

The Winnipeg Jewish Community In The Inter-War Period, 1919-1939: Anti-Semitism And Politics * **

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Résumé

Bien que l'auteur de cette étude se penche sur l'époque de l'entre-deux guerres, il est bon dans ce contexte de relever deux commentaires qui contribuèrent à faire régner la constance du sentiment anti-Juif au Manitoba:

- a) *en 1882* lors d'une déclaration faite par le Gouvernement du Manitoba;
- b) *en 1975* lorsqu'un journaliste de Winnipeg fit observer que l'antisémitisme était entré inconsciemment dans la langue de tous les jours et de ce fait portait préjudice.

De nombreux Juifs vivaient dans la crainte éventuelle d'une arrestation et de la déportation. Ceci n'était pas sans fondements si l'on pense qu'en 1918, l'Arrêté en Conseil 815, fut mis en vigueur de façon enthousiaste à Winnipeg et que toute personne d'origine slave susceptible d'être juive, était passible d'arrestation.

Le statut d'insécurité et l'anxiété des Juifs de Winnipeg en 1919 peut s'appuyer sur deux lettres soutenant le mythe de la conspiration juive. Dans la première lettre, un agent de la Police Montée déclara que les Juifs riches se réunissant à West Kildonan étaient en train "d'accomplir une mission pour le compte des Bolcheviks".

Dans la seconde lettre, un magistrat de la police de Winnipeg Hugh John MacDonald exprima le souhait "d'être débarrassé d'autant d'étrangers qu'il serait possible".

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On peut dire que les Juifs de Winnipeg, au cours de l'époque de l'entre-deux guerres auraient pu adopter ce dicton populaire yiddich: "Il est difficile d'être Juif".

L'auteur souligne également que pendant les années 1920-1930, la politique s'offrait aux Juifs de Winnipeg comme un moyen de permettre à la communauté juive de jouir d'une sécurité et d'un respect plus importants.

James Gray se souvient de l'antisémitisme qui avait cours au début des années 1920 dans le North End de Winnipeg.

En janvier 1922, un événement marquant décidera de la tournure que prend l'antisémitisme.

Devant de telles attitudes anti-juives, la délégation anti-diffamatoire du B'nai B'rith a fait des démarches auprès du Premier Ministre T.C. Norris réclamant la démission du colonel J.P. Rattray qui avait tenu des propos insidieux envers les Juifs. Il n'y eut pas de suite.

En 1929, une tentative fut prise afin d'empêcher que le camp d'été du B'nai B'rith ne soit créé dans la municipalité rurale de Gimli, un panneau indiquant:

"Pour Gentils Seulement"

Une profonde crainte pour la sécurité du Judaïsme d'Allemagne, après l'accès au pouvoir des Nazis, fut manifeste parmi les membres de la communauté de Winnipeg. Goldie Myerson en 1934 remarqua que "... un antisémitisme virulent se répand ... avertissant leurs frères et soeurs de se tenir prêts à toute éventualité".

Un bon nombre de Juifs furent effrayés car la crainte ne les quittait pas un seul instant. Cette étude bien qu'elle veuille tenter de cerner l'époque de l'entre-deux guerres, se veut une analyse des mouvements de crainte, de frayeur et de malaise à tous les paliers de la société Winnipegoise au Canada où les Juifs étaient considérés comme la "vraie malédiction du genre humain". Ceci ne fut pas sans alerter la communauté juive lorsqu'elle sut de surcroît que deux Consuls d'Allemagne en poste dans la ville étaient membres du parti Nazi en 1930. Ce fut une époque d'angoisses et d'appréhension pour la Communauté Juive.

La lutte pour l'obtention de voies entre les deux partis de la Communauté Juive de Winnipeg au cours de l'époque de l'entre-deux guerres a certainement été des plus intenses et des plus vives. Au sein de la Communauté Juive, pendant cette période un nom ressort en politique fédérale: Abraham A. Heaps. Tapissier, il vint s'installer à Winnipeg en

1911. Il fut élu en 1917. Il fut défait en 1923 et réélu en 1925. Il se fit le défenseur et le champion d'une immigration ouverte et fut en faveur de certaines mesures concernant le bien être social et le travail y compris des mesures à propos de la retraite et du chômage.

L'élection fédérale du 26 mars 1940, marqua la fin de la carrière politique de A.A. Heaps et du même coup la fin d'une ère politique.

Pour le Judaïsme Canadien l'atmosphère en fut une de crise: le Canada était une nation en guerre et les mouvements Juifs d'Europe étaient sous la domination des Nazis.

Selon Joseph Zuker, Conseiller Municipal de Winnipeg, "la Communauté Juive de l'époque de la Dépression ne fut pas une génération sacrifiée". Cette réflexion vaut pour toute l'époque de l'entre-deux guerres de Winnipeg.

In a paper presented last year to the American Psychological Association, Psychologist Samuel Janus attempted to explain why, although Jews constitute only 3% of the population of the United States, about 80% of that country's professional comedians are Jewish. According to Janus, Jewish humour is born of depression and alienation from the general culture. For Jewish comedians, "comedy is a defense mechanism to ward off the aggression and hostility of others"; "the one thing they live for is acceptance. They are always working for it, always worrying and insecure — like Rodney Dangerfield, they don't get no respect! There is never enough respect!"¹ Janus' thesis has a great deal of merit when applied to the relationship between Jews and politics in Canada and the Jewish community in Winnipeg in particular. The theme of Jews as victims is a common one, most recently elucidated by historian Harry Crowe, who described the history of the Jews as one of a continuing pattern of abuse.²

In Canada, manifestations of hostility and contempt toward Jews have created anxiety and insecurity within the Jewish community. Given many centuries of persecution and discrimination in Europe, this uneasiness takes on added meaning. Like the American Jewish comedians who are always searching for respect and acceptance, so have Jews, especially in democratic societies, attempted to attain acceptance within the larger society. This has meant not only an agitation at times for what the Canadian Bill of Rights guarantees — namely, equality before, and due process of the law — but also the removal of any vestiges of social and economic

discrimination. And Jewish Canadians, over the years, have determined that involvement in, and participation in, the political process — whether as candidates, supporters, canvassers, voters, or lobbyists — is the most effective means of guaranteeing both individual and communal well-being, which have as basic foundations equality and acceptance. Thus, in addition to idealistic motives for involvement in politics, and the more pragmatic — some might say more crass — motives, such as ego satisfaction and protection of perceived economic interests, Canadian, including Winnipeg, Jews, have turned to politics largely as a defense mechanism — to ward off aggression and hostility, and to gain acceptance and respect.

We are all wary of easy analogies with American examples. Nonetheless, an observation by Stephen D. Isaacs in his study *Jews and American Politics* is instructive. Explaining what he termed Jews' "hyperactivity" in politics, Isaacs advanced this argument:

Fear undoubtedly is the greatest single factor accounting for Jews' high level of political activity . . . The Jews of America are a product of the psychic ravages of the western world's deeply entrenched pattern of Jew-hating . . . The fear is pandemic and whether that fear is at the surface of those Jews who involved themselves in politics, or buried deep within them, it . . . is the prevailing motive for a great part of their activity.³

There have been many times when the Jewish community of Winnipeg had cause to feel both anxiety and concern when hostility was directed towards it — following the arrival of Russian Jewish refugees in 1882; through the official discouragement of Jewish immigration to Canada, later resulting in the limitations of a quota system; through the contemptuous parodying of Jews in the Winnipeg press; through the hatred and anger aimed at "foreigners", including Jews, in the latter stages of World War I and in the wake of the Winnipeg General Strike; through the revival of a nativist sentiment which saw the spread of the Ku Klux Klan onto the Canadian Prairies, including Manitoba, in the late 1920's; through the Depression 1930's which saw the assumption of power by the Nazis in Germany, the growth and activities of pro-Nazi organizations in Canada, including Winnipeg, and the increasing concern of provincial and federal governments about incipient revolution, which placed many political organizations and individuals, including Jews, under official suspicion. Although this paper is concerned with the inter-war period, I think two commentaries, almost a century apart, help to establish the constancy of anti-Jewish sentiment in Manitoba. Following the arrival of Russian Jewish refugees in 1882, the Government of Manitoba reported:

. . . (I)t is desirable there should be no further immigration, as the majority of those already arrived have shown themselves altogether too desirous of depending on

Government aid and private charity, with a corresponding disinclination to work, except as peddlars . . . With the . . . exception (of the Jews), the settlers in Manitoba during 1882 were of a superior class . . .⁴

In 1975, a Winnipeg journalist and historian observed:

Anti-Semitism is a fact of life in Manitoba. Everyone deplores it. An enormous amount of energy is directed toward repressing it. Anti-Semitism has become a covert, subliminal, almost unconscious prejudice, a part of the language.⁵

Victorian stereotypes of Jews and both official and public opposition to immigration of Jews were widespread in Winnipeg and the North-West from the 1880's through to World War I. The war and the Winnipeg General Strike served to intensify existing fears and anxieties within the Winnipeg Jewish community. Of course, Jews were not the only ones to suffer under the designation "enemy alien" — many Central and Eastern European groups did.⁶ However, the experience of Winnipeg Jewry seems partially to contradict the claim of R. Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook "that the (federal) government's actions held in check the unrestrained enthusiasm of native Canadians to persecute their fellow citizens".⁷

Sometimes the physical security of Winnipeg Jews was threatened. In 1917, pro-monarchist Slavs chanting anti-Semitic slogans disrupted a Jewish meeting held to celebrate the fall of the Czar and attacked its organizers.⁸ Returned soldiers in January, 1919, attacked Jews and destroyed Jewish stores on Selkirk Avenue, after smashing socialist Sam Blumenberg's cleaning establishment on Portage Avenue and forcing his wife to kiss the Union Jack.⁹

In 1918, order-in-council 815, commonly known as the anti-loafing law, was enforced enthusiastically in Winnipeg against those who appeared to have Jewish or Slavic names.¹⁰ Police investigated various Jewish organizations and publications. When the Winnipeg General Strike was crushed, Jewish socialist and cultural organizations in the Liberty Temple were raided, as were the homes of several individual Jews.¹¹ Many Jews lived under the fear of possible arrest and deportation.¹² Their apprehension was only heightened by the anti-foreign, including anti-Jewish, outbursts of the anti-strike Citizens' Committee of 1000.¹³ The Dominion Chief Press Censor, Colonel Ernest Chambers, ordered the Winnipeg Yiddish-language newspaper, *Die Volk Stimme*—[*The People's Voice*], to cease publication on the pretext that the necessary copies had not been forwarded to the Censor's office for examination.¹⁴ He corresponded with Department of Justice officials about the possible prosecution of the paper's co-editor, Jacob Miller, and then attempted to close down *Die*

Volk Stimme's successor, *Die Naiye Ziet* (*The New Times*), because those associated with the paper were not “persons of acknowledged reliability and patriotism”.¹⁵ However, Chambers relented after admonishing editor and publisher Joseph Hestrin to see that the paper was “really useful to the best interests of the country.”¹⁶

Of the five “foreigners” arrested by the Royal North West Mounted Police in the wake of the Winnipeg General Strike, three were Jews — Samuel Blumenberg, Michael Charitinoff, and Moses Almazov, né Samuel Pearl.¹⁷ The well-being of Almazov in particular created great consternation in the Winnipeg Jewish community.¹⁸ A 1913 Russian immigrant, he was a student in philosophy and economics at the University of Manitoba, editor of *Die Volk Stimme* newspaper, contributor to the Yiddish-language *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, a member of the Jewish local Social Democratic Party, and an active worker in the Relief Society for War Sufferers.¹⁹ The Comptroller of the Mounted Police termed him “an active revolutionary plotter.”²⁰

Protest meetings were held at the Liberty Temple; a Jewish Workers' Committee was formed to visit homes of all Jews to raise money for a Strike Relief Fund; *Dos Yiddishe Vort* mobilized Jewish public opinion in defence of the arrested foreigners.²¹ Ultimately, after deportation hearings, all three were freed.²²

The anxious and insecure position of Winnipeg Jewry in 1919 can be gaged from the contents of two letters supporting the myth of Jewish conspiracy. In one, a Mounted Police agent claimed that the Canadian people wanted Jews removed from positions of power and influence, and that rich Jews meeting in West Kildonan were financial supporters of the strikers and were “fulfilling a mission for the higher up Bolsheviks”.²³ In the other, Winnipeg Police Magistrate Hugh John Macdonald expressed the desire of “getting rid of as many undesirable aliens as possible”, claimed that a large section of Jews had “Bolsheviki ideas”, and stated that only fear would “keep them within the law”.²⁴

There is an expression in Yiddish that is often used to describe the sometimes uncomfortable circumstances of Jews — “Es eez shver tsu zein a Yid” — it is difficult to be a Jew. That expression easily could have been adopted by the Winnipeg Jewish community in the inter-war period. Moreover, there was ample opportunity in politics during the 1920's and 1930's for both participation and involvement by sizeable numbers of the Winnipeg Jewish community. This activity at all three levels of political life serves to reinforce the thesis of this paper, that politics was regarded

as an avenue by which the Jewish community could attain a greater degree of security, acceptance, and respect, and thereby join the mainstream of life in Manitoba, and indeed, in Canada.

James Gray recalled the anti-Semitism that existed in the North End of Winnipeg in the early 1920's and commented:

... (T)he Poles and the Jews kept their distance from each other, and the Ukrainians brought their prejudice with them when they came. For (we Anglo-Saxons) ... 'Jew' was just another generic word ... (for) peddlers ... If we haggled successfully over something we would say, 'I Jewed him down'.²⁵

An episode in January, 1922, served to reinforce the insecurity of the Winnipeg Jewish community. The Commissioner of the Manitoba Provincial Police, Colonel J.P. Rattray, claimed at a Lions' Club luncheon in Winnipeg that 95% of the major boot-leggers in Manitoba were Jews. Furthermore, he said that Jews, along with the Japanese and the Prussians, were engaged in an international conspiracy to destroy Christianity and western civilization.²⁶ A B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation delegation protested to Premier T.C. Norris, asking for Rattray's dismissal.²⁷ Norris disregarded the request and Attorney-General T.H. Johnston even defended Rattray's character and service. Rattray was dismissed several months later when the Progressives came to power, but even then, not for rabble-rousing, but for incompetence.²⁸

One observer has commented that in the 1920's in Winnipeg lower in the social scale "even than the ... Galicians were the Jews, who were at the rock-bottom of the Anglo-Saxon pecking order ..."²⁹ This view, predicated on social and economic discrimination against Jews, was substantiated by an editorial in the English-language weekly *The Jewish Post* in 1928:

(T)here are establishments in (Winnipeg) which make a point of inquiring the nationality of applicants to office, or sales positions, so that if the answer is 'Jewish' the position is 'already filled.' One of the largest firms in Winnipeg, with whom ... Jews deal to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars every year, employs so few Jews, that in proportion to the whole the number is negligible. There are places where Jews are employed accidentally ... until the discovery is made that they are Jewish. There are a number of shops ... which will not take in Jewish apprentices ... It is often harder for a Jew to get a job ... simply because he is a Jew.³⁰

In 1929, an attempt was made to prevent the establishment of the B'nai B'rith summer camp in the Gimli Rural Municipality. A petition was instigated by an owner of a nearby tourist camp which flaunted a sign "For Gentiles Only". J.T. Thorson, M.P., and others appeared at the request of B'nai B'rith before the Gimli Rural Council to successfully oppose the petition.³¹

In certain sectors of higher education, such as the Manitoba Medical College, *numerus clausus* established an arbitrary quota of Jewish entrants.³² In the fall of 1928, attempts, albeit ineffectual, to establish a Winnipeg branch of the Ku Klux Klan were very disconcerting to Winnipeg Jewry.³³ One of the reasons Marcus Hyman, a Jewish lawyer, was defeated in the mayoralty contests of 1929 and 1930, was anti-Jewish sentiment in the south end of Winnipeg, although *The Jewish Post* complacently down-played the importance of that fact.³⁴

A deep fear for the security of German Jewry after the accession to power of the Nazis was manifest in the Winnipeg community as early as March 1933, when a mass meeting was organized at the Zionist Hall under the chairmanship of Alderman M.A. Gray to protest Nazi assaults on German Jews.³⁵ And a sense of uneasiness in Winnipeg was apparent in 1934 when Goldie Myerson addressed the Pioneer Women's Association at Levine's Kosher Restaurant. She noted that "Jews are feeling all over again that where they are today they may not be tomorrow. A strong anti-Semitism is spreading not necessarily meaning that Canada or the United States will do as Germany has, but may our parents be warned and prepare for any problem they may have to face . . ."³⁶

Jews who were associated with left-wing political organizations, such as the Communist Party, were under official suspicion. A Manitoba Provincial Police report in 1932 indicated that the Communist Party had many important members hidden "in Government positions, in local Municipal Offices, and elsewhere which afford(ed) them 'Protection'."³⁷ Several Jews, including two participants of the 1905 Russian Revolution, both of whom were officials of railway unions, were placed under police surveillance.³⁸

Many Jews were frightened by one wing of the Social Credit movement which spewed out the anti-Semitism of Major C.H. Douglas, who visited Winnipeg in 1934 to expound his theories. Along with Social Credit ideology, Dr. M. Mihychuk defended and proclaimed the verities of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Fairly typical was one 1936 meeting of more than 800 persons at the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Manitoba, where Mihychuk said 90% of Soviet commissars were Jews, and termed Jews "the real curse of humanity."³⁹ One Yakimischak called upon Ukrainians in Manitoba to resist a fate similar to that of the Ukraine, which he said was ruined by Moscow and the Jews.⁴⁰

Winnipeg Jewry was concerned with the fact that two of the German consuls in the city, in the 1930's, were Nazi party members.⁴¹ They were

also disturbed by the activities of the pro-Nazi German-Canadian Bund, the Deutscher Bund Canada, which, according to Jonathan Wagner, “developed into a nation wide organization which conducted an elaborate propaganda campaign to convert Canada’s Germans to the ‘truth’ of National Socialism”.⁴²

The Jewish community was greatly agitated over the formation in Winnipeg in 1933 of the Nationalist Party of Canada, headed by William Whittaker, a former organizer of the Ku Klux Klan, and a notorious anti-Semite. This group published the virulently anti-Semitic *The Canadian Nationalist* mimeographed sheet, and its members wore brown shirts and arm bands with the swastika emblem.⁴³

The excesses of *The Canadian Nationalist* and other anti-Semitic propaganda prompted Marcus Hyman to introduce in the Manitoba Legislature a bill permitting any member of a religious or racial group being defamed to sue for an injunction against the publisher or author. The bill, co-authored by lawyer Ernest Brotman, “An Act to Amend ‘The Libel Act’”, more commonly known as the Manitoba Anti-Defamation, or the Hyman Act, received the support of Attorney-General W.J. Major and of the Bracken Government, and was adopted unanimously by the House in 1934.⁴⁴ Major was able to convert his support into political dividends in the provincial election of 1936, when Winnipeg’s Jews voted for him en masse.⁴⁵

An action for group defamation was commenced almost immediately by Jewish lawyer William Tobias against Whittaker and the printers of *The Canadian Nationalist*. Tobias won the case when a permanent injunction was granted in February, 1935.⁴⁶ Although the publication and distribution of *The Canadian Nationalist* were prohibited in Manitoba, nevertheless, as David Rome has pointed out, it continued to be published and the second volume of January, 1938, with its continuing series on the *Protocols*, was mailed to Ontario residents.⁴⁷

Reinvigorated by the arrival in 1936 of Henry Hamilton Beamish, South African anti-Semite, the Canadian Nationalist Party continued to function. After 1938, it was part of the Canada-wide Fascist grouping, the National Unity Party, whose elected Fuehrer was Adrien Arcand of Quebec.⁴⁸ When Beamish delivered an anti-Semitic address at the Winnipeg Auditorium in 1936, about 25 Jews showed up to heckle the speaker and fights broke out. Although *The Jewish Post* could speak of “unwarranted fear and hysteria”,⁴⁹ the anxieties and apprehension of the Jewish community in the 1930’s were apparent.

Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald offered a prescient, if condescending, observation in 1882 that Jewish immigrants to Manitoba and the North-West would “at once go in for peddling and politics”.⁵⁰ The interrelation of the two was demonstrated in 1891 when the Winnipeg Jewish community first became involved in municipal politics as a direct reaction to apprehension created by Winnipeg City Council. The Council dramatically increased pedlars’ fees in order to “squeeze” Jewish itinerant vendors, often referred to as “Jew peddlers”, who were effectively competing with non-Jewish merchants.⁵¹ Lobbying and petitions by Jews failed to reverse this decision.⁵² As a result, a Jewish merchant contested an aldermanic seat in 1895,⁵³ but was defeated, according to one of the scrutineers, because “[we realized] that our forces would have to increase a great deal to combat the prejudice that was then existing, and still exists in Winnipeg towards the Jews.”⁵⁴

In the 1890’s, Jews participated in federal and provincial politics as the two-party system in Manitoba matured.⁵⁵ Increasing numbers and the Winnipeg Jewish community’s growing political awareness helped to elect Jews as aldermen in 1904 and 1912,⁵⁶ as Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1910,⁵⁷ and as school trustee in 1913.⁵⁸ The Jews of Winnipeg voted along ethnic lines until 1918.⁵⁹ According to Tom Peterson, that year many Jews voted in a provincial by-election for Liberal Robert Jacob, believing, on the basis of his name, that he was Jewish, which he was not.⁶⁰ Most of the support was given at the provincial and federal levels to the Liberal Party. Indeed, the Winnipeg North Liberal Association offered a novel interpretation of the term “gastronomic Jew.” Immigrants, including Jews, at the Winnipeg Immigration Hall who were not greeted by relatives or friends, were met by representatives of the Association and taken to its club rooms on Salter Street. There they were fed a main course of corned beef sandwiches, pickles, and tea, and, for dessert, Liberal Party principles.⁶¹

In the inter-war period, the Jewish community began to vote largely, although never entirely, along class lines. This was due primarily to the traumatic impact of the war and the General Strike upon their collective psyche. The Strike, described by J.E. Rea as the fundamental determinant in the modern, political history of Winnipeg,⁶² served as a catalyst in launching many political careers, and in destroying others. The class orientation of the Jewish community was illustrated as early as 1919. Max Steinkopf, a prominent lawyer, businessman, and Conservative, and H.E. Wilder, President and Managing Editor of *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, were

rebuffed unceremoniously by Jewish voters because both were thought to be members or supporters of the Citizens' Committee of 1000.⁶³ Steinkopf, seeking re-election to Winnipeg School Board, was defeated by a Jewish socialist, Mrs. Rose Elkin.⁶⁴ Wilder, contesting an aldermanic seat, was defeated by labor candidate John Queen.⁶⁵

The Jewish community's memory was not short-lived. In 1927, Steinkopf, who had been promised a Cabinet portfolio, was not elected as a Bracken candidate in the multi-member constituency of Winnipeg.⁶⁶ However, another Jew, William Verner Tobias, an athlete, World War I hero, lawyer, and Conservative was elected claiming that he was "friendly to labour."⁶⁷ Although ethnic voting was undoubtedly a factor, Tobias' election largely reflected a class orientation on the part of Winnipeg Jewry.

The political careers of John Blumberg, Marcus Hyman, E.J. McMurray, and A.A. Heaps, all of whom had a political relationship with the Winnipeg Jewish community, were a direct result of the Strike. Blumberg, an English immigrant, was a motorman with the Winnipeg Street Railway Company, and a member of the Dominion Labor Party.⁶⁸ Elected in 1919 as alderman for Ward 6, he was re-elected consecutively for the next 35 years in Ward 3, in which, in the inter-war period, more than 85% of the city's Jewish population lived.⁶⁹ An active member of first the Independent Labor Party, and then the C.C.F., Blumberg was involved in a variety of Jewish religious, cultural, and athletic activities and used his influence wherever possible to benefit his constituents.⁷⁰

Blumberg's appeal to the labor vote, both Jewish and non-Jewish, is illustrated in excerpts from an advertising testimonial in the 1930's on his behalf, entitled "The Ideal Alderman":

Alderman Blumberg's service in city council for Ward 3 has been imprinted in the memories of 1000's of citizens of north Winnipeg . . . Blumberg (has) proven ability to be the ideal alderman for the interest of his electorate — the workers and the folk masses . . . Jewish voters of north Winnipeg do not splinter your vote. Vote united and in masses for Alderman Blumberg . . . (Y)ou will make certain his re-election, and you will ensure yourself a Jewish alderman . . . ⁷¹

Although, as A. Ross McCormack has noted, "the legacy of the general strike reinforced earlier traditions and established the north end as one of the safest radical seats in the nation,"⁷² this was not immediately apparent in the federal election of 1921. Liberal Edward James McMurray, a barrister, was elected, in large part because he was one of the defense counsels for the arrested strike leaders and the "alien" foreigners.⁷³ Pledging himself to a program of "open" immigration, speaking at Jewish mass

meetings along with Jewish Liberals,⁷⁴ McMurray made a concerted and successful effort to win Jewish votes.

The political career of Marcus Hyman was a direct by-product of the Strike. An English immigrant, Hyman was a brilliant scholar, labor lawyer, lecturer at the Manitoba Law School, and Jewish communal activist. The fact he lived in the most exclusive residential area in Winnipeg, Wellington Crescent, was not the determinant of his political affiliation.⁷⁵ As a candidate of the I.L.P., he was elected to the Winnipeg School Board in 1923, serving until 1929. Defeated in an attempt to gain a seat in the Legislature in 1927 and in the Winnipeg mayoralty contests of 1929 and 1930, he was elected to the Legislature in 1932 and re-elected in 1936.⁷⁶ In the latter year, he was widely acclaimed as the sponsor of the Anti-Defamation Bill in the Legislature, and amidst perfidious denunciations by local Nazi propagandists,⁷⁷ he received an overwhelming endorsement from Jewish voters. His specific concerns were the areas of civil liberties, labour legislation, and education, where he was described as being "twenty years ahead of his time".⁷⁸

With the exception of some political support for Mayor Ralph Webb during his electoral campaigns, candidates of the political descendant of the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand — known variously as the Citizens' League, the Citizen's Campaign Committee, the Winnipeg Civics Association, the Civic Progress Association, and the Winnipeg Election Committee — did not enjoy popularity among Jewish voters. Brian McKillop has noted that in the eyes of the Citizens' group one was either a "Concerned Citizen" or one was not, something that resulted in a "we" — "they" dichotomy.⁷⁹ The majority of the Jewish community knew it was not the "we" of whom the Citizens' group spoke; therefore, it must have been the "they".

This is reflected in the fact that very few Jews sought an aldermanic seat in Ward 3 under the sponsorship of the Civic Progress Association. Rockmil Calof, a lawyer and President of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, was the only one in 1929. Perhaps realizing that he could not hope to win many Jewish votes along class lines, Calof's election advertisements appealed to Jewish voters to "elect your own" — "a north-ender to represent your ward".⁸⁰ *The Jewish Post*, which shrank from any frank discussion, let alone endorsement, of Jewish class voting, noted that:

There is no conflict . . . between Alderman Blumberg and Mr. Calof. There are three seats in Ward 3 and it is quite conceivable that both may be elected. It may even

work out to their mutual advantage to have both running, since their combined effort may bring out a big Jewish vote from which both may benefit.⁸¹

Calof was unsuccessful in his quest.

Next to the Independent Labour Party at the municipal level, under whose banner Jewish candidates M.A. Gray, as school trustee and then alderman, and Meyer Averbach as school trustee, were elected,⁸² the Communist Party made the most direct appeal for the votes of north-end Jewry. Its candidates ran under such organizational names as the Workers' Party or the Workers' Unity League to avoid prosecution, as the Communist Party was illegal for most of the inter-war period.⁸³ Winnipeg Jews had an early and direct connection with the Communist Party. Max Dolgoy, later a union organizer, was one of the charter members of the Workers' Party of Canada in 1921.⁸⁴ Union activists Noiech Levine and Joshua Gershman joined shortly thereafter.⁸⁵ In Winnipeg, Jewish Communist candidates for school trustee and aldermen were defeated in the late 1920's and early 1930's.⁸⁶ However, by 1934, two Communist aldermen had been elected — including in Ward 3, Jacob Penner.⁸⁷ Penner's wife Rose, was Jewish, and he was interested in a variety of Jewish communal endeavours, including the Peretz School. This, in addition to personal characteristics — he was a great humanitarian — and any ideological attraction, helps explain his considerable popularity with many Jewish voters in the 1930's. In addition, he served as an inspiration to many young Jewish communists, such as William Ross and Joseph Zuken. Ross, who received the editorial backing of *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, was elected as a school trustee in 1936 and served in that capacity until 1939.⁸⁸

Efforts of the Communists to unite with the Independent Labour Party to form a "common front" as early as the mid-1920's were rebuffed by the social democratic Independent Labour Party.⁸⁹ As a result, there were often bitter words between candidates of the two parties, both of which claimed to be the legitimate representative of north-end Winnipeg. Jack Blumberg particularly was emphatic in his denunciation of the Communists.⁹⁰ Nor were the latter reticent to say:

The part played by the social — reformist (I.L.P.) misleaders of the workers in the city council and parliamentary assembly is despicable, but true to their traitorous actions in every capitalist country . . . (They) (say) nothing and thereby (say) everything in favor of . . . cossack methods.⁹¹

Often, advertisements in Yiddish were distributed to homes by parties and candidates denouncing their opponents in no uncertain terms.⁹² Cer-

tainly, the struggle for the votes of Winnipeg's Jewish community between these two parties was intense and colorful in the inter-war years.

The issue of restricted immigration, and the activities of its proponents in the 1920's and 1930's,⁹³ created tremendous concern among Canadian Jews. The immigration issue was central to political campaigns waged from 1921 to 1940 in the federal constituency of Winnipeg North, where almost 90% of the city's Jews lived. The Conservatives especially suffered because of their perceived position on this matter and because of their war record. One Jewish observer claimed that the Conservatives "kept the doors shut for such a long time the hinges got rusty and nobody has been able to open them up since".⁹⁴ Arthur Meighen's comment published in *Dos Yiddishe Vort* that his government wanted British immigrants and "all other white people who are strong physically and mentally who are ready to produce"⁹⁵ did nothing to improve his party's popularity with the Jewish electorate.

Federal politics in the Jewish community in the inter-war years was dominated by one name — that of Abraham Albert Heaps. His 15 years of service in the House of Commons, his influence on the events of the day, and his interaction with his constituents warrants designation of the period as "The Age of Heaps". An English Jew, this upholsterer came to Winnipeg in 1911, found employment in the C.P.R. coach shop, and became a delegate to the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council and a member of the Social Democratic Party. Defeated as a Labor candidate for alderman in Ward 3 in 1915 and 1916, he was elected to that position in a 1917 by-election. Arrested as one of the Winnipeg Strike leaders in 1919, he was found not guilty of a charge of seditious conspiracy in 1920, and resumed his aldermanic duties. Defeated by E.J. McMurray in a by-election in Winnipeg North in 1923, Heaps was re-nominated by the I.L.P. in 1925. He made his appeal to Jewish voters on both class and ethnic lines and was elected.⁹⁶

In Parliament, Heaps was a champion of open immigration, and of labor and social welfare measures, including old age pensions and unemployment insurance. With J.S. Woodsworth, he demanded removal of offensive sections of the Criminal Code and the Immigration Act.⁹⁷ So popular had he become that by 1930 one report proclaimed he would be nominated again as the I.L.P. was "completely pleased with his accomplishments" and would "take into consideration the support of Jewish voters whom he can attract thanks to his accomplishments for Jewish immigration".⁹⁸ That year, Heaps won handily.⁹⁹

The federal election of 1935 was an extremely partisan one in Winnipeg North. The three major contenders were Heaps; Liberal candidate Colonel C.S. Booth, a Winnipeg businessman; and Tim Buck, the leader of the Communist Party in Canada, which was still an illegal organization. The Conservatives did not contest the constituency, their official reason being that they did not wish to splinter the vote and thereby allow Buck to be elected.¹⁰⁰ Direct appeals were made by the three candidates to the eight to nine thousand Jewish voters, almost 25% of the total constituency electorate.¹⁰¹ Heaps, running as a Jewish representative, played upon the fears within the Jewish community of growing anti-Semitism. His election committee told Jewish voters that it would be “an odious crime” for Jews to oppose a Jewish candidate, especially an honest and devoted servant like Heaps.¹⁰² Booth campaigned on the theme that North Winnipeg should be represented in the Liberal Government, and not by a socialist.¹⁰³ Heaps charged north end Jewish Liberal “unter-shitippers” with promising rewards to individual Jewish voters.¹⁰⁴ Heaps had demonstrated his commitment to Palestine by successfully pressing the Bennett Government to remove the duty on imported Palestine oranges.¹⁰⁵ Now supported by the Poale Zion (Labor Zionists), Heaps condemned Jewish Communists for supporting Arab programs in Palestine and termed the Communists allies of the “worst pogromchiks”.¹⁰⁶

Tim Buck conducted a vigorous campaign. He decided to enter the contest after the C.C.F. rebuffed efforts for a common political front.¹⁰⁷ Buck had the advantage of running in a constituency with a tradition of political radicalism. Leslie Morris and his colleagues had gained political acumen in the 1930 federal election.¹⁰⁸ The early 1930's had seen a number of lengthy and bitter strikes and lockouts in the garment trade industries of Winnipeg — where approximately 1/3 of the workers were Jews.¹⁰⁹ The cloakmakers were organized under the Industrial Union of the Needle Trades, also known as The Workers' Unity League, an adjunct of the Communist Party.¹¹⁰ Many of its members reinforced class political consciousness within the Jewish community, and provided the Communist Party with a very dedicated and enthusiastic nucleus of campaign workers. So strong did the Communist campaign appear that E.J. McMurray observed the “fight . . . is so close . . . I can estimate that the Communist would be elected”.¹¹¹ Buck made a direct appeal to Jewish women voters at a meeting of the Liberty Temple where organizer Sam Carr spoke in Yiddish.¹¹² Buck campaigned, in person and on the radio, on the theme that “A Vote for Buck is a vote against Fascism and Anti-

Semitism and for a secure existence in the battle against exploitation and for a Socialist world".¹¹³ Ivan Avakumovic described the Communist campaign:

They distributed leaflets, engaged in large scale door-to-door canvassing, held a number of public meetings, and kept on announcing that he stood an excellent chance of winning the seat . . . Buck [commented after the election he] "was overwhelmed with invitations to supper to Ukrainian and Jewish comrades to meet other Ukrainian and Jewish comrades".¹¹⁴

The Jewish Post, hinting at support for Booth, declared its opposition to Buck and expressed elation when Buck was defeated.¹¹⁵ For the first time in a federal election, *Dos Yiddishe Vort* supported an individual candidate — Heaps — and urged Winnipeg Jewry to vote for him because of his "tremendous efforts for the electorate and for the Jewish community who appreciate the importance of Jewish representation in Ottawa."¹¹⁶ The newspaper expressed pleasure with Heaps' election and with his electoral support in Jewish districts, claiming it was "a victory against race prejudice and unfair electoral methods".¹¹⁷

The federal election of March 26, 1940, marked the end of A.A. Heaps' political career, and the end of a political era. For Canadian Jewry, the atmosphere was one of crisis — Canada was a nation at war, and much of European Jewry was under Nazi rule. Although the Conservatives put forth a candidate, he was only a token.¹¹⁸ The Communist candidate, Leslie Morris, labored under the disadvantage of his party's position favoring Canada's withdrawal from what was called "an imperialist war".¹¹⁹ This did not appeal to most Jewish voters in Winnipeg North.

The issue in the minds of most of the 9000 Jewish voters was the thorough and vigorous prosecution of the Canadian war effort. Despite the fact that Heaps was in agreement with this policy, he was vulnerable on two accounts: 1) that he had been a pacifist in World War I and 2) that despite Heaps' disavowals, his leader, J.S. Woodsworth, was in favour of only a limited Canadian war effort.¹²⁰ And it was here that Booth struck. His election advertising proclaimed:

There is no other issue in this election but . . . to destroy Hitlerism . . . (T)he Liberal Government should have the biggest majority possible in Parliament . . . (E)very one of us should give the whole-hearted co-operation to the Liberal government of Canada in its war effort to defeat Hitlerism and bring the whole world — and us Jews . . . freedom and opportunity to live a normal existence.¹²¹

A Jewish Committee for the Election of C.S. Booth was formed, consisting largely of young business and professional men, who not only wanted representation in the Government for prosecution of the war ef-

fort, but who were opposed to the democratic socialist philosophy of Heaps. They delivered the Liberal message of a united war effort to the Jewish community.¹²²

Heaps' campaign was largely a defensive action. Reminding voters that he was an ardent Zionist and had helped to bring European Jewish refugees to Canada in 1938-39,¹²³ Heaps realized he was in a difficult political situation. He pleaded with Jewish voters:

Don't let yourself be led astray and talked into believing by interested Jewish agents of the local north end Liberal group that their candidate — is the liberator and deliverer. . . .¹²⁴

Heaps' desperation perhaps was demonstrated best in his election advertisements which proclaimed that "it would be simple treason as a Jew and progressive person — if one does not vote for A.A. Heaps".¹²⁵ Despite the editorial support of *The Winnipeg Tribune* and *The North Ender*, Heaps "suffered for [the] sins"¹²⁶ of the C.C.F. party — its attitude to the war. Booth was elected by almost 1800 votes.¹²⁷ Leo Heaps noted correctly that his father's defeat was due to "[t]he Jewish electors of North Winnipeg pledg[ing] mass support for . . . Booth as the candidate most likely to further the war effort."¹²⁸

The election demonstrated both the ethnic and class nature of the Jewish vote; although many Jews voted for Booth as the best choice for protecting their co-religionists in Europe, others, especially in the Jewish Committee for the Election of Booth, rejected Heaps' socialist philosophy and opted for a "free enterpriser." Their support was an early political reflection of what sociologist S.D. Clark has called "[t]he phenomenal improvement in the economic and social state of Eastern European Jewish immigrants in the second quarter of the century."¹²⁹

The election marked the end of one political era and the beginning of another. It saw the coming of age of a group of Liberal Party activists who represented a new generation of Jewish involvement and participation in politics. From the perspective of future Jewish community development, many of these people became communal decision-makers.

Winnipeg City Councillor Joseph Zuken has said that the Winnipeg Jewish community of the Depression was not a lost generation.¹³⁰ This is true of the entire inter-war period. Without attempting to be nostalgic, these years can well be regarded as the golden age of the Winnipeg Jewish community in religious, cultural, educational, and athletic life. It would be presumptuous to say that this was also the golden age of the Winnipeg Jewish community in politics, given subsequent developments. However,

given the external factors promoting aggression and hostility to Jews, the community turned largely to politics as a prime defense mechanism in its attempt to gain acceptance and respect.

FOOTNOTES

1. Samuel Janus, "Great Jewish-American Comedians' Identity Crisis," (unpublished paper delivered to the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, 86th Annual Convention, Toronto, Wednesday, August 30, 1978).
2. Rachelle Namak, "An Answer to the Holocaust: Israel a 'Hiding Place', Crowe Tells Remembrance Audience", *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, April 26, 1979, p.1, and "Seminars Explore Holocaust: Will to Understand Tempered by Pessimism," *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, May 3, 1979, p.1.
3. Stephen D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics* (Garden City, New York, 1974), pp. 15-16.
4. Government of Manitoba, "Immigration and Population," *Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics of the Province of Manitoba for the Year 1882* (Winnipeg, 1883), p. 24.
5. Heather Robertson, "It Doesn't Help To Be Jewish In Manitoba," *Maclean's* June, 1975, Volume 88, No.6, 1975, pp. 88.
6. Nadia Kazymyra, "Aspects of Ukrainian Opinion in Manitoba During World War I," in Martin Kovacs, editor, *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, Canadian Plains Studies 8 (Regina, 1978), pp. 132-133.
7. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974), p. 226.
8. S. Almazov Pearl, *Mit Dem Vort Tzum Fold (With the Word to the Masses; Experiences of a Lecturer)* (New York, 1947), pp. 29-31.
9. Sheppy Hershfield, "Growing Up in North Winnipeg", in Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, *Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada Second Annual Publication, Papers Presented in 1969-70* (Winnipeg, April, 1972), p. 15.
10. Albert Johnson, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May, 1918: The Prelude to 1919?" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 56-57; J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review 1918* (Toronto, 1919), p. 491; *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, October 25, 1918, p. 5.
11. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, June 20, 1919, p. 1. Various Jewish institutions had been raided in 1918. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Fri., Oct. 4, 1918, p. 1. See also Roseline Usiskin, "Toward A Theoretical Reformulation of the Relationship Between Political Ideology, Social Class, and Ethnicity: A Case Study of the Winnipeg Jewish Radical Community, 1905-1920," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), p. 223.
12. For a nativist perspective, including an impassioned plea for the deportation of European "enemy aliens" in Canada, see Wellington Bridgman, *Breaking Prairie Sod; The Story of a Pioneer Preacher in the Eighties with a Discussion on the Burning Question of To-Day, Shall the Alien Go?* (Toronto, 1920), especially pp. 175-224. See also Public Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as P.A.C.), Arthur Meighen Papers, M.G. 26 I, Series 1, 1917-1920, Vol. 5, File 30-Manitoba Matters, pp. 002539-002540, Sir Hugh John Macdonald, Winnipeg, July 3, 1919, to Meighen.
13. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, June 20, 1919, p. 2; David Jay Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike* (Montreal, London, 1974), p. 127. Nativist sentiment was noted in "For Whom To Vote," *Dos Yiddishe*

- Vort, Friday, December 14, 1917, p. 1, and in "The 'Telegram' And The Bolsheviks," *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, October 25, 1918, p. 4.
14. P.A.C., Dept. of the Secretary of State Records, Chief Press Censor for Canada Papers 1915-1920, R.G. 6 E, Vol. 632, File No. 370-Y-5, Letters from A.A. McLean, Comptroller, Royal North West Mounted Police, to Chambers, Ottawa, June 27, 1919; from Chambers to McLean, July 25, 1919; from Hyman and Cherniack, Winnipeg, to Chambers, July 21, 1919; from Chambers, Ottawa, to Hyman and Cherniack, (and telegram), July 29, 1919; from Chambers to Alfred Andrews, Winnipeg, July 30, 1919.
 15. P.A.C., Dept. of the Secretary of State Records, Chief Press Censor for Canada Papers 1915-1920, R.G. 6 E, Vol. 632, File No. 370-Y-5, Letters from Chambers to Hyman and Cherniack, August 6, 1919; from Andrews to Chambers, August 13, 1919; from McLean to Chambers (secret and confidential), August 15, 1919; from Chambers to publishers, *The New Times*, Winnipeg, August 13, 1919; from Chambers to R.M. Coulter, Deputy Postmaster-General, Ottawa, August 13, 1919. William Rodney claims inaccurately that *Die Naiye Ziet* was not published.
 16. P.A.C., Department of the Secretary of State Records, Chief Press Censor for Canada Papers 1915-1920, R.G. 6 E, Volume 632, File No. 370-Y-5, Letter from Chambers to Hestrin, Winnipeg, August 22, 1919. Hestrin was a key speaker at the May Day, 1919, celebrations sponsored by the Poale Zion at Steiman's Hall on Selkirk Avenue. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, April 29, 1919, p. 1.
 17. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Fri., June 20, 1919, p. 1. Almazov's first name sometimes was given as Solomon, and his last name sometimes spelled Almazoff. Charitinoff's name was sometimes spelled Charitonoff, and his first name initial sometimes was given as F.D.C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike*, reprinted (Toronto, 1973), pp. 102, 106; William Rodney, *Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919-1929* (Toronto, 1968), p. 25; Donald Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners'; *European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 85-86; A. Balawyder, *Canadian-Soviet Relations Between The World Wars* (Toronto, Buffalo, 1972), p. 32.
 18. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, August 19, 1919, p. 1.
 19. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, June 20, 1919, p. 1. Although he belonged to the Social Democratic Party, Almazov was a Communist. He was elected by the Winnipeg Jewish community in December, 1918, as one of the representatives to the initial Canadian Jewish Congress meeting in Montreal, March, 1919. At the meeting, Almazov opposed the creation of Palestine as a home for the Jewish people, but abstained on the resolution on this matter. J.A. Cherniack, *Reminiscences of 40 Years of Jewish Community Life*, translated and edited by H.H. Herstein, Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, *Second Annual Publication of the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada: A Selection of Papers Presented in 1969-70* (Winnipeg, April, 1972), p. 85.
 20. P.A.C., Department of the Secretary of State Records, R.G. 6 E, Chief Press Censor for Canada Papers 1915-1920, Volume 632, File No. 370-Y-5, Letter from A.A. McLean to Chambers (secret and confidential), Ottawa, June 5, 1919.
 21. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, June 20, 1919, p. 1.
 22. P.A.C., Royal Canadian Mounted Police Records, R.G. 18, Volume 3314, File No. HV-1(4), Transcripts of Deportation Hearings of Samuel Blumenberg, July 14, 1919; Michael Charitinoff, July 16, 1919, August 13, 1919; Solomon Almazoff, July 16, August 14, 15, 1919. Almazov left voluntarily to live in Toronto, then the U.S. S. Almazov Pearl, *Mit Dem Vort Tzum Fold (With the Word to be Masses)* (New York, 1947), pp. 28, 83 ff. Blumenberg departed Canada apparently in lieu of forcible deportation. *Manitoba Free Press*, Monday, September 22, 1919, p. 8. A detailed treatment of the deportation hearings is to be found in Eric Lyle Dick, "Deportation Under the

- Immigration Act and the Canadian Criminal Code, 1919-1936" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 45-66.
23. P.A.C., Sir Robert Borden Papers, M.G. 26 H1(a), Volume 113, 0C564 (1)-0C566, "Extract from a Report Dated Winnipeg, 11th June", attached to letter from Comptroller, Royal North West Mounted Police, Ottawa, June 19, 1919, to George W. Yates, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, re: "Possible Financial Support of Winnipeg Strike by Wealthy Jews", pp. 62036-62037.
 24. P.A.C., Arthur Meighen Papers, M.G. 26 I, Series 1, 1917-1920, Vol. 5, File 30-Manitoba Matters, pp. 002539-002540, Sir Hugh John Macdonald, Winnipeg, July 3, 1919, to Meighen. See also Henry James Guest, "Reluctant Politician: A Biography of Sir Hugh John Macdonald" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973), p. 376.
 25. James H. Gray, *The Boy from Winnipeg* (Toronto, 1970), p. 43.
 26. *Manitoba Free Press*, Friday, January 6, 1922, p. 9; *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, Tuesday, January 10, 1922, p. 1.
 27. *Manitoba Free Press*, Thursday, January 12, 1922, p. 12; Letter from Rattray to editor, *Manitoba Free Press*, Friday, January 13, 1922, p. 11.
 28. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tues., Aug. 24, 1926, p. 2. The incident was a political issue in several election campaigns in north Winnipeg in the 1920's. John Queen, former arrested Winnipeg General Strike leader, Member of the Legislative Assembly, later mayor of Winnipeg, condemned Rattray's remarks and demanded his resignation. "-Jews expressed their thankfulness with their votes" for Queen in the 1922 provincial election. "The Political Influence of The Winnipeg Jews", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, July 25, 1922, p. 2. See also the Queen election advertisement, *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, July 14, 1922, p. 4. For Rattray and the 1926 federal election see *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, August 24, 1926, p. 2.
 29. James H. Gray, *The Roar of the Twenties* (Toronto, 1975), p. 233.
 30. "Jewish Anti-Semites," in H. Sokolov, "This Week," *The Jewish Post*, Friday, January 13, 1928, p. 1.
 31. "Thanks to J.T. Thorson, M.P.," *The Jewish Post*, Friday, August 16, 1929, p. 4.
 32. Percy Barsky, "How 'Numerus Clausus' Was Ended in the Manitoba Medical School", *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, Volume 1, Fall, 1977, pp. 75-81; James H. Gray, *The Roar of the Twenties* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 235-241.
 33. "The Klan Arrives In Winnipeg," in H. Sokolov, "This Week," *The Jewish Post*, Friday, October 19, 1928, p. 1; James H. Gray, *The Roar of the Twenties* (Toronto, 1975), p. 290.
 34. "Absence of Racial Prejudice," *The Jewish Post*, Friday, November 29, 1929, p. 1.
 35. *The Jewish Post*, Friday, March 23, 1933, p. 3.
 36. Goldie Myerson quoted in *The Jewish Post*, Friday, January 4, 1934, p. 3.
 37. Public Archives of Manitoba (hereafter cited as P.A.M.), M.G. 13 I Bracken Papers, Box 85, File 892. Premier's Office Correspondence 1935, "Police Report on Red Trade Union Groups and Effects on Winnipeg Trades and Labour", p. 1. I thank Professor John Thompson, Department of History, McGill University, Montreal, for drawing my attention to this file. See also P.A.M., Department of the Attorney-General Records, "Synopsis of Report on Communist Activities Commencing May 5, 1931", in Special File, "Communist Activity, 1931-36", p. 1.
 38. P.A.M., Bracken Papers, Box 85, File 892, Premier's Office Correspondence 1935, "Police Report on Red Trade Union Groups and Effects on Winnipeg Trades and Labour", pp. 1, 3-4.
 39. *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, Monday, December 7, 1936, p. 5. See also David Rome, *Clouds In The Thirties; On Antisemitism in Canada 1929-1939. A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History*. Section 5. (Montreal, 1975), p. 55.

40. *Ibid.* See also "Notes from the Electoral Campaign," A.A. Heaps election advertisement, *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, Oct. 11, 1935, p. 5.
41. Jonathan Wagner, "The Deutscher Bund Canada 1934-9", *The Canadian Historical Review*, Volume LVIII, No. 2, June 1977 (Toronto, 1977), p. 180.
42. *Ibid.* p. 176. The German-language Winnipeg weekly *Deutsche Zeitung Fuer Canada* also was pro-Nazi in its sympathies.
43. *The Canadian Nationalist* was at first printed; after passage of the "Hyman Bill", it was mimeographed. "Nazi Propaganda in Winnipeg", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, July 28, 1936, p. 2; Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and The Maple Leaf; Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties* (Toronto, Montreal Winnipeg, Vancouver, 1975), pp. 65-66; *The Canadian Nationalist*, November 1, 1933, Volume 1, No. 1, pp. 1-6.
44. Betcherman, *The Swastika and The Maple Leaf; Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties*, pp. 70-71.
45. See "The 'Jewish Question' In The Election", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, July 24, 1936, p. 4. Support for Major and Marcus Hyman was reinforced in the Jewish community when Winnipeg Nazis distributed anti-Semitic hate propaganda during the 1936 provincial election campaign. Material in the possession of the writer. See also "I am a Jew! Vote for Me" in *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, July 24, 1936, p. 2.
46. Betcherman, *The Swastika and The Maple Leaf; Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties*, p. 74.
47. "Nazi Propaganda in Winnipeg", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, July 28, 1936, p. 2; David Rome, *Clouds In The Thirties; On Antisemitism in Canada 1929-1939. A Chapter on Canadian Jewish History*. Section 2. (Montreal, 1977), pp. 94-96.
48. *Winnipeg Free Press*, Friday, March 4, 1938, pp. 1, 8.
49. "Loose Thinking," *The Jewish Post*, Friday, October 29, 1936, p. 4.
50. Macdonald quoted in B.G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada*, translated by Ralph Novek, (Montreal, 1965), p. 274.
51. *The Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, Saturday, January 31, 1891, p. 7; Tuesday, March 3, 1891, p. 4; Letter from Max Goldstine to the editor, *The Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, March 4, 1891, p. 3; *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, Wednesday, September 23, 1891, p. 5; *Town Talk*, Saturday, February 28, 1891, Vol. II, No. 50, p. 8; *The Commercial; A Journal Devoted to the Financial, Mercantile and Manufacturing Interests of the Canadian North-West*, Monday, February 23, 1891, p. 571.
52. City of Winnipeg Archives and Inventory Control, Council Communications 1890-1891, Box 1623-1968, No. 1702, February 7, 1891; No. 1706, no date; No. 1707, February 2, 1891; No. 1715, February 23, 1891; No. 1725, February 2, 1891.
53. The candidate was Louis Wertheim, a tobacconist and one of the early "Deutsche Yooden", or German Jews, in Winnipeg. He had arrived in Winnipeg C. 1880. *Manitoba Morning Free Press*, Wed., Dec. 1 1895, p. 1. See also Arthur Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba; A Social History* (Toronto, 1961), p. 23, and Abraham Arnold, "The Earliest Jews in Winnipeg, 1874-1882", *The Beaver; The Magazine of the North*, Autumn, 1974, Outfit 305:2, (Winnipeg, 1974), pp. 7, 10.
54. Moses Finkelstein, "Personal Reminiscences of an Early Jewish Settler in Western Canada", *The Reform Advocate*, The "Jews of Winnipeg" edition, 1914, p. 5. See also Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg; A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914* (Montreal, London, 1975), pp. 36-37.
55. Ellen Gillies Cooke "The Federal Election of 1896 in Manitoba" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1943), p. 187, and passim; William Ready, "The Political Implications of the Manitoba School Question" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1948), pp. 72-81.

56. Moses Finkelstein, in 1904, and David Altar Skaletar, in 1912, both Conservatives in provincial and federal politics, were the aldermen elected. Finkelstein served to 1907, Skaletar to 1917. P.A.M., Clara Fainstein Collection, MG 14 C63, David Altar Skaletar, File 8; Manitoba Legislative Library, Biography Scrapbook 6, p. 16, *The Winnipeg Telegram*, Wednesday, December 14, 1904, pp. 1, 9; Saturday, December 14, 1912, pp. 1, 17; *The Voice*, Friday, December 16, 1904; p. 1; *Manitoba Morning Free Press*, Wednesday, December 14, 1904, pp. 1, 4; Saturday, December 14, 1912, p. 1; *The Voice*, Friday, December 20, 1912, p. 1; *The Winnipeg Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, December 14, 1904, p. 5; Saturday, December 14, 1912; pp. 1, 2, 9.
57. S. Hart Green, an English-only speaking Liberal lawyer, was elected with 2175 votes. His opponents, J.F. Mitchell (Conservative) and Edward Fulcher (Socialist), received 1555 and 892 votes, respectively. Green served to 1914. He did not contest the 1914 provincial election, and was defeated in the 1915 provincial election in Winnipeg North "B". Manitoba Legislative Library, Manitoba Election Records, p. 193. Ernest Chambers, editor, *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1914* (Ottawa, 1914), pp. 466-467; *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1916* (Ottawa, 1916), p. 397.
58. Moses Abrahamson, originally from Russia, a former farmer near Stonewall, merchant in the flour and feed business, Winnipeg, officer with the federal Dept. of Immigration, received 1166 votes to 935 for the incumbent, R.S. McMunn. *Manitoba Free Press*, Sat., Dec. 13, 1913, pp. 1, 15.
59. Roseline Usiskin, "Toward A Theoretical Reformulation of the Relationship between Political Ideology, Social Class, and Ethnicity: A Case Study of the Winnipeg Jewish Radical Community, 1905-1920" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 196-197.
60. Thomas Peterson, "Manitoba: Ethnic and Class Politics," in Martin Robin, editor, *Canadian Provincial Politics; The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces*, second edition (Scarborough, 1978), p. 71. Jacob, who received 2912 votes as a Union candidate, was elected as the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Winnipeg North "B" in the by-election on January 15, 1918. His opponent, Elias R. Levinson (Independent), a Jew, received 2361 votes. Manitoba, Chief Electoral Officer, "List of General Elections, and of Members Elected and of By-Elections and Dates". Manitoba Legislative Library, Manitoba Election Records, p. 333.
61. Joseph Wilder, *Read All About It; Reminiscences of an Immigrant Newsboy* (Winnipeg, 1978), pp. 54-55.
62. J.E. Rea, *Parties and Power; An Analysis of Winnipeg City Council, 1919-1975, Appendix IV, The Rea Report* (Winnipeg, 1976), p. 1. "The Politics of Class: Winnipeg City Council, 1919-1945", in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, editors, *The West and the Nation; Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton* (Toronto, 1976), p. 232; "The Politics of Conscience: Winnipeg After the Strike", *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers 1971*, p. 276 and ff.
63. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, December 2, 1919, p. 1. Sheppy Hershfield, "Growing Up in North Winnipeg", in Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, *The Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada Second Annual Publication* (Winnipeg, April, 1972), p. 20.
64. *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, Saturday, Nov. 29, 1919, p. 10. For a biographical sketch of Steinkopf, see D.A. Hart, *The Jew In Canada* (Toronto, Montreal, 1926), p. 389.
65. Hershfield, "Growing Up in North Winnipeg", *op. cit.*, p. 20; *The Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, Saturday, November 29, 1919, p. 10; *Manitoba Free Press*.
66. Steinkopf's election advertisements claimed "there is no Jewish question in the coming election". *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, June 21, 1927, p. 3. On the other hand, Tobias claimed there was a "Jewish Question". *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, June 24, 1927, p. 4.

67. Tobias received 1687 votes, Steinkopf 1241. Manitoba Legislative Library, Manitoba Election Records, June 28, 1927, Election, p. 397. "The Result of The Election", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, July 5, 1927, p. 2. Manitoba Legislative Library, Biography Scrapbook 9, p. 107; *The Jewish Post*, May 26, 1932, p. 2. Tobias served in the Manitoba Legislature as an M.L.A. for Winnipeg until he was defeated in the provincial election of 1932. A.L. Normandin, editor, *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1932* (Ottawa, 1932), p. 41.
68. P.A.M., Clara Fainstein Collection, M.G. 14 C 63, John Blumberg Interview File (1960); Manitoba Legislative Library Biography Scrapbook 12, p. 231.
69. Louis Rosenberg, *The Jewish Community of Winnipeg* (Montreal, 1946), pp. 11-12, 17-18.
70. P.A.M., Clara Fainstein Collection, M.G. 14 C 63, John Blumberg Interview File (1960); Irving Abella, editor, "Portrait of a Jewish Professional Revolutionary: The Recollections of Joshua Gershman," in *Labour/Le Travailleur; Journal of Canadian Labour Studies*, Volume 2, 1977 (Halifax, 1977), p. 195.
71. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Thursday, November 21, 1935, p. 3.
72. A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries; The Western Canadian Radical Movement 1899-1919* (Toronto, Buffalo, 1977), p. 171.
73. McMurray received 3809 votes, R.B. Russell (Labour), a machinist and former arrested Winnipeg General Strike leader, 3094; Matthew Robert Blake (Conservative), a physician, 3045; and Jacob Penner (Independent), a shipper, 565. 10,647 of 17,623 voters cast their ballots. Canada, *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Fourteenth General Election 1921* (Ottawa, 1922), p. XIII, pp. 378-379. See also Roy St. George Stubbs, "E.J. McMurray, Q.C.P.C., in *Prairie Portraits* (Toronto, 1954), pp. 143-176.
74. "The Political Influence of The Winnipeg Jews", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, July 25, 1922, p. 2.
75. D.A. Hart, *The Jew In Canada* (Toronto, Montreal, 1926), p. 395; Manitoba Legislative Library, Manitoba Biography Scrapbook 9, pp. 55, 70. Previously, Hyman lived in another prestigious residential area at 954 Dorchester Ave. A.L. Normandin, editor, *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1933* (Ottawa, 1933), p. 395.
76. A.L. Normandin, editor, *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1938* (Ottawa, 1938), p. 447. Manitoba Legislative Library, Manitoba Biography Scrapbook 9, pp. 55, 70. "The Election of Marcus Hyman", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, June 21, 1932, p. 2. "The 'Jewish Question' In The Election", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, July 24, 1936, p. 4. "Marcus Hyman's Reelection", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, July 31, 1936, p. 3.
77. See the reproduction of a Nazi hate pamphlet aimed at Hyman, in *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, July 24, 1936, p. 2. "Nazi Propaganda In Winnipeg", Tuesday, July 28, 1936, p. 2.
78. Lloyd Stinson, *Political Warriors; Recollections of a Social Democrat* (Winnipeg, 1975), p. 88.
79. Alexander Brian McKillop, "Citizen and Socialist: The Ethos of Political Winnipeg, 1919-1935", (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970), pp. 37, 39, 60, 74, 77. See also McKillop, "The Communist As Conscience: Jacob Penner and Winnipeg Civic Politics 1934-1935", in A.R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, editors, *Cities In The West; Papers of the Western Canada Urban History Conference-University of Winnipeg*, October, 1974, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, History Division Paper No. 10 (Ottawa, 1975), pp. 181-203.
80. *The Jewish Post*, Friday, November 8, 1929, pp. 5, 11; Friday, November 15, 1929, p. 7; Friday, November 22, 1929, p. 9.
81. "Jewish Candidates In The Civic Field", *The Jewish Post*, Friday, November 15, 1929, p. 1.

82. P.A.M., Clara Fainstein Collection, M.G. 14 C 63, M.A. Gray Interview File; Manitoba Legislative Library, Biography Scrapbook 11, pp. 25, 126-127, 182; *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, February 6, 1928, p. 3; Pierre G. Normandin, editor, *Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1966* (Ottawa, 1966), pp. 546-547.
83. Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 22-138. In the 1932 provincial election, Communists ran under the name "United Front Workers (Labour)". Mark Selchen, "By The Way: Observations on the Election", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Monday, June 20, 1932, p. 1.
84. Ted Allan, "Winnipeg's Joe Zuken", *Winnipeg Free Press*, Tuesday, March 30, 1976, p. 31; Interview with Joshua Gershman, Winnipeg, November 17, 1979. Tim Buck did not mention Dolgoy's presence at Guelph in June, 1921, but noted Jacob Penner's presence. William Beeching and Phyllis Clarke, *Yours In The Struggle: The Reminiscences of Tim Buck* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 96-98. See also Norman Penner, "Jacob Penner's Recollections: Introduction," *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, November, 1974, Vol. VII, No. 14 (Ottawa, 1974), p. 367.
85. Interview with Joshua Gershman, Winnipeg, November 17, 1979. Irving Abella, editor, "Portrait of a Jewish Professional Revolutionary: The Recollections of Joshua Gershman," *Labour/Le Travailleur: Journal of Canadian Labour Studies*, Volume 2, 1977 (Halifax, 1977), pp. 194-195.
86. For a commentary on the growing political strength of the Communists in the provincial election of 1927 see "The Result of the Election", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, July 5, 1927, p. 2.
87. Penner made a direct appeal to Jewish voters in the provincial election of 1927, but was defeated. See *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Monday, June 27, 1927, p. 4. A.B. McKillop, "The Communist As Conscience: Jacob Penner and Winnipeg Civic Politics, 1934-1935", *op. cit.*; Norman Penner Interview, "The Making of a Radical: Winnipeg in the 1930's", in Irving Abella and David Millar, editors, *The Canadian Worker In The Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 146-149.
88. Interview with Joshua Gershman, Winnipeg, November 17, 1979; Ted Allan, "Winnipeg's Joe Zuken", *Winnipeg Free Press*, Tuesday, March 30, 1976, p. 31; Norman Penner, editor, "Recollections of the Early Socialist Movement in Winnipeg: Jacob Penner's Recollections", *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, Nov., 1974, Vol. VII, No. 14, (Ottawa, 1974), pp. 366-378; Interview with William Ross, Winnipeg, February, 1977, *Winnipeg Free Press*, Wednesday, December 2, 1936, p. 3.
89. Norman Penner, *The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis* (Scarborough, 1977), pp. 146-147.
90. A.B. McKillop, "Citizen and Socialist: The Ethos of Political Winnipeg, 1919-1935", (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970), pp. 125-130, 146-147. Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 68-69.
91. "Social Reformism In Winnipeg," Communist election material in P.A.C., Abraham Heaps Papers, M.G. 27 III C 22, Vol. 2, Clippings File, 1921-41.
92. "Dirty Politics", *The Jewish Post*, Friday, November 16, 1928, p. 1.
93. For "open" immigration as an issue in a provincial election, see "Why So Quiet?" *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, June 11, 1920, p. 4. "To The Jewish Citizens", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Monday, August 20, 1926, p. 2; "To The Jews of Winnipeg and Western Canada", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, August 31, 1926, p. 2; "Farmers and Immigration", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, August 15, 1930, p. 2; "The First Practical Step of the New Government", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, August 19, 1930, p. 2; "The Oncoming Elections," *The Canadian Jewish Chronicle; The National Jewish Weekly*, Friday, July 25, 1930, Vol. XVIII, No. 10 (Montreal, 1930), p. 12.
94. Letter from A.D.W., Winnipeg, to the editor, *Dos Yiddish Vort*, Tuesday, October 27, 1925, p. 4.

95. Letter from Meighen, Ottawa, to S.L. Goldstein (Goldstine), Winnipeg, August 26, 1926, published in *Dos Yiddishe Vort*; Friday, August 27, 1926, p. 2.
96. A.L. Normandin, editor, *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1926* (Ottawa, 1926), p. 162; letter to the editor from Heaps, *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, October 23, 1923; Heaps received 4,781 votes to 3,882 for Matthew Robert Blake (Conservative) and 3,573 for the Honourable Edward James McMurray. 12,393 votes of 15,274 eligible voted. Canada, *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Fifteenth General Election 1925* (Ottawa, 1926), p. 384; Leo Heaps, *The Rebel In The House: The Life and Times of A.A. Heaps M.P.* (London, 1970), pp. 1-59; David J. Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 100, 102.
97. Leo Heaps, *The Rebel In The House: The Life and Times of A.A. Heaps, M.P.* (London, 1970), pp. 61-73; Roger Graham, *Arthur Meighen: A Biography, Volume 2, And Fortune Fled* (Toronto, Vancouver, 1963), pp. 370-386; Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet In Politics: A Biography J. S. Woodsworth*, reprinted, (Toronto, Buffalo, 1975), pp. 168-71, 218-20, 243-45, 289.
99. In the federal election of 1926 Heaps received 6,171 votes to 3,555 for Richard R. Knox (Conservative) and 2,821 for George McTavish (Liberal). 12,693 voters of 15,285 eligible voted. Canada, *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Sixteenth General Election 1926* (Ottawa, 1927), pp. 383, 548. In the federal election of 1930, Heaps received 6,907 votes, Blake (Conservative) 5,011, and Leslie Morris (Communist) 2,164. 14,313 voters of 24,781 eligible voted. Canada, *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Seventeenth General Election 1930* (Ottawa, 1931), pp. 391, 558.
100. "The Election Campaign in The North End", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, February 27, 1940, p. 2.
101. "Nobody is Certain," *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, October 8, 1935, p. 2.
102. A.A. Heaps Jewish Committee advertisement, *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, October 1, 1935, p. 4.
103. *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, October 3, 1935, p. 12; Thursday, October 10, 1935, p. 12.
104. Heaps election advertisement, "Notes From the Electoral Campaign", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, October 11, 1935, p. 5.
105. P.A.C., A.A. Heaps Papers, M.G. 27 III C 22, Volume 1, Palestine File, Letters from Isaac Rokach, Tel Aviv, April 24, 1933, to Heaps; from M.A. Marshall, Montreal, May 5, 1933, to Heaps; from Heaps, May 8, 1933, to J. Hestrin, New York City; from Hestrin, May 9, 1933, to Heaps.
106. Heaps election advertisement, "Notes from the Electoral Campaign", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, October 11, 1935, p. 5.
107. See Buck's account of a conversation with J.S. Woodsworth on running in Winnipeg North in 1935. William Beeching and Phyllis Clarke, editors, *Yours In The Struggle: Reminiscences of Tim Buck* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 254-255.
108. See footnote 99.
109. Harry Gale, "The Jewish Labour Movement in Winnipeg", Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, *First Annual Publication of The Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada: A Selection of Papers Presented in 1968-69* (Winnipeg, June, 1972); Tom Kosatsky, "The Winnipeg 'Shmatta' Business", (unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, May, 1971); Bruce Donaldson, "Sam Herbst, The I.L.G.W.U., and Winnipeg", (unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, Spring, 1976); *Winnipeg Free Press*, Tuesday, December 1, 1936, p. 8; Wednesday, December 2, 1936, p. 1.
110. *Ibid.*
111. P.A.C., S.W. Jacobs Papers, M.G. 27 III C 3, Vol. 8, p. 2909, McMurray, Winnipeg, to Jacobs, April 5, 1935.
112. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, October 1, 1935, p. 4.

113. Tim Buck advertisement, "A Jewish Radio Speech", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, October 11, 1935, p. 3.
114. Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party In Canada; A History* (Toronto, 1975), p. 94.
115. "The Federal Elections," *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, October 10, 1935, p. 2; "Liberals Gain Overwhelming Victory: Myth of 'Jewish Vote'," *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, October 17, 1935, p. 5. The newspaper continued to express opposition to Communist candidates at all levels for government office. "Are Their Faces Red", *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, March 14, 1940, p. 2. "Defeat of Communists", *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, November 28, 1940, p. 2. Buck received 7,276 votes, Booth 8,412; Heaps 12,093; and Fred Welwood, the Social Credit candidate, 905. 29,321 voters of 37,764 eligible voted. Canada, *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Eighteenth General Election 1935* (Ottawa, 1936), pp. 461-463. The Douglas Social Credit League of Winnipeg nominated Welwood at St. John's High School and called a "special Jewish meeting", on the evening of October 3, 1935 at the Talmud Torah Hall. *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, October 1, 1935, p. 1.
116. "A. A. Heaps", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, October 11, 1935, p. 4.
117. "The Election In The North End", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, October 18, 1935, p. 3.
118. Percy Ellor, a barrister, was the Conservative candidate. See the "Tribune Election Forum," *The Winnipeg Tribune*, Tuesday, March 19, 1940, p. 7.
119. This did not prevent Morris from making direct appeals to Jewish voters, as he did at the Hebrew Sick Benefit Hall. *The Winnipeg Tribune*, Tuesday, March 19, 1940, p. 1.
120. The figure of nine thousand is an estimate. In fact, the total may have been around ten thousand, a figure used by *Dos Yiddishe Vort* in 1936. "To The Ten Thousand Jewish Voters", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Wednesday, June 15, 1932, p. 2; "Ten Thousand Jewish Voters", Tuesday, July 21, 1936, p. 2. Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet In Politics; A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto, 1975) pp. 298-314. "For the Jewish people there is but one issue—the complete and thorough prosecution of the war to a successful finish. Our vote must go to those candidates who pledge themselves unreservedly to this platform . . . No one dare to be derelict in his duty to himself or to his country". *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, March 21, 1940, p. 4. See also *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Tuesday, March 19, 1940, p. 1.
121. "Brother Jews of North Winnipeg," C.S. Booth election advertisement, *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Thursday, March 21, 1940, p. 8.
122. More than one hundred men attended the pre-convention meeting of Jewish Liberal Electors in North Winnipeg", *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, February 29, 1940, p. 8, 9. Hart, Green K.C. was President of the Winnipeg North Liberal Association. *The Jewish Post*, Thursday, February 29, 1940, p. 8; Thursday, March 7, 1940, p. 10.
123. Irving Abella and Harold Troper, " 'The Line Must Be Drawn Somewhere': Canada and Jewish Refugees, 1933-39", *Canadian Historical Review*, Volume LX, Number 2, June, 1979 (Toronto, 1979), pp. 186, 192-93, 197, 202. See also letter from Yitzchak Yurman, Winnipeg, March 6, 1940, in *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, March 8, 1940, p. 5; Gerald Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism?* (Montreal and London, 1977), p. 61.
124. "Earnest Appeal in a Serious Moment to all Jewish Citizens of North Winnipeg," A.A. Heaps election advertisement, *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Thursday, March 21, 1940, p. 6.
125. *Ibid.*
126. "The Downfall of Mr. Heaps," *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, March 29, 1940, p. 3; *The North-End*, Thursday, March 7, March 21, 1940, p. 1.
127. Booth, a barrister, received 13,015 votes; Heaps 11,249; Morris, a journalist, 5,315; and Ellor, a barrister, 2,255. 32,525 voters of 42,959 eligible or 76%, voted. 69 ballots

- were rejected. Canada, *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer, Nineteenth General Election, 1940* (Ottawa, 1941), pp. XV, 473-475, 678. See also Booth advertisement, "To The Jewish Voters of North Winnipeg", *Dos Yiddishe Vort*, Friday, March 15, 1940, p. 8, and Nelson Wiseman, "A Political History of the Manitoba C.C.F.-N.D.P.," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1975), p. 129.
128. Leo Heaps, *The Rebel In The House: The Life and Times of A.A. Heaps, M.P.* (London, 1970), p. 161.
 129. S.D. Clark, *The New Urban Poor* (Toronto, Montreal, 1978), p. 1.
 130. Joseph Zuken, "The Effect of the Depression on the Jewish Community of Winnipeg", (unpublished paper delivered to The Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, Winnipeg, November 18, 1975).