Word of this assembly spread, and the hotel manager was informed by Montreal police to stop the address, since an angry crowd was converging on the hotel. The manager turned the lights off on the assembly of over one hundred people, and requested them to disperse.

Frank Scott described the rioting that ensued, as "Montreal's first great street demonstration. No authority seemed to exist that night." Fred Rose wrote that "only

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>68</sup> Frank Scott, interview.

two arrests were made, and one of them was none other than Marc Carrière ...", shortly to become Jean Drapeau's election manager. According to The Montreal Daily Star, Carrière was a member of Les Jeunesses Patriotes, "an organization that advocated a fascist-corporatist state in the province of Quebec."

Riots occurred in various districts of Montreal that night. Crowds of demonstrators paraded through the streets shouting "A bas les communistes! A bas les apostats!" and chanting "O, Canada." Windows of Jewish stores, as well as those of the Montreal Daily Star and Montreal Daily Herald buildings, were smashed. 71

The Spanish Republican delegation quickly departed for New York City. Miriam Kennedy recalled slipping out of the Mount Royal Hotel with the Spanish delegates, unnoticed by the angry demonstrators. They subsequently raced to the train station, where the delegates quickly left for New York. 72

The flight of the Spanish delegation heralded as a

<sup>69</sup>Fred Rose, <u>Hitler's Fifth Column in Quebec</u>, Toronto: Progress Books, 1942, p. 45.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., p. 45. Carrière was interned during the Second World War.

<sup>71</sup> The Canadian Forum, December, 1936, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>Miriam Kennedy, interview.

victory for anti-communist forces in Quebec. <u>Le Quartier</u>
<u>Latin</u> commented:

Nous avons gagné notre point: ils n'ont pas parlé. Domingo, Senora Palencia et compagnie se sont enfuis de Montreal, sans doute aussi vite qu'ils s'étaient suivés d'Espagne quand les choses ont commencé à mal tourner pour eux et leurs amis communistes du Front Populaire. C'est d'ailleurs une habitude, chez cette sorte de gens, de répondre aux attaques par l'éloquence d'une fuite précipitée. 73

Tempers remained angry in Montreal after the Spanish delegation's departure. On October 25, le Comité des Oeuvres Catholiques organized a mammoth demonstration to celebrate the Feast of Christ at Montreal's Champ-de-Mars, where communist activities in the province were denounced. A crowd estimated at approximately one hundred thousand people, attended the rally, where "un système de hautparleurs installés en plein air transméttait les discours qui furent prononcés a l'intérieur du manège." The nature of this demonstration was summarized in Montreal's La Patrie:

L'Université, La Politique, Le Travail se rencontrent dans cette manifestation. Plus de 100,000 catholiques se pressaient, hier après midi, au manège militaire de la rue Craig et sur le Champ-de-Mars, pour entendre Mgr. Gauthier, archevêque coadjuteur de Montréal, dénoncer le communisme et condamner l'appui donné par certains groupes canadiens aux loyalistes espagnols ....75

<sup>73</sup> Le Quartier Latin, October 30, 1936, p. 1.

L'Illustration Nouvelle, October 26, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>75&</sup>lt;sub>La Patrie</sub>, Montreal, October 26, 1936, p. 4.

Following the rally, a demonstration assembled in front of the offices of the Montreal Daily Herald, denouncing the paper as "imperialist". The paper was sympathetic to the plight of the Spanish delegation in Montreal.

Following this protest, the demonstrators -- over three hundred youths under the banner of "Jeunesse Etudiants Catholique" -- proceeded along St. James Street, where they demonstrated in front of several English-speaking financial companies. A mob of 2,000 youths, that same day, gathered at the corner of St. Catherine and Montcalm Streets, chanting "A bas le communisme! A bas les Juifs!" The Spanish Republican delegation had precipitated not only the denunciation of the popular front in Quebec, but also an outbreak a nationalism.

The students of the University of Montreal who spear-headed these demonstrations, were commended for their actions by various Catholic and French Canadian authorities in Quebec. The editors of Le Quantier Latin defended the actions of their students:

... On nous accuse d'avoir, par notre délégation de vendredi matin, poussé le cher Dufresne à interdire le droit de parole aux délégués du front populaire. A cela, nous répondons: "Oui,

<sup>76</sup> The Monteal Daily Herald, October 26, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>77</sup> Pierre Turgeon, "La Guerre Civile Espagnole Fut Pour Nous Une Croisade Contre L'Atheisme,", La Presse, Perspectives, Montreal: July 17, 1971, p. 3.

et nous nous en glorifions. Nous félicitons Roland Guy, instigateur de cette délégation. Nous recommencerons, s'il le faut."78

Maurice Duplessis, premier and attorney-general of Quebec, was quoted in <u>Le Canada</u>:

... Ie procureur général félicite ensuite hautement les étudiants de l'Université de Montréal pour leur contre-manifestation de vendredi soir dans les rues de la métropole, le soir de l'assemblée organisée en faveur de gouvernement espagnol. Je veux dire ici combien de fierté j'ai éprouvée lorsque j'ai appris que les étudiants avaient empêché les communistes de parler à Montréal. Les étudiants, fiers des principes de leurs adieux qui ont fait l'épopée du Canada, ont posé là un acte bien consolant.79

The actions of civic and provincial authorities over the visit of the Spanish delegation to Montreal became a subject of controversy on the local, national and even international scene.

The action taken by Montreal's Mayor Rayneault was lauded in various Catholic and French Canadian circles.

Most nationalist societies in the province, as well as the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Canadienne (A. C. J. C.) congratulated the mayor.

Montreal's English Catholic institution, Loyola

College, shortly after the controversial visit of the

Spanish Republican delegation, heard an address delivered by

Father Bryan, S. J.

<sup>78</sup> Le Quartier Latin, October 30, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> The Canadian Forum, December, 1936, p. 8.

... Father Bryan ... before an audience that packed the College auditorium ... delivered an indictment of Communism that was exceptionally instructive and because of recent occurrences in this city, very opportune.

During his discourse, he made it clear that while he was definitely against Communism, he was by no means in favour of Fascism, on the contrary,

he loathed both ....

He quoted ample citations from official reports from Rome to disprove the claims that the Communist atrocities in Spain are exaggerated. In these were named sixteen Jesuits whose violent deaths have been officially reported by their superiors. Eighteen others are most probably dead, forty-one more are in prisons with little hope of rescue. 80

Montreal's Archbishop Georges Gauthier highly approved of the prohibition of the Spaniards' address, but regretted the fact that the demonstration in front of City Hall was not greater. Cardinal Villeneuve praised Rayneault's intervention, adding: "the freedom of speech is not the freedom to slander our social outlook, ... our traditions ... our customs and our religion .... "81 Following Villeneuve's pronouncement, a petition drawn up by a number of nationalist associations was dispatched to the Justice Minister, demanding a ban on communistic activity — already enforced in Ontario. The outcome of these efforts

<sup>80</sup> The Loyola News, Montreal, Vol. 13, no. 4, October 31, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Cameron Nish, ed., Quebec In the Duplessis Era, 1935-1959: Dictatorship or Democracy?, Foronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1970, pp. 108-109.

culminated in Quebec's infamous Padlock Law in 1937.82

Several days after the flight of the Spanish delegation from Montreal, an editorial in The McGill Daily accused Montreal's civic authorities of supporting the demands of certain groups in the city who sought to prevent freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press. The question of civil liberty in Quebec arose with the denial of the Spanish delegation's public address:

... No longer is the discussion of the preservation of democracy and civil liberty an academic one concerning events happening in Germany, Spain or Italy. It has now come home to us with shocking clarity and suddenness that the struggle has already commenced in our own country, indeed in our very city. 83

## Montreal's The Gazette commented:

Democracy is in a precarious condition if a sane and considered statement for a lawful government is prevented from being given in a British country by threats of violence from irresponsible elements. The three (Spanish) delegates are travelling on diplomatic passports and have held meetings in Toronto, Ottawa and Hamilton.

An article in <u>Saturday Night</u> criticized the tactics employed by the Duplessis regime to suppress "the growth of socialism within the borders of the Province of Quebec":

A. Levesque-Olssen, "The Canadian Left in Quebec During the Great Depression: The Communist Party of Canada and the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation in Quebec, 1929-1939", Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1972, p. 189.

<sup>83</sup> The McGill Daily, October 27, 1936, p. 2.

The Gazette, October 24, 1936.

... It may be that all that is necessary is for Mr. Duplessis and his officials to ignore any existing legislation against mob disorder, when mob disorder happens to be directed against causes of which they disapprove. 85

An editorial in <u>The Canadian Forum</u> criticized Montreal authorities for banning an officially sanctioned meeting, while not prohibiting unauthorized street demonstrations. 86

Both these Toronto publications commented on the relatively apathetic position assumed by <u>The Montreal Daily Star</u> and <u>The Gazette</u> on the crisis developed by the visit of the Spanish delegation. 87 In response, these Montreal newspapers defended the Duplessis-big business entente in the province at the time, and their refusal to publicly support the Spanish Popular Front. When the intentions of Mitler and Mussolini for European domination became more obvious, the English language press of Montreal — as the English big business interests in the province in general — began to sympathize more openly with the plight of Republican Spain. 88

The Winnipeg Free Fress accused fascist blackguards, with the assistance of Montreal civic authorities and the approval of the Roman Catholic Church, of preventing any

<sup>85</sup> Saturday Night, October 31, 1936, p. 3.

<sup>86</sup> The Canadian Forum, December, 1936, p. 8.

<sup>87</sup> Saturday Night, October 31, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>88</sup> Norman Dee, interview.

public meeting for the Spanish Republican delegation. It noted that many meetings in support of the Spanish fascists and their Italian and German allies had been held in Montreal with bishops and cardinals in attendance. The issue of the Spanish delegation's visit was declared "the vital one of civil liberty and free speech in Quebec."

The Canadian Forum claimed that fascist "organizations" were responsible for intimidating citizens, even the authorities, in Montreal during the visit of the Spanish delegation. These fascist organizations were responsible for the drift away from democracy in Juebec:

... Already Jews, Free Masons, communists and socialists are "outlaws" in the minds of these fascist youths. The next in line for this distinction are Protestants, liberals, democrats and the English generally. Before this nationalist movement is spent, all Canadians may have to make up their minds whether they really believe in democracy enough to be ready to fight for it ...90

Whether or not many citizens of Montreal sympathized with the Spanish Popular Front, nonetheless the prohibition of the delegation's address aroused some degree of local consternation. An editorial in The McGill Daily discussed the growing menaces of communism and fascism in Europe, noting that these two forces were "making themselves felt

<sup>89</sup> The Winnipeg Free Press, Winnipeg, November 3, 1936, p. 13.

<sup>90</sup> The Canadian Forum, December 1936, p. 8.

especially here, in the province of Quebec."91

Le Fasciste Canadien, a Montreal monthly under the direction of Adrien Arcand, criticized Montreal authorities for preventing "allegedly" fascist meetings readily, while a communist rally, such as the proposed address by the Spanish Republican delegation, was prevented only after such great public outcry:

La liberté démocratique a encore permis à de sinistres empoissoneurs communistes de venir faire leur oeuvre malsaine au Canada: les délégués du Front Populaire espagnol chargés de nous bourrer de mensonges. A Montréal, il a fallu que la foule suppléât à la légalité pour leur fermer la margoulette. Quand le Fascisme sera au pouvoir, ces serpents seront rapidement expédiés au général légué polonais s'est plaint qu'il y a Franco. 92

An editorial appeared in Montreal's <u>Canadian Jewish</u>
<u>Chronicle</u>, evaluating the repercussions of the visit to
Montreal by the Spanish delegation. The editorial described
the roving bands of youth that demonstrated throughout the
city as "new custodians of law and order in Montreal."
Civil authorities were criticized for their failure to
"dispel the belief that these youths were the banner-bearers
of an authorized policy." The article commented on the
anti-Semitic chants of the demonstrators following the
flight of the delegation:

<sup>91</sup> The McGill Daily, October 23, 1936, p. 2.

<sup>92</sup> Le <u>Fasciste Canadien</u>, Montreal, Vol. 2, no. 6, November, 1936, p. 5.

have added another enemy to their list: "A bas les Communistes; A bas les Imperialistes; and of course, A bas les Juifs". Politics acquaints us with strange bedfellows, and so we find Communism and its arch-enemy Imperialism, suddenly thrown into each other's arms. The anti-imperialist move is to preserve the national character of the people, the anti-communist campaign is to save the religious fintegrity of the people, while the anti-Jewish drive is to preserve the people from every economic ill, ranging from the low water level in the St. Lawrence River to the floods of last spring ....93

Dr. Norman Bethune, soon to leave for his medical mission to Madrid, criticized civil authorities for their prohibition of the Spanish delegation's address. He returned to the large sums of money collected for medical aid to Republican Spain at rallies for the delegation in Toronto, Hamilton and Ottawa. "The lives of one thousand Spanish women and children have been sacrificed by the attitude of Montreal city authorities and the police," declared, Bethune. "Thousands of Montrealers were eager to hear the Spaniards and would undoubtedly have contributed generously to the fund ...."

The prohibition of the delegation's address by civic authorities was also criticized by the Canadian Society for the Rights of Man. Hubert Desaulniers, considered by historian Robert Rumilla as a "social outcast" of French

<sup>30, 1936,</sup> p. 3. Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Montreal, October

The Montreal Daily Herald, October 26, 1936, p. 1.

Canadian society, 95 issued the official protest on behalf of this organization.

A direct result of the repercussions in Montreal over the visit of the Spanish Republican delegation, was the formation of The League for the Protection of Civil Rights and Democracy, commonly referred to as the Civil Liberties Union. 96 Support for this league came from such movements as the C. C. F., the League for Social Reconstruction, the Social Christian Movement, the United Theological College, and from a variety of "democratic-minded" individuals including Hubert Desaulniers, Miriam Kennedy and Frank Scott. 97

Meanwhile the Spanish Republican delegation continued their tour of North America. Warm receptions awaited them at Vancouver and Winnipeg, although they were not warmly received at Regina. 98. According to reminiscences of Senora Palencia. 99 Montreal was the delegation's most controversial

<sup>·95&</sup>lt;sub>Nish</sub>, p. 108.

<sup>96</sup> Miriam Kennedy and Frank Scott, interviews.

<sup>97</sup> Ernest Lapointe, "The Padlock Will Not Be Disallowed Or Referred to the Supreme Court of Canada," The Dirty Thirties: Canadians In the Great Depression, ed. by Michiel Horn, Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1972, pp. 689-693; The Montreal Daily Herald, October 24, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>98</sup> Peck, pp. 47-49.

<sup>99</sup> Frank Scott, interview. Senora Palencia resided in Mexico after the Spanish Civil War. Here, she recounted the experiences of the Spanish delegation to Frank Scott.

port-of-call.

The visit of the Spanish Republican delegation to Montreal, and the repercussions that ensued, revealed an ideological crisis. The prohibition of the delegation's address and their hasty departure, represented a victory to many in Quebec for nationalism and Catholic social doctrine, as well as a victory over imperialism, atheism and communism. To others, the denial of the Spanish delegation's address symbolized the denial of free speech, a display of authoritarianism, a surrender to fascism. It was inevitable that any manifestation for the Spanish Popular Front in Quebec would precipitate a controversy. The crisis caused by the Spanish Republican delegation set a precedent for further manifestations for the Spanish Popular Front in Montreal.

PART TWO: , 1937

18

By February 1937, the Nationalist forces in Spain had captured the port of Malaga. The infamous destruction of the Basque village of Guernica by the Nazi Condor air squadrons occurred in April. Negrin replaced Caballera as prime minister of the beleaguered Republic in May. By October, the Nationalists secured control of northern Spain.

Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King attended the 1937 Imperial Conference in London in May, where nations of the Commonwealth reviewed foreign and defense policies in light of recent international developments. Canada's parliament ratified the Imperial Foreign Enlistment Act, by which Canadian nationals were not permitted to enlist in the armed forces of foreign states at war with states friendly to Canada. In July, the Foreign Enlistment Act was applied to Spain, prohibiting Canadians from enlisting in either the Republican or Nationalist forces. Volunteers from Canada for the International Brigades in Spain continued to reach Madrid nonetheless. By July 1937, there were enough Canadian volunteers to form the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion within the Brigades.

The political scene in Quebec was dominated by a conflict with the federal government over the Royal Commission on Federal-Provincial Relations. Duplessis resisted any threats to provincial autonomy, such as the

Federal Unemployment Insurance Scheme, while attempting to curb "communistic" activities in Quebec through the enactment of the notorious Padlock Act. It especially hampered the activity for the support of the Spanish Popular Front in Montreal. Efforts on behalf of Republican Spain continued in Montreal, nevertheless. McGill University remained a center of Republican support throughout the civil war. A group of dedicated intellectuals and professionals here directed a medical aid fund drive for Bethune's clinic in Madrid. They also staged a "mock parliament" that condemned the world for their betrayal of the Spanish Republic, and contributed many articles to The McGill Daily in favour of the Spanish Popular Front.

The International Trade Union movement in Montreal continued their support of the Spanish Republic. Their French Canadian press in Montreal, <u>Le Jour</u>, began a column in October that outlined the progress of the Republican forces in Spain.

Several personalities visited Montreal in 1937 to elicit support for either Republican of Nationalist Spain. Alfred Costes, a communist member of the French Government, was denied a public platform on behalf of Republican Spain. Jane Anderson, an American news correspondent in Spain, addressed Montreal's English-speaking Catholic community at Loyola College on behalf of Nationalist Spain. Canadian economist B. J. Field discussed his visit behind Republican

men's Circle. A controversial rally at Montreal's American Presbyterian Church for French novelist André Malraux, who served as a fighter pilot for the Spanish Républic, and a return visit by Doctor Norman Bethune from Madrid for a fund raising appeal; highlighted activities in Montreal for the Spanish Popular Front in 1937.

A more detailed look at each of these visits will indicate the continued ideological rift within Montreal's intelligentsia.

Montreal's Workmen's Circle And Trades And Labour Council Endorse the Spanish Popular Front

Manifestations for Republican Spain by trade unions in Montreal were not uncommon. The Workmen's Circle -- a Jewish trade unionist society located on St. Lawrence Blvd., sponsored a discussion on Republican Spain by a Canadian economist, B. J. Field, in January 1937. Literature released by the Workmen's Circle was mostly written in Yiddish, spoken mostly by Jews of East European extraction. The lecture was announced in The Canadian Jewish Chronicle:

## B. J. Field, Just Back From Europe, To Talk On "What I Saw In Spain":

B. J. Field, economist and lecturer, has just returned from an extensive trip through Spain and Western Europe as a delegate to the recent Brussels Congress Against War, Fascism and Imperialism, and

to the Spanish Workers' Marxist Party (P. O. U. M.). In Barcelona, he spoke over the P. O. U. M. radio station, and wrote for the party's daily paper, <u>La Batalla</u> ....

In Montreal, the Trades and Labour Council, under the auspices of its political arm -- the Canadian Labour Party, Quebec Section, set up a Conference in Aid of the Spanish Peoples' Government. The following extract from a document prepared by this conference, related the Republican struggle in Spain to the trade union struggle in Canada, and listed some of the labour organizations in Canada that supported the Spanish Popular Front:

What Would A Rebel Victory Mean To the World?
A victory for the Spanish People's Front Government is a victory for World Peace and Democracy. No intelligent Canadian, unless grossly misinformed, can have the slightest sympathy with the rebel leaders in Spain. All our traditions, our mode of life and our traditions place us naturally on the side of Spanish Democracy, and that is, without doubt where we would be, were it not for the propaganda coming from certain quarters, where love for Spain is measured in the dollars and cents, extracted from the Spanish people, and by the same trusts that are bleeding the Canadian people.

People's Government of Spain was unanimously

People's Government of Spain was unanimously endorsed by the recent convention of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, chief legislative body of the International Unions; by the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, and by every Trades and Labour Council in Canada, including Montreal; by the CCF and a host of other organizations, non labour and non political, and by most of the Trade Unions of Europe and Americas.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1937,</sup> p. 2. Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Montreal, January .5,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>See Appendix: Statement by the Conference in Aid of the Spanish People's Government, Labour Party of Canada, Quebéc section.

This article accused large trusts of supporting a rebel victory in Spain. Gabriel Jackson, author of The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939, described the trade between the American-owned Vacuum Oil Company at Tantier, as well as the Texaco Oil and Gas Company, and Spanish insurgent held ports, throughout the civil war. Jackson discussed the availability of the British Telephone Company lines at Gibraltar for military staff of the Spanish insurgents.

Efforts to raise support for the Spanish Popular Front were challenged in Montreal. A fascist movement in the province founded a committee to secure relief for Franco's insurgents in Spain. This became known as The Committee to Aid Franco.

During the Great Depression, racism in French Canada was identified most easily by movements of anti-Semitism and pan-Latinism. Features of racism that were prevalent in certain sectors of French Canada, were described by Canadian communist Fred Rose:

Aryanism and Latinism are two terms imported into the province of Quebec by the agents of Mussolini and Hitler.

French Canadians, descendants of Normans and Bretons, are told by Arcand that they are Aryans, and by the Italian agent of the type of Bouchard that they are Latins. As Latins, they are called upon to link themselves with Italian and Brazilian Fascism, and, of course, with Franco and his "Latin" Moors and "Latin" Germans.3

Fred Rose, <u>Fascism Over Canada</u>: <u>An Expose</u>, Toronto: New Era Publishers Ltd., 1938, p. 16.

The Aryan, anti-Semitic movement in Quebec centered around Adrien Arcand's Parti tional Social Chrétien, though the movement was by no means exclusive to the Arcand party. The Latin movement centered around Paul Bouchard, editor of La Nation of Quebec City, though not solely under Bouchard's influence.

The Arcand movement assumed a negative campaign.

While it paid lip service to French Canadian nationalism, corporatism and Catholicism, it concentrated on such traditional fears in French Canada as immigration and the Jew.

Arcand was editor of L'Illustration Nouvelle and Le Fasciste Canadien, the latter journal being devoted almost exclusively to his party's racist outlook, with a heavy emphasis on anti-Semitism. Arcand's movement linked itself with the German Nazi movement, and drew much of its anti-Semitic rhetoric from this source. A deluge of anti-Semitic propaganda was circulated under the auspices of Arcand's party. Fred Rose argued that anti-Semitic material, printed in Germany or in Canada, was financed by Goebbel's propaganda bureau, and distributed throughout Canada.

The Parti National Social Chrétien led an active anti-Semitic campaign during the depression. Aside from

Fred Rose, "Unmask Fascists Spies," A Democratic Front for Canada: Reports, Speeches, Resolutions at the Thirteenth Session of the Dominion Executive Communist Party of Canada, June, 1938, Toronto, Toronto: New Era Publishers Ltd., 1938, p. 114.

propaganda circulars and its own press, mammoth rallies were held where party propaganda was widely distributed. Arcand addressed a group of McGill students in May 1936, under the auspices of the Student Christian Movement. Demonstrations were not infrequent, usually in the form of parades through the working class districts and the Jewish ghetto of Montreal. Fred Rose, commenting on these street demonstrations, in 1938 stated: "it was necessary that the beginnings, made in Montreal to keep fascists away from the working class districts, be intensified." As the depression lingered, anti-Semitic manifestations grew more frequent. Ted Allan, a left-wing activist in the Montreal Jewish community at the time, later recalled:

The news from Spain became more urgent, and at home native Fascist groups, encouraged by the successes of their cohorts abroad, began running amok in the streets. Franco's drive towards Madrid was accompanied by attacks on Jewish citizens in Montreal, depredations against Jewish shopkeepers, racist propaganda imported from Berlin.

Latin solidarity was exclusively invoked through the pages of L'Italia Nuova, published in Montreal. This

<sup>5&</sup>quot; Immense Succes du Ralliement Fasciste," <u>Le Fasciste Canadien</u>, Vol. 2, no. 6, November 1936, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Rose, Fascism Over Canada: An Expose, p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Ted Allan, interview.

<sup>8</sup> Rose, "Unmaşk Fascist Spies," p. 118.

<sup>9</sup>Allan and Gordon, p. 107.

sixteen page weekly had a six page special French section called "Le Canadien Latin." There were two pages printed in English. 10 A Latin League was established by the Italian Consulate in Montreal in the 1930's. According to Fred Rose:

... This plan for turning Quebec more and more into a base for fascist operations in the Western Hemisphere, car be seen clearly from the fact that a Latin League has been established in Montreal, run by the Italien Consul, Mr. De Simone, which unites the pro-fascist countries in Central and South America, and which Il Duce's agents also use to impress the French Canadian people with the power of the Latin race.ll

Some French Canadian proponents of the corporate state, identified with the fascist mode in Europe. An article in Le Fasciste Canadien outlined the fascist premise of corporatism:

Le Corporatisme n'est qu'une forme extérieure d'organisation sociale: quel en est le fond? Le Fascisme ....

Tenter le Corporatisme en démocratie est une irréalisable illusion, car le Corporatisme est une forme d'unité tandis que la démocratie est un mécanisme de désunion et de démembrement.

Le Corporatisme exige une conception du Pouvoir de celle que les foules ont aujourd'hui; car, et c'est là ce qu'il faut comprendre: le Corporatisme doit être nécessairement politique et économique avant d'être social ....12

Professor Jean Bruchesi from the history department of the

Rose, Fascism Over Canada: An Expose, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Rose, "Unmask Fascist Spies," p. 113.

<sup>12</sup> Le Fasciste Canadien, Vol. 2, no. 6, November 1936, p. 8.

University of Montreal, idealized the corporate regime of Primo de Rivera in pre-Republican Spain:

... L'Espagne d'abord, ou le gouvernement dictatorial de Primo de Rivera dressa, dès 1926, les cadres d'une organisation professionelle sur le plan corporatif: Comités paritaires, locaux et régionaux, de patrons et de salariés, Commissions mixtes du travail, Conseils corporatifs pour chacun des dix-huit groupements prévus, et Commission déléguée des Conseils, appelée à collaborer avec le ministère du Travail.13

Italian intervention and Portuguese sympathy on behalf of the Spanish Nationalists did not surprise French Canadians. The clergy in French Canada viewed Mussolini and Franco with great favour during the early years of the Spanish Civil War. Mussolini's regime had not yet assumed dictatorial proportions, but it had received wide public confirmation here for its campaign in Ethiopia.

Bouchard, editor of <u>La Nation</u>, a fascist weekly in Quebec City, sought to raise sympathy in French Canada for the cause of fascism through a religious appeal:

le fascisme, doctrine latine, vient de Rome comme vient de Rome la doctrine Catholique ... le fascisme, forme politique du corporatisme social est la seule doctrine parce qu'elle a à sa base les directives pontificales, qui pourra en sauvegardant leur intérêts leur assurer le maximum de bien-être moral, et matériel. 14

Though not under the auspices of the Parti National Social Chrétien, <u>Le Fasciste Canadien</u> reported the

<sup>13</sup> Semaines Sociales du Canada, Montreal: Ecole Sociale Populaire, 1936, Session 14, p. 231.

<sup>14</sup> La Nation, Quebec City, October 29, 1936.

organization of "un Comité Canadien d'Aide à Franco -- Pour Sauver l'Espagne Catholique." Most Likely through the direction of one of the Catholic Orders, funds were collected and forwarded to the Spanish Nationalists. Le Fasciste Canadien published a list of its readers (initials only) who sent in contributions, as well as the amount of each contribution, to this committee. The alignment of the Roman Catholic Church with Franco's "crusade" was a most important motive for French Canadian support of Nationalist Spain.

## The McGill University Debating Club's Mock Parliament on the Betrayal of Republican Spain

McGill University was a center for considerable activity on behalf of Republican Spain. In February 1937, the McGill Debating Club, with the cooperation of several former McGill graduates, held a mock parliament in the McGill Union Ballroom to "resolve whether or not the democratic nations of the world had betrayed Spain." David Lewis, national secretary of the CCF, assumed the role of Prime Minister. Senator Hugessen assumed the role

<sup>15&</sup>lt;u>Le Fasciste Canadien</u>, Vol. 2, no. 9, February 1937, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Le Fasciste Canadien, Vol. 2, no. 10, March 1937.

<sup>17</sup> The McGill Daily, January 27, 1937, p. 1.

of Speaker of the House. Other graduates, including Frank Scott, Eugene Forsey and Lovell Carroll, participated in the debate. A crowd of over six hundred attended this mock parliament, whose parliamentary majority was convinced that the democratic nations of the world had betrayed the Spanish Republic. 19 The following description in The McGill Daily outlined the resolution of the "government":

A vast majority of almost 600 people approved the Government's resolution that "The Democratic Nations of the World have Betrayed Spain" at the old boys' Mock Parliament held in the McGill Union last night.

The people of Spain, looking forward to something better, something they had a right to expect after centuries of misery and subjection, when they elected a constitutional Popular front government in February 1936, are now being threatened with an even worse fate than they had suffered in the past. This government had every right, as a legally constituted and elected government, to expect aid from the other democratic governments of the world. Instead, they were hindered in their fight. "This is true betrayal, thus did Mr. David Lewis, Prime Minister, sum up his argument in favour of the resolution presented to the House: "Resolved That the Democratic Countries of the World Have Betrayed Spain." 20

Resolved to encourage democratic nations to assist the Spanish Government, an international League Against War and Fascism sponsored a speaking tour through North America by the French novelist André Malraux.

<sup>18</sup> The McGill Daily, February 1, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> The McGill Daily, February 2, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

### André Malraux's Visit to Montreal

Inspired by the French novelist Henri Barbusse, international movements against war and fascism were set up during the inter war years. These movements were usually exponents of the popular front. In 1935, the Canadian League Against War and Fascism was formed, changing its name to the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy in 1939 (see Appendix -- Literature by the League Against War and Fascism). The chairman of the Canadian League Against War and Fascism was A. A. Macleod, a member of the Communist Party of Canada.

T. C. Douglas, a member of the CCF, was vice-chairman. "Other members of the executive were Salem Bland, William Irvine, Harold Winch, Ben Spence and Percy Rowe, M. P., all members of the CCF; as well as Jacob Penner and A. E. Smith, members of the Communist Party."<sup>21</sup>

The Canadian League Against War and Fascism was divided ideologically -- as were most "popular front" organizations of the day. However, the League Against War and Fascism supported Republican Spain during the civil war, and, together with the Spanish Aid Committee, sponsored André Malraux's tour through Canada on behalf of the Spanish Popular Front.

André Malraux, celebrated author of La Condition

<sup>21</sup>W. D. Young, The Anatomy Of a Party; The National CCF, 1932-61, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969, p. 262.

Humaine (1934), had organized and served with the First International Air Squadron for Republican Spain during the civil war. Joint chairman of the World League Against War and Fascism, 22 Malraux was the social activist throughout the 1930's. He supported the communist movement in China, and opposed the spread of anti-Semitism in Germany. By 1937; he became a fighter-pilot for the Spanish Popular Front. Convalescing from woulds received in battle, Malraux toured North America in March and early April 1937 to raise funds and supplies for Republican Spain.

An intellectual ferment over Malraux's visit to

Montreal developed even prior to his arrival. Le Devoir
spearheaded the opposition:

Le <u>Communiste Malraux a Montreal</u>:

M. André Malraux, romancier français, militant du front populaire, communiste reconnu, sem a Montréal samedi et dimanche. Malraux a passé plusieurs mois en Espagne à la tête d'un escadrille. 23

Omer Héroux, an editor for <u>Le Devoir</u>; discussed the advantage of Malraux's sojourn, stating it permitted the opportunity "de faire prendre publiquement position à quelques gens qui, autrement, n'auraient peut-être pas l'occasion d'extérioriser leurs-sympathies." One such individual, singled out by <u>Le</u>

<sup>22</sup> The Gazette, April 5, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Le <u>Devoir</u>, April 1, 1937, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Le <u>Devoir</u>, April 2, 1937, p. 1.

Devoir, was the local author Jean Charles Harvey -- a member of the reception committee for Malraux. Other members of this committee included Mrs. Charles Sise -- a prominent socialite of the Westmount community, Dr. W. D. Lighthall, CCF members Jacques Bieler and Professor Eugene Forsey, trade unionist Jack Cuppello, writer Emile Vaillancourt, poet Robert Choquette, Professors Dr. Helen Reid and Dr. J. Wendell MacLeod. 25 Le Devoir publicly accused this reception committee of representing "un comité de propogande en faveur de l'Espagne rouge." 26

Jean Charles Harvey, in turn, dispatched the following letter to the editor of <u>Le Devoir</u>, emphasizing his personal reason for partaking in this committee:

Cher Monsieur,

Ce n'est pas sans surprise que j'ai vu dans <u>Le</u>
<u>Devoir</u> du ler et 2ième avril, mon nom parmi les
membres du comité de reception forme en l'honneur
d'André Malraux, actuellement en visite à Montréal.

On m'avait écrit, la semaine dernière, pour me demander si j'accepterais, à titre d'écrivain, d'aller rencontrer le romancier français dans la métropole. On avait soin d'ajouter que la réunion n'aurait aucun caractère politique. Je repondis immediatement qu'il m'intéressait d'aller voir l'auteur de La Condition Humaine dont j'estime sincèrement le talent. C'est tout ....27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Le <u>Devoir</u>, April 1, 1937, p. 2; Jacques Bieler, private interview, Montreal, October 1975.

<sup>26 &</sup>lt;u>Le Devoir</u>, April 5, 1937. p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

Harvey also discussed the other French Canadian members of Malraux's reception committee:

Les quelques Canadiens français qui avaient accepté d'aller saluer Malraux étaient inspirés uniquement, tous le savez bien, par des motifs litterains et artistiques. Ils regretteront sans doute que la publicité donné à cette affaire les ait empêchés d'aller causer quelque peu avec un homme dont on peut répudier les tendances politiques, mais qu'on devrait trouver interessant à d'autres points de vue. Je crois qu'on aurait pu s'empêcher de faire tant de tapage autour d'un fait, en somme, de peu d'importance ....28

Malraux arrived in Montreal on April 3 -- as the houseguest of Mrs. Charles Sise: Malraux was accompanied by his very attractive blonde-haired mistress, so arrangements were altered, and the couple stayed at the Mount Royal Hotel. 29

In Montreal, Malraux addressed a meeting of McGill University students, and a public rally sponsored by the Montreal Spanish Aid Committee at the American Presbyterian Church at the corner of Dorchester and Drummond Streets.

While in Montreal, the French author attended a variety of private receptions held in his honour. Minima Kennedy held a party at her home for Malraux. He attended a reception in his honour at Le Café Martin, as well as an affair at the Ford Hotel, sponsored by the League Against War and

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

Zoronto, April 2, 1937, p. 1.

Fascism. 30 Malraux planned to return to Spain the week after his visit to Montreal, "to resume his work in defense of Spanish democracy." 31

Malraux's visit to Montreal provoked a "crise de conscience", owing to the fact that Malraux himself was a Frenchman, and "because of the great political ferment in the province," precipitated by the Spanish Civil War. Authorities justified the use of the Padlock Law by refusing Malraux the use of a public hall in the French sector of Montreal. 33

Montreal artist Allan Harrison, present at Malraux's address at McGill University, recalled watching a crowd of at least a thousand University of Montreal students who attempted to disrupt the address. 34

Trouble was anticipated at Malraux's address at the American Presbyterian Church, April 4. An article in The Gazette warned readers that "Rightist factions here would attempt to smash the assembly," and as a result, "a strong

<sup>30&</sup>lt;u>Le Devoir</u>, April 5, 1937. p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> The Daily Clarion, April 6, 1937, p. 2

<sup>32</sup> The Daily Clarion, April 2, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>33&</sup>lt;sub>Olssen, p. 194.</sub>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Allan Harrison, interview.

cordon of police was on hand, to guard against rioting."35

The committee sponsoring this address had also arranged its own team of "strong arms" to prevent any form, of sabotage.36

The chairmen of this address were Dr. Lighthall and Jacques Bieler. Other members on the sponsoring committee include: Donné and Norman Lee, and Miriam Kennedy -- representing the Spanish Aid Committee, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sise, Jack Cuppello -- TLC. G. Desaulniers -- CCF provincial secretary, and D. Cuetara -- representing the Spanish consul. 37

The church was filled with a capacity crowd of over one thousand. Another crowd, estimated at a thousand strong, congregated outside. 38 Le Devoir reported that the audience who attended Malraux's address was "en grande majorité de langue anglaise, 39 yet reports from La Patrie and Le Canada estimated three-quarters of the crowd as French Canadian.

<sup>35</sup> The Gazette, April 5, 1937, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> Jacques Bieler, interview.

<sup>37&</sup>lt;u>The Gazette</u>, April 5, 1937, p. 21.

Levinson, private interview, Montreal, September 1971.

<sup>39&</sup>lt;u>Le Devbir</u>, April 5, 1937, p. 12.

<sup>40&</sup>lt;u>La Patrie</u>. April 5, 1937, p. 9; <u>Le Canada</u>, April 5, 1937, p. 16.

At this address, Malraux discussed the menace of German bomber planes in Spain, described Caballero's regime in Spain as a front against war and fascism, and paid tribute to Norman Bethune's medical unit in Spain. His address was in the French language, which was followed by a brief translation in English. At the close of the address, a collection for Bethune's medical unit produced close to two hundred and fifty dollars. 41

The nature of Malraux's address was criticized in the majorn rench Canadian newspapers as communist propaganda. 42 La Patrie wrote: "Le conferencier ... n'a pas une fois prononcé le mot communiste a par contre souvent répété le mot fasciste." 43 Cardinal Villeneuve accused Malraux's address of having been a communist meeting.

Denying the degree of interest in French Canada in the appeal of André Malraux, the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec reassured its fold of the immunity of French Canadians to "la menace rouge." The following article in L'Ordre Neuveau Offered such reassurance:

The Gazette, April 5, 1937, p.15.

<sup>.42</sup> Le Devoir, April 5, 1937, p. 12

<sup>43</sup> La Patrie, April, 5, 1937, p., 9.

Pierre E. Trudeau, "Quebec On the Eve of the Asbestos Strike," French Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology, ed. by Ramsay Cook, Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1969, p. 69.

La Menace Communiste -- Malraux a Montreal:
... Félicitons nous que cet écrivais français ..
n'ait pu trouver dans no tre métropole, "la deuxième ville française du monde", un coin français où débiter sa prose subversive. Il a dû se contenter pour ses trois causeries, d'une église protestante anglaise, d'un cercle universitaire anglais, et enfin, d'un hotêl anglais. Il était l'hôte, d'ailleurs, d'une famille anglaise et fut pistonné par un comité composé à peu pres exclusivement d'Anglais. Les Canadiens français qu'on voulut y faire figurer se sont tous, sauf un ou deux, prestement défilés. 5

French Canadian sympathies for the Spanish Popular Front were apparent, nonetheless. Following Malraux's visit.

Montreal's Spanish Aid Committee witnessed a greater degree of support from the French speaking population. Ferhaps this "coin français" of social outcasts was a more significant force than French Catholic society of Montreal had estimated. Certainly it was far more difficult, at the time, for French Canadians to speak out on behalf of Republican Spain than their English speaking counterparts in Montreal.

# Dr. Norman Bethune's Fund Raising Visit to Montreal

Dr. Norman Bethune returned to North American from Spain by June 1937, for a personal campaign for funds for the blood transfusion unit and Spanish war orphan centers.

Montreal: Ecole Sociale Populaire, April 201 1937, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup>Donna and Norman Lee, interviews.

He arrived first in New York City, where he planned his campaign. 47

Bethune's absence from Spain was not solely for a fund campaign in North America. He resented the fact that the Canadian Government had refused to support his medical unit financially. His medical unit was integrated into the Spanish Republican army as the "Hispano Canadian Blood Transfusion Institute." The Republican army was in a state of disorganization by the spring of 1937, and military red tape was frustrating Bethune's medical efforts. Bethune was physically exhausted, and returned to North America partly to recuperate. However, his personal enemies accused him of "abandoning a sinking ship." Nonetheless, Bethune's immediate intention in North America was to raise funds for his medical unit in Spain.

Bethune commenced his North American campaign in

<sup>47&</sup>quot;Bethune": N. F. B.

Hazen Sise, "The Thirties: A Very Personal Membir", The Great Depression -- Essays and Membirs from Canada and the United States, ed. by Victor Hoar, Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1969, p. 208.

<sup>49&</sup>quot;Bethune": N. F. B.; Hazen Sise, "The Canadian Blood Transfusion Unit in the Spanish Civil War," transcript of a taped interview, Bethune Memorial Committee, Montreal, 1966, p. 63.

<sup>50</sup> Nadeau, "A T. B.'s Progress: The Story of Norman Bethune," pp. 1156-57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 1158.

Canada, where the National Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy had launched preparations for this country-wide speaking tour."52

Bethune arrived in Montreal from New York on the morning of June 18, 1937. On hand to greet him at Bonaventure Railroad Station were "over two hundred and fifty enthusiasts, many members of the Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy." 53 Bethune was received warmly as he stepped off the train:

... a large crowd burst through the gates and streamed down the long platform.

Before he knew what was happening ... he was raised up on the shoulders of the cheering, enthusiastic crowd. Camera bulbs flashed as reporters fought their way closer. In the sea of grinning, unfamiliar faces, he caught glimpses of old friends. "Vivre le docteur Bethune!" voices cried. He was carried through the station and into the street, behind a banner reading: "Long live Loyalist Spain -- Welcome Home, Dr. Bethune!" 54

Outside Bonaventure Station, a motorcade awaited

Bethune. Donna Lee described her participation in the motor procession as the highlight of her efforts for the Spanish

Aid Committee. 55 Bethune's welcome through the streets of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Allan and Gordon, p. 159.

<sup>53</sup> the Montreal Daily Herald, June 18, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>-54</sup> Allan and Gordon, p. 157.

<sup>55</sup>Donna Lee, intervie

#### Montreal was tumultuous:

Outside the station a long line of cars was waiting, decked out with bunting and welcoming banners. Bethune, still held aloft, responded to the resounding cheers of the crowd with a few words of thanks ... the crowds' roars reverberated through the downtown area. Then, with horns honking, banners flying, and Bethune in the leading open car, the motor cavalcade moved up Windsor to St. Catherine Street and into the heart of downtown Montreal. On the sidewalks, thousands of people waved as they saw the banners. In the tall factory buildings, workers leaned out of the windows, dropping streams of paper. The cavalcade wound slowly through the French Canadian East End, back to the center of the city, and then to a downtown hotel. 56

That evening, Bethune was scheduled to address a public rally at the Mount Royal Arena, called by the Spanish Aid Committee. 57 Once again, a public rally for Republican Spain would cause a degree of consternation in religious and political circles. At the Sacré Coeur Hospital where Bethune had worked, the nursing sisters denounced Bethune's public appeal in Montreal as a communist meeting. 58 La Presse reported the seizure of circulars announcing the Bethune rally, by Montreal's anti-communist squad:

Constables Boyezum and Korzoenwski, of the anticommunist squad, under the direction of Lieutenant J. Ennis, arrested yesterday afternoon, T. Latraverse and Y. Coté, under the accusation of having distributed circulars without permits.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Allan and Gordon, p. 158.

<sup>57</sup> The Montreal Daily Star, June 19, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Mrs. B. Fortin, interview.

The accused were distributing to workers leaving their factories, circulars announcing an assembly where Dr. Bethune will be speaking at the Mount Royal Arena, under the sponsorship of a Montreal Committee for Aid of Spanish Democracy .... 59

Civic authorities were beseiged with requests to prevent
Bethune's public address on the grounds that it would be a
communist meeting. 60 Mayor J. A. Rayneault declared that
the city would not interfere as long as there was no demonstration -- communist or fascist. The mayor also remarked
that any appeal for the Spanish Popular Front by Dr. Bethune
would be a matter of concern for the federal government. 61

Despite attempts to deny Bethune a public platform, his address at the Mount Royal Arena was not prohibited.

Dr. Bethune had earned considerable status in Montreal through his humanitarian efforts. The Montreal committee to Aid Spanish Democracy carried out a great publicity campaign for his public address. Civic authorities, even provincial authorities, were reluctant to prevent Bethune's rally owing to poor publicity they had received after their prohibition of an address by the Spanish Republican delegation in October 1936.62

<sup>59&</sup>lt;u>La Presse</u>, Montreal, June 18, 1937, p. 3. (Author's translation).

<sup>60</sup> The Montreal Daily Star, June 18, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> The Montreal Daily Herald, June 18, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>62 &</sup>lt;u>Clarté</u>, Montreal, June 12, 1937, p. 1; Miriam Kennedy, Norman Lee, F. R. Scott, interviews.

A crowd of approximately eight thousand people filled the Mount Royal Arena to capacity, the evening of June 18, awaiting Dr. Bethune's address. 63 Another crowd, estimated at seven thousand, waited outside. 64 Norman Lee described Bethune's rally as one of the largest the province had witnessed in years. 55 Loudspeakers were placed outside of the arena for the benefit of the unexpected crowds. 66 Twenty-five police constables were on hand outside the arena, but Bethune's address was not marred by riots. 67 L'Illustration Nouvelle explained that the greater proportion of the crowd outside the arena "avait surtout été attirée par la curiosité." 68 One report on Bethune's rally described the nature of the crowd inside the arena:

The audience was drawn from every walk of life and divergent political faiths. There were groups from every section of Montreal's polyglot of minorities, schoolteachers, university professors, trade unionists, doctors, those who shared Bethune's personal views, even some who violently rejected his views but admired the man and his work.

<sup>63</sup> The Gazette, June 19, 1937, p. 15.

<sup>64</sup> Allan and Gordon, p. 159.

<sup>65</sup> Norman Lee, interview.

<sup>66</sup> Donna Lee, interview.

<sup>67&</sup>lt;sub>Le Devoir</sub>, June 19, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> L'Illustration Nouvelle, June 19, 1937, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> Allan and Gordon, p. 159.

Norman Lee, who presided over the rally committee, estimated at least one third of the audience as French Canadian. A group of French Canadian doctors from Sacré Coeur Hospital who had worked with Bethune before he left for Spain, attended and contributed money for his appeal. Le Devoir, on the other hand, minimized the number of French Canadians in the audience, but commented on the numerous "Semitic faces" in the crowd.

The Mount Royal Arena was decorated for the evening by the sponsors of the Bethune rally, the Montreal Spanish Aid Committee. "Banners for Republican Spain hung in the Mount Royal Arena .... Recruiting posters from besieged Madrid swung from the rafters." 73

On the platform at the arena with Dr. Bethune, were Norman Lee, Jack Cuppello and Reverend R. K. Naylor -- all of whom addressed the audience, as well as Miriam Kennedy, Hubert Desaulniers, Jacques Hebert, Jacques Bieler, W. D. Lighthall, R. Harvey, J. Rocklin, Dr. E. Greenspon, Dora Eckel, Mrs. M. Muir and Francis Costa.

<sup>70</sup> Norman Lee, interview.

<sup>71</sup>Dr. Georges Cousineau (Sacré Coeur), private interview, Montreal, April, 1972.

<sup>72&</sup>lt;u>Le Devoir</u>, June 19, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup> The Montreal Daily Star, June 19, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>74</sup> The Gazette, June 19, 1937, p. 5.

Bethune discussed plans to establish orphan villages in Spain, appealing to Canadians to support a quota of five hundred orphans. Bethune estimated the cost for the care of a Spanish child for one year at a hundred dollars. The criticized the Canadian Government "for having refused to grant a permit which would have facilitated the passage of an ambulance across France to Spain. The went on to discuss the wretched conditions of civilian life in Spain, expressing dismay at the position of neutrality assumed by the western powers toward the Spanish Government. Bethune reminded his audience that "between a hundred and a hundred and fifty thousand Italian troops ... and fifty thousand German troops" swelled the Nationalist ranks. He carefully avoided a discussion of the religious situation in Spain.

After Bethune concluded, he appealed for funds for his medical efforts in Spain. More than eighteen hundred dollars was collected, with an additional one thousand dollars profit from seat reservations. 80 Donations included

<sup>75&</sup>lt;sub>Le Devoir, June 19, 1937, p. 3.</sub>

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. (Author's translation).

<sup>77</sup> Allan and Gordon, pp. 160-63.

<sup>78</sup> Le Devoir, June 19, 1937, p. 3. (Author's trans-lation).

<sup>79</sup>Mrs. B. Fortin, interview.

<sup>80</sup> The Montreal Daily Star, June 19, 1937, p. 3.

fifty dollars from the Youth Committee for the Aid of Spanish Democracy, three hundred dollars from the Jewish Congress, and one hundred and fifty dollars from an anonymous donor. 81, Norman Lee recalled watching several French Canadian political figures -- one, a labour representative in the Legislative Assembly -- who came up to the platform to donate contributions for Bethune's medical mission. 82 It was announced from the platform, that a cheque for five dollars with a card inscribed "Premier Duplessis" had been received. The card was richly engraved, and the Spanish Aid Committee agreed that this donation must have been forwarded, at least, by an important partisan of the premier. 83 The following day, L'Illustration Nouvelle dismissed the incident as a communist hoax: 'Le nom de M. Duplessis est composé par l'élément communiste qui se trouve dans la salle ...."84

Premier Duplessis accelerated the use of the Padlock

Law for several days following Bethune's public address.

The Montreal Spanish Aid Committee headquarters were raided.

The day following his public address, Bethune returned

<sup>81&</sup>lt;sub>The Gazette</sub>, June 19, 1937, p. 15.

<sup>82&</sup>lt;sub>Norman Lee, interview.</sub>

<sup>83&</sup>lt;sub>Le Devoir</sub>, June 19, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>84</sup> L'Illustration Nouvelle, June 19, 1937, p. 2.

<sup>85&</sup>lt;sub>Norman Lee, interview.</sub>

to Sacré Coeur Hospital to visit the staff and patients he had known. The Mother Superior of the nursing sisters at Sacré Coeur warned the nuns to avoid Bethune when he arrived. He was received only by the same doctors who had attended his rally. 86

Bethune left Montreal the next day for Toronto, to continue his campaign. During his North American tour, Bethune was contacted by the China Defense League, and was requested to head a medical unit for the Chinese Popular Front, struggling against a Japanese invasion. He accepted the offer, and left for China from the U. S. A., never returning to Spain. Bethune had succeeded, none theless, in focusing public attention in Montreal on the plight of the Spanish Popular Front. His enthusiastic reception in this city was based less upon his political convictions, but more upon his reputation as both a surgeon and humanitarian.

A less enthusiastic reception was encountered by French Canadian novelist Jean Charles Harvey, who edited a labour press in Montreal that sympathized with Loyalist Spain.

Roderick Stewart (Bethune Biographer), private interview, Montreal, September, 1971; Dr. Georges Cousineau, Mrs. B. Fortin, interviews.

<u> 1938</u>

The Loyalist stronghold of Barcelona was bombarded by the Nationalists in January 1938. Franco set up the Nationalist Government at Burgos. Hitler's Nazi forces overran Austria in March. A popular front government in France, led by Blum, was elected, but was to be short-lived. An offensive pushed the Nationalists to the eastern Mediterranean coast of Spain by April, separating Barcelona from Madrid. Prime Minister Negrin announced to the League of Nations, in September, the withdrawal of the International Brigades. The Republicans hoped, in vain, international pressure would force Germany and Italy to recall their forces from Spain. That very month, Hitler would dupe the international community at the Municip Conference.

Montreal support for both sides of the Spanish conflict continued unabated. The city hosted various personalities who spoke out on the Spanish Civil War in 1938. A gathering at Loyola College was addressed by a Spaniard sympathetic to the Nationalist cause. Manuel Azcarti, son of the Spanish Republican Ambassador in Britain, addressed McGill University's Social Problems Club. The Montreal Spanish Aid Committee sponsored a rally at the Windsor Hotel, where a Scottish duchess appealed for medical assistance for the Spanish Popular Front. Campaigns for the establishment of Spanish war orphan centers were

carried out in Montreal. A host of Montreal artists donated their works to benefits for Spanish orphans. Hazen Sise, who worked with Bethune's medical unit in Madrid, returned to Montreal where he solicited contributions for the orphan centers. Montreal's Jewish community was particularly receptive to this campaign, and sponsored an address by Sise at the Montefiore Club. The Jewish community, internationally, showed considerable interest in the efforts of the Spanish Popular Front. Jews played an active role in the trade union struggles of the thirties. Hitler's support of the Nationalists in Spain strengthened the aspirations of Jews for a victory of the popular front in Spain.

#### The Montefiore Club Hosts Hazen Sise

The Spanish Popular Front received considerable support from segments of Montreal's Jewish community, which exceeded sixty-three thousand according to the Canadian census of 1941 (see Appendix). Jewish support for Republican Spain was not restricted to communist, socialist or trade unionist circles. Jewish religious leaders, community leaders, artists and writers also voiced their support for the Spanish Popular Front. Rabbi H. Stern, Miriam Kennedy, Louis Muhlstock and Irving Layton were but a few such individuals. Jews viewed the struggle of the

<sup>1</sup> Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Vol. 2, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1943, p. 642.

Spanish Popular Front as a fight for freedom and democracy, against fascist, totalitarian oppression. It was difficult for any Jew, at the time, to ignore Hitler's assistance to France. 2

The following extract is taken from an article by

Dutch journalist Pierre Van Paasen. Featured in Montreal's

Canadian Jewish Chronicle, this article informed readers of the ideological significance of the Spanish Popular Front:

Madrid not only becomes the tomb of fascism in Spain, but the superb heroism of the Spanish people in defending their capital against the hordes of professional killers of the Tercio, will come to be looked upon in the near future as the turning point in Europe's drift towards the abyss ....

raise funds for Bethune's medical unit and for Spanish war orphans. Sise was invited to speak about his work in Spain by a variety of individuals and organizations in Montreal, including the Montreal Junior Board of Trade. The Bronfman family, in particular, indicated their concern about the spread of anti-Semitism in Europe by sponsoring a lecture by Hazen Sise on "The Spanish War and Fascism" at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Rabbi H. Stern, private interview, Montreal, November, 1970.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Pierre Van Paasen, "The Lesson Of Spain," <u>Canadian</u>
<u>Jewish Chronicle</u>, <u>Montreal</u>, January 8, 1937, p. 8.

Sise, "The Canadian Blood Transfusion Unit in the Spanish Civil War," p. 85; Hazen Sise, private interview, Ottawa, May, 1970.

Jewish social and philanthropic institution, Montreal's Montefiore Club. 5

A public address by the Nationalist sympathizer Jose de Pedroso, was planned for Montreal a few weeks later.

## · Jose de Pedroso At Loyola College

Loyola College was host to the outspoken Spanish. Nationalist, Jose de Pedroso, in late February 01938. An account of Pedroso's address was featured in The Loyola News:

A large audience had the good fortune to hear, last Thursday at Loyola Auditorium, a clear, unbiased report on conditions in Spain and the events which led up to the revolution, by Jose Pedroso, a mechanical engineer, who was present at the time, and is well informed regarding, those events. The speaker was introduced by Father O'Rourke of St. Raphael's ....

Mr. Pedroso concluded his lecture by reading a precis of the policies of the Franco government whose policies are even now being put into operation and which certainly should govern the actions of any true democracy.

The speaker was thanked by Rev. Father Bryan, S. J., who concluded proceedings for the evening with a few very practical remarks.

Pedroso, while in Montreal, gaye a public address at Plateau Hall. This meeting was chaired by Archbishop Gauthier of Montreal, with delegations representing the

Jubilee Celebration, Montreal: 1955, 39- "The Spanish War and Fascism," a lecture by Hazen Sise, February 17, -1938.

<sup>6</sup> The Loyola News, Vol. 14, no. 18, February 26, 1938, p. 1.

Saint Jean-Baptiste Society, l'Assocation catholique des Voyageurs de Commerce, l'A. C. J. C., l'Association, générale des Etudiants de l'Université de Montréal and les Syndicats catholiques nationaux. The Montreal Civil Liberties Union raised enough objection to this public address to prevent Mayor Rayneault from presiding at the rally.

# The Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy Sponsors the Duchess of Atholl

The Montreal Spanish Aid Committee organized an affair at the Windsor Hotel in March 1938, where Scottish author and member of the British Parliament — the Duchess Katherine Atholl, was guest of honour (see Appendix — Statements of the Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy). The Duchess, who had resigned her seat in parliament because of Britain's declaration of non-intervention in Spain, described a recent visit to Republican Spain on behalf of the Scottish Aid Committee for Spain, where an ambulance had been delivered. An account of the Duchess' address was carried in Le Canada. Edmond Turcotte, a director of this newspaper, was sympathetic with the Spanish Popular Front. Le Canada was the only major French Canadian newspaper in Montreal to publicize material for

<sup>7</sup> Le Canada, February 28, 1938, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Peck, p. 66.

the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. .

L'Espagne Telle Que La Duchesse d'Atholl La Voit:

Dans ses conférences, comme dans son livre

Searchlight In Spain, elle manifeste ce rare souci
d'impartialité qu'elle a hérité de son père,
l'historien Sir J. Ramsay, comme devait le
rappeler fort à propos l'hon. A. K. Huguessen,
sénateur, qui présidait, hier soir, à cette
réunion autour d'une table à diner. Et èlle
contredit en tout cette effrontée "flapper"
américaine, Jane Anderson, marquise à ses heures,
qui debitait théâtrement à Montréal, l'an dernier,
les grandes lignes d'un roman feuilleton sur
l'Espagne "rouge".

"Il n'y avait qu'un seul député communiste aux cortès à l'époque de la rebellion de Franco," dit la duchesse d'Atholl ....

humanitaire que Sa Grâce parlait, hier soir. M. Hazen Sise a decrit à l'assistance les moyens que l'on prenait pour venir en aide aux Espagnols affligés. On chargera environ d'un vaisseau qui, de Montréal, cinglera en toute probabilité vers Barcelona.9

In October, another address on behalf of the Spanish Popular Front, this time by the son of Spain's ambassador to Britain, was held at McGill University.

# McGill University's Social Problems Club Sponsors Manuel Azcarti

Throughout the Spanish Civil War, McGill University's Social Problems Club remained a pillar of support, in Montreal, for the Spanish Popular Front. The Social Problems Club defined itself as an organization responsible for bringing "speakers to the campus as a part of their policy of forming a link between student thought and the

<sup>9&</sup>quot;L'Espagne Telle Que La Duchesse d'Atholl La Voit," Le Canada, September 13, 1938, p. 10.

outside world", an organization that would "attempt to foster student opinion upon matters vital to them as a leading force in the community." The Social Problems, Club actively attempted to foster a student awareness of the predicament of the Spanish Popular Front.

The Social Problems Club, in cooperation with the Montreal Youth Council, in October 1938 was host to Manuel Azcarti — the son of the Spanish Ambassador to Great Britain, and Constance Kyle — an American relief worker who had spent time in Republican Spain. Azcarti was a member of the executive of the United Socialist Youth, and a member of the Spanish delegation to the Vassar Youth Conference. 11 He discussed the effect of the civil war on Spanish university students. 12

Azcarti's address at McGill University was attended by reporters from the University of Montreal's press Le Quartier Latin. This article criticized Azcarti for describing the conflict in Spain "not as a civil war, not a religious war, not a war of Spaniard against Spaniard," but "a war of all Spain against the invasion of German and Italian Fascists." The reporter for Le Quartier Latin

<sup>10</sup> The McGill Daily, October 23, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., October 13, 1938, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Ibid., October 14, 1938, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Le Quartier <u>Latin</u>, October 21, 1938, p. 2.

described his exasperation at Azcarti's address, and .
McGill's Social Problems Club in general:

Seigneur de Seigneur: La question religieuse, la non-intervention rouge en effet, en effet. Alors, on en tait joué de notre naiveté, et, vivre l'initiative du "Social Problems Club" de McGill.

McGill's intellectual community played a leading role in securing publicity for the plight of Republican Spain. A group of Montreal's more progressive artists also endorsed the Spanish Popular Front by staging several benefits.

### Montreal Artists' Benefit For Spanish War Orphans

Many Canadian artists, writers and poets contributed their support for the Spanish Popular Front. Novelist Morley Callaghan criticized the efforts of those who interpreted the revolt of the Spanish Nationalists as a Christian Crusade:

From a Christian point of view, it is probably quite true to say that there are many godless men who are enemies of the Church on the side of the Loyalists.

But that cannot make the side of the rebels the Christian side. It seems to me that those who have tried to make the rebel cause the Christian cause have is shame ... the rebels are on the side of property rights against human rights. 15

The poet E. J. Pratt zealously proclaimed his reasons for

<sup>.14</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>15&</sup>quot;Where They Stood On Spain," The Marxist Quarterly, p. 62.

### supporting the Spanish Popular Front:

My sympathies in the Spanish situation are wholly with the Popular Front and are determined by the following reasons:

1. The government was placed in power by approximately seventy per cent of the population.

2. The rebellion, now unfortunately successful, was instigated and maintained by reactionary agencies striving to preserve the remnants of a grand feudalism with all its caste, privilege and priestcraft.

3. The Loyalist regime was attacked and broken by militarists who, failing to get command of the national army, employed foreign mercenaries for that purpose.

4. A genuine and heroic effort to establish a democracy has been smashed by a minority used as the spearhead of a fascist invasion.

5. A hundred other unprintable reasons.

The Canadian artist Charles Comfort offered his reasons for supporting Republican Spain:

... The democratic nations watch mutely the bloody assassinations of a sister state, the murder of innocent women and children, the slaughter of a youthful militia who took up arms only to protect those institutions which we are daily reminded are our heritage as British subjects -- freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, freedom to elect our representatives to a democratic parliament, and freedom to pursue our scientific and cultural activities as intellectual individuals. If the gangster methods being employed to subjugate the Spanish people are successful, does it not follow that the successful technique will be employed elsewhere? 17

During the depression, various art schools were organized by Montreal artists to encourage creativity among youth of the unemployed. Such "proletarian" art

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

New Arts League, contributed works for various benefits on behalf of the Spanish Popular Front. The Canadian League Against War and Fascism sponsored an exhibition of paintings by Fritz Brandtner at Montreal's Henry Morgan and Co. store in February 1936. A major theme of the exhibition was the plight of the workers of Loyalist Spain. Brandtner helped Bethune establish the Children's Art Center in Montreal. 18

Art sales usually were sponsored in conjunction with the local Spanish Aid Committee. One such exhibition -- sale of paintings by Montreal artists for funds for Spanish war orphans was held between December 15-18, 1938 at 2037 Peel Street (see Appendix -- Invitations to Art Benefits). Among the local artists who contributed works were the founding members of the Contemporary Arts Society of Montreal in 1939 -- John Lyman, Jori Smith, Marian Scott and Louis Muhlstock. 19

The last few months of 1938 brought the Nationalist offensive in Spain to the very gates of the last Republican strongholds - Madrid and Barcelona. Undaunted, Loyalist sympathizers in Montreal continued to raise funds to assist

<sup>18</sup> Fritz Brandtner, 1896-1969: A Retrospective Exhibition, Department of Fine Arts, Sir George Williams University, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> Allan Harrison, Harry Mayerovitch, Louis Muhlstock, and Marian Scott, private interviews, Montreal, June-December, 1971.

those who would endure great hardship long after the civil war ended -- the children of Spain.

PART FOUR: 1939

Nationalist forces entered Barcelona in January 1939
By February, France and Britain officially recognized
Franco's government at Burgos. Streams of Republican
refugees crossed the Pyrenees Mountains into France.
Nationalist troops captured Madrid in March, while Nazi
troops were invading Czechoslovakia. The armies of the
Spanish Republic surrendered to Franco in April. By
September, Europe was involved in the Second World War.

The Saint Jean Baptiste Society in Montreal sponsored several rallies for Nationalist Spain in February. That same month, returning veterans of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion arrived in Montreal, where they were denied public lodging. These events served to emphasize, once again, the split that continued to divide citizens of Montreal.

# The Saint Jean-Baptiste Society Sponsors Father Sauvé and Monseigneur Antonuitti

Rallies in Montreal for Nationalist Spain early in 1939 coincided with Franco's strangulation of the Loyalist forces in Spain. Not surprisingly, French Canada's Saint Jean-Baptiste Society sponsored several rallies for Nationalist Spain in Montreal in February 1939. An address was held on February 16 at the Salle du Gésu, Bleury

Street, by Rév. Père Gustave Sauvé, O. M. I., Dean of the Philosophy Faculty at the University of Ottawa. Father Sauvé had recently returned from a visit behind Nationalist lines in Spain, Tickets for his address, at fifty cents each, were sold at "l'Ecole sociale populaire, 1961 est rue Rachel; l'Alliane catholique des professeurs, au Plateau; bureau des Anciens, au Gésu." The following extract was included in a report of Father Sauvé's address:

remplissait le Gésu de la difficulté qu'il a eu ....

Le Père Sauvé s'est élevé contre le fait que des communistes de Montréal ont lancé des accusations fausses contre les prêtres espagnols. Plus de 6,000 prêtres et 3,500 religieux et religieuses ont été massacrés par les gouvernementaux, dit-il .... le Rév. Père Sauvé a dit à son auditoire que prochainement il serait montré à Montréal un film qui a pour titre "La peste rouge", et il ajouta que la plupart des retours d'Espagne ont été entrainés pour faire de la propogande au bolshevisme.2

Later that same month the Saint Jean-Baptiste

Society sponsored an address by the Papal delegate to

Canada, Ildebrande Antonuitti. Monseigneur Antonuitti previously served as Papal delegate to Franco's government at

Burgos. Antonuitti discussed Franco's Catholic crusade in

Spain:

<sup>1</sup> Le Canada, February 6, 1939, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Ibid., February 17, 1939, p. 10.

La lutte que les catholiques livrent pour la défense de leur foi et leurs traditions ne peut nous laisser indifférents, ce fut un des premiers points sur lesquels Son Excellence le délégué apostolique, Mgr. Antonuitti, attira notre attention, dès son arrivée en terre canadienne.

While the Saint Jean-Baptiste Society sponsored rallies that celebrated the victories of Nationalist Spain, veterans of the International Brigades returned to Montreal,

# The Return of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion to Montreal

"To people who had exiled themselves from the establishment, as most of us had at least partially done, the volunteer for Spain had a special aura about him."

> - Hugh MacLennan, The Watch That Ends the Night.

Volunteers from many nations enlisted with the International Brigades to fight for the Spanish Popular. Front. More than forty thousand men from thirty countries volunteered "to fight fascism in Spain." With the exception of France, Canadian enlistment on a per capita basis was higher than any other nation. Over twelve hundred Canadians volunteered to fight for the Spanish Popular Front. Canada's "Mackenzie-Papineau" Battalion (Mac-Paps)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Ibid., February 6, 1939, p. 4.

Alex Cramer, "Three Faces of War -- The Lonliest Veterans," The Montreal Star-Weekend Magazine, Vol. 20, no. 45, November 7, 1970, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

was a contingent of the American Abraham Lincoln Brigade. .

Members of the International Brigades were initially recruited underground, and commanded, by communists. Yet by no means were all the volunteers communists themselves. The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion varied in ethnicity and ideology. Three major groups of Canadian voluntees included "Anglo Saxons from British Columbia, Ukrainians from the prairie provinces, and Finns from Northern Ontario." There were considerable numbers of Jewish volunteers from Toronto and Montreal. Samuel H. Abramson, a Montreal Jew who was active with both the CCF and lionist movements, explained why he enlisted with the Mac-Paps:

I volunteered to help defend the Spanish Republic from fascist aggression .... I had a feeling that if fascism won in Spain, it would make the rest of the world its next objective. Unhappily, this proved all too true. I mean all varities, Italian and German.

I had a feeling something great was happening in Spain, and if I did not participate in the effort to preserve freedom and democracy, I would regret it all my days. Went because I could do no else.

As well, there was some degree of enlistment from French Canada. Clarte, Montreal's communist French language

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Saturday <u>Night</u>, May, 1969, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Weekend Magazine, November 7, 1970, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup>Sam Abramson -- New York City, to Harvey Levinson, April 7, 1971.

<sup>9</sup>Stanley Ryerson, interview; Clarte, February 8, 1939, p. 1.

press, kept subscribers informed on the progress of French Canadian recruits in the International Brigades. 10

The Brigades attracted a high proportion of intellectuals. 11 Tim Buck admitted that "1,283 young Canadians who joined the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion were not all members of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League." 12 Politically, all the volunteers were "left of center, most were socialists, and a strong minority, communists." 13 The exact percentage of members of the Canadian Communist Party who served with the Mac-Paps is not available. 14

Many young men who had endured the depression of the thirties and had attempted to strike back in one way or another, enlisted with the Mac-Paps. Veterans of the relief camps and the "On to Ottawa Trek" joined the Mac-Paps. Four outspoken members of the "trekkers" Ottawa delegation, including Red Walsh, enlisted. Unemployment, mere despair or the sense of adventure, however, were never adequate forces in themselves to motivate one to fight in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Clarte, April 17, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ted Allan, interview.

<sup>12</sup> Tim Buck, Thirty Years, 1922-1952, Toronto: Progress Books, 1952, p. 124.

<sup>13</sup> Weekend Magazine, November 7, 1970, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Hoar, p. 35.

<sup>15&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid., pp. 29-30.</sub>

a war. Ted Allan, foreign correspondent in Republican Spain, described the typical volunteer of the International Brigade as a man of strong ideological conviction, a man determined to stop the spread of fascist aggression. Never were the brigades havens for the unemployed. 16

In April 1937, the Canadian Government supported the Non-Intervention Pact of the western democracies by enacting the Foreign Enlistment Act, "making it a criminal offense to fight for another country," An Order-in-Council soon followed, applying specificially to the civil war in Spain. The Canadian Communist Party, thereby, assumed the responsibility for the recruitment of the volunteer brigade for Republican Spain underground. Tim Buck defended this undertaking:

The national leadership of the Communist Party decided that the honour of Canada required that the Foreign Enlistments Act, imposed by Order-In-Council, be ignored and if it were made impossible it must be defied. Whatever restrictions that legislation might impose upon volunteers, our appeal to anti fascist fellow Canadians must be one of frank public advocacy of military aid to the front line of the developing world struggle to maintain democracy in the face of the spreading fascist offensive.

<sup>16</sup> Ted Allan, interview.

<sup>17</sup> Weekend Magazine, November 7, 1970, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Olssen, p. 217.

<sup>19</sup> Buck, "Soldiers of Democracy," p. 17.

The Canadian Communist Party referred volunteers for Spain to underground recruitment centers. 20 Tim Buck described the function of the local recruiting centers:

The functions of the local organizations were to be to arrange so that every volunteer should have a medical examination in his own locality before leaving it, to raise money for transportation, to arrange temporary accommodation for volunteers when necessary, and so on. Thanks to the tireless work of these local organizations, the stream of volunteers to Toronto was co-ordinated closely with the availability of steamship tickets via Montreal, Quebec and New York, to Paris. 21

The volunteer sailed to Paris, having obtained his passport on "the pretext of wanting to see the Paris International Exposition." 22 From Paris, the volunteer travelled to the Spanish border.

Montreal and Quebec City were the Canadian ports of embarkation for Paris, for the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion. It was rumoured that Fred Rose operated Montreal's underground recruitment center. 23 Considerable concern about underground recruitment and embarkation of volunteers for Republican Spain arose in the province of Quebec. Premier Duplessis spoke out:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Stanley Ryerson, interview.

<sup>121</sup> Buck, "Soldiers of Democracy," p. 18.

<sup>22</sup> Weekend Magazine, November 7, 1970, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Norman Lee, interview.

I declare that in our province communistic recruiting has been going on, that our young men have been enrolled to fight for the communists in Spain, that Canadian passports have been produced for them for Spanish ports, not for one or two young men, but for several, which shows that an organization exists, and indicates that there is something lacking somewhere.

Provincial authorities padlocked Communist Party headquarters throughout Quebec, as well as other "suspected" centers for communist activity. Despite this, volunteers for the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion continued to depart from the harbour of Montreal. 25

The Mackenzie-Papineaushad assembled in Spain by the spring of 1937. In Canada, a private organization called "The Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion" was formed. This organization was not involved in the recruitment of volunteers. This organization's purpose was to solicit contributions of money, clothing and foodstuffs which were distributed to the Mac-Paps (see Appendix -- Publicity for the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion). The "Friends" attempted to persuade the government of Canada to alter its Foreign Enlistment Act. They were also involved with the repatriation and rehabilitation of the Mac-Paps upon their return to Canada. Various locals of the "Friends" operated in Canadian cities, but Toronto and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Hoar, p. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Stanley Ryerson, interview.°

Montreal were their major centers. 26

In September 1938, the Spanish Republican Government, realizing the futility of its struggle, decided to disband the International Brigades, hoping that the Germans and Italians would be forced to withdraw their support for the Nationalists. The Canadian Government permitted the repatriation of Canadian volunteers despite their illegal departure to join the International Brigades. Efforts by the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion helped sway public opinion in Canada to favour repatriation. 27

The Mac-Paps left Barcelona in late January 1939 for France, crossed over to England, and embarked by ship from Liverpool for Halifax. They arrived at Halifax in early February. The Mac-Paps travelled by train from Halifax to Montreal, where they were temporarily lodged. Those volunteers from Ontario and the west continued home through Toronto.

In Montreal, the "Friends" arranged for temporary accommodations at the Atwater Market. Public funds were collected, as well as medical supplies, food and clothing. Erna Colle, a member of the Montreal "Friends" worked on the food committee. She contacted individuals, small

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Miriam Kennedy, interview; Hoar, pp. 100-101.

<sup>27</sup> Weeken'd Magazine, November 7, 1970, pp. 12-14.

stores and retail and wholesale firms. The response was overwhelmingly favourable. 28

The Mac-Paps arrived by train at Montreal's Windsor Station, on February 5, 1939. Their welcome was outlined by The Gazette (see Appendix -- Illustrations):

Greeted by cheering crowds that jammed the concourse of Windsor Station, nearly 300 Canadian veterans of the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion came home Saturday from the war in Spain.

They were an army without guns or uniforms, but as they poured off the long colonist train from Halifax, they raised the flags they had carried with them into Spain -- the Union Jack and the flag of the Spanish Republic -- and they marched down the platform and through the concourse, while the crowd cheered them and booed fascism again and again.

... Overflowing Osborne St., upon the steps of St. George's Church and into Dominion Square, nearly 3,000 men and women stood and cheered as

the veterans left the station.29

Thirteen of the returning veterans were Montrealers. Montreal's Canadian Jewish Chronicle welcomed them home:

Despite the gnashing of teeth that has been going on in certain quarters at the expense of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion ... we wish totake this opportunity to welcome them back home. We regret that their return did not synchronize with a Loyalist victory, but defeat does not diminish from the glory of their enterprise. a time when many contented themselves with mouthing the empty phrases of democracy, these... young men went across an ocean to fight for those ideals which their detractors so lukewarmly proress to admire ....

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Erna Colle, private interview, Montreal, November,

The Gazette, February 6, 1939, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Ibid., p.

We address to our friend, Sam Abramson, returning with the Mac-Paps, a particular welcome, 31

Despite the warm welcome, the Mac-Paps indeed encountered resistance in certain quarters of Montreal. As soon as the Atwater Market had been secured by the "Friends" from the City of Montreal at free cost, to house the Mac-Paps temporarily, political and religious pressure prompted the Montreal Executive Committee to reverse its decision. In fact, a member of the Executive Committee was reported to have exclaimed at the Committee Assembly: "You are not going to let them quarter in Atwater Market: Why, they are communists:" The following resolution was recorded in the Montreal Executive Committee Proceedings for February 7, 1939:

Il est Resolu: -- d'abroger la resolution de ce Comité en date du 3 fevrier 1939 à l'effet de permettre à "Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion in Spain" (Rehabilitation Fund) d'occuper la salle du marché Atwater le soir du 12 fevrier 1939 (M. l'échevin Kerry dissident).33

In protest to this decision, a delegation representing the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion and the Civil Liberties Union met with Montreal's Mayor Camillien Houde

The Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Montreal, February 17, 1939, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>The Gazette, February 8, 1939, p. 1.

Vol. 16. January 4-December 29, 1939, 14151.

and the executive Committee. 34 Their appeal for reconsideration was to no avail. Mayor Houde warned that any attempts to secure public lodgings for the Mac-Paps in Montreal would fail, for it was contrary to both civic and provincial policy. Le Canada reported: "encore aujourd'hui, la police provinciale a donné avis qu'elle cadenasserait les salles publiques où seraient distribués des vivres et des vêtements aux loyalistes canadiens qui reviennent d'Espagne." 35 As a result, the Mac-Paps were accommodated at private homes of sympathizers. Mayor Houde responded to public criticism of the prohibition, by civic authorities, of the Atwater Market for the lodging of the Mac-Paps:

Dans notre ville, le quart de la population est de langue anglaise, et les trois quarts sont de langue française. Il faut tenir compte des idées et des aspirations de la majorité: Les canadiens français tiennent à leurs traditions et à leurs opinions ....36

Mayor Houde continued, describing French Canadians as "peuple plutôt porté vers les idées fascistes, que vers les idées communistes ...." 37 Speaking to the Young Men's

The Gazette, February 9, 1939, p. 1; Sise, "The Canadian Blood Transfusion Unit in the Spanish Civil War," p. 86.

<sup>35&</sup>lt;u>Le Canada</u>, February 13, 1939, p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Ibid., February 9, 1939, p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

Supper Club at Montreal's Y. M. C. A. on February 7, 1939. the mayor described French Canadians as "fascists by blood if not by name." 38 These remarks brought a storm of protest from political, social and religious circles of French Canada. Paul Gouin, leader of Quebec's l'Action libérale nationale (A. L. N.) responded: "nos gens ne voudraient pas de la dictature ni du fascisme, ils n'abandonneraient pas la démocratie ..." Alfred Charpentier, president of la Confederation des travailleurs Catholiques du Canada, added: "C'est une declaration tout à fait fausse ... chez les ouvriers, il n'y a aucune inclination au fascisme." 39

Montreal's French language radio station CKAC, affiliated with the newspaper <u>La Presse</u>, was criticized because of a broadcast on the return of the Mac-Paps:

... De <u>La Presse</u>, "institution irrevocablement dévouée aux interêts canadiens-français et catholiques", comme elle-même le besoin de le publier chaque jour, on ne pouvait s'attendre à moins. Samedi soir, à son poste CKAC, lui même consacré aux "intérêts superieurs de la nation canadienne", nos rapatries, si le mot rapatriés peut garder un sens en l'occurence, ont ête l'objet d'un beau reportage radiophonique.

On connait l'aventure de ces rapatriés qui portent la plupart des noms "typiquement" canadiens ....40

<sup>38</sup> The Gazette, February 8, 1939, p. 1

<sup>39&</sup>lt;u>Le Dévoir</u>, February 9, 1939, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Le <u>Devoir</u>, February 6, 1939, p. 1.

CKAC was accused of "fait passer le bon plaisir de ses annonceurs avant l'opinion de la très grande majorité de ses auditeurs canadiens-français" by attempting to present "ces soudards qui rentrent en leur pays natal comme des êtres dignes d'intérêt."

While the Mac-Paps were lodging in Montreal. Major Edward Cecil Smith -- Commander of the Battalion, addressed the Social Problems Club at McGill University on conditions in Spain. This was the only public address by a member of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion in Montreal. 42 At this meeting the/following resolution was adopted:

Whereas pressure of undemocratic forces in our province has prevented Major Ed. Cecil Smith from speaking in any municipal building, and.

Whereas this is a further attack on our democratic rights,

Therefore be it resolved that this meeting favours the lifting of the embargo on the legitimate government of Spain.

The veterans of the Mac-Paps continued from Montreal to-Toronto, where they received an even larger reception, 44 and then through western Canada. Once the Mac-Paps returned home, medical assistance and employment became a

<sup>41</sup> Le Canada, February 7, 1939, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> The McGill Daily, February 10, 1939, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., February 14, 1939, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Hoar, p. 235.

major concern for the "Friends," who launched a National Rehabilitation Campaign.

, In Montreal, the local Rehabilitation Fund Committee raised over three thousand dollars between January and March 1939. "under most difficult circumstances since the Padlock Law prohibited such public meetings." The Montreal committee provided for the rehabilitation of fifty-three The Montreal committee also initiated a Social veterans. Workers Sub-Committee which secured jobs for the returned veterans. 45 However, the "Friends" encountered considerable hostility from certain sectors of Montreal. national speaking tour by Beckie Buhay, the national organizer of the Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, and Lieutenant W. Kardash, a veteran of the Mac-Paps, did not include the province of Quebec on its itinerary. 46 The Padlock Law enforcement was, no doubt, the reas<u>on</u>.

The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion was a daring undertaking, considering legal restrictions in Canada. It was even more daring an undertaking within Quebec. The entire project would not have been successful without the great

<sup>45</sup> Report on National Committee Meeting, Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion, Toronto, April 6, 1939, p. 4; Public Archives of Canada, Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion File.

Horess Release, Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion in Spain; Public Archives of Canada.

determination of an organization, which Premier Duplessis had so resolutely attempted to intimidate.

### CONCLUSION

Issues involved in the Spanish Civil War reflected the social milieu in Quebec. Both Spain and Quebec were traditionally conservative, Catholic societies, threatened in the 1930's by the "modern" forces of socialism and secularization.

The plight of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain was undoubtedly a contributing motive for the anti-communist crusade carried out by the Church in Quebec in these years. However, attempts to usurp control of either the social welfare programmes or the intellectual hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec had been vehemently resisted throughout the history of the province. As far back as the mid-nineteenth century, a strong Catholic fervor was initiated by Bishop Bourget throughout French Canada. ultramontane movement was critical of the new liberalism of the era, which it identified with the forces of atheism and secularization. Liberalism was denounced by the Vatican in The Syllabus of Errors in 1864. A target for the wrath of the ultramontane movement was Montreal's Institut Canadien founded in 1844 "to provide an intellectual center for French Canadian graduates of the classical colleges."1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Wade, p. 343.

Discussions and writings by the Institut reflected the liberal rhetoric prevalent in Europe, which angered the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec. Bishop Bourget denounced the Institut in several pastoral letters, and urged the Vatican to condemn its activities. The culmination of this conflict was the notorious Guibord affair of the early 1870 s.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, new doctrines of socialism gained popularity. The Vatican issued, in 1891, an encyclical letter Rerum Novarum, which condemned socialism for its disregard of private property and its urging of class warfare. Atheism implicit in Marxist doctrine aroused the greatest wrath of the Church.

The spread of international trade unionism, with its socialist implications, in the early years of the twentieth century, was not welcomed in French Canada. By the end of the Great War, the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec founded the local Catholic syndicates, based on corporatist theory and aimed at counteracting the infiltration of the international trade unions. "Au Canada français, le syndicalisme catholique sera un temoin radical de la justice," warned André Laurendeau in 1937, "ou bien ce qui le remplacera, c'est le radicalisme des Soviets." By

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>L'Action nationale, 1937, p. 12.

authorites deemed "Communist" inspired.

Sensitive to criticism of the quality of its social welfare programme to cope with the Great Depression, the Church opposed state controlled social welfare programmes in Quebec as proposed by several socialist movements. The fate of Bethune's socialized medicine campaign in 1936 is a striking example.

The issues brought to the fore by the civil war in Spain were of concern to the intellectual mainstreams of Montreal society. The Spanish Civil War was not merely the "excuse for people to give free play to their neuroticism," 3 as MacLennan later remarked in The Watch That Ends The Night. Those who spoke out for the Spanish Popular Front received a vi/olent backlash from Quebec's political and religious hierarchies. These same individuals who were confronted with the traditional conservative reaction of Quebec society in the 1930's, also represented in part the vanguard of social reform that would make considerable inroads in Quebéc during its "revolution tranquille." Jack Cupello and Jean Charles Harvey decried the insufficient, attempts at labour reforms -- which culminated in the Asbestos crisis of 1949. Frank Scott, R.L. Calder, Edmond Turcotte and Jean Charles Harvey fought for the defense of civil liberty and for an

Hugh MacLennan, The Watch That Ends The Night, Toronto: New American Library of Canada, 1968, p.213.

end to such restrictive legislation as Duplessis' infamous Padlock Law. Bethune and the Montreal Group for the Security of the People's Health were vanguards for the present Medicare service in Quebec. Therese Casgrain, another outspoken individual who sympathized with Republican Spain, campaigned for the improvement of women's status in Quebec. Louis Muhlstock, Fritz Brandtner, Jori Smith and Jean Palardy challenged traditional art form, and introduced innovations in the creative arts in Quebec. Eugene Forsey and Frank Scott, lecturers at McGill University, were influential in the formation of the CCF, a political party premised on socialism.

Through a variety of committees, publications, rallies and fund campaigns, a number of professionals, intellectuals and artists -- mainly from Montreal's English speaking and Jewish communities -- supported the Spanish Popular Front. Significantly, only a handful of French Canadians dared to endorse Republican Spain -- at the risk of social ostracization. Confronted with a backlash of Catholic social doctrine, and a tradition of both anti-Semitism, anti-Protestant sentiments in Quebec, as well as the indifference of a weak-kneed federal government -- these undaunted souls saw the clouds of international war long before the fiasco at Munich in 1938, and acted as best they could.

The outbreak of world war, the faltering of

Mussolini, and the excesses of Nazism helped turn the Roman Catholic Church away from the aspirations of European fascism. Through the War Measures Act, Mackenzie King's federal government was now able to intervene, constitutionally, and grapple with the excesses of fascism and anti-Imperialism in Quebec. The political defeat of the Union Nationale, and the reinstatement of the Quebec Liberals in 1939 gave added impetus to federal intervention. Adrien Arcand was immediately apprehended and placed in an internment camp, as was Montreal's mayor Camillien Houde, when he advised the populace not to register for the National Resources Mobilization Act.

Subjects as Norman Bethune, the Padlock Law, Adrien Arcand or the Mackenzie Papineau Battalion have received little attention in the standard surveys of Canada's history. Until recently, historians' interpretations of this era in Canada have reflected the attitude of the "establishment" -- neutral, non-commital. It took an American historian -- Victor Hoar -- to break ground for the development of a social history of this era, through the publication of The Mackenzie Papineau Battalion (1969) and The On To Ottawa Trek (1970). Several more recent publications that deal with the social history of the Great Depression in Canada, The Dirty Thirties by Michiel Horn (1972) and Ten Lost Years by Barry Broadfoot (1973), have gained considerable recognition.

The social history of French Canada in the early Duplessis era remains relatively unstudied -- though the sources are readily available. The analysis of public opinion on an issue such as the Spanish Civil War certainly sheds new light on the social history of the times. torials on Spain in the major French Canadian newspapers of Montreal were, for the most part, the reflection of a conservative, Catholic tradition. The intellectual climate at the University of Montreal and Loyola College fostered ready support for Franco's rebellion in Spain, whereas at McGill University, students and professors debated the morality of non-intervention in Spain. Polarization of opinion on an issue such as the civil war in Spain reveals a society deeply divided and irreconcilable. The examination of Montreal's response to the Spanish Civil War yields a more fundamental understanding of the concept of "two solitudes", as well as an explanation for the omnipresent face of xenophobia among Francophones in Quebec.

### APPENDIX

Table	No.		Description
À	'>		1941 Census of Canada: Montreal's Population According to Race and Denomination
В	•	<u>-</u>	Publicity: Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
Ċ	,		Documents: Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy
. D		_	Invitations: Art Benefits For Spanish War Orphans
E	•	-	Publicity: Canadian League Against War and Fascism
F		•	Statement by the Conference in Aid of the Spanish People's Government; Labour Party of Canada, Quebec Section
G .		<del>-</del> `	An Open Letter to All Political Candidates Seeking Election in Montreal: The Montreal Group for the Security of the People's Health
, <b>'</b>	, t	<b>-</b>	Publicity: The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion
Ţ	•		Illustrations: The Return of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion to Montreal
` <b>J</b>		•	Documents: The Friends of the Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion Rehabilitation Fund

O

### CENSUS OF CANADA, 1941.

### TABLE 31. Population by racial origin and ser, for unipopolitan areas, 1941.

Origin and ses	Halifax, N.S.	Hamilton, Out.	London, Ont.	Montrial, Quá.
All races—Tojutes races, T.	91,830 44,776 47,143	778,110 87,863 88,257	41,628	1,130,921 84,096 865,624
British leles recon-Recon des flos Britansiques.  Eaglish—Anglaise.  Irish—Irlandaise.  Boottish—Ecossaise.  Other—Autres.  Other—Autres.  M.  French—Française.  Austrian, n.o.s.—Autrichlenne, n.a.4.  Balgian—Belge.  Bulgarian—Belge.  Bulgarian—Bulgare.  Casch and Sloyak-Tehèque et Sloyaque.  Finhish—Finhandaise.  Finhish—Finhandaise.  Germin—Allemande.  H.  Greed—Greeque.  H.  H.  H.  Greed—Greeque.  H.  H.  H.  H.  H.  H.  H.  H.  H.	74. £18 36,062 88,191 20,672 21,772 8,060 7,869 414 16,870 16,870 111 16 17,718 8,094 18,111 19,111 111 111 111 111 111 1	"55, 877" 677, 687" 770, 260" 780, 260" 780, 260" 11, 451 11, 451 15, 716 11, 452 15, 716 11, 452 15, 716 11, 452 15, 716 15,		##1, 27# 156, 250 145, 445 26, 164 21, 855 23, 835 23, 831 23, 831 23, 831 24, 931 24, 931 24, 832 24, 832
Icelandio—Islandales M. F. Italian—Italiane. M. Jowish—Juive. M. Lithusaian—Lithusaiane. M.	6 7 6 127 109 412 392	1,146 1,146 11 3,416 2,956 1,838 1,307	71 5 478 277 7 390 283 8	1,46 11,25 11,35 11,35 11,36 12,36 1,34
Netherland—Hollandaise. F. Norwagian—Norvégianne M. Poliah—Potonaise. M. Roumanias—Roumaine. M. Russian—Russe. M. Russian—Russe. M. F. Swediah—Suédoise. M. Ukrainian—Ukranienne. M. F. Yagoalavio—Yougoalave. M. Other—Autres. M. Chinese—Chinoise. M. Japansse—Japonaise. M. Japa	77. 2. 4511 1022 14 16 16 17 17 18 17 18 17 18 17 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18	1, 4074 1, 407	30 30 30 31 415 341 341 341 341 231 123 123 123 123 124 125 25 25 26 27 173 174 174 194 79 14 119 12 118 118 118 118 118 118 118 118 118	1, 272 1, 172 1, 172 1, 172 1, 180 1, 171 1, 180 1, 111 1, 111

### CENSUS OF CANADA, 1941

TABLE 39. Population by religious denomination, for metropolitan areas, 1941

=	<u></u>				
			1		•
ŧ	Religious denomination	' -	1	'	•
		Halifax,	Hamilton,	London,	Montréal,
ä	n Religion	N.S.	Ont.	Ont.	Qué.
ž		1		.pi	
7			]		
		1	1 1	•	
· 1	Population	91,829	3178,110	° <b>95,74</b> 0	1,139,92
- 1	Adventist-Adventiste	154	141	303	121
1	Anglican-Anglicane	27,822	, ,	26,900	103.27
4	Apostolie Bretilien-Frères Apostoliques	21,000	30	47	100,270
	Baptist-Baptiste.	6,237		8,290	7,60
-	Brothron—Frêres	0,037			
•		1	385	213	29
:	Buddhist—Bouddhiste	1 1	1 1		41
	Christadelphinn-Christadelphe	. 3	287	, 123	20
. 9	Christian-Chrétiense.	12	132	″ 、 46	8
10	Christian and Missionary Alliance-Allianos Christiane et	7.7		'	
	Missiospaire		247	8	' 24
11	Christian Science-Science Chrétienne,	118	406	209	864
12	Church of Christ, Disciples-Eglise du Christ, Disciples		. 221	1 507	131
18	Church of God (New Dunker)-Egliss de Dies (New Dun-		i i	1	, · · ·
	ker)	9_	20	71	21
14	Confucian - Confuctenno	1 22	68	8	1, 180
15	Dotikhobor	/ -	ار ا	_1	-,
16	Evangelical Church-Eglise Evangelique.	40	1,357	105	.516
	Free Methodist Church of Canada—Edise Methodiste Libre		1,83/	100	O.C.
_ 1	du Canada			ا.،	•
10	Friende-Amie		62	44	50
٠٠	Gospel People.	,	30	17	44
īA	Gospei People	81	1, 107	462	71
	Greek Catholic-Catholique Greeque	17	A,816	120	2,987
Zl	Greek Orthodox-Greeque Orthodoxe	. , 106	1,876	166	10,168
22	Holiness Movement		2	3	` <b>1</b>
23	International Bible Students Association	24	<sup>1</sup> 58	20	66
34	Jewish—Juive	787	<b>№ 2,610</b>	749	63, 457
25	Luthernn-Luthérienne	. 574	2,216	818	4,410
26	Mennonite (Inc. Hutterite)		60	92	55
27	Methodist (African)-Méthodiste (d'Afrique).	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	. 16	22	. * * - / #
28	Mission	1	750	32	` <u>-</u> 99
20	Moravias-Morave			•	3
	Mormon-Mormone	10	201	417	
	Nondenominational—Non confessionnelle	1 2	421	28	***
82	Pagan Palenne.		100	. 20	,
	Pentecostal-Pentecostale	267	782	180	1.814
	Plymouth Brethren-Frères de Plymouth		,	1	.,
	,	. 21	136	170	239
	Presbyterian—Probyterienne	3,253	26,572	7,966	41,402
	Protestant, n.ds Potestante, n.a.c	80	107	46	2,321
	Reformed Church-Eglise Réformée	2	# 16	. 2	61
	Roman Catholio Catholique Romaine	35,388	32, 329	10,348	836,027
ıə	Salvation Army Salutiste	644	1,129	689	933
	Spiritualist Spiritualiste		200	53	53
	Unitarian—Unitarienne	16	61	1 13	754
	United Brethren-Freres Unia	1	6	أأ	3
(3	United Church of Canada-Eglise Unie du Canada	. 15,398	. 89,404	20,533	<b>50,951</b>
н	Other (I)—Autres (I)	102	645	286	1,893
	Not stated—Non donnée	635	338	163	1,501
_					

<sup>(</sup>i) Includes "No religion".

# To Aid Spanish Democracy

### OFFICERS

Hou, Chairmon Rev. Dr. Salem G. Bland, Chairmon Rev. Ben H. Spence Vite-Chairmon Graham Sory, Dr. Roce Henderson, Tim Buck.

Scorney – E. E. Woollon

Secretary — E. E. Woollon-Financial Sec. — Norman Freed. Transary — Bruce Robinson.

### EXECUTIVE

The officers, together with the following:-Ald. Stewart Smith, D. Nesbitt, J. M. Conner, Mrs. Annie Buller, Fred Collins, E. M. Aplin, Harold Potter, Mrs. Elizabeth Morton, David Goldstick, S. B. Watson.

Together with the chairman or a propresentative from each Province as follows:—Mariting TD. W. Mortason, Quebec.

J. Capello, Manitoba, Hon. E. J. McMurry, K. C.; Saskatchevan, Geo. Williams; Alberta, Harold Gefry, British Colombia.

A. M. Stephen.

## PERSONNEL IN SPAIN

The Canadian Blood Transfusion unit consists of three Canadians, Dr., Norman Bethune, Chief Medical Officer, H. Sorensen-Canison Officer; Hazen Sise—General Assistant, and Chauffeur—Two medical students assigned by the Spanish Government—Three telephone operators.

# GENERAL COUNCIL OF ONE HUNDRED

There is also a general council of 1260 consisting of the Executive. Committee and representative citizens of each. Province in Canada.

NQTE:—The Committee is working in affiliation with the North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy and in co-operation with the International Federation of Trades Unions, the Barbusse Committee of France and other International Organizations.

### OFFICES

304 Manning Chambers, N.W. Corner Queen and Bay Streets, Toronto. Telephone Waverley 3198.

Sun Gravure of Can Lid.

# Canada to the Aid of Spanish Democracy

### The Man

NORMAN BETHUNE;
M.D., F.R.C.S. (Eng.,
was born in a Prehymeran
Mane in Gravenhurs in 1890,
his father Being the Rev.
Malcolm Nicholson Bethure.

Having received his primary education in Ontario Public and High schools. Norman Bethune was an under-graduate in medicine in Toronto University when the Great War broke out. He jorned arte first Canadian Contingent in 1914 as stretcher bearer attached other second ambulance corp. He was wounded in action of Ypres in April 1915, invalided hothe in December of that year, finished his medical course in the Spring of 1917, ed joining the Royal Navy and 1918 as Surgeon Lieutenant on

that year, inished his medical course in the Spring of 1917.

served until the Armistice of 1918 as Surgeon Lieutenant on H.M.S. Pegagus, attached to the Grand Floet.

Ta'1920 Dr. Bethune was appointed principal medical officer in the Canadian Air Force, later he was attached to the Surgical staff of the Sucred Heart Hospital, Montreal, and still large Chief of the Division of Thoracic-Surgery in that hospital. He also held the position of Consulting Surgeon to the Department of Pensions and National Health.

From these positions he resigned to accept the position of bead of the Canadian Medical Mission to Spain.

Dc. Bethune is internationally known in his special field of cheet surger. Is a member of the Council of the American Association of Thoracic Surgery, an author of note, and the inventor of many new surgical instruments.

Norwithstanding his busy professional life, Dr. Bethune has found time to take an active interest in social reform work. How a nember of the League for Social Reconstruction. His practical humanitarianism is shown by the establishment of the Wontreal Children's Art Centre which he founded and equipped.

# The Project

After spending a week in the front-line trenches and making an intimate and careful survey of the whole situation, he reached certain conclusions. To use his own words.

"I came to see they needed organization of blood transfusion service as only two or three of the big hospitals were doing this. Many men were dying as they lay on stretchers in regimental aid posts, etc. I proposed to the Government that the Canadian Committee should undertake this particular job and finance it. They accepted with great entitlesism.

Dr. Bethune at once cabled the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy for confirmation. Assent was promptly given and immediately six thousand dollars (\$6,000.00) was tabled to him for the purchase of a car and the necessary equipment. The Devices a greatherally orthined in a subsequent letter.

Again to use Dr. Bethune's own words.—"Feell we three faces Russian-American methods of collecting blood, storing it at suitable temperatures in vacuum bottles and transporting it to any hospital needing it within twenty-five milestit to any hospital needing it within twenty-five milestit to any hospital needing it within twenty-five milestit to any hospital needing it within twenty-five milestion. Three girls on eight hour shift on telephones, Card index of SO voluntary donors (all have to have Walkerman examination). A "regiment" will turn up every day in rotation car especially equipped for shock and par to blood refrigeration—special storage tanks, etc. etc., (Have all details worked out)—Will then give the blood myself to patients. A real "snappy" service can be set up. Special badges for donors.—I star for each donational 11/ fronts in the country Need a for of apparatus, sterilizers, instruments in sets, microscopes, etc., etc., etc., etc., etc., nervilizers, instruments in sets.

apparatus

This appealing humanitarian scheme is now an actualized
fact. Canada is literally transfusing new blood into the
wounded soldiers of Spanish Democracy. Apara-from its
great medical and military value, the moral effect of this
very practical hife-saving activity has been 40 infuse new
courage into the Spanish Democrats who today are in the
fitting line in a great world war for Democracy and against

contributions from all over Canada. More is needed. A contributions from all over Canada. More is needed. A contributions from of finds must be turwarded to adequately maintain the work. The Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy will welcome help.

### « LISTEN IN! »

THIS IS STATION...



MADRID SPAIN



♦ Hear

Dr. Norman Bethune

Prof. J. B. S. Haldane

Price 5 cents

Hazen Sise

Published by the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

### Foreword

COMEWHERE IN SPAIN," four Canadians—Dr. Norman Bethune, Henning Sorenson, Hazen Sise, Allen May—are actively engaged, where the fighting is the fiercest, to save the lives of Spanish Democrats wounded and mutated by Fascist bullets and bombs.

Dashing over shell-torn roads, amid flash and crash of guns, whirring airplanes above, bursting bombs around, through storm and sunshine, day and night, the trucks of "Hispano Canadiense de Transfusion de Sangre" go, carrying precious life fluid to revive dying soldiers of Democracy.

Science and skill combine with heroism and enthusiasm in putting over one of the finest jobs of practical humanitarianism and medical achievement in history. Every Canadian must feel a thrill of pride at the splendid achievements of his country-men on the Spanish front.

### Canadian Broadcasts in Spain

One of the features of the situation in Spain has been broadcasts, in English, over Station UGT, Madrid (short wave 40.5m) and relayed over EAQ (short wave 30 metres). These have been also translated into Spanish. They have been used for the purpose of arousing sympathy in the English-speaking world, and also to secure voluntary blood donors in Spain.

A welcome visitor to the Canadian headquarters in Madrid was the eminent British scientist, J. B. S. Haldane, professor of genetics, University College, London University, who joined in these broadcasts. This pamphlet is a condensation of some of the radio broadcasts given by Dr. Bethune, Professor Haldane and Hazen Sise.

### Messages from Madrid

Canada Greets Spain

-Dr. Norman Bethune, December 24th, 1936

OMRADES OF SPAIN: I, and my compiles of the Canadian Blood
Transfusion Service, have the honor to be in Spain as the
representatives of the Canadian Committee to Aid Spanish
Democracy.

This Committee, with headquarters in Toronto, Canada, is formed of workers and intellectuals, of liberals and socialists and Communists. We, the United Front of Canada, join hands with the United States of Spain—The International Anti-Fascists of the old and new worlds.

When we first came to Spain, two months ago, you used to talk to us about your war, your revolution, but now you are beginning to speak about our war, Spain's war, Canada's war, England's war, the war of the workers of the world. And that is a good sign. It is a sign that the causes and consequences of our struggle are deeper and more far reaching than the boundaries of Spain; that they stretch across the Pyrenees, across the English Channel, across the Atlantic and include the world.

### World Significance of Spain's Struggle

The revolution of the workers against the economic, religious and intellectual slavery happened to have occurred this year in Spain. It might just as well have happened in a dozen other countries but that you had the courage, the dignity and the audacity to face your problems with more open eyes, firmer lips and stouter hearts than the workers of the rest of the world.

What Spain does today, what you Spaniards do tomorrow, will decide the future of the world for the next 100 years. If you are defeated the world will fall back into the new dark ages of Fascism—if you are successful, as we are confident you will be successful, we will go forward into the glories of the new golden age of economic and political democracy.

Remember we Canadian workers are with you. We have come here as into the opening battle of the world revolution. Your fight is our fight. Your victory is our victory. Ask us how we can help you. You will find us ready to respond:—SALUD.

### Montreal Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

(FORMERLY SPANISH BEDICAL AID COMMITTER OF MONTREAL)

-OFFICE HOURS: 11 A.M. TO 5 P.M.

1104 BEAVER HALL HILL TEL. LANGASTER 2916

DR. W. D. LIGHTHALL, MON. CHAIRMAN
HAZEN SISC
HON.
HENDING SORRENSEN Y VICE-CHAIRMEN
JACK CUPPELLO, CHAIRMAN
A. VICKERS, VICE-CHAIRMAN
J. MOSINAP LEF, BECRYTARY
DR. L. H. STILWELL, TREABURER

May 12th, 1938.

J L. BIRLER H DTSLULNIERB E. A FORBEY WILLIAM FRASER DR F A GREENSPON MAS R C. HARVEY JACQUES HEBERT PPOP J C HEMMEON MARS IN G KENNEDY REV HUGH MACPHAIL OR, J MENDELL MACLEOD REV DR. M F MCCUTCHEON DR. FOARGIS L. MENAUGHTON REV P KENNETH NAYLOR PROF A NOAD REV DR. D L. RITCHIE MRS CHARLES SISE PAT CULLIVAN OR H WALTER

Dear Friend:

We are told constantly that the war is over in Spain, that the Government is defeated, that nothing remains for us but to accept reaction and fascism in one more country.

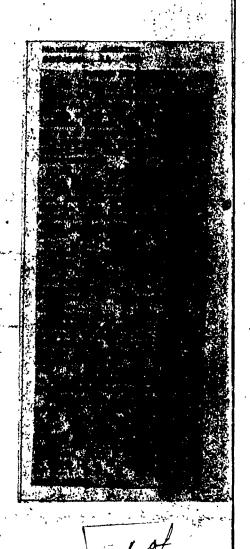
The situation is not as hopeless as a well organized press campaign would have us believe. The Spanish Government is by no means defeated. Its resistance grows and strengthens. Madrid stands, and Barcelona.

We do not say this in easy optimism. Admittedly Spain faces a major crisis. But a hundred years ago Napoleon Bonaparte also won battle after battle in Spain. Like Franco he succeeded in cutting the country in two. Yet the final victory was not his. The Spanish people fought back with the stubbornness, the petience, the single-mindedness of a nation beating back invasion, as they are fighting now. It is not for us, by our easy acceptance of defeat to tie their hands.

The people of Spain are strained to the limit of endurance in this unequal war. They must be helped. Last year we sent them Dr. Bethune. He gave back to Spain thousands of the lives of her people who without him would have bled to death. Canada did something worthy of herself. Now we are faced with an even more urgent problem, the care of refugee children. They come from cities; and villages, pushed along before Franco's line of march. Their parents are killed fighting, in air raids, behind rebel lines. They are frightened and homeless. They need security as much as bread. They present a tremendous and imperative problem. We must take our place with other democratic countries in a common effort to safeguard the future of Spain. Canada, that gave Spain blood to fight for freedom, can give her confidence, can arm her anewaby securing the safety of her children. In Montreal we support only 40 children. We can look after many times that number. Surely it means much to us that they are safe from the mercy of Hitler and Mussolini and their jackal, Franco.

Whatever amount you feel you can contribute or pledge, please do not delay. It is a matter of urgency.

The Committee



## Am Open Lotter om Spain

Montreal, October 20, 1930.

We, the underagned, wish to call your attention to the enclosed letter. which has appeared in the London Press. We think it deserves to be reprinted.

ZI.

Until only the other day it was almost universally held that the noblest contribution of the British the European civilization has been our theory and still more dur practice of political liberty and parliamentary democracy. For centuries we have been proud of the fact that we have been precumently a free people; and of the English institutions which have established freedom in the face of every attempt to put in its place some form of irresponsible, militarist, or autocratic government. It has taken over three hundred years of our history, to establish and consolidate this characteristically British ifreedom, and we have had to defend it at one time or another against our own kings, aristocracy, army leaders, and also against Spanish, French, and German monarchs, dictators and conquerors.

has been repudiated and all the institutions of political freedom destroyed. At the present moment in Spain a constitutional Government, elected by the people, is being attacked by a junta of generals, who, with the aid of Moorish troops, have declared their intention of destroying parliamentary democracy in that country and of setting up in its place an authoritarian inilitary Government on the Fascist model. The Government which is being thus attacked is a Laberal democratic Government; in contains no a socialist or communist. That it has been able to withstand this military coup and the invasion of Spain by an African army for so many weeks has been due to the fact that it has behind it the great majority of the Spanish



### Am Opeem Leiter

Montreal, October 20, 1936.

We, the underagned, wish to call your attention to the enclosed letter, which has appeared in the London Press. We think it deserves to be reprinted

Sir:

Until only the other day it was almost universally held that the noblest contribution of the British to European civilization has been our theory and still more dur practice of political liberty and parliamentary democracy. For centuries we have been proud of the fact that we have been preeminently a free people, and of the English institutions which have established freedom in the face of every attempt to put in its place some form of irresponsible, militarist, or autocratic government. It has taken over three hundred years of our history to establish and consolidate this characteristically British freedom, and we have had to defend it at one time or another against our own kinds, aristocracy, army leaders, and also against Spanish. French, and German monarchs, dictators and conquerors.

To-day in most of the states of Europe our ideal of individual liberty has been repudiated and all the institutions of political freedom destroyed. At the present moment in Spain a constitutional Government, elected by the people, is being attacked by a junta of generals, who, with the aid of Moorish troops, have declared their intention of destroying parliamentary democracy in that country end of setting up in its place an authoritarian inilitary Government on the Fascist model. The Government which is being thus attacked is a Liberal democratic Government; it contains no socialist or communist. That it has been able to withstand this military coup and the invasion of Spain by an African army for so many weeks has been due to the fact that it has behind it the great majority of the Spainsh people of all political and religious creeds.

At any other time during the last 150 years of our history the sympathies of practically all classes in this country and of our Government would have been with the Spanish people and its Government in such a struggle of democracy against military despotism, and of freedom against Fascism. It is, therefore, a matter of grave concern to find that in many quarters, particularly in the popular Press, a persistent attempt is being made to misrepresent the nature of the struggle, and to enlist the sympathies of Britain for military redels, on the ground that the Government is Bolshevist or Communist. The Spanish Government is, we repeat, a democratic Government, elected by the people, and, like our own, responsible to the people, it is fighting against military despotism and Fascism for liberty and for what in our country we have for more than a century considered to be the bare minimum of political civilization. We who sign

2 of 2

this letter belong to various political parties, or to no party, but we agree in relaining belief in the British ideals of political freedom and democracy, and we therefore desire publicly to express our sympathy with the Spanish Government and people and our hope that our own Government will take every legitimate opportunity of pursuing towards such a foreign Government the traditional British policy of sympathetic benevolence.

Lascolles Abercrombie, Norman Angell, Ernest Barker, P. M. S. Blackett, A. M. Carr Saunders, G. D. H. Cole, F. M. Cornford, C. Day Lewis, C. Delisle-Burns, E. M. Forster, Margaret Fry, G. T. Gorratt, G. P. Gooch, Charlotte Haldane, J. B. S. Haldane, Hastings, R. H. Hodgkin, W. Florsfall Carter, Julian S. Huxley, Hewlett Johnson, David Low, F. L. Lucas, Geoffrey Mander, Rhonnda, Shena D. Simon, R. H. Tawney, H. G. Wells, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Leonard Woolf, Virginia Woolf.

### 23 Haymarket W.

To this letter, with which we are in complete accord, it is only necessary to add two comments.

Liest, the Spanish Government, which at first was composed entirely of Liberals and Republicans, does now, since the middle of September, include some Socialists and Communists as well as members of the other parties supporting the Republic. This, however, is a direct result of the rebellion. It remains true that the struggle is not between Fascism and Communism, but between Fascism and Democracy. There are, incidentally, only 5 Communists in the Spanish Parliament of 470.

Second, the Spanish People's Government — a constitutional Government—is lighting for the democratic libeties which our own forefathers in Canada demanded one hundred years ayo, and which they won. For loyal Canadians can there be any question which side deserves our sympathy and support?

### MONTREAL COMMITTEE FOR MEDICAL AID TO THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

E. R. Adair, John Deard, J. Cuppello, L. Lawrence Eke, H. Carl Goldenberg, Francis Hanlin, J. C. Hemmeon, F. W. Kerr, W. D. Lighthall, M. F. McCutcheon, J. Wendell MacLeod, A. S. Noad, Helen Y. Reid, D. L. Ritchie, F. R. Scott, R. B. Y. Scott, Herman Welter.

this letter belong to various political parties, or to no party, but we agree in retaining belief in the British ideals of political freedom and democracy, and we therefore desire publicly to express our sympathy with the Spanish Government and people and our hope that our own Government will take every legitimate opportunity of pursuing towards such a foreign Government the traditional British policy of sympathetic benevolence.

Lascelles Abercrombie, Norman Angell, Ernest Barker, P. M. S. Blackett, A. M. Carr Saunders, G. D. H. Cole, F. M. Comford, C. Day Lewis, C. Delisle Burns, E. M. Forster, Margaret Fry, G. T. Gorratt, G. P. Gooch, Charlotte Haldane, J. B. S. Haldane, Hastings, R. H. Hodgkin, W. Florsfall Carter, Julian S. Huxley, Hewlett Johnson, David Low, F. L. Lucas, Geoffrey Mander, Rhonnda, Shena D. Simon, R. H. Tawney, H. G. Wells, Ralph Vaughan Williams, Leonard Woolf, Virginia Woolf.

### 23 Haymarket W.

To this letter, with which we are in complete accord, it is only necessary to add two comments.

I test, the Spanish Government, which at first was composed entirely of Liberals and Republicans, does now, since the middle of September, include some Socialists and Communists as well as members of the other parties supporting the Republic. This, however, is a direct result of the rebellion. It remains true that the struggle is not between Fascism and Communism, but between Fascism and Democracy. There are, incidentally, only 15 Communists in the Spanish Parliament of 470.

Second, the Spanish People's Gavernment — a constitutional Government — is lighting for the democratic liberties which our own forefathers in Canada demanded one hundred years ago, and which they won. For loyal Canadians can there be any question which side deserves our sympathy and support?

### MONTREAL COMMITTEE FOR MEDICAL AID TO THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

E. R. Adair, John Deard, J. Cuppello, L. Lawrence Eke, H. Carl Goldenberg, Francis Handin, J. C. Hemmeon, F. W. Kerr, W. D. Lighthall, M. F. McCutcheon, J. Wendell MacLeod, A. S. Noad, Helen Y. Reid, D. L. Ritchie, F. R. Scott, R. B. Y. Scott, Herman Walter.

### MONTREAL COMMITTEE FOR MEDICAL AID TO THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

December, 198

### Dear Friend:

We enclose with this letter a circular put out for the visit to Mentre October 23rd, of the Spanish Delegation. This Delegation was composed of Madee Isabella Palencia, member of the Cortes and delegate to the League of Mations Assembly, Senor Marcelino/Domingo, Leader of the Republican Party of Spain, and Father Luis Sarasola, well known scholar and historian. The Montreal Committee arranged a public meeting at the Mt. Royal Arena. The purpose was to give the people of Montreal an opportunity to hear the point of view of the Spanish Government - the sympathies of the Press being largely on the other side - and to furnish the means of sending to Spain a Canadian, Dr. Norman Bethune, adequately equipped with medical supplies. There can be no doubt of the distinction of the members of this Delegation sent unofficially by the Spanish Government, nor that they were qualified to speak with authority.

This meeting did not take place. The Montreal Public was forbidden to hear these representatives of a friendly Government, or to judge of the necessity of rendering aid to helpless non-combatants in this bitter fight.

We do not wish to dwell here on the underlying reasons for this affront to our distinguished guests, nor on the abrogation of our rights of free speech and assembly. In other cities in this country and the United States, the Spanish Delegation gation have received an enthusiastic welcome from all classes who have given their warmest sympathy and most generous support, but the fact remains that through no fault or lack of desire on their part, the people of Montreal have been able to do neither.

The situation in Spain grows daily more grave. There is no doubt that the end will not be for many months, and that as the winter advances the terrible need of the people will increase. If ever there was a time for us to help, it is now. Let the people of Spain know that though we cannot share their suffering and loss, we can at least limit somewhat its extent. We most earnestly appeal to you for generous contributions.

Dr. Bethune is already in Spain. It is imperative that he continue to receive vaccines, serums, antiseptics and all medical supplies. We call upon you to help make this possible. Contributions can be sent to J. L. Bieler, 643 Hilton, Chaques and Money Orders should be made out to J. L. Bieler (in trust).

### (Signed)

- J. Cuppello
- E. A. Forsey
- H. Carl Goldenberg
- E. A. Greenspon
- J. C. Hemmeon
- F. W. Kerr 🐃 -
- J. Wendell MacLeod
- J. N. Lee
- W. D. Lighthall
- A., S. Noad .
- O. L. Ritchie
- Herman Walter
- J. L. Bieler, treas

THE MONTREAL COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY

cordially invites you to attend a

LUNCHEON

In honour of DRI-NORMAN-BETHUNE

at the BERKELEY HOTEL
Sherbrooke Street West
Sunday, October 3rd, at 12 o'clock

The Montreal Committee

for the

Canadian Relief Ship for Spain

invites you to a dinner

i'in honour aft

Her Grace, the Duchess of Atholl

to be held at

The Windsor Hotel, Rose Room

Monday, September the twelfth

at eight o'clock

R.S.V.P.

Mrs. R. C. Harvey-Jellie

4131 Cote des Neiges

Dinner \$5.00

. For reservations

Telephone LA: 2916

### SPOŃSOŘS

Peter Bercovitch, K.C.

Jacques L. Biefer

Raymond Boyer

Prof. E. A. Forsey

William Fraser

Dr. E. A. Greenspon

Mrs. R. C. Harvey-Jellie

Jacques Hebert

Prof. J. C. Hemmeon

The Hon. A. K. Hugessen

Mrs. M. C. Kennedy

J. Norman Lee

Dr. W. D. Lighthall

Rev. Hugh Macphail

Dr. J. Wendell: MacLeod

Rev. Dr. M. F. McCutcheon

Dr. Francis L. McNaughton

Cleveland Morgan

Rev. R. Kenneth Naylor

Prof. A. Noad

Dr. I. M. Rabinowitch

Dr. Helen R. Y. Reid

Rev. Dr. D. L. Ritchie

Mrs. Charles Sise

Hazen Sise

Paul F. Sise

Julian C. Smith

Rabbi J. Harry Stern

Dr. L. H. Stilwell

Dr. David Thompson

Jou are invited to attend an exhibition and sale of paintings, drawings and prints,

to be held at 2037 Peel Street December

15th - 18th. These pictures have been donated by Montreal artists to provide fail.

for Spanish refugee children.

EDWIN HOLGATE GOODPIOGE POBERTS

ANDE SAVACE
PUILIP SUPREA

CONTIDUTING BYENT

HARDLD BEARENT
ALEKSANDER GERCGVICK
FRITZ BRANDT MER

MARC AUREL FORTEN
ERIC GOLDBERG
ALAN HARRIGON
EDWIN HOLGATE
PRUDENCE HEMARD
JUHN, LYMAN
J. REID MECDENALD
KATHLEEN MORRIS
LOUIS MUHLSTOCK
ERNST MEUMANN
WILLIAM GGILVIE
JEAN PALANEY
ROBERTS
SANAN ROBERTSON
MARTAN ECO.

are cordially invited to attend an EXHIBITION and SALE of PRINTS Drawings, Painting and Craftwork by artists of Toronto, Hamilton and Montreal, on CTOBER 22nd and 23rd, at the ONIAN CLUB, 35 Hazelton Ave.

(Hazelton Ave. runs north from Yorkville Ave. between Avenue Road and Bay St.)

### Among those critists contributing are:

- Eric Aldwinkle
- Coven Aikins
- Fritz Brandmer
- Parasgeya Clark
- Charles Comfort
- Frank Carmichael
- Margaret Fairley
- John Hall
- Lawren Harris Jr.
- Leonard Hutchinson

- Lawrence Hyde
- A. Y. Jackson
- Dr. Norman Bethune Harold King

  - Andre Lapine
  - Arthur Lismer
  - Harry Mayerovitch
    Louis Muhlstock
  - Pegi Nichol

  - Karl Schaeffer Owen Staples
  - Gordon Webber

A selected group of posters by moted Spanish circlets will also be shown.

The proceeds of the sale will to towards the upkeep of a home for Spanish orphans which the young people of Canada have already set up in the vicinity of Barcelona. The exhibition will be open on Friday evening, October 22 from 7.30 to 11 o'clock and Saturday, October 23 from 2 to 11 o'clock. Pictures may be bought at any time during the exhibition and those unsold will be auctioned on Saturday evening at 9 o'clock.

This is an excellent opportunity of securing work by Canadian artists at prices much below their market values. At the same time the artists who have donated their work would greatly appreciate your assistance in making this project a success.

> For the Artists Committee MARGARET FAIRLEY CHARLES COMFORT arthur Lismer

# WHAT ARE YOU

# Worker, Farmer, Housewife, Professional?

These groups comprise the great mass of our population to whom the rising tide of Fascism and the threat of another World War represents the most serious menace today. If you belong to one of these groups you have interests in common with all the others. The only organisation expressing, in one united body, the community of these interests is the Canadian League against War and Fascism. Join today!

### O DONOR

is informed of all League activities and receives the monthly magazine FIGHT when issued, as well as pamphlets and all literature issued by the League. (Annual dues \$25.00 or move.

### O SUSTAINING MEMBER

is informed of all League activities, receives monthly magazine FIGHT when issued.

Annual dues, \$12.60.

### O SUPPORTING MEMBER

is informed of all League activities.

Annual dues, 31.60.

## Just Off The Press! Will Canada Escape Fascism?

A 32 page pamphlet dealing with the historical development of Fascism, with a special section on Fascist trends in Canada.

### Price 10c

## CANADIAN LEAGUE AGAINST-WAR AND FASCISM

146 King Street West

Room 505

Taranto



### PLAN OF ACTION

The Canadian League Against War and Fascism has a definite plan of action, designed on the basis of experience in other countries, and adopted at the national Congress at which the League was formed last fall. This Plan of Action profits by the mistakes made in Germany, Italy and Austria. It is as follows:

- To form committees against war and fascism in every important industry and centre, particularly in basic war industries. To secure the support of all organizations and individuals seeking to prevent war, paying special attention to labor, farmer, veteran and unemployed organizations, and to interest as well the middle classes.
- 2. To organize mass meetings, demonstrations, lectures, parades and similar activities in order to make popular this Plan of Action and to publish leaflets, pamphlets and journals. To agitate and propagate for the widest struggle against war and fascism.
- 3. To work towards the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions and war supplies through mass demonstrations, picketing and strikes.
- 4. To demand the transfer of all military expenditures to the relief of the unemployed and the replacement of the present inadequate relief measures by a system of unemployment and social insurance and an adequate public works program.
- 5. To expose everywhere the extensive preparations for war and to oppose all developments leading to fascism in Canada. To resist the increasing use of armed police against the workers and farmers and to fight against the suppression of the workers' rights to strike and picket. To uphold freedom of speech and assembly for the workers. To oppose such fascist measures by our federal and provincial governments as Section 98, the Arcand and David Bills in Quebec, and the growing fascist tendencies in all provinces.
- To give effective aid to all anti-fascist fighters in those countries where fascism is either established or threatening.
- 7. To specially enlist women and youth in the movement against war and fascism and to secure the sympathy and interest of the teachers, university professors and leaders of all youth organizations.
- 8. To protest against the arbitrary and fascist-like banning of papers, books and periodicals by the federal government and to insist upon the right of the citizen to decide for himself what literature he will read and import.

## The Truth About Spain

## AN APPEAL TO ALL FAIR-MINDED :: CITIZENS OF MONTREAL ::

In February 1936, the people of Spain in a constitutional manner using their franchise, elected by a substantial majority, a government supported of all corressive parties, which had united under the name of the Popular Front. The world press accepted the new government as a true expression of the desires of the Spanish people. At least few challenged its right to rule. The new government begen to enact social legislation, held up by the triumph of the reaction that had been in office since 1933, and overdue from fifty to one hundred years. Laws were placed upon the statute books, which in western democratic countries would be regarded as quite conservative.

### THE REVOLT OF THE BOURBONS

Refusing to how to the will of the majority, the privileged classes of Spain, headed by traiterous army effects rose in revolt egainst the government. That they were planning this attack long before the election which drove them from effice in evidence in the fisclosures of secretly prepared fortifications and run emplacements within range of Madrid. This treacherous junts of army officers, aided financially by the landowners and millionaires, etirred up a rehellion in Spanish Morocco, and invaded their native country with an army composed of Moors and the Spanish Foreign Legion (recruited from the riff-raff and criminal elements of all lands), under the pretext of recatablishing law and order and defending Christianity from atheistic Communism, thereby giving a religious close to their murderous acts. Thus the Mohammedan Moor, driven from Spain four centuries age as an enemy of Christ is now transformed into a Crusader for Christianity. It is probable that neither Cenerals Pranco or Mola believe in Christianity or any other cread. They claim that they are against the government to save Spain from Communism. Not one Communist or even Socialists were most active in defense of the government, rallying upon every battle front, it finally became necessary to include them in the cabinet. If Spain has a Socialist premier to-day it is the rebels who are responsible.

Back of the civil butchers stand the governments of Italy, Germany and Portugal, adding in severy way, in defiance of all international law and decency, the renegada Spaniards, who in payment for this aid, are prepared to code Spanish territory and even to degrade Spain into a dependancy of Italy. There are no depths to which these degenerate parasites will not fall, at that they may regain their power to rob and oppress the Spanish people. Officially Britain and France are neutral, which is equivalent to recognising the rebels as a legally constituted government body, with the rights and prerogatives of other nations.

We offer for your consideration a few (from many available) extracts taken from admittedly conservative sources, on the Spanish question.

### ON MEUTRALITY

Editorial, "Star", Toronto, August 24th, 1936.

"It is not customery for the British, French or other European governments to declare neutrality in the case of a rebellion against the crabblished government of another country. This is the unusual feature of the present crisis in Spain. The rebels are accorded, internationally, the same status as the government of Spain. One British writer declared that the real issue is cleaves the class issue when it comes to a show-down. As someone has said the war in Spain is between the palace and the hovel, and most countries sympathise with the occupants of the palace as against the occupants of the hovel."

### ECONOMIC CAUSES OF RADICAL ASCENDANCY

Toronto Star, July 30th, 1936.

Sixty per cont of the people of Spain are illiterates. Most of her ten million percents are primitive serfs. I have seen thouser is of them starving at the mouths of the rough caves in which they live. In the same country which overthrew the monarchy in 1931, there are still noblemen, grandees, and industrialists living in aladanesque splexion. Surmounting all there is the great, powerful and

incredibly wealthy Church, fighting tooth and sail against every effort at enancipation, financing the Fascist reactionance, supplying Fascist leaders, and wondering why Churches are being burned."

### THE FASCIST HOLY WAR-

"Colombia", organ of the Knights of Colombus, September, 1936.

"The great tragedy of Spain was that in the nineteenth century the working masses apostatized from the Church as Pops Pius X once remarked. And it is well to remember, it was poverty, destitution and injustice which made them aportatize. They got to hate the Church because they hated the friends of the Church, who exploited them and whom the Church did nothing to rebute or correct."

### FATHER IGNACIO MENDEZ PRIALIS

epeaking ever the radio to his follow Catholics in Spain-

"The Popular Front may have committed excesses, but all the provocations of the last six months came from the Right. Youth may have here and there shown cruelty, but assassinating helpless seen, wom'n and children, who have committed no crime is not the declared policy of the Popular Front, as it is with the Fescist Generals who clare blasphene God and His Son by declaring that they, with their promise to exterminate millions of human lytings, are defending our hely religion."

### JUAN GARCIA MORALES

Priest and Republican.

"God placed power in our hands; leadership end education, and with these means at our emans of why did the people desert the Church? Don't blame it on Russiar propagands or on the Masonic lodges. If the people fled the Church, it was because they saw the Church's union with the Caciques (political and economic bosset). The hatred of the people is not directed at God nor at the Church; it is turned towards their ministers, because they have placed themselves in the vanguard of the people's armies; because our hierarchie superiors have taken the cide of those who bring the Moors back to our soil. Long live the Republic, Long live Liberty and Denocracy !"

### FELLOW CITIZENS OF MONTREAL!

Concult your own conscience I Do your own thinking I Den't be misled by the lies of a venel prove, inspired by the Henrets and Rothermeres, friends and champions of the clustering bullies of Europe, Hitler and Musolini.

The people of Spain are fighting for the elementary principles of democracy, social amelioration and feligious freedom, which we in Canada have in some measure achieved after similar struggles in the past by our forefathers. Got behind the Conference, grorally and financially, in ad of the Smaich People's Covernment. Demand with an Grouph your organizations, Trade Unions, Important Societies and Churches, that the Covernment of Canada act in accordance with all past International law and practice, or if not willing to actively sid a friendly government, struggling to defend itself against an unprovoked and treacherous attack, to at least see to it that no holy shall go from Canada to, the rabel forces.

### WHAT WOULD A REJEL VICTORY MEAN TO THE WORLD?

According to their own elatements and judging from their allies, the generals directing the revolt intend to set up a Fascist hell in Springness circl than over was the old Monarchist regime. Without Germany and May, his while to maintain a vast war making for beyond the limits of the natural wealth of these combines to support. Hence, rationing in Germany and Muscolini's blunt etatement that the Italian people must accept a lower standard of living. "We can do without butter, but we must have bembing planes" should the bully Goddelle.

A victory for the Spanish Poorlo's Front Government in victory for World Peace and Democracy. No intelligent Cauncian, unless grossly misinformed can have the slightest sympathy with the robel leaders in Spain. All currenditions, our mode of life and our temperament place us naturally on the side of the Spanish Democracy, and that is, without doubt where we would be were it not for the propaganda coming from certain quarters, where love for Spain is measured in the deliars and conts extracted from the Spanish people, and by the same trusts that are bleeding the Canadian people.

The People's Government of Spain was unanimously endorsed by the recent convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, thief legislative body of the International Unions; by the All-Canadan Congress of Labor and by every Trades and Labor Council in Canada, including Montread; by the C.C.F. and a host of other organizations, and labor and non-political, and by most of the Trade Unions of Europe and the Americas.

Issued by the Conference is Aid of the Smulch People's Government sider the America of the Labor Party of Canada, Quebec Section, 322 Durchester W.

12 min 12

Dr. Harold Segel, 1538 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, P.Q.

Dear Bootor

The enclosed pemphlet is an enlargement of an article which appears in the August number of the Canadian Medical Journal. We urge you to give it your serious consideration.

Quebec must not fall behind in dealing with these urgent matters; much work remains to be done to raise the standard of the health of our people. We consider this a primary obligation of the Municipal and Provincial Governments to whom we must offer our professional guidance and advice in solving these two urgent problems: - Health Security for the People and Economic security for ourselves.

We welcome criticisms of these proposals. Please favor us with a reply.

Very sincerely yours,

Norman Bethune, M.D.

Secretary

The Montreal Group for the Security of the People's Health.
1154 Beaver Hall Square,
Montreal, P.Q.

NB/W

P.S.

The enclosed letter and an abridged form of this pamphlet has been placed in the hands of Premier Godbout, The Honourable Mr. Duplessis, each of the fifty Liberal and L'Union Nationale and other candidates on the Island of Montreal, and to the Mayor and members of the Board of Aldermen of the city and the Montreal Unemployment Commission.

August 10th. 1936

Final Copy of Group's proposals as passed at last meeting.

### AN OPEN LETTER TO ALL POLITICAL CANDIDATES SEEKING ELECTION IN MONTREAL.

Doar Sir:

The enclosed are the proposals made by the Montreal Group for the Security of the People's Health to the various political parties in the coming election. We earnestly urge you to give them your deepest consideration for inclusion as a health plank on your platform. These proposals have been drawn up after considerable study by a large group of Montreal doctors, dentists, nurses, statisticians and Social Service Workers. Would you be good enough to send us a written reply in regard to these proposals.

We ask you to bring up the question of state responsibility for the maintainance of the People's Health in all your public meetings and addresses to the electrate, so that the medical, dental and nursing professions may know your stand in this tremendously important matter.

. Very sincerely yours,

Norman Bothung.

Socretary,

Montreal Group for the Socurity of the People's Health.
1154 Beaver Hall Square,
Montreal, P.Q.

NR AW

August 10th, 1936

Page 1

### MEDICAL CARE FOR THE PEOPLE OF MONTREAL AND THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

Proposals submitted for discussion and amendment to officers of all Medical, Dental and Nursing Societies and Associations in the Province of Quebec; to members of the professions; to Hospitals; to Social and Charitable Agencies; Public Health and Government Officials; Montreal Unemployment Commission and Representatives of the Church.

'nv

The Montreal Group for the Security of the Poople's Health.

1154 Beaver Hall Square, Montroal:

The Montreal Group for the Socurity of the People's Health is a non-political organization & Physicians, surgeons, dontists, nurses, social service workers and statisticions formed in the winter of 1935-1936 to study the relationship of present day modicine to the people and to the state, in all the civilized countries of the world, with particular attention to the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Quebec.

The reasons for the urgent necessity of such a study were drawn up by the group in its fundamental platform.

- There is an underlying feeling that medicine, as new practiced in this country, does not serve adequately either the patient or the physician.
- Our civilization in recent years has undergone and is undergoing profound socio-economic changes which have altered both individual and group relationships. Although medical science has made tremendous progress, yet the application of these advances have not been fully utilized either to the benefit of the people or the profession.
- The cause of this incomplete utilization lies in the uneven distribution of the products of scientific knowledge and rescarch, with a lack of purchasing power of the people.

The doctor is a producer. The doctor is a commodity producer; the commodity he produces is the application of his knowledge of health and the means and measures he takes to combat diseaso. He, like the rest of society into which he is closely tenterwoven, is suffering today because he can find but few consumers able to pay for his product. In short, "production relationships", in terms of political economics, between producer and consumer are maladjusted and distorted. Medicine as a part of modern society presents the same contradictions in miniature as effects the whole. These contradictions may be characterized as poverty of purchasing power in the midst of plenty.

- There is a growing realization that the adequate prevention and cure of disease has gono beyond the capacity of individual practitioners or charitable institutions, and that it demands the recognition by the state of the following principle - the maintenance of the health of the population is one of the fundamental functions and duties of the state and should be undertaken by the state under the same necessities as it has taken ever public education, the police, the army and fire protection.
  - What's wrong with our practice of Meditine at present?

#### Α. Patient's View.

- The vast majority of the population (based on sociological division of three groups) cannot pay for adequate medical aid.
- Even such medical aid as supplied by charity is inadequate, unless in cases of extreme illness requiring hospitalization.
- There is an appalling lack of provision for preventive and hygienic measures in the community.

#### В. Doctor's View.

1. Individualistic general practice of medicine cannot supply the full bonefits of modern science rowing to the highd ogree of specialization demanded by a dvancing knowledge.

- 1. There is an underlying feeling that medicine, as now practiced in this country, does not serve adequately either the patient or the physician.
- 2. Our civilization in recent years has undergone and is undergoing profound socio-economic changes which have altered both individual and group relationships. Although medical science has made tremendous progress, yet the application of these advances have not been fully utilized either to the benefit of the people or the profession.
- 3. The cause of this incomplete utilization lies in the uneven distribution of the products of scientific knowledge and rescarch, with a lack of purchasing power of the people.

The doctor is a producer. The doctor is a commodity producer; the commodity he produces is the application of his knowledge of health and the means and measures he takes to combat disease. He, like the rest of society into which he is closely interwoven, is suffering today because he can find but few consumers able to pay for his product. In short, "production relationships", in terms of political economics, between producer and consumer are maladjusted and distorted. Medicino as a part of modern society presents the same contradictions in miniature as effects the whole. These contradictions may be characterized as poverty of purchasing power in the midst of plenty.

- 4. There is a growing realization that the adequate prevention and cure of disease has gone beyond the capacity of individual practitioners or charitable institutions, and that it demands the recognition by the state of the following principle the maintenance of the health of the population is one of the fundamental functions and duties of the state and should be undertaken by the state under the same necessities as it has taken ever public education, the police, the army and fire protection.
- 5. What's wrong with our practice of Medicine at present?
- A. Patient's View.
- 1. The vast majority of the population (based on sociological division of three groups) cannot pay for adequate medical aid.
- 2. Even such medical aid as supplied by charity is inadequate, unless in cases of extreme illness requiring hospitalization.
- 3. There is an appalling lack of provision for preventive and hygienic measures in the community.
- B. Doctor's View.
- 1. Individualistic general practice of medicine cannot supply the full benefits of modern science cowing to the high degree of specialization demanded by a dvancing knowledge.
- 2. Preventive modicine in the real sense of the term is not practiced being non-remunerative.
- 3. Since the vast majority of people cannot even pay for inefficient service which the doctor is valling to render, the demands made on the physician's

2 of 2

Arch

The state of the s

The Montreal Group for the Socurity of the People's Health is a non-political organization of Physicians; surgeons, dontists, murses, social service workers and statisticians formed in the winter of 1935-1936 to study the relationship of present day medicine to the people and to the state, in all the civilized countries of the world, with particular attention to the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Queboc.

The reasons for the urgent necessity of such a study were drawn up by the group in its fundamental platform.

- 1. There is an underlying feeling that medicine, as new practiced in this country, does not serve adequately either the patient or the physician.
- 2. Our civilization in recent years has undergone and is undergoing profound socio-economic changes which have altered both individual and group relationships. Although medical science has made tremendous progress, yet the application of these advances have not been fully utilized either to the benefit of the people or the profession.
- 3. The cause of this incomplete utilization lies in the uneven distribution of the products of scientific knowledge and research, with a lack of purchasing power of the people.

The doctor is a producer. The doctor is a commodity producer; the commodity he produces is the application of his knowledge of health and the means and measures he takes to combat disease. He, like the rest of society into which he is closely interwoven, is suffering today because he can find but few consumers able to pay for his product. In short, "production relationships", in terms of political economics, between producer and consumer are maladjusted and distorted. Medicine as a part of modern society presents the same contradictions in miniature as effects the whole. These contradictions may be characterized as poverty of purchasing power in the midst of plenty.

- 4. There is a growing realization that the adequate prevention and cure of disease has gone beyond the capacity of individual practitioners or charitable institutions, and that it demands the recognition by the state of the following principle the maintenance of the health of the population is one of the fundamental functions and duties of the state and should be undertaken by the state under the same necessities as it has taken over public education, the police, the army and fire protection,
- 5. What's wrong with our practice of Medicine at present?

what's wrong with our practice of Meditine at present!

### A. Patient's View.

- 1. The wast majority of the population (based on sociological division of three groups) cannot pay for adequate medical aid.
- 2. Even such medical aid as supplied by charity is inadequate, unless in cases of extreme illness requiring hospitalization.
- 3. There is an appalling lack of provision for preventive and hygienic measures in the community.

### B. Doctor's View.

1. Individualistic general practice of medicine cannot supply the full benefits of modern science cowing to the high degree of specialization demanded by a dvancing knowledge.

- 1. There is an underlying feeling that modicine, as now practiced in this country, does not serve adequately either the patient or the physician.
- 2. Our civilization in recent years has undergone and is undergoing profound socio-economic changes which have altered both individual and group relationships. Although medical science has made tremendous progress, yet the application of these advances have not been fully utilized either to the benefit of the people or the profession.
- 3. The cause of this incomplete utilization lies in the uneven distribution of the products of scientific knowledge and research, with a lack of purchasing power of the people.

The doctor is a producer. The doctor is a commodity producer; the commodity he produces is the application of his knowledge of health and the means and measures he takes to combat disease. He, like the rust of society into which he is closely interwoven, is suffering today because he can find but fow consumers able to pay for his product. In short, "production relationships", in terms of political economics, between producer and consumer are maladjusted and distorted. Medicine as a part of modern society presents the same contradictions in miniature as effects the whole. These contradictions may be characterized as poverty of purchasing power in the midst of plenty.

- 4. There is a growing realization that the adequate prevention and cure of disease has gone beyond the capacity of individual practitioners or charitable institutions, and that it demands the recognition by the state of the following principle the maintenance of the health of the population is one of the fundamental functions and duties of the state and should be undertaken by the state under the same necessities as it has taken ever public education, the police, the army and fire protection.
- 5. What's wrong with our practice of Meditine at present?

### A. Patient's View.

- 1. The wast majority of the population (based on sociological division of three groups) cannot pay for adequate medical aid.
- 2. Even such modical aid as supplied by charity is inadequate, unless in cases of extreme illness requiring hospitalization.
- 3. There is an appalling lack of provision for preventive and hygienic measures in the community.

### B. Doctor's View.

- 1. Individualistic general practice of medicine cannot supply the full benefits of modern science owing to the high degree of specialization demanded by advancing knowledge.
- 2. Proventive modicine in the real sense of the term is not practiced being non-remunerative.
- 3. Since the vast majority of people cannot even pay for inefficient service which the doctor is willing to render, the domands made on the physician's

20/2-1

charity are beyond those of any other social group: This produces an accentuation of the economic crisis of medicine which leads to a lowering of altruistic principles and high morals of the profession; the doctor is enslaves by drudgers work, his relative poverty provents post-graduate work and vacation, his economic security is precarious, and the incidence of early death is well known.

(d) The state has already recognized in part its obligations to its citizens by taking over certain medical functions, e.g. the care of contagious diseases, inspection of school children, food inspection, pre-natal care, etc. Should it not extend these activities to cover the entire field of prevention and cure of disease for all classes of society.

In view of the coming Provincial Elections in this Province, it would appear to be a most opportune time to put forward some definite plan or plans to the political parties seeking election, expressing the collective domands of the allied medical, dental and nursing professions.

The recently instituted Unemployment Medical Reliof Commission in Montreal is a step in the right direction. At the same time, other plans should be presented by the organized professions (the English and French doctors, dentists and nurses) to embrace the entire province.

The following suggestions are made:-

- 1. It is the grave duty of the combined professions to point out to our politicians the present deplorable, yet remediable, condition of the health of our citizens. Our knowledge of health and disease places this moral responsibility firmly on our shouldors.
- 2. From each political party, demands should be made that, as a prominent plank on their respective platforms, State responsibility for the health of its citizens whether employed or otherwise is a primary principle. A man should not lose his rights as a citizen because he loses his job. The Honourable worman Rogers in the House of Commons, March 30th, 1936 said "The Welfare of its citizens is the prime duty of the State".
- 3. That on no account an attempt be made after the doction, on the false ground of economy to abolish the present medical relief for the unemployed in Montreal.
- 4. That, if alterations in the prosent set-up of the Commission be centemplated in the future, they should tend towards increasing the amount set aside for the Commission's functioning. This is 25g a month per person on rd ief. An increase to 50g per month (as the Ontario Government has found advisable in certain districts) should be demanded.
- 5. That, in view of the possibility of a reduction in the monthly accounts of doctors under the Commission, such reductions should be strenuously opposed unless a proportionate reduction be made in the accounts of the other recipients, i.e. the druggists. Here the principle that the doctor (precisely as the druggist) is selling a commodity, should be rigidly maintained. This should be the end of the exploitation of the medical profession. It has been carrying the burden of the unemployed and low income groups for years.
- 6. If the proposed proportionate distribution of funds to doctors (80%) and to druggists (20%), dentists pil, nurses nil, on the basis of 25% a month allocated for each unemployed, be found to be, in practice, out of all proportion to this, that the municipalities should set up three or more city drug

(d) The state has already recognized in part its obligations to its citizens by taking over certain medical functions, e.g. the care of contagious diseases, inspection of school children, food inspection, pre-natal care, etc. Should it not extend these activities to cover the entire field of prevention and cure of disease for all classes of society.

In view of the coming Provincial Elections in this Province, it would appear to be a most opportune time to put forward some definite plan or plans to the political parties seeking election, expressing the collective domands of the allied medical, dontal and nursing professions.

The recently instituted Unemployment Medical Relief Commission in Montreal is a step in the right direction. At the same time, other plans should be presented by the organized professions (the English and French roctors, dontists and nurses) to embrace the online province.

The following suggestions are made:-

- 1. It is the grave duty of the combined professions to point out to our politicians the present deplorable, yet remediable, condition of the health of our citizens. Our knowledge of health and disease places this moral responsibility firmly on our shouldors.
- 2. From each political party, demands should be made that, as a prominent plank on their respective platforms, State responsibility for the health of its citizens whether employed or otherwise is a primary principle. A man should not lose his rights as a citizen because he loses his job. The Honourable Norman Rogers in the House of Commons, March 30th, 1936 said "The Welfare of its citizens is the prime duty of the State".
- 3. That on no account an attempt be made after the dection, on the false ground of economy to abolish the present medical relief for the unemployed in Montreal.
- 4. That, if alterations in the present set-up of the Commission be contemplated in the future, they should tend towards increasing the amount set aside for the Commission's functioning. This is 25g a month per person on relief. An increase to 50g per menth (as the Ontario Government has found advisable in certain districts) should be demanded.
- 5. That, in view of the possibility of a reduction in the monthly accounts of doctors under the Commission, such reductions should be strenuously opposed unless a proportionate reduction be made in the accounts of the other recipients, i.e. the druggists. Here the principle that the doctor (precisely as the druggist) is solling a commodity, should be rigidly maintained. This should be the end of the exploitation of the medical profession. It has been carrying the burden of the unemployed and low income groups for years.
- 6. If the proposed proportionate distribution of funds to doctors (80%) and to druggists (20%), dentists pil, nurses nil, on the basis of 25g a month allocated for each unemployed, be found to be, in practice, out of all proportion to this, that the municipalities should set up three or more city drug dispensaries to take the excessive profits out of filling prescriptions, and furnish drugs to its unemployed citizens at cost price.

That such an event of uneven distribution is not beyond possibility, the experience of the Municipality of Lachine, in 1935, may be quoted:-

132

14

Page 4

į	•	_	• /		
T	o drug stores		\$9,224	equals	60%
T	o doctors.	-	4,918 /	, it	32%
T	o dontists	ļ <b>-</b> .	1,263 /	. 11	8%
!	TOTAL	,	\$15,405	*1	100%

Under the present Montreal Commission, the distribution proposed would have been as follows:

To drug s tores		\$3,081	equal s	20%
To doctors.	,	12,324	- it	80%
To dentists .	<b>)-</b> (`	Nil	.1	Nil
TOTAL	/ 1-	\$15,405	11	100%

7. That in the event of a marked reduction of dectors' monthly accounts for service to the unemployed being made (for example, 25% to 50% of their total) on the plea of the Commission's inability to pay, that the following plan be substituted. The factual basis of the following plan is founded on the figures of the Montreal Relief Commission for March:-

Heads of families (men or women) unemployed - 65,785
Dependents of the above - 102,122
Unemployable - 2,269
TOTAL ON RELIEF - 170,176

At 25g per month, the yearly income of the Commission for medical relief for distribution to doctors and druggists is 170/176 x .25 x 12 equals \$510,525.00. Of this amount, the doctors' share will be \$6% equals \$408.420.00. Of the 1200 doctors in Montreal, 800 have a cgistered on the Commission's list. This would permit an average of \$500.00 odd per year for each registered doctor. If the 170,176 persons on relief would be evenly divided, each of the registered doctors would have 212 patients. The proposed plan, in the event of the probability of the breakdown of the present scheme, is as fellows:-

8. A City Medical Planning Board be formed by representatives of the English and Erchel doctors, dentists and nurses. Any registered doctor in good standing in his medical society (this would be necessary for proper disciplinary control) may register with the Board and practice under this cheme. He might be allowed to accept a maximum of 500 patients on his list. The patients should thave the right of choice of doctor and also right of change at certain fixed intervals. For these doctors accepting relief patients, abolish entirely the antiquated system of fee-for-service and substitute a per capita payment for an all-in service. It would cost no more than the present system (33.00 a year for each patient). It would do an end with padding accounts, dishonest calls, dishonest prescriptions. It would reduce the overhead of the commission. An Appeal Board should be set up to deal with patients and doctors complaints.

### Additional Medical Relief.

Not only must the present medical relief be maintained, but it must be expanded and increased to include surgical dental treatment, home bursing and proportionate payments to the hospitals for the use of the outdoor departments.

10. The outdoor departments of our Hospitals would be utilized as consultant departments. A staff fund to be distributed equitably among doctors, internes, and nurses should be allocated to each Hospital treating the unemployed, both in

under the present Montreal Commission, the distribution proposed would have been as follows:

To drug stores		\$3,081	equal s	20%
To doctors		12,324	"	80%
To dentists		Nil	"	Nil
TOTAL	, <del>-</del>	\$15,405\	H	100%

7. That in the event of a marked reduction of doctors' monthly accounts for service to the unemployed being made (for example, 25% to 50% of their total) on the plea of the Commission's inability to pay, that the following plan be substituted. The factual basis of the following plan is founded on the figures of the Montreal Relief Commission for March:

Heads of families	(men or women) unemployed	-	65,785
Dependents of the	above	. ••	102,122
Unemployable		- <u>-</u> _	2,269
• •	TOTAL ON RELIEF	•_	170,176

At 25g per month, the yearly income of the Commission for modical relief for distribution to doctors and diaggists is 170,176 x .25 x 12 equals \$510,525.00. Of this amount, the doctors' share will be 80% equals \$408,420.00. Of the 1200 doctors in Montreal, 800 have registered on the Commission's list. This would permit an average of \$500.00 odd per year for each registered doctor. If the 170,176 persons on relief would be evenly divided, each of the registered doctors would have 212 patients. The proposed plan, in the event of the probability of the breakdown of the present scheme, is as follows:—

8. A City Medical Planning Board be formed by representatives of the English and Brench doctors, dentists and nurses. Any registered doctor in good standing in his medical society (this would be necessary for proper disciplinary control) may register with the Board and practice under this scheme. He might be allowed to accept a maximum of 500 patients on his list. The patients should have the right of choice of doctor and also right of change at certain fixed intervals. For these doctors accepting relief patients, abolish entirely the antiquated system of fee-for-service and substitute a per capita payment for an all-in service. It would cost no more than the present system (33.00 a year for each patient). It would do an end with padding accounts, dishonest calls, dishonest prescriptions. It would reduce the overhead of the commission. An Appeal Board should be set up to deal with patients and doctors complaints.

### Additional Medical Relief.

Not only must the present medical relief be maintained, but it must be expanded and increased to include surgical dental treatment, home bursing and proportionate payments to the hospitals for the use of the outdoor departments.

- 10. The outdoor departments of our Hospitals would be utilized as consultant departments. A staff fund to be distributed equitably among doctors, internes, and nurses should be allocated to each Hospital treating the unemployed, both in indoor and outdoor department. Doctors treating relief patients urgently require the service of the outdoors for special investigation and advice and the hospitals should be paid for this service. An additional \$3.00 per capita por year would cover this essential service.
- 11. The present hospitalization plan under the Q.P.C.A. to continue, but amended to climinate the proporty-owning clause.
- 12. Thus, an additional 25g per month bringing medical expenditure per capita for those on relief to 50g per month, instead of the present 25g would cost approximately \$1,021,056.00 a year, or \$6.00 per capita on relief a year (based



on the March 1936 figures of 170,000). The suggestion is made that the additional 25% per month be paid by the Provincial Government.

- 13. Resistance should be made to the appointment of "Rolief Doctors" on salary. The English experience of this system is unsatisfactory.
- 14. A City Nursing Planning Board should be set up to unify the activities of the County Health Unit Nurses, Welfere Nurses, School Nurses and Victorian Order of Nurses, and work in close conjunction with the City Medical Planning Board. There is much wasteful re-duplication of administration and there should be a marked extension of all the above mentioned groups, each antonomous in their individual field but under central control. The Home Nursing Service for the Unemployed should be paid for out of the additional 25g per menth.
- Modical Commission to study the effect of the depression and continued unemployment with the low sussitance food allowance under relief. Malnutrition, predisposition to deficiency diseases, tuberculesis, etc. should be studied. This group of nearly 200,000 people should be theroughly investigated from the physical, psychiatric, racial, sociological, occupationally points of view. The present situation presents a unique opportunity to collect a mass of invaluable data and must be seized. Routine inspection of school children in 1935 found that ever 50% were suffering from various defects. Half of the defective had dental caries (due to lack of minerals and Vitamins) and 8626 (14%) were suffering from malnutrition. The effects of undernourishment may not show themselves for years as Dr. G.J.M. McGonigle, medical officer of Health for Stockton-on-Tees, England, in his recent book "Poverty and Public Health" has shown. It is true those on relact are not starving to death—they are morely starving.
- 16.. To educate the vives and daughters of men on relief in the purchase and preparation of a more evoily balanced diet than they are at present obtaining, it is suggested that the Relief Commission set up a number of model kitchens in each ward, (vacant stores can be utilized) where expert dictitians will give practical demonstrations of the preparation of balanced meals, oven on the present low relief allowance for food. The church and press should be urged to give these demonstrations wide publicity. The Montryal Light, Heat and Power Commission should be enlisted to furnish gas stoves, and other commercial firms, utensils etc. The cooked food so prepared , could be sold at cost price to those on relief, so that eventually a communal centre with communal kitchens (especially for the single) would be set up with cooperative pooled resources. This might be extended to include "Infant Parking" for exhausted mothers, free movies and occupational thorapy shops such as a co-operative shoc-repair, carpentry, dress-making. The result of unemployment is gradual deterioration of physical and mental merals. We must actively combat this deterioration.
- 17. A physical examination of a very unemployed man or weman, put to work with the proposed Bouchard Plan, should be domanded. Continued under-nourishment under the present relief flood allowance combined with inadequate clothing (a single man now has \$1.80 a week to feed himself and 15% a week for clothing) will most certainly predispose many such mon and women to serious illness if forced to work under unfavorable climatic conditions.
- 18. That, following the resolution passed by the Ontario Medical Association at their last meeting, favoring experimental programmes under the auspices of

of the County Health Unit Nurses, Welfere Nurses, School Nurses and Victorian Order of Nurses, and work in close conjunction with the City Medical Planning Board. There is much wasteful re-duplication of administration and there should be a marked extension of all the above mentioned groups, each antonomous in their individual field but under central control. The Home Nursing Service for the Unemployed should be paid for out of the additional 25g per menth.

- 15. That the Central City and Provincial Medical Planning Boards set up a Medical Commission to study the effect of the depression and continued unemployment with the low sussitance food allowance under relief. Malnutrition, predisposition to deficiency diseases, tuberculosis, etc. should be studied. This group of nearly 200,000 people should be thoroughly investigated from the physical, psychiatric, racial, sociological, occupationally points of view. The present situation presents a usique opportunity to collect a mass of invaluable data and must be seized. Noutine inspection of school children in 1935 found that ever 50% were suffering from various defects. Half of the defective had dental caries (due to lack of minerals and Vitamins) and 6626 (14%) were suffering from malnutrition. The effects of undernourishment my not show themselves for years as Dr. G.B.M. McGonigle, medical officer of Health for Stockton-on-Tees, England, in his recent book "Poverty and Public Health" has shown. It is true those on relief are not starving to death—they are merely starving.
- 16. To oducate the vives and daughters of men on relief in the purchase and preparation of a more evenly belanced diet than they are at present obtaining, it is/suggested that the Relief Commission set up a number of model kitchens in each ward, (vacant stores can be utilized) where expert diotitians will give practical demonstrations of the proparation of bulenced meals, even on the present low relief allowance for food. The church and press should be urged to give these demonstrations wide publicity. The Montreal Light, Heat and Power Commission should be enlisted to furnish gas stoves, and other commercial firms, utonsils etc. The cooked food so prepared could beesold at cost price to those on relief, so that eventually a communal centre with communal kitchens (especially for the single) would be set up with cooperative pooled resources. This might be extended to include "Infant Parking" for exhausted mothers from movies and occupational therapy shops such as a co-operative shoe-repair, carportry, dress-making. The unemployment is gradual deterioration of physical and mental morals we must actively combat this deterioration.
- 17. A physical examination of every unemployed man or woman, put to work with the proposed Bouchard Plan, should be domanded. Continued under-nourishment under the present relief food allowance tembined with inadequate clothing (a single man new has \$1.80 a week to feed himself and 15g a week for clothing) will most certainly predispose many such men and women to serious illness if forced to work under unfavorable climatic conditions.
- 18. That, following the resolution passed by the Ontario Medical Association at their last meeting, favoring experimental programmes under the auspices of the local medical societies, the following plans be tried in carefully selected localities in the Prevince of Quebec. These four plans are typical of the large number new theor discussion all over the world and could be used as controls to each other in a proper scientific manner.

### 19. FIRST PLAN - MUNICIPAL MEDICINE.

This would be an amplification and extension of the present full-time health quant system of the Public Health Service of the Province. A full-time team of processors, dentists, nurses, including all specialties such as surgery,

gyhecology, obstatrics, paediatrics, etc., should be selected (not politically appointed) by approvincial Modical Planning Board (to be sot up by the Medical, dental and nursing societies) and placed in a given municipality, provided with a small modern hospital (a new one to be built or an older one to be moderinized). They would take over and control the health, prevention and cure of disease for the entire population, irrespective of economic or social grouping. All such members of this combined medico-surgical, dental, nursing group should be placed on salary. Such a team of active, keen and highly trained mon and women could he easily recruited from among the younger and more engritic members of those professions. A high sense of social responbibility would be seential for appointment. The total cost of such a plan to be borno by municifial taxos and a ssisted by provincial grant. The Life Officers Association should be approached to offer their services (as they offered them in British Columbia) towork out the cost of such a scheme and place the whole on a firm acturial basis. This is also necessary for the sccond plan.

### 20. SECOND PIAN - COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE.

Select a municipality which presents a fairly homogeneous economic pattern of income-level groups, and where relief recipients are at an irreducible minimum. No exclusion must be made, but all wage-earners and those gainfully employed must be included, irrespective of income. Only in such a way can true mutualization of insurance be possible. The acturial figures will determine the premiums to be paid.

### 21. THIRD PLAN.

Voluntary Hospitalization of Health Insurance in a selected urban municipality of from five to ten thousand paople.

### 22. FOURTH PLAN

Care of the unemployed on a fee-for service basis covering the entire province based on the Essex (Contario) County Model, with consideration of province-wide plans to include the low-income groups.

23. The necessity of a province-wide plan is made evident by the Speech of the Honourable Norman Rogers, on the National Employment Commission (official report of the House of Commons Debates) in March, 1936.

The relief situation in Quebec:-

Employable -104,220
Dependents 146,410
Unemployable 23,510
Farmer's Families 72,350

TOTAL 346,490 (

% of Dominion Total

31.37%

48.71%

22.15%

12% of population.

Percentage in relation to Dominion-wide relief (1,233,390)

346,490 x 100 < 1,233,390

28% of Canada's untemployed.

The % of unemployed on relief in Quebec is the highest in Canada and comprise

moderinized). They would take over and control the health, prevention and cure of disease for the entire population, irrespective of economic or social grouping. All such members of this combined medico-surgical, dental, nursing group should be placed on salary. Such a team of a ctive, keen and highly trained men and women could be easily recruited from among the younger and more energetic members of those professions. A high sense of social responsibility would be essential for appointment. The total cost of such a plan to be borne by municipal taxes and a disted by provincial grant. The Life Officers Association should be approached to offer their services (as they offered them in British Columbia) to work out the cost of such a achemo and place the whole on a firm acturial basis. This is also necessary for the second plan.

### 20. SECOND PIAN - COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE.

Select a municipality which presents a fairly homogeneous economic pattern of income-level groups, and where relief recipients are at an irreducible minimum. No exclusion must be mide, but all wage-earners and those gainfully employed / must, beincluded, irrespective of income. Only in such a way can true mutualization of insurance be possible. The acturial figures will determine the promiums to be paid.

### 21. THIRD PLAN.

Voluntary Hospitalikation of Health Insurance in a selected urban municipality of from five to tou thousand people.

### 22. FOURTH PLAN

Care of the unemployed on a fee-for-scrvice basis covoring the entire province based on the Essox (Ontafio) County Model, with consideration of province-wide plans to include the low-income groups.

23. The necessity of a province-wide plan is made evident by the Speech of the Honourable Norman Pogers, On the National Employment Commission (official report of the House of Commons Debatos) in March, 1936.

The relief situation in Quebec:-

Employable	-104,220
Dependents	146,410
Uncaployablo	23,510
Formors' Families	72,350
/ TOTAL	346,490

% of Dominion Total
31.37%
29.4%
48.71%
22.15%
12% of population.

Percentage in relation to Dominion-wide relief (1,233,390)

346,490 x 100 < 1,233,390 28% of Canada's unemployed.

The % of unemployed on relief in Quebec is the highest in Canada and comprises 48.7% of the total unemployable in Canada. Such an appalling figure demand immediate infestigation.

pquals

24. CONCLUSION. That in view of the emergency of the situation and the necessity for planning for permanent poverty, a Congress of French, English doctors, dentists, nurses, social service workers, Public Health officials, representatives of the Trades and Tabor Council, the Unemployed, The Federated Charities, The Relief Commission and the Church should be called, sponsored by the French and English medical, dental and nursing societies to formulate plans for action. Only through the demands made by such a United Professional Front will the politicians be made to realize the potential force which the 10,000 members of the allied professions in Quebec represent.

20/2

Page 7

Unless we, as the combined profession, formulate and implement some plan or plans to give adequate modical service to the unemployed and the law-income groups, we may have to accept what may be forced on us. Anadditional plan should be prepared for consideration of Public Medicine on the same basis as Public Education, Fire Protection, the Army, and the Police Forces. Medicine must be controlled by medicine. Action should be immediate, united and decisive.

### DOCTOR, DENTIST, NURSE AND SOCOAL SERVICE WORKER!

Join your local society, urgo unification of French, English doctors, dentists, nurson and social service workers. Fight racial and professional isolation. We must unite in a common cause - health security for currecepts, and secondmic security for ourselves.

## SPAIN

The struggle against war and fascism

## ESPAGNE

La lutte contre la guerre et le fascisme

During the '30s, democratic Cana<sub>7</sub>; hans increasingly realized the necessity of joining their own battles for their economic needs with the struggle against reaction in the world.

Fascism in Italy and Germany and militarism in Japan emerged as the mortal enemies of human progress, and an immediate threat to the peace of the world.

Fascism, which the Communist International described as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital," had its supporters in Canada.

Men in very high places expressed admiration for the "efficiency" of fiscism. George McCullagh, owner of the Globe and Mail, organized his Leadership League to promote a thin-by disguised fascist program. "If you'll be a good horse," he told the people, "I'll be a good jookey." Maurice Duplessis came to power in Quebec and imposed the Infamous Padlock Law. He mearly sold Anticosti Island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Hitler for a navy base until he was stopped by public opinion sparked by Fred Rose, the Communist spokesman in Quebec.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International alerted Communists and other democrats around the world to the urgent necessity of unity to bar the way to fascism.

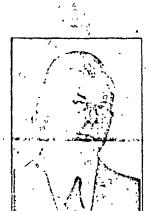
The Communist Party of Canada supported actively the unifying work of the League against War and Fascism (later the League for Peace and Democracy) set up under the leadership of A. A. MacLeod.





### ROBERT LESLIE

age 29, of Regina, Sask, flerist Spont 11 months in Spain as machine gunner Bullet went through his mouth, breaking his jaw in several places. Needs delt cate at complicated of oral places grafting of bones.



#### IOHN GILSTRAP.

age 27, of Saskatoon. Bullet wound behind the ears, left aide of face was completely paralyzed. Received lengthy treatment in Toronto and has made a remarkable recovery.

### Gi'strap writes:

"Doar Friends: I wish at this time to thank your organ ization for the excellent care that I have received since my return from Spain. Your

medical committees have been most considerate and I appreciate deeply all that has been done to assist me in regaining my health, and enabling me to rehabilitate myself.

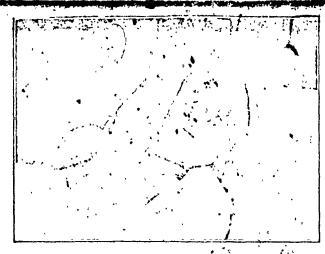
I am, yours sincerely,





### LIEUT. ED, JARDAS.

other of a Croatian newspaper, Torento, spent 15 monts in Spain in the loyalist infantry on the Jarama, Central Property from Was wounded to the Needs open to the Land Property from Land Spain banes, shattered by dum-dum bull to



### SERGT. ALLAN MILLER,

of Toronto, has a very badly fractured leg and open wound. Requires long months of hospitalization. Recently operated again. Is 26 years of age. Was in Spain 17 months, as a machine-gunner, and fought on the Jarama Brunete, Belchite and Aragon fronts.

## A Mother

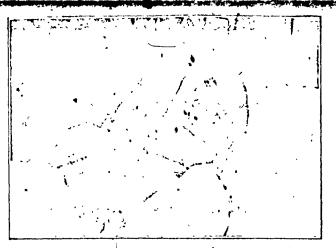
heartfelt thanks for the help the Friends of the Mackenzie Papineau Battation has given my son Allan. I know that his leg wound needs long hospital treatment and care and this would have been very, hard without the Friends. Allan and others like him cannot light any more, but we can continue their brave struggle, by helping in every way we know to rehabilitate them back to normal life."

MRS B MILLER, Torento.



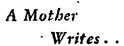
#### MARC HALDANE,

of Chase, B.C., eg. 27, logger. With machine gan company over one year. Fought on the Arag m. Fuendes, Terest, Segurars, B.L. hits and Caspa fronts. Severely securified on the Magon fronts. Left leg amputated at knee.



### SERGT. ALLAN MILLER.

of Toronto, has a very badly fractured leg and open wound. Requires long months of hospitalization. Recently operated sgain. Is 26 years of age. Was in Spain 17 months, as a machine-gunner, and fought on the Jarama Brunete, Belchite and Aragon fronts.



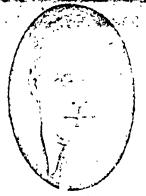
T-wish to expr heartfelt thanks for the help the Friends of the Mackenzie Papineau Battation has given my son Allan I know that his leg wound needs long hospital treatment and care and this would have been. very, hard without the 'Friends' Allan and others like him cannot fight any more, but we can continue? their brave struggle, by belging in every way we know!" to rehabilities them I of to normal life " . -

MRS B MILLER, Toronto.



### MARC HABUANE

of Chass, B.C., 20, 27, With inachine gan reover one year bough Aragon, Fuendos, Terroras, B.I. hur and Casp Severely a wound d. Aragon front to ft. Id. Inted at know.



#### JAMES BÉLL.

age 33, of Vancouver, BC. Steel worker. Fought on the Aragon Front. Shrapnel wounds crippled his left arm. Lost middle 'linger on left hand. Requires' continuous treatments.



### CHAS. WM. BEASOR.

age 25, of Nanaima, B.C.
Painter. Spent nearly one
year on Aragon, Centre and
Levante fronts. Seriously
wounded by shrapnel in right
log, at Teruel.

### THE BOYS ARE COMING HOME

Some maimed for life—others seriously wounded.

They must have

Operations
Hospitalization
General medical treatment
Treatment for shell-shock
Plastic surgery
Rest and convalescence
Clothing

Rail transportation
Maintenance

jobs for those able to work.

THESE ARE THE MINIMUM NECESSITIES

cialists, surgeons, doctors, dontiers, opticians furses are responding echorously with their and time

What will XOU offer?

## NO CLARION CALLS ... NO BEATING DRUMS ..

While fascist and Nazi aggression states the world lift the face while the very life of democracy uself is in peril. 1.200 Canadian boys quietly left their homes, their jobs and in many cases liked over the Pyronces to enter the bomb shattered tranches of Loyalist Spain.

They did this, not for faine and glory-for them there was no flag waving, no beating of drums. They slipped away from us quietly. The spirit of 1837 of William Lyon Mackenzie and Louis Papineau spurred them on. They made a world famous name for themselves, fighting for Canada in Spain, willingly offering their very lives that democracy might not perish

NOW THEY RETURN. Many wounded, crippled and disabled They have proven to us that they and their kind are the front line defence against barbarous fascism. They gave of their blood for freedom.

What will YOU do for them?

### "IT WAS FOR CANADAI"

"I find the spirit of Danlac des Ormeaux in the Canadians who, recognizing that the most formidable enemy to liberty and democracy everywhere in the world to day is Fascism, determined not to await its onset in Canada, but crossed the Atlantic to meet and discomfort it in Spain.

"Those Canadian boys, some of them with familiar English, Scotch, Irish and French names, and some with names less familiar, but now made forever glorious in Canadian history, have shamed us who let them sted out of them native land as it bout on some criminal enterprise. But it was for CANADA they crossed the sea and dated and suffered and (some of them) died

"These boys did field get much of a send off whon they wont away. We have a chance now to show our appreciation of their belove service to liberty, and genomeracy and their beloved Canada."

HEV. DR. SALEM GOLDWORTH BLAND.

### THESE NOTED MEN AND WO

APPEAL TO YOU!

Sponsors 49

### REHABILITATION, FUND

HALPH BLUES
HAN BRAILSTORIL
DR W D CORNWALL
DEAN OF CHICHESTERPROF JLROME DAVIS
HEV MANSON DOYLE D.D.
PRQF ALBERT LINSTEIN
EUGENL FORSLY
REV FINGLAND
REV FARQUHARSON
REV PARQUHARSON
REV DR H G LORSTER
REV ROY W PRID
RABBI DR FELDMAN
ALD THOS GRIMSTER
FRANCIS J GORMAN
ERNEST HEMINGWAY
PROF. J. B. SHALDANE
REV C. H. HUESTIS
CON. SAM LAWRENCE
REV RANKS NELSON, D.D.
REV R H. PARR
D. N. PRITT, K.C. M.P.
MAYOR JOHN QUEEN
R. S. RODD, K.C.
WILFRED ROBERTS, M.P.
REV. GUY EMERY SHIPLER
VINCENT SHEEAN
L ST. GEOGGE STUBBS, M.L. A
UPTON SINCLAIR
REV F. A. SAYLES
REV FATHER R. H. THOMAS
PROF. G. VLASTOS
H. G. WELLS
DR. HILDA WENDEN
CON OLIVE J. WHYTE
FRED WHITE
ELLEN WILKINSON, M.P.

J. TAYLOR, Executive Secretary

# THE BOYS OFFERED THEIR I

Send in Your Donation To-de

FRIENDS OF THE MACKENZIE-PAPINEAU BATT
REHABILITATION PUND

331 Bay Street, Toronto, Ont.

Phone WA

I am happy to contribute S fund for the care of the returning wounded Canadi

THIAR

ADDRESS .

CITY .

PROV

14

# THESE NOTED MEN AND WOMEN

Sponsors 44

### REHABILITATION, FUND

RALPH BYTFS
H N BRAILSTORL
DR W D CORNWALL
DEAN OF CHICHESTER
PROF JLROME DAVIS
REV MANSON DOVLE D.D
PROF ALBERT LINSTEIN
EUGENE FORSEY
REV FINGLAND
REV. FARQUHARSON
REV. FARQUHARSON
REV. FARQUHARSON
REV. PARROHAN
ALD THOS GRIMSTER
FRANCIS J CORMAN
ERNEST HEMINGWAY
PROF. J. B. S HALDANE
REV C H. HUESTIS
CON. SAM LAWRENCE
REV RANKS NELSON, D.D.
REV R H PARR
D. N. PRITT, K.C. M.P.
MAYOR JOHN QUEEN
R S RODD, K.C
WILFFRED ROBERTS, M.P.
REV. GUY EMERY SHIPLER
VINCENT SHEEAN
L ST. GEONGE STUBBS, M.L. A
UPTON SINCLAIR
REV. FATHER R. H THOMAS
PROF G VLASTOS
UR HILDA WERDEN
CON OLIVE J. WHYTE
FRED WHITE
ELLEN WHLKINSON, M.P.

J. TAYLOR, Executive Secretary

# THE BOYS OFFERED THEIR LIVES DON'T REFUSE YOUR HELP!

Send in Your Donation T.o-day!

FRIENDS OF THE MACKENZIE-PAPINEAU BATTALIO
. REHABILITATION FUND

331-Bay Street. Toronto, Ont.

Phone WA. 16

I am happy to contribute \$ to fund for the care of the returning wounded Canadian

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

PROV.

## HEY FOUGHT FOR CANADA —IN SPAIN



#### LIEUT. WILLIAM A. KARDASH.

laced heavy gun fire on the Aragon frant and fought desporately to save his much needed loyelist tank from the fascists.

qun fire to safety, was picked up and carried by plane to Madrid for immediate amputation. So brave was this lad on the loyalist front that he was soon premoted to the rank of lieutenant.

This young Canadian, son of a Saskatchowan prairie larmer is now slowly recovering from a still further amputation performed by one of Canada's leading surgeons in a Toronto hospital. Lying there on his back—minus a leg—still showing the same undaunted courage that is so characteristic of all the Mac-Pap boys, Bill thished a little book on his experiences in Spain.

He writes "A feeling rose in me that the fight in Spain was rest concern to the people of my country, and the greates".

I could render it, was to go to Spain and help defeat. The decision once made, a feeling of fey and pride this paper as I hummed 'O Canadal. We Stand On Guard For

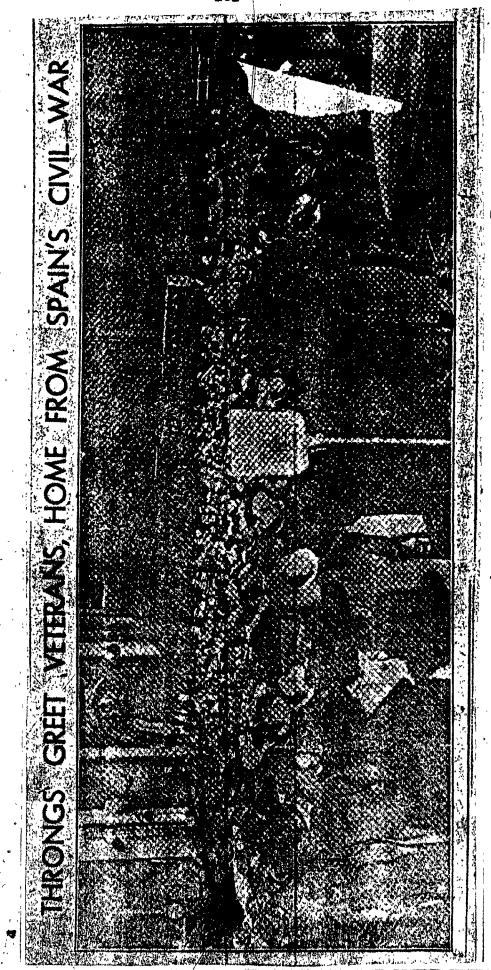
### LP REHABILITATE THEM!

Frier Mackenzie-Papineau Bartalion in Spain

## In one week, the 15th International Brigade lost 1,060 of its 1,300 men



Although Prime Minister Mackenzie King made their actions illegal, Canadian soldiers honored his grandfatuer.



### Rehabilitation Fund

### FRIENDS OF THE MACKENZIE-PAPINEAU BATTALION IN SPAIN

TELEPHONE WAVERLEY 2763

331 BAY STREET TORONTO - ONTARIO

-April 29th 1939

Re: interview with Creray.

### Sponsors

RALPH BATES REV DR. SALEM BLAND H. N. BRAILSFORD JOHN W. BUCKLEY DR W. D. CORNWALL DEAN OF CHICHESTER PROF JEROME DAVIS REV. MANSON DOYLE, DD PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN EUGENE FORSEY REV. FINGLAND REV. FARQUHARSON REV DR. H G FORSTER REV. ROY W. FRID RABBI DR. FELDMAN WARREN GILROY ALD THOS. GRIMSTER FRANCIS J. GORMAN ERNLOT JEZUNGWAY PROF J B S HALDANE REV. C. H. HUESTIS CON. SAM LAWRENCE JAMES LITTYRICK, MLA: ROSERT MCCUTCHAN REV. BANKS NELSON, . D.D. REV. R H. PARR D N PRITT. KC. M.P. MAYOR JOHN QUIEN R S RODD, KC WILFRED ROBERTS, M.P. REV. GUY EMERY SHIPLER VINCÉNT SKIEAN L. ST GEORGE STUBBS, ME.A. UPTON SINCLAIR REV. F A SATLES ALD STEWART SAUTH PROF. G. VLASTOS H. G. WELLS DR. HÍLDA WERDEN CON. OLIVE J. WHYEE FRED WHITE ELLEN WILKINSON, M.P.

ಆಾ

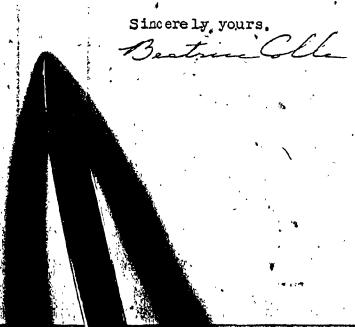
REV. FATHER R.H. THOMAS, Nat'l. Chairman J. TAYLOR, Executive Secretary

Mr. Hazen Sise, Chateau Laurier, Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Mr. Sise:

After talking to you this afternoon, we discussed the whole question again and we are of the opinion that you should deal mainly with the matter of funds and just mention in passing that it would be deeply appreciated if the eighteen rejected cases could be reconsidered. In the memorandum sent you we stated there were 13 rejected cases but on closer, examination we find there are actually 18. In any case, you do not need to go into any details on this matter since Mr. Taylor will likely go to Ottawa Wednesday and go into this matter further.

Thanking you for all the trouble you are taking and trusting that your efforts may be fruitful.



Norman Bethune Collection, Bethune Memorial Committee - Osler Library, McGill University.

### Correspondence

Abramson, . Samuel H.

Gagnon, Jean Louis.

### Theses

- Badour, Mireille. "Le Nationalisme de l'Action Nationale."
  M. A. Thesis, McGill University, 1967.
- Levitt, Joseph. "The CCF and French Canadian Radical Nationalism." M. A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1964.
- Oliver, Michael. "The Social and Political Ideas of French Canadian Nationalists, 1920-1945." Ph.D. Thesis, McGill/University, 1956.
- Olssen, Andree Levesque. "The Canadian Left in Quebec During the Great Depression." The Communist Party of Canada and the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation in Quebec, 1929-1939." Ph.D. Thesis, Duke University, 1972.
- Peck, Mary. "Red Moon Over Spain: A Study of Public Opinion in Canada Concerning the Spanish Civil War as it Appears in a Selection From the Printed Media of the Period." M. A. Thesis (unpublished), Carleton University, 1969.
- Robertson, Susan Mann. "L'Action Française: L'Appel à la Race." Ph.D. Thesis, Laval University, 1970.
- Sherrin, P. M. "Elements of Nationalism in L'Action Nationale, 1933-1939." M. A. Thesis, Carleton University, 1969.

### <u>Films</u>

"Bethune." National/Film Board of Canada, 1964.