

CANADIAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JOURNAL

SOCIÉTÉ DE L'HISTOIRE JUIVE CANADIENNE

VOLUME 4 NUMBER 1



AVIV 5740

SPRING 1980



PRINTEMPS 1980

The Journal of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society is published semi-annually in April and October.

Annual subscription to the Journal is \$6.00 per year for individuals. An institutional subscription is \$15.00, which includes 3 copies of each issue.

The Journal welcomes submissions for publication. All articles must be typed, double spaced, and fully documented and sent for consideration to the Editor, c/o Congregation Beth El, 2525 Mark Avenue, Windsor, Ontario, Canada N9E 2W2.

The Canadian Jewish Historical Society disclaims responsibility for statements of fact or of opinion made by contributors.

Jonathan V. Plaut, *Editor*

Stephen Speisman, *Contributing Editor*

OFFICERS

W. Victor Sefton, Toronto

—*President*

A. Myer Freedman (Pacific), Vancouver; Evelyn Miller (Eastern), Montreal; Rabbi Dr. Jonathan V. Plaut (Central), Windsor; Dr. I. Wolch (Western), Winnipeg.

—*Regional Vice-Presidents*

Abraham J. Arnold, Winnipeg

—*Secretary*

Sidney Green, Ottawa

—*Treasurer*

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Nathan Arkin, Winnipeg

Dr. David Eisen, Toronto

Harry Gale, Winnipeg

Harry Gutkin, Winnipeg

Judge Sydney M. Harris,
Toronto

Dorothy Hershfield, Winnipeg

B. G. Kayfetz, Toronto

David E. Newman, Q.C., Toronto

Esther Nisenholt, Winnipeg

Alan Rose, Montreal

Rachel L., Smiley,
Quebec

Dr. Stephen Speisman, Toronto

PRINTED IN CANADA
SUMNER PRESS, 1980
COVER DESIGN BY SARA SHAW

©COPYRIGHT 1980
Canadian Jewish Historical Society

**Canadian Jewish Historical
 Society
 Journal
 Société de l'Histoire
 juive canadienne**

VOLUME 4

SPRING 1980

NUMBER 1

	PAGE
BEN KAYFETZ	
Saul Hayes — A Tribute	1
MOSHE S. STERN	
Communal Problem Solving: The Winnipeg <i>Va-ad Ha-ir</i> , 1946	4
ABRAHAM J. ARNOLD	
The Jewish Farm Settlements Of Saskatchewan: From New Jerusalem to Edenbridge	25
HENRY TRACHTENBERG	
The Winnipeg Jewish Community In The Inter-War Period, 1919-1939: Anti-Semitism and Politics	44
ROZ USISKIN	
Continuity and Change: The Jewish Experience in Winnipeg's North End. 1900 - 1914	71
BOOK REVIEW	
Stephen A. Speisman The Jews Of Toronto: A History To 1937	95
Reviewed by J.M.S. Careless	



Saul Hayes

Photograph by *Howard Kay*
Courtesy of the *Canadian Jewish News*

Saul Hayes — A Tribute

BEN KAYFETZ

Résumé

Sans vouloir contredire feu Maurice Samuel qui écrit un livre intitulé: "The Gentleman and the Jew" dans lequel il opposait l'idéal de galanterie des chevaliers du Moyen-Age aux valeurs que l'on associe à l'idéal du Juif tel: la compassion, la recherche de la paix et de la dignité et celle de la vie humaine, force m'est de reconnaître que lorsque nous parlons de feu Saul Hayes décédé en janvier 1980, nul ne peut s'empêcher de considérer qu'il y eut paradoxalement en lui cette proportion idéale du juste mélange de "Gentleman" et de l'être Juif. Bien que direct, il était et fut courtois. Quelque désagréable qu'ait dû être le message qu'il avait à formuler, nul n'en ignorait le sens car sa façon d'être ne cachait pas sa pensée.

Il avait un sens aigu des responsabilités tant envers le Judaïsme au Canada qu'envers les Juifs vivant à l'étranger.

Quelles que soient les circonstances, tristes ou gaies, M. Hayes était un homme imprégné d'humour et de traits d'esprits. Un appel téléphonique banal avait le don de tourner en véritable plaisir de l'esprit, agrémenté de citations en anglais, en français ou en latin ou tout simplement d'un Sage Juif.

M. Saul Hayes fut un vrai, un grand Montréalais. Il n'oublia jamais toutefois qu'il était uni au reste du Canada.

Il n'est que justice que de lui rendre cet hommage dans notre journal d'histoire.

Le trépas de Saul Hayes, âgé de 73 ans, nous a tous gravement atteint. Sans contredit, il fut l'être exceptionnel qui a bâti une communauté toute entière, il en fut l'artisan, le maître d'armes et le titan, celui qui a donné ses enseignements semant à tous les vents. Une communauté en est née. Elle continue de se débattre dans l'ombre de ce géant.

Maurice Samuel once wrote a book entitled "The Gentleman and the Jew" suggesting that the European chivalric ideal of the gentleman, stemming as it did from the values of the feudal Middle Ages based on the cult

of the soldier and the mystique of militarism, was inconsistent with the values we associate with the Jew and Judaism: compassion, the pursuit of peace and the dignity and worth of individual human life: that the two were incompatible.

Without any intention of contradicting the late Maurice Samuel for whose writings I have a profound admiration and respect, taking the word “gentleman” in the context of the residual connotations it has acquired, shorn of its more brutalized historic origins, Saul Hayes, whose loss we mourned in January of this year, combined the concepts of gentleman and Jew in an ideal mingling of proportions. He was polished yet direct. One never was in doubt of his meaning, as his manner never concealed his thought, however unpalatable his message might have to be. He was compassionate, not only in the public endeavours which he led and directed but in his very own private and personal life. Once in the 1950’s I mentioned the name of an elderly couple I had worked with in Ottawa in the wartime Censorship. I learned from his reply that he knew them, that the husband had died, the widow was ill and alone and Saul was trying to find some shelter and assistance for her — all within his greatly overburdened agenda. He had a keen sense of responsibility for his total constituency — Canadian Jewry — as well as for Jews abroad. Above all, whatever the circumstances, in sorrow as well as in joy, he was a man of humour and wit. A conversation with him, however casual, in his office or on the phone between Toronto and Montreal was an intellectual treat, chock-full of literary allusions, quotations from sources in English, French or Latin or from a Jewish sage — not out of pedantry but of sheer saturation with the writings of the ages.

In this cosmopolitan manner and his Gallic air Saul was a true Montrealer. But he never forgot that he was linked with the rest of Canada. One of his favourite expressions was an allusion to the ever present Canadian *Mariposa*, the counterpart of the shtetl — when a proposal was projected he would often say: “what will they say about it Vegreville?”

It is not unfitting that this tribute should appear in an historical journal for though we know of Saul’s interest in archival matters, how many of us know that what was to be his first appearance in print, frustrated unfortunately by circumstances, was of an historical nature? In 1928, Mac-Millan of Canada was preparing for publication the Master’s thesis Saul had written at the University of Toronto entitled “An Economic History of Canada”. The announcement under “Forthcoming Books” appeared in

the jacket of a volume of MacMillan that came into my possession many years later. But where was the book? I asked Saul and he explained that it never saw the light of day as his father's sudden and early death had upset all his plans and the book never appeared.

Saul's death at 73 deprived us all seriously. There was so much he knew, so much that he had to convey to us of his experience and insights of his communications, his contacts with the great and the less, with government and community, with Jewish leadership the world over, so much that we wanted to know and needed to know that only he was privy to. We can only mourn his departure and be thankful that we had the good fortune to have him as our guide and counsel these many years.

Communal Problem Solving: The Winnipeg *VA'AD HA-IR* 1946¹

DR. M. S. STERN

Résumé

Dans cette étude faite par le Dr. M.S. Stern, l'auteur tentera de faire une évaluation en trois temps des événements et des facteurs qui menèrent en 1946, à la formation du Conseil Unifié de la Ville (c'est-à-dire: le *Va'ad Ha-ir*). Cette agence communautaire est responsable de la gestion de la surveillance du personnel ainsi que de l'entretien et de la certification de normes honnêtes concernant la cacheroute.

De fait, un des aspects les plus épineux de l'activité communautaire juive de Winnipeg, a résidé dans l'approvisionnement d'alimentation religieusement reconnue (c'est-à-dire cachère). Les connaissances techniques conformes à la Halacha en vue de conserver des normes appropriées conformes aux nombreuses étapes de la préparation des aliments — particulièrement la viande cachère — exigent des aptitudes professionnelles. Ces professionnels ont par tradition oeuvré comme travailleurs communautaires ou comme des employés.

Malgré cela, la surveillance de la production et de l'approvisionnement en aliments cachers à Winnipeg, a été discutée de manière constante et suivie tant par le secteur commercial que par le secteur communautaire ou privé. La confrontation de ces deux groupes d'intérêts divergents a donné depuis le début du siècle, une poussée à une tension presque continue et à des tentatives fréquentes de compromis sans succès.

Un rapide examen des raisons des échecs subis au cours des premiers essais visent à créer une atmosphère d'assurance communautaire pendant que l'encouragement au développement d'une certaine harmonie entre les intérêts des secteurs privé et public fournira des critères utiles afin de mieux servir la nature et le but de la structure du *Va'ad*.

En dernier point, l'auteur, dans son étude, alors qu'il se réfère aux structures utilisées et mises en place à des époques antécédentes de la vie juive communautaire, cherche à donner un aperçu très fin et pénétrant du

processus de résolution d'un problème de la communauté juive dans un contexte canadien.

This paper will attempt to explore the events and factors which led, in 1946, to the formation of the United City Council (*Va'ad Ha-ir*), a communal agency charged with the administration of clerical supervision and the maintenance and certification of honest standards of Kashruth.²

Indeed, one of the most fragile aspects of Jewish communal activity in Winnipeg has been the provision of religiously sanctioned (i.e. *kosher*) food. The halakhic expertise essential to maintain appropriate standards at the many stages of food preparation, especially in the provision of kosher meat, requires professional involvement. These professionals have traditionally functioned as communal workers/officials. Yet, the control of the production and provision of kosher foods in Winnipeg has consistently been disputed by both the communal and private commercial sectors. The confrontation of these two interest groups has, since the early years of this century, given rise to almost continuous tension and frequent unsuccessful attempts at resolution.

An examination of the reasons for the failure of earlier attempts at creating an atmosphere of communal assurance while fostering harmony between private and public interests will provide some useful criteria for understanding the nature and purpose of the *Va'ad* structure. Finally, by reference to structures developed and used in earlier periods of Jewish communal life, the paper will seek some insight into the process of Jewish communal problem solving in the Canadian context.

I

In May of 1946 a group of three rabbis, executive members of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, were invited to Winnipeg to seek a settlement of the long standing community division in the area of Kashrut supervision and certification.³ At that time there existed two major groups providing meat or meat products to the Jewish community. There were butchers who were organized under the *Kehilla* Committee whose *Makhshir** authority was exercised by a board con-

*The responsibility for overseeing the entire processing of kosher meat or other foodstuffs, testing and certifying the qualifications of the personnel, and making authoritative halakhic determinations belongs to the certifying rabbi (*Makhshir*). This may be an individual or a rabbinic board, a private rabbinic citizen or a community appointed official.

sisting of Rabbi's Horowitz and Herson. There also existed a Retail Kosher Butchers Association who, together with the Chicago Kosher Sausage Company, were providing meat under Rabbi M. Schwartzman as *Makhshir*. These two groups were not merely business competitors, however; each sought, through condemnation of the other, to be viewed as the sole moral authority of the community.⁴

There is no lack of potential abuses in the system upon which to focus questions of integrity. The *Shohet** for example, must not only be qualified when initially engaged but must also maintain a high degree of physical dexterity. As he gets older it may prove progressively more difficult to do a proper job. Yet, at a time when pension and retirement plans were unknown there would be a natural tendency to protect one's livelihood and cover up any deficiencies in the slaughter. Similar situations could arise, to one degree or another, with other functionaries. Further, all of the professionals involved in the processing of kosher meat were totally dependent, for their wages, on the purveyors of the meat. Not even the supervising rabbis were drawing a regular and living wage from any communal body nor did they have the prospect of any retirement wage.⁵

On the commercial side, moreover, there exists even greater potentialities for abuse. Kosher meat must, of necessity, be priced higher than non-kosher meat of the same quality. This cost factor is generated by a number of causes. There is, first of all, the cost of the extra personnel. The presence of a *bodeq*** for example, is not required for non-kosher kill. The slaughter itself is much slower for kosher production. Jewish law does not allow prior stunning of the animal, a device that enables non-kosher slaughterers to handle a few animals at once. The *shohet* must deal with one animal at a time. The nature of the cutting stroke, as required by Halakha, reduces the amount and quality of hide that can be sold later.

*Jewish law requires that animals intended for kosher use must be slaughtered in a very specific fashion. The *shohet* (ritual slaughterer) needs be a God-fearing man who, thoroughly versed in that part of the halakhic literature which pertains to *shehita* (ritual slaughter), has been licensed by a competent rabbinic authority.

**After slaughter it is necessary to examine the animal for internal or external blemish or injury which would, within a one year period, have proven fatal to the animal. If such a defect is uncovered the meat of the animal is forbidden. Certain organs which are most often affected by such injuries (e.g. the lungs) must be checked in each case. This post-slaughter examination, which obviously requires a basic knowledge of the animal's anatomy and pathology, is done by a *bodeq* (examiner). This function is often combined with that of the *shohet*.

Further, many animals that are killed in this manner, at a higher production cost, are found to be blemished in such a manner as to preclude their use for kosher consumption. These rejected animals, if not also rejected by the government inspector, are then sold to the non-kosher wholesaler at a price equal to the regular slaughter. This extra production cost must be absorbed by the meat that does meet the standard. Finally, even if the slaughter is thoroughly proper, and the animal is cleared of any blemish or injury, the hindquarters are not used for kosher consumption. As in the case of the rejected animal, the hindquarters are sold on the non-kosher market and the production costs are added to the cost of the front quarters.⁶

These cost factors are an obvious justification for a cost differential. The inherent temptation, however, is to use, to whatever extent, meat that is not up to standard. This sub-standard meat, priced then at the kosher level, would greatly increase the margin of profit.

There are no recorded instances of such abuses being proven in 1946. There were, however, constant accusations. The average layman was not in a position to judge whether the integrity of Kashrut had indeed been violated, or by whom. He was able, none the less, to question a system which seemed to be "a sordid source of personal petty mercenary politics".⁷ Many Winnipeg Jews felt that the organized community structure owed them the protection of an impartial, untainted supervision.⁸

It was within this context that Winnipeg's two broadly based, generally secular, communal organizations, the Jewish Welfare Fund and the Western Division of the Canadian Jewish Congress, extended an invitation to the rabbinical Union to dispatch an impartial panel to investigate and suggest a resolution.⁹ The Union dispatched three of its distinguished leaders: Rabbis Seltzer (New York), Rosen (Passaic, New Jersey), and Rif (Camden, New Jersey). On May 28, after a week of meetings with all the concerned parties, the panel issued a document outlining a resolution which was, in general terms, acceptable to all factions.¹⁰ This document, the contents of which were never made a matter of public record, can shed light on the issues, at least as seen by these outside observers.

After acknowledging the invitation which brought them, and citing the principals involved, the document asserted that the basic precondition of any workable resolution to the conflict was the attainment of a united rabbinic. They recommended, therefore, the establishment of a United Rabbinical Council, to consist of Rabbis Horowitz, Herson, and Schwartzman. Rabbi Horowitz would serve as Chief Rabbi, having com-

plete jurisdiction on the issuance of all Jewish divorce decrees. In the area of Kashruth, however, the three rabbis would participate together and decisions of importance would require agreement of all three. Were the rabbis unable to come to a consensus, the matter under contention would be referred to the Kashruth Council (*Va'ad Ha-Kashrut*).

The Kashruth Council would be the lay body charged with the administration of Kashruth. The composition and selection of this group was not spelled out. The intention seems to have been a broadly based group drawn from the city's religiously oriented organizations and institutions. This lay body would then elect an executive committee which would carry the operational responsibility for the structure. The semi-clerical functionaries, (e.g. the *shohet*) engaged in the production and processing of Kosher meat would be in the employ of the Kashruth Council and under the joint supervision of the Kashruth Council and the Rabbinat.

The financial administration of this structure, including a one cent tax on each pound of Kosher meat and on the payroll of all professional personnel, would be the responsibility of a Finance Committee composed of three members appointed by the old *Kehilla*, one member appointed by the management of the Chicago Kosher Company, two members from the Canadian Jewish Congress, two from the Welfare Fund, and two from the Retail Kosher Butchers Association. The industry would thus play a key role in the day to day operation of the structure. The Finance Committee would, according to the document, be responsible and answerable to the Kashruth Council Executive.

The main body of the document ends with the acknowledgement of Mr. Averbach's (i.e. Chicago Kosher Sausage Co.) undertakings to place his firm completely under the supervision of the Kashruth Council and the united rabbinat, and not to establish or support, as had been the situation in the past, any rival authority. The reference is the invitation, in response to which Rabbi Schwartzman came to Winnipeg to undertake duties as a *Makhshir*, which, following a disagreement with the then Chief Rabbi L. L. Kahanovitch, was extended by a group in which Mr. Averbach was a leading member.¹¹

There is an appendix following the main text. Most of it relates to operational standards which, as is evident from their appearance here, were not prior policy in one or both of the separate operations. (a) There were to be two *shohetim* present on the killing floor when the slaughtering is done. Each *shohet* was to check his blade after each animal. After each seven or eight animals the *shohet* must check and sharpen his blade and

have it inspected by his partner. Thus there will be constant supervision of the propriety of the kill*. (b) If there was need of an additional *shohet*, the Makhshir should not, except in the most exceptional and temporary circumstances, undertake that role. The reason behind this clause is unclear, since Jewish tradition does not prohibit such an arrangement. Its purpose might have been to protect the security of the *shohet* or to avoid a confrontation between the members of the rabbinical council. (c) All meat which came from the abattoir after being properly slaughtered and examined had to carry the stamp of the United Rabbinical Council. Similarly, all fowl that had been processed and approved for kosher consumption had to carry the rabbinical stamp. This procedure allowed for identification of the product after it arrived and was stocked in either the retail establishment or processed meat factory. (d) Any retail meat dealer whose establishment was open and operating on the Sabbath must, without exception, be denied Kashruth certification. Similarly, the community in general, and the Welfare Fund in particular, were assigned the obligation of preventing the delivery of meat from the abattoirs to the retail establishments on the Sabbath. In those years the butchers did not have more than ice coolers and would want, therefore, to take delivery of Friday's kill for sale after the Sabbath (i.e. Saturday night). This insistence on Sabbath observance as part of Kashruth regulation is consistent with the traditional identification of public non-observance of the Sabbath as a clear indication of a person's lack of reliability in all matters of Jewish ritual.¹² (e) The salaries of all professional personnel (rabbi, *shohetim*, etc.) were to be paid by the Finance Committee. The salaries of the rabbis were set, in the document, at two hundred dollars a month for each. Rabbi Schwartzman was to receive an additional one hundred dollars each month as before, for which he would have extra supervisory responsibilities. The evidence would seem to indicate that an agreement was reached whereby Rabbi Schwartzman would continue to carry out the day to day supervision of the Chicago Kosher Sausage operation as he had since coming to Winnipeg. The other members of the Council would have access for inspections and share the titular responsibility.

Finally, the last clause of the appendix, and perhaps the most important one, assigned to the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Welfare Fund the responsibility for execution and maintenance of this system. Those

*The Makhshir is required from time to time, to check the *shohet's* blade but he need not be present whenever the *shohet* is working.

organizations which had initiated the process of resolution were called upon to take an active and continuing role in its perpetration.

After the rabbinic panel had left, the Welfare Fund and Congress convened a meeting of the various factions at which the agreement in principle was transformed into a workable reality.¹³ The result was a United Rabbinic Council (*Va'ad Ha-Rabbanim*) as outlined above, and a single lay board to be called the City Council (*Va'ad Ha'ir*). The lay group would consist of members appointed by or elected from the Welfare Fund, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Retail Kosher Butchers Association, The *Kehilla*, and the Chicago Kosher Sausage Company. Leaders of major Jewish organizations, other than those already involved, and synagogues were not officially represented.

On the first of July, 1946 the *Va'ad Ha'ir* began operation with the following members:

- Y. Averbach (Chicago Kosher Sausage Co. Ltd.)
- M. Buchalter (*Kehilla*)
- J. Dveris (Retail Kosher Butchers Association)
- S. Kanee (Canadian Jewish Congress)
- R. J. Kimmel (Welfare Fund)
- B. Sheps (Canadian Jewish Congress)
- J. Shochet (*Kehilla*)
- D. Slater (Welfare Fund)
- J. Wolinsky (*Kehilla*)
- M. Zipursky (Retail Kosher Butchers Association)

David Slater, president of the Welfare Fund, was elected Chairman and served in that capacity for more than a decade.¹⁴

II

Communal controversy in the area of kashruth did not first arise in the forties, nor was the formation of the *Va'ad Ha'ir* in 1946 the first attempt at its resolution. As soon as the number of settlers permitted, the Jewish communities of Western Canada made vigorous efforts to engage the personnel required to satisfy the basic religious needs of its members.¹⁵ Among these functionaries were those required to provide Kosher meat, first and foremost the *shohet*. By the end of the first decade of this century dissatisfaction and agitation, in this area, had become manifest.

While a great number of the early Jewish settlers in Winnipeg were observant, many to the point of being prepared to endure much economic hardship, few were well educated in Judaic literature.¹⁶ This low level of Jewish literacy also characterized many of the religious functionaries of that era. A picture of this situation is clearly drawn in a letter from Calgary published in Winnipeg's *Canadian Israelite* on 3 November 1911. The writer describes the state of that Western community's religious leadership. The rabbi supplements his income by selling real-estate on the Sabbath and is even deficient in his knowledge of basic liturgical forms. The *shohet*, he asserts, does not know the rudimentary laws of proper ritual slaughter. Confirmation of this man's observations is given in another letter, written by Rabbi Cohen of Montreal, in which it is suggested that the *shohtim* in small communities should be placed under the supervision of the nearest competent rabbi.¹⁷

In Winnipeg there was a competent orthodox rabbi, I. I. Kahanovitch. Having been ordained at the great rabbinical academy of Slabodka (Lithuania) he was brought to Winnipeg in 1906 to undertake the religious leadership of the orthodox community.¹⁸ One of his earliest efforts was the organization and supervision of the processing of meat for kosher consumption. In 1911, however, a butcher, having made arrangements with one of the abattoirs, instituted an operation independent of the earlier established *Va'ad Ha-Shehita* (Ritual Slaughter Committee). Rabbi Kahanovitch invited the *shohet*, who had been engaged for this operation, to present his blades for inspection (i.e. to place himself under the rabbi's jurisdiction for certification and supervision). When the *shohet* refused to answer this invitation the rabbi placed his slaughter under a ban. This triggered the first of Winnipeg's major kashruth conflicts.

There were some in the community who were unhappy with Rabbi Kahanovitch's vigorous drive for centralized control of the religious apparatus and with what they considered to be the inflated price of kosher meat. When the dispute over the independent meat operation became a matter of public knowledge these people joined in and claimed that Rabbi Kahanovitch had acted unjustly. In an attempt to end the controversy before it got out of hand, a group of concerned citizens formed the *Hezqath Yahaduth* (Society for the Strengthening of Judaism) and with funds raised for this purpose, invited Rabbi A. Ashinsky of Petersburg to come to Winnipeg, investigate the situation and render an impartial rabbinic judgment.

After an intensive period of investigation Rabbi Ashinsky found that Rabbi Kahanovitch had acted in a most proper manner and that all elements of the community should submit to his judgment in matters pertaining to supervision and certification of kashruth. He also recommended that a *Kehilla* (community council) structure be formed by the lay community which would, together with the rabbinate, oversee and coordinate the entire range of organized communal activity. Aside from the efficiency such a system might engender, the support of the rabbinate by a broadly based and involved lay body would do much to prevent the disruption and acrimony of communal strife.¹⁹

The judgment and the recommendation were not accepted by the opposition. Led by some executive members of the *Hevra Mishnayoth* congregation, the opposition initiated a campaign to challenge Rabbi Kahanovitch's authority. They invited a number of rabbis to come to Winnipeg to serve as their leader. Finally, in October of 1912 they announced the arrival of Rabbi Y. Y. Gorodsky of Russia. After being formally charged as rabbi of the Sephardic rite Synagogues* in November, 1912, Rabbi Gorodsky became the figure around which Rabbi Kahanovitch's opponents rallied.²⁰

The dispute raged, with ever increasing accusations and recriminations, about the inflated prices of meat and inadequate supervision, until a settlement was finally achieved in September of 1915. As the Jewish population increased and became more economically secure it became clear that the Orthodox Community could, in any case, no longer be served by one rabbi. Rabbi Kahanovitch was awarded the title of Chief Rabbi and, together with the other rabbis, attempted to fulfill his duties while maintaining communal unity.²¹

A lay structure was developed to administer the supervision and certification of kashruth. This body, called the *Va'ad Ha-ir*, operated until 1933, providing clerical resources and financial administration. Its formation and operation did not, however, resolve the underlying conflict. It is not surprising, therefore, that, by the late twenties, the community had again factionalized.

A group of dissident laymen organized a rival supervisory body which they called the *City Committee*. They processed their own meat and at-

*The true Sephardic rite is that of Jews whose origins are traced to medieval Spain. In this case, however, the Sephardic rite relates to that liturgical custom prevalent in those sections of Eastern Europe whose Jewish population identified with the hasidic movement.

tracted a few retail butchers. The *Va'ad Ha-ir* operated with the sanction of a rabbinical board consisting of Rabbis Kahanovitch (chief rabbi), Horowitz and Zilberstein. The City Committee invited a series of rabbis to come to Winnipeg as their *Makhshir*. While, for reasons that remain shrouded, most of these rabbis did not long remain in Winnipeg, the City Committee finally engaged Rabbi Chayyim Herson to serve in that capacity. Rabbi Herson arrived in 1930 and, with the City Committee's having legitimized itself with the authority of a *Makhshir*, the kashruth controversy became, once again, a highly charged cause of communal disruption.²²

On December 8, 1930 a meeting was called in the Jewish community to discuss the financial crisis of the *Talmud Torah**. It was suggested that some financial relief for Jewish education might be derived from a tax on kosher meat. The controversy between the two kashruth factions was so charged, however, that it became, with the mention of kosher meat, the prime topic of debate at this meeting. The meeting formed a committee of fifteen, and charged them to find a means of resolving the contest while also examining the possibilities of deriving financial aid for the school from a levy on kosher meat.²³

The Committee of Fifteen, chaired by one of Winnipeg's leading Jewish citizens, M. J. Finkelstein, examined the kashruth situation in a series of meetings over a four week period. Mr. Finkelstein then called for the organizational and institutional delegates of the initial meeting to reconvene on January 7, 1931, to receive the committee's report. The meeting, however, had to be postponed. When the delegates arrived at the *Talmud Torah* building they found an outpouring of over two thousand people whose interest in the kashruth situation was so great that they insisted on being present to hear the committee's report. Many of the delegates, as well as private citizens, could not even gain entry into the building. The committee decided, however, that, while postponing the official delivery of the report, they should, nonetheless, share their findings with those present.²⁴

In reading and explaining the report, the chairman indicated that the Committee had held seven sessions during which they interviewed the rabbis, as well as representatives of the *Va'ad Ha-ir*, the City Committee, the

*The *Talmud Torah*, the Winnipeg Hebrew School, was an institution that provided, in the afternoon, a program of traditional parochial education as a supplement to the city's secular public school education.

ladies' auxiliary of the City Committee, the abattoirs, the Jewish wholesale meat dealers, the retail butchers of the *Va'ad Ha-ir*, the retail butchers of the City Committee, and the Talmud Torah. After hearing the testimony and considering the evidence they formulated a report which was unanimously approved by all members with the exception of the Committee's vice-chairman, Dr. B. J. Ginsburg, and Mr. A. Rosenbaum who were absent from the Committee's last session.

The report begins with findings of fact concerning the finances, both income and expenditure, of the current kashruth structure and a projection of possible surplus income should the duplication of two separate bodies be eliminated. They also found that "the regrettable dispute now pending between the *Va'ad Ha-ir* and the City Committee has reached such a bitter stage that it is absolutely impossible to establish any *shalom* (peace) between the parties or arrange for their amalgamation or induce either to withdraw in order that the other might function alone".

Based on these findings the Committee recommended that "an entirely new and authoritative body be established in the Jewish community" to take charge of kosher meat, and that both existing structures be disbanded. Further, this new body should be a standing committee of a permanent conference established to direct and/or coordinate all general community affairs. This community council, membership on which would be based on representation of all communal societies and institutions, would serve to eliminate waste and inefficiency, be the spokesman for the local community, and foster an atmosphere of communal unity. Its standing committees, aside from the one dealing with Kashruth, would handle such matters as the endorsation and supervision of charity fund raising and, should such be agreed upon, the formation and supervision of a federated communal budget. The new council would be in Jewish communal life what "a parliament is in a nation or the city council is in a municipality".²⁵

The report of the Committee of Fifteen evoked great interest in all segments of the Jewish community and beyond. In the press the reaction was focused on the implications of a central community structure. The *Manitoba Free Press*, for example, reported the January ninth meeting under the headline, "Jewish People of City Planning to Have Parliament".²⁶ The editorial comments in the Jewish press were intense but mixed. While part of the community was intrigued by the idea and supported its immediate implementation, there were many who were afraid that it was both inappropriate for a Jewish community in a country

like Canada and potentially destructive to the independence and integrity of existing organizations and institutions.²⁷

The idea was not to die. The realities of Jewish communal life in Winnipeg fostered its development, in stages, until the formation of the Jewish Community Council of Winnipeg in the seventies. Clearly, however, it was not, as some had hoped, capable of quick realization. Meanwhile, the kashruth problem remained unresolved.

While the community was debating the merits of community reorganization Dr. B. J. Ginsberg, vice-chairman of the Committee of Fifteen, issued a public dissent from the Committee's recommendations. He noted his feeling that the Committee went beyond its mandate and, furthermore, did not adequately examine the claims and counterclaims of the two kashruth factions. The cause of communal unity, he asserted, would not be served by the introduction of yet a third faction. He recommended, therefore, that a 'Peace Committee' be struck to negotiate a settlement between the current contestants.²⁸

Dr. Ginsberg then hosted a meeting attended by some of the leaders of the two factions. Motivated, perhaps, by a desire to see a settlement reached within the existing structures, the leaders in attendance agreed to a point-by-point settlement. The *Va'ad Ha-ir* ratified the agreement and the City Committee announced that it would present the terms for ratification at a forthcoming meeting of its constituents.²⁹ Following shortly after the City Committee's agreement, Rabbis Kahanovitch, Horowitz and Zilberstein issued a public statement in which they indicated their willingness to work with any lay body so long as it was broadly accepted by the Jewish community. They also stated that, given the destructiveness of the present controversy and the long period of time required to set up a comprehensive community structure, they could not support the Community Council plan.³⁰ It was with the apparent concurrence of all factions, therefore, that the delegates of the original December 1930 conference reconvened on the ninth of February 1931 and formed a composite kashruth body which they named 'the Jewish City Committee'. Surprisingly, however, the immediate result was renewed dissension, opposition and accusations of partisanship. The Jewish City Committee was stillborn and the two factions continued to function as before.³¹

Finally, in May of 1933, M. J. Finkelstein undertook to chair a 'Peace Committee' consisting of general community leaders and partisans of both the *Va'ad Ha-ir* and the City Committee. Realizing that the com-

munity could not tolerate the increased hostility much longer and that many young people were reluctant to undertake positions of communal responsibility in such an atmosphere, the various parties agreed to a settlement.³² Jewish organizations and institutions were invited to appoint delegates to a "peace" conference to be held on June seventh.³³

When the "peace" conference was convened on June 7, 1933, there were one hundred and nineteen delegates in attendance. Thirteen were members of the 'Peace Committee' including leaders of both the *Va'ad Ha-ir* and the City Committee; twelve delegates represented the community at large and had been elected at a mass meeting the week before; and two delegates came from each of seventeen synagogues and thirty Jewish organizations. Mr. M. J. Finkelstein presided.

This delegate assembly ratified the agreement worked out by the "Peace Committee" and established thereby a new kashruth agency to replace both the *Va'ad Ha-ir* and the City Committee. The new agency was entitled *Kehilla d'ir Winnipeg* (Community Council of Winnipeg*) and was to consist of two delegates from each synagogue; two delegates from each local Jewish organization having at least twenty-five members and having been in existence for at least one year; twelve delegates at large to be elected at a public meeting called for that purpose; and, finally, the thirteen members of the Peace Committee. This permanent conference, the *Kehilla*, would be run by an executive of thirty-seven members, thirteen of whom would be the members of the Peace Committee.³

The mandate given the *Kehilla* was that it would, "among other things", have jurisdiction over kosher meat. The first *Kehilla* meeting took place on the seventh of July. The rabbinical sanction was established. The *Makhshir* function would be the responsibility of a board consisting of Rabbis Kahanovitch, Herson, Horowitz and Zilberstein. Rabbi Kahanovitch would be recognized as the Chief Rabbi. The day to day operations would be the responsibility of a *Va'ad Ha-Kashrut* (Kashruth Board) consisting of all the rabbis and a group of laymen. The chairman was not to be from among the rabbis. All certification cards and fees therefrom were to belong exclusively to the *Kehilla*. Rabbi Kahanovitch, however, could retain his certification fee from the Warsaw Sausage factory for a one year period, after which it too would belong to the *Kehilla*.

*So as not to confuse this body with the community wide organization of the seventies, all references in this paper will cite it as the *Kehilla*.

The *Kehilla* also established, at this meeting, the rabbis' salaries. Rabbi Kahanovitch, as Chief Rabbi, was to receive, a monthly stipend of one hundred and thirty-five dollars (\$135). The other rabbis would each receive seventy-five dollars (\$75) monthly. This was, incidentally, a sacrifice on the part of the rabbis. According to the information given by the *Va'ad Ha-ir* officials to the Committee of Fifteen in 1931, Rabbi Kahanovitch was receiving a monthly salary of three hundred dollars (\$300) and Rabbis Horowitz and Zilberstein each received two hundred dollars (\$200). The *Kehilla* did state, however, that in all areas of rabbinical service other than Kashruth the rabbis were free agents.³⁵

In July of 1933, therefore, the *Va'ad Ha-ir* and the City Committee did, in fact, cease operation, ceding their jurisdictions to the *Kehilla*. The Jewish community, beginning to fear for their European brethren, looked forward to a new era of communal harmony. This, however, was not to be. By 1937 some of the retail butchers, along with the management of the Chicago Kosher Sausage Company, had founded the Beth Judah Congregation (popularly known as the 'butchers' synagogue) and, shortly thereafter, invited Rabbi Meyer Schwartzman to Winnipeg to serve as their *Makhshir*.³⁶ In this manner was the scene staged for the events of 1946.

III

From the first, each attempt to resolve the kashruth problem prior to 1946 evoked, from some, the view that such a resolution could only be effected as part of the organization and structuring of a central community body which would direct and/or coordinate all aspects of Jewish communal life. This view, the best articulation of which was in the report of the Committee of Fifteen (1931), used as its model the Eastern European communities whence most Winnipeg Jews came.

The Jewish communities of Eastern Europe had a long history of communal autonomy. The tendency of governments to deal with Jews corporately encouraged, at times necessitated, the development of an extensively organized and powerfully sanctioned communal authority. Such community structures, on a local or regional level, became so important to the internal life of the Jewish populations that they survived, in great measure, the removal of external sanction in the nineteenth century.³⁷

As for kashruth, in the decades preceding the mass emmigration of eastern European Jews to North America the communal authorities exercised an almost monopolistic control over all ritual slaughter and, by ex-

tension, sale of kosher meat. The first records of organized communal control over *shehita* come from tenth century Palestine and Egypt.³⁸ Nonetheless, it remained a basically domestic affair which was, like all else in medieval Jewish life, under varying degrees of general communal supervision. There exist, in fact, both medieval and early modern records of Christian butchers who employed *shohetim*, under communal supervision, to prepare meat for Jewish customers. In some communities, as late as 1789, slaughtering rights were purchased from a local community and the *shohet* operated as a semi-private businessman. As the medieval period gave way to the early modern, however, there was a marked tendency for the *shohet* to become a public official, appointed and paid by the organized community. The *shohet* had to be licensed by one or more rabbis after a careful examination, theoretical and practical. This practice, however, became ever more regulated by explicit communal statute. The Lithuanian Council, for example, prescribed annual examinations with renewal of licenses triennially and examination of the *shohet's* knives at least weekly. Even with these controls there did erupt, from time to time, disputes between the local rabbi and the *shohet* and between two rabbinical examiners and their lay supporters. Such incidents have to be expected in the context of institutionalized ritual, especially where financial overtones are present. There was, nonetheless, an overall control over the process exercised by law officials.³⁹

The overall leadership of the community remained in lay hands. The community rabbis of eastern Europe had almost uncontested authority in purely ritualistic areas and, through the nineteenth century, enjoyed a social standing not matched by anyone in the community. Yet they were still salaried officials of the community, and those areas of kashruth which were not purely ritualistic were indeed subject to the control of lay officials. In Cracow, for example, a large sized Polish community, there were four supervisors responsible for trade in ritual meat and wine. In Leszno, a medium sized community, there were two elected supervisors.⁴⁰

The area of meat process and sale was most stringently controlled by communal authorities for good reason. By the eighteenth century the tax on kosher meat had become the main source of communal funding (as well as one of the most effective means used by the Russian authorities to tax the Jews).⁴¹ Any kashruth dispute that went unchecked would have resulted in a disruption of communal income. Such a disruption could well have undermined the entire fiscal integrity of the community resulting in a breakdown of educational and charitable services. Close communal con-

trol on kashruth, then, assured the consumer that halakhic standards would be met while providing, in the form of indirect taxation, for the fiscal resources required to maintain educational and social services.

It was reasonable, then, that those in Winnipeg who sought the resolution of the bitter kashruth disputes in such a manner as to assure some communal control, proper standards and community peace should turn to such a model. This is especially so in view of the need, increasingly felt, to provide greater and more reliable financial resources to support community services. This aspect is best shown in the origin and mandate of the Committee of Fifteen.⁴² Why, then, was this model only partially followed? The *Kehilla*, for example, attempted to draw from as broad a base as possible but its mandate was nevertheless almost entirely limited to the area of kashruth. And, to pursue the question to its original subject, why has the 1946 structure survived intact after more than thirty years while the *Kehilla* attempt failed to survive even a decade?

Consideration must be given to the environmental perception of the Jewish immigrants. The strong and centralized communal structure of eastern Europe was a survival mechanism whose negative, that is defensive, function was as important as its positive one. The pioneer Jews of Western Canada hoped to build a life that would not require such insulation. In fact, many were motivated, in their actions and opinions, by a sense of fear lest the hope for a 'new life' prove illusory. Winnipeg's pioneer identification and commitment involved values and concerns in whose interest they were prepared to act, as a community. This unity of action was, for the most part, limited to the particular concern addressed. The structures created to speak to these concerns tended to break down when the interest or motivation behind it ran its course. The united community functioned, therefore, as a means and not, as it had become in Europe, as an end, valued in and for itself. Broad sections of the community might involve themselves in finding a way to deal with the crisis in kashruth. They were not prepared, however, to maintain and widen that involvement beyond the immediate concern.⁴³

Winnipeg Jewry did, in fact, move in the direction of a centrally structured community. The process progressed very slowly, a serious start being made only in 1933. It has yet to reach a stable and complete form. It was to a large extent brought about by the force of circumstances rather than by deliberate choice. As elsewhere in North America, the central community has drawn its leadership and organizational structure from that sector whose responsibility had at one time been limited to fund rais-

ing. The ever increasing costs of running the services and institutions important to Winnipeg Jewry has forced the financial sector into the area of coordination, supervision and policy decision.⁴⁴

It is not without importance, in this regard, that the partisans of central structure were led by men who had achieved some measure of security in their identity as Canadians. The most eminent figure in the early years of community development was M. J. Finkelstein. Aside from an illustrious leadership career in Jewish organizations, he was very active in Liberal politics. The second Jew to be called to the Manitoba Bar, he was an energetic and respected figure in Winnipeg legal circles. A similar figure was the president of the Jewish Welfare Fund, David Slater, who in 1946, undertook the presidency of the *Va'ad Ha-ir*.⁴⁵

A second and most crucial factor needs to be considered. Many modern European Jews, increasingly exposed to and involved in the mainstream of Western culture, felt a growing estrangement from the ideas and/or forms of traditional Jewish life. For those of the alienated who could not or would not resign from their Jewish identity, there began a search to find meaning in Jewishness outside traditional parameters. Some found such meaning in new theologies and religious forms. Many turned to one or another secular ideology, as, for example, Zionism, Diaspora Nationalism, or Jewish Socialism. Yet, so long as the long established communal structures retained some power they opposed, indeed often obstructed, the expression of these ideologies.⁴⁶

Winnipeg, where the Jewish settlers valued Western Canadian society's encouragement of freedom of expression and allowance for individualism, had a mixed representation of these European currents. Many Jewish settlers were orthodox. Yet, as mentioned above, few were well versed in the traditional ideology. Ritual observance does not necessarily imply support for the elitist ideological underpinnings of that ritual. The earliest religious congregations were, to one degree or other, 'liberal', forerunners of today's Conservative and Reform congregations. Some of the early settlers, especially after 1905, were Yiddishists.* Indeed, Winnipeg boasts the first Yiddishist day school in North America, which was founded in 1920. Zionists of all shades and leanings were also plentiful in Winnipeg. It seems obvious that there was little to recommend an attempt at

*Yiddishism was a secular Jewish movement. Consisting of members of various diasporanationalist and socialist ideologies, it was devoted to secular Jewish culture in the Yiddish language.

centralizing community policy and funding. The stage by stage advances in communal centralization that took place through the years came only with the progressive secularization and ideological homogenization of Winnipeg's Jews.⁴⁷

The kashruth disputes prior to 1946 were settled only when the community, or a large part of it, indicated that they found the situation intolerable. With some third party help, the resolution came from the existing contestants. After the crisis atmosphere dissipated, the kashruth structures were left by the community at large to police themselves. The suggestions made to make the kashruth agency a part of an ongoing central community council were premature. In 1946, however, the central structures, namely the Jewish Welfare Fund and the Canadian Jewish Congress, were sufficiently developed to themselves initiate, and later police, the settlement. Being secular agencies without a partisan ideological stance their intervention into the religious apparatus was not perceived as a threat to any particular section of the community. By inviting the aid of the rabbinical Union, moreover, they were also able to prevent any suggestion, on the part of the Orthodox, that they were compromising religious norms. They were represented on the *Va'ad Ha-ir* and, as their control on general community policy and budget expanded, they were in an increasingly better position to prevent a breakdown in the system. The prime illustration of this capability, highlighting the difference between the 1946 settlement and those that preceded, is the Chicago Kosher dispute of 1948-50.

Late in 1948, Rabbi Horowitz, the Chief Rabbi, found some irregularities in the meat processing plant of the Chicago Kosher Sausage Company. He indicated his intention to withdraw his authorization for that company's kashruth certification. Rabbi Schwartzman, the man responsible for the supervision at that plant, disputed this course. In an earlier time this disagreement would surely have resulted in a new division. Instead, Rabbi Eliezer Silver, a most prominent American rabbi who was involved in authenticating the company's kashruth certification so as to permit its products' export to Israel, was immediately brought to Winnipeg to arbitrate the dispute. After some remedial measures were effected and assurances offered that such irregularities would not recur, Rabbi Horowitz agreed to continue the certification.

Some months later Rabbi Horowitz alleged further violations and did, in fact, withdraw his certification. Rabbi Schwartzman again disagreed and insisted that the certification remain in force. In this case, however,

the leaders of the Jewish Welfare Fund intervened. They were by no means prepared to see the community split into factions at a time when post-war relief efforts and the needs of the nascent State of Israel necessitated maximum united effort. After intensive discussions, which were conducted in strictest privacy, Rabbi Horowitz withdrew and, after a short time, announced his retirement to Israel. Rabbi Horowitz was treated with respect: he was the first community rabbi in Winnipeg to retire with a pension, and this pension, which was faithfully paid by the *Va'ad Ha-ir* until the rabbi's recent death, was the moral undertaking of David Slater. Yet, this was the first time in the history of Winnipeg's Jewish community that a major internal dispute within the kashruth structure was resolved without its becoming a source of public controversy. Its having been resolved, moreover, without regard to the substantive halakhic issues, is indicative of the kind of problem solving that was to become characteristic of the Winnipeg community.

Over its entire history the Winnipeg Jewish community had slowly evolved central communal structures. These structures would then set priorities based on an assessment of that which was common to the entire community. The community would then act to solve its problem according to these priorities, using the central agencies as the instrumentalities to effect the solution. Where a conflict existed between the central priorities and the principles or desires of one or more particular segments of the community, the particular would have to yield to the commonality.

FOOTNOTES

1. The author is indebted to many for their assistance in the research of this subject. Mr. Nathan Lockshin, indefatigable communal worker and president of the *Va'ad Ha-ir*, was most helpful in providing access to key documents and giving, generously, of his time and recollection. Messrs. Phillip Kravetsky and Meyer Silver, native Winnipeggers and prominent community leaders, gave unstintingly of their time and effort to shed light on otherwise obscure incidents. Finally, the author is most appreciative of the friendly and efficient cooperation extended by the Inter-Library Loan Department of the University of Manitoba's Elizabeth Dafoe Library, the librarian at Winnipeg's Jewish Public Library and the editor and publisher of the *Jewish Post*.
2. For an excellent survey of the Kashruth regulations and their theological grounding, see I. Grunfeld, *The Jewish Dietary Laws* (Surrey, 1972), 2 vol.
3. *Israelite Press*, May 31, 1946.
4. Arthur A. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto, 1961), p. 89.
5. *Israelite Press*, June 28, 1946.
6. I. Grunfeld, *The Jewish Dietary Laws*, vol. 1, pp. 57f., 60ff., 91-98.
7. *Israelite Press*, June 28, 1946.
8. *Israelite Press*, May 31, 1946; June 28, 1946; July 9, 1946.

9. Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, pp. 147-149.
10. *Israelite Press*, May 31, 1946.
11. Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, p. 89.
12. *Hullin* 5a.
13. *Israelite Press*, May 31, 1946.
14. *Israelite Press*, June 25, 1946; Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, p. 89.
15. Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, pp. 45f., 54, 56.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
17. *Canadian Israelite*, November 17, 1911. Cf. Arthur A. Chiel, *Jewish Experiences in Early Manitoba* (Winnipeg, 1955), pp. 99f.
18. Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, p. 86.
19. *Canadian Israelite*, August 1, 1912.
20. *Ibid.*; *The Israelite*, October 10, 17, 1912; November 7, 1912.
21. *The Israelite*, November 28, 1912; H. H. Herstein, *The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), pp. 30f.
22. Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, pp. 88f.
23. *Jewish Post*, December 12, 1930.
24. *Israelite Press*, January 8, 1931.
25. *Jewish Post*, January 9, 1931.
26. *Manitoba Free Press*, January 10, 1931.
27. *Israelite Press*, January 12, 13, 1931; *Jewish Post*, January 16, 1931.
28. *Israelite Press*, January 12, 1931.
29. *Israelite Press*, January 13, 14, 15, 1931.
30. *Israelite Press*, January 23, 1931.
31. *Israelite Press*, February 10, 1931.
32. *Israelite Press*, May 19, 1933; *Jewish Post*, June 15, 1933.
33. *Israelite Press*, May 26, 1933.
34. *Israelite Press*, June 9, 1933; *Jewish Post*, June 15, 1933.
35. *Israelite Press*, July 7, 1933. Cf. *Jewish Post*, January 9, 1931.
36. H. H. Herstein, *Winnipeg Jewish Community*, p. 31. Herstein gives 1932 as the year of *Beth Judah* Congregation's establishment. Official records of the City of Winnipeg, however, show that the synagogue opened in 1937.
37. H. M. Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (New York, 1977), pp. 25-35.
38. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. shehitah.
39. S. W. Baron, *The Jewish Community; Its History and Structure to the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1948), vol. 2, pp. 107-110.
40. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 63, 66, 68, 73, 81, 89, 92, 120.
41. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. shehitah; korobka; S. W. Baron, *The Jewish Community*, vol. 2, pp. 107, 256, 258.
42. *Jewish Post*, December 12, 1930.
43. *Jewish Post*, January 9, 1931. Cf. S. D. Isaacs, *Jews and American Politics* (New York, 1974).
44. *Manitoba Free Press*, June 23, 1933; July 10, 1933; Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, pp. 147-149.
45. Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, pp. 89, 142, 144, 149, 157, 160, 172, 188.

46. H. M. Sachar, *Modern Jewish History*, pp. 139-159, 199-220, 261-304. Cf. David Rudavsky, *Modern Jewish Religious Movements: A History of Emancipation and Adjustment* (New York, 1967).
47. Arthur A. Chiel, *Jews in Manitoba*, pp. 68, 74, 82, 103, 105, 184; Arthur A. Chiel, *Jewish Experiences*, p. 99; Charles S. Liebman, "The Religion of American Jews", in *Understanding American Judaism* (New York, 1975), edited by Jacob Neusner, vol. 1, pp. 25-63.

The Jewish Farm Settlements of Saskatchewan: From 'New Jerusalem' to Edenbridge*

ABRAHAM J. ARNOLD

Résumé

Au cours des deux dernières décennies du XIXe siècle et au cours de la première décennie du XXe siècle, il y eut six tentatives de grande portée afin de créer des établissements fermiers colonisés par des Juifs dans un territoire appelé à devenir en 1905 la province de Saskatchewan.

Des six établissements, un seul, Moosonim fut un échec. Les cinq autres donnèrent lieu à des communautés de fermiers Juifs jusqu'au milieu du vingtième siècle.

Ces établissements fermiers représentèrent l'effort essentiel visant à établir des Juifs au Canada comme fermiers et de ce fait, ils méritent que l'on se penche plus sérieusement que cela ne l'a été fait précédemment sur leur nature et leur rôle.

L'idéal du retour à la terre fut longtemps ancré parmi les Juifs d'Europe Centrale. Ceci explique pourquoi en dépit de lois leur interdisant de cultiver la terre en 1865 ils continuèrent de la labourer jusqu'en 1899.

Cependant, l'échec connu par l'établissement de colonisateurs Juifs fit penser aux dirigeants de Montréal que les Juifs n'étaient pas faits pour cultiver la terre. Il fallut longtemps combattre ce préjugé qui fut même retranscrit dans des manuels d'histoire. Il fallut attendre que les colonies de fermiers Juifs de Hirsch, Wapella, Qu'Appelle (Lipton) et d'Oxbow aient fait leurs preuves pour qu'en 1905, l'historien MacDonald ait pu écrire que: "Ces colonies de fermiers Juifs étaient comparables à n'importe quelle autre colonie de n'importe quelle race".

Herman Landau, financier de Grande Bretagne, et le Canadian Pacific Railways (C.P.R.) avaient ratifié une "concession extraordinaire" octroyant aux fermiers Juifs une ferme avec dépendances.

*A paper presented at the fourth annual conference of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society in conjunction with the 1979 Learned Societies conferences at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, June 5, 1979.

Lorsque les protégés de Landau vinrent s'établir sur ces terres en 1887 pour les cultiver le moins qu'on puisse dire est qu'ils ont été accueillis comme des "indésirables". Le Membre du Parlement local adressa une résolution à Ottawa à la suite de quoi un inspecteur fut immédiatement dépêché sur les lieux. Une controverse s'ensuivit.

Le rapport de l'inspecteur à Ottawa était favorable à l'endroit des Juifs. Ceci fut quelque peu paradoxal si l'on considère la plainte logée par le député. De 25 à 30 familles vinrent peupler, au cours des années qui suivirent 1887, la colonie juive à Wapella.

Deux noms sont également à retenir: celui d'Abraham Klenman et celui de Barish Solomon. Klenman remporte l'appui à Montréal d'un bon nombre d'immigrants Juifs pour son projet d'établissement de colonies juives.

Au printemps 1892, avec quelques économies, S. Barish se rendit à Winnipeg puis à Wapella. Les Barish et les Klenman sont considérés comme les fondateurs de la colonie juive de Wapella car ils ont été suivis dans leur sillage par de nombreuses familles illustres et bien connues telles: les Brotman, les Isman, les Hyman, les Kaplum, les Jacobson, les Waserman et les Bronfman.

Toute cette étude de l'auteur porte, comme on peut en avoir un aperçu, sur l'étude de l'établissement de colonies juives dans la partie Ouest du Canada.

L'auteur se penche sur les mobiles, les motifs et les raisons qui ont poussé les Juifs à venir s'installer en tant que fermiers Juifs; et, bien que chaque tentative ait été différente (il y en eut six dont une Moosomin fut un échec), il n'en demeure pas moins que les cinq colonies qui restent, méritent d'être le pôle d'attention de tout historien ou de toute personne éprise d'histoire, de savoir, ou de son histoire du Canada car les faits qui se sont déroulés à l'époque de la Colonisation Juive sont intimement liés à la politique du Canada de l'époque et ne s'expliquent qu'en fonction l'une de l'autre.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, there were six significant attempts to establish Jewish farm settlements in the territory that was to become the province of Saskatchewan in 1905. Only the first of these settlement attempts, the one at Moosomin, which became known, somewhat derisively, as "New

Jerusalem", can be considered a complete failure, since it was abandoned within a few years.¹ All the others, Wapella, Hirsch, Lipton, Edenbridge and Sonenfeld-Hoffer established Jewish farm communities which carried on at least until the mid-twentieth century, and some even longer. These farm settlements represent the major effort to establish Jews as farmers in Canada and as such deserve more serious study than they have been given heretofore.

It is first necessary to recall that there was a "back to the land" movement among the Jews living under Russian rule during the 19th century, and for about 60 years from 1805 to 1865, some Jews in the Russian Empire were permitted to take up farming. At that point land settlement privileges were cancelled as anti-Jewish regulations and anti-Semitic repression began to grow. Nevertheless about 100,000 Russian Jews were still farming as late as 1899.²

The idealistic desire to return to the land was long present among elements of the East European Jewish population. After the 1881 massacres in Russia, some Russian Jewish youth founded the "Am Olam" movement, in which the goal of returning to the land was linked with the desire to emigrate. A number of farm colonies were started in various parts of the U.S. in the 1880s by followers of the Am Olam movement, but they all failed rather quickly.³

Jewish leaders in Montreal, however, who had heard of the Am Olam philosophy, used this as an argument for establishing a Jewish farm colony in western Canada and as one way of coping with the Russian immigrants who came to this country from 1882. It is doubtful, however, that there was any real Am Olam influence among the first group of Jews who took up homesteads at Moosomin in 1884 since the Am Olam view of land settlement included the rejection of peddling as an occupation.⁴ The Jews at Moosomin fell into disrepute exactly because they turned too quickly from the land back to peddling and this is considered one of the main reasons for their failure as farmers. Perhaps the only point of similarity between the New Jerusalemites at Moosomin and the Am Olam settlers in the U.S. is that all their efforts failed in half a dozen or less.

Beginning with Wapella in 1886, however, the ideal of returning to the land as a means of becoming regenerated as a people is evident among some of the Jewish settlers. Certain Jewish leaders in Europe and in Canada who were encouraging land settlement at that time also saw this as a national goal for the Jewish people. In Montreal, however, Jewish leaders had far more pragmatic reasons for trying to place the newcomers

on the land, and their approach reflected the accepted Canadian immigration policy of the time and the derivative colonialist attitude towards immigrants.

Nevertheless the Montreal leadership of the 1880s had to combat the prevalent attitude that Jews were totally unsuited to farming each time they sought to establish a Jewish farm settlement. With rare exceptions Canadian authorities were never convinced that Jews could be good farmers and the early experience with the Moosomin group only tended to confirm this view. In fact, Sir Alexander Galt, through whose efforts the Moosomin land had been assigned after the Jews were kept waiting in Winnipeg for two years, later turned against the people he had helped. He warned that their conduct “will close the door upon all further effort on the part of the friends of the Jews in Europe.”⁵

The Jews at Moosomin were widely held to be entirely responsible for their own failure at homesteading and this view is reflected in some Canadian history books. Immigration historian Norman MacDonald, for example, has chided the Jewish refugees who arrived in Winnipeg in 1882 for not going on the land immediately and monopolizing the immigration sheds for a whole year. MacDonald ignores the fact that they were kept waiting for two years because no land could be found for them in Manitoba or elsewhere even while tracts were being held for private land companies and for other groups like the Mennonites. He also claims, without apparent verification, that when they were sent to Moosomin they were given land with “five acres . . . put under crop on each homestead.”⁶

MacDonald writes that Scottish crofters and inexperienced east end Londoners who tried homesteading in the same part of the country during those years failed in their efforts because of the bad climate conditions which brought three successive poor harvests. But of the Jews he said they failed only “because they had no aptitude for agricultural purposes”.⁷ Ultimately MacDonald concedes that successful Jewish farm colonies were formed at Hirsch, Wapella, Qu’Appelle (Lipton) and Oxbow and he writes that by 1905: “The degree of prosperity (of the Jewish settlements) was said to compare very favorably with that of other races.”⁸

In the fall of 1886, a group of young Russian Jews were sent from London to take up land in western Canada under the patronage of Herman Landau, a London Jewish financier. Landau described his proteges as “an entirely different class” from the earlier settlers at Moosomin. He added that he didn’t object to giving them land near the

Moosomin colony provided there was “no danger of contamination or injury” to his people from the earlier settlers.⁹

Landau had some connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway and made arrangements to get land for his people through the railway on the promise that if this group could be “comfortably settled” more settlers would be sent out, with 500 to 1000 pounds of capital per family. He advanced 400 pounds to the CPR to aid the settlement of the first group, which included eight men and three women and was headed by John Heppner. Because of the involvement of the CPR, it became possible to grant them the “exceptional concession” of settlement on adjoining homesteads about eight miles from the Wapella railway station. Moreover, a developed quarter section was purchased for John Heppner from an English settler who was returning home.¹⁰

When Herman Landau’s proteges took up their land to begin the serious business of farming in the spring of 1887, their arrival was greeted less than favorably by some non-Jewish neighbours. And when it was learned that additional land had been reserved for more Jewish settlers, the Liberal-Conservative Association of Wapella adopted a resolution of protest charging that they were being injured by the government because of the reservation of land for the Jews—“a most undesirable class of settler.” The resolution demanded that the reserved lands be thrown open so that more “desirable” settlers would not be kept out of the district. The local member of Parliament sent the resolution to Ottawa with the result that a homestead inspector was immediately sent out to check on the Jewish homesteaders and make a report.¹¹

A. M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, ordered that no action be taken on the demand of the resolution before the homestead inspector made his report. The land commissioner at Winnipeg however, H. H. Smith, took it upon himself to cancel the land reservations for the Jews within a week of the adoption of the resolution and before receiving the directive of the deputy minister.¹²

By mid-July 1887 the inspection of the Jewish homesteaders had been completed and a report submitted by the inspector, stating that the Jews at Wapella were “very industrious and hardworking” and able “in every way” to fulfill the settlement conditions. He also reported that “the English settlers speak highly of these Jews and don’t desire better neighbours”. This seems surprising in view of the petition complaining against the Jews which had names on it like Blythe, Hudson, Elliott, Kir-

by, etc. But of course by this time the main demand of the petitioners had been met.¹³

The Jewish settlement at Wapella was strengthened by the arrival of some 25 or 30 additional Jewish families over the next period of years. The reinforcements came, not through the fulfillment of the promise of Herman Landau, but through the efforts of two immigrants in particular. Abraham Klenman and his son-in-law, Solomon Barish, arrived in Montreal in the spring of 1888 with the express goal of becoming homesteaders and starting a Jewish farm settlement in the west. Klenman was 57 years old and had been the overseer of an agricultural estate in Bessarabia. Barish had farmed in the Russian-Jewish colony of Dombroveni. This was the first clear example of Jews with some farming experience in the old country and the desire to succeed as farmers in this country through their own individual efforts.

In Montreal, Klenman won the support of a number of other immigrant families for his land settlement plan and that fall he travelled west with one of the other immigrants to find a suitable site. While inspecting a number of locations in Manitoba and Assiniboia (Saskatchewan), they heard about John Heppner and went to see him. They were impressed with the land at Wapella because of its fertile black soil and wooded area as well as the fact that the Heppner group had been able to exchange odd and even numbered sections to settle on adjacent homesteads.

Klenman decided to take a homestead immediately and get a house ready while his companion, Jacob Silver, returned to Montreal to report to the other farmers-in-waiting. Winter set in too quickly for Klenman to finish his house, after he had dug a cellar by hand; so he passed his first prairie winter below ground. Undeterred, he finished his house, with straw roof in the spring and his wife and family came out to join him.

Solomon Barish remained in Montreal to earn some additional money as a stake for his farming efforts. First he tried peddling on foot with a pack of goods on his back in a French district. He could speak neither English or French and after trying it for one day he dropped the pack and hitch-hiked back to town, determined more than ever to become a farmer. Still without sufficient funds, Barish went to work in a cigar factory for a time. His health became a problem and a doctor advised country air. He now sent his family on to join the Klenmans while he went to Chicago to train as a *shochet* for fowl. In the spring of 1892, with \$100 in savings, Barish arrived in Winnipeg, where he bought a team of oxen, a wagon and

a plough before proceeding to Wapella. On reaching the homestead he began his duties slaughtering wild prairie chickens which had to be trapped live.¹⁴

Although the Heppner groups had been there first, the Klenmans and Barishes are considered the founders of the Wapella because, except for the Heppner family, all the other members of Herman Landau's "superior class" seem to have disappeared from view within a short time. On the other hand, Klenman and Barish were followed to Wapella by a whole number of families like the Brotmans, the Ismans, the Hymans, Kapluns, Jacobsons, Wassermans and Bronfmans. Many of these families, and others who came at that time, did succeed as farmers, while others moved on to establish themselves in other areas of endeavor.¹⁵ Their descendants are still known in Saskatchewan and other parts of Canada.

Incidentally, when the Klenman, Brotman, Jacobson and Isman families were beginning their farming efforts in the spring of 1889 the concerns of non-Jewish settlers were again manifest in a resolution by the Liberal-Conservative Association. While the earlier land reservations for the Jews had been cancelled in 1887, the CPR land commissioner, L.A. Hamilton, opened new reserves for them in 1889. The Liberal-Conservative Association again complained that the reservation of land for Jews was "detrimental to the interests and welfare of the district."¹⁶ Mr. Hamilton responded that the newly arriving Jews should be able "to settle in the neighborhood of their compatriots."¹⁷ Considering the success of the Jewish farmers at Wapella the protests of their neighbours must nevertheless have had some effect because only some 25 Jewish families were able to settle there by the end of the century.

The settlers at Wapella began their individual endeavors that led to the establishment of the first successful Jewish farm settlement, even when the community-aided Moosomin effort 50 miles away was being tagged with failure. Because it had communal backing, the fall of "New Jerusalem" had a greater influence on the future course of Jewish settlement efforts than what was happening at Wapella. In fact, when the Hirsch settlement was being planned in 1892 by the Jewish leadership of Montreal, they had to counteract the effects of what had happened at Moosomin in order to win support from the newly formed Jewish Colonization Association in Europe. Moreover, the team that was sent to investigate possible sites for the Hirsch settlement checked out the Moosomin situation, reported on Jews living "in and about Regina" and then went on to the Prince Albert district without reporting a word about the people at Wapella.¹⁸

Pressure to establish a new farm settlement with community support began in 1891 when there was a new upsurge of immigration following the expulsion of Jews from major Russian cities, including 20,000 who were driven from Moscow alone. Out of 1,188 Russian refugees who arrived in Canada that summer 700 swelled the population of Montreal and 125 went directly to Winnipeg.¹⁹ At least 50 families in Montreal began to ask for help to go west and take up land. The people in Winnipeg also wanted help to take homesteads.²⁰

The leaders of the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society in Montreal (soon to become the Baron de Hirsch Institute), wrote to John Lowe, Deputy Minister of the Interior in Ottawa, to ask for land for a new farm settlement, and received a favorable reply. A request for help to the Jewish leaders in England was received negatively, because of the failure at Moosomin. They also wrote to Baron de Hirsch, in Paris, who had just established the Jewish Colonization Association, and received some encouragement that help would be forthcoming.²¹

Before considering the actual establishment of the Hirsch colony it is necessary to examine the exchange of correspondence between the government and the society which followed a favorable meeting between a delegation from Montreal and Prime Minister John Abbott and the Minister of Agriculture, Sir John Carling. The society asked for enough land for a colony of 2,000 families (10,000 persons) in "contiguous" sections to form "a whole and undivided colony." The government did not object to the proposed number of settlers and suggested areas in Manitoba and the Northwest where land might be found but they rejected the idea of placing the settlers on contiguous land in a "separate and isolated colony."²² (The suggestion of a 2,000 family settlement on contiguous territory was to haunt discussions and plans for future Jewish settlements).

In the winter of 1892, immigrant groups in Montreal and Winnipeg who wanted to go on the land met to appoint their own delegates to represent them in discussions with Baron de Hirsch. The Montreal representatives actually went to Paris to see the Baron.²³ The Winnipegger nominated, W.G. Fonseca, a Christian, was said to be descended from a Portuguese Jewish family.²⁴

At the end of January, Dr. Sigismund Sonnenfeld, director of the Jewish Colonization Association in Paris, advised that 150,000 francs (\$30,000) would be granted to help establish 60 families on the land. A month later this was reduced to 100,000 francs and by the time the

Colonization Committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal was ready to appoint a manager to get the project rolling they were advised that only 20,000 francs (\$4,000) would be available immediately, with the balance to follow after the first progress report.²⁵

Early in March the Montreal committee sent Ignatius Roth and Charles McDiarmid to seek a suitable settlement site. They were armed with a letter of introduction from the Department of the Interior, asking Dominion land agents in the west to do all in their power to assist the object of the Jewish settlement.²⁶ At the same time, however, there was also an effort underway to attract new immigrants from the German agricultural population of Russia.

A government handbill circulated among Manitoba farmers stated, among other things, "no Jews will be brought out under this scheme."²⁷ On the other hand D.W. Riedle, a German notary public and justice of the peace in Winnipeg, who had helped establish six Mennonite colonies, wrote to the Jewish society in Montreal with advice on the establishment of the Jewish settlement. He even offered to serve as colony manager.²⁸

The position of first manager for the Hirsch colony however was given to Charles McDiarmid after he and Roth completed their inspection tour and recommended a site 20 miles from Oxbow where a number of Jewish families had settled independently. For a salary of \$100 a month McDiarmid was to devote all his time to the colony, provide himself with a horse and rig, and give approved security of \$3,000.²⁹

On May 2, 1892, 49 men from Montreal, Winnipeg and Regina arrived at Oxbow and proceeded further west to the site, 12 miles east of Estevan, which had been reserved for the Hirsch colony by McDiarmid. All the colonists were married men with an average of five per family; most of the dependents stayed in Montreal and Winnipeg while some were still in Russia.³⁰

Organizing the new settlement proved to be a most difficult task, with dissatisfaction developing quickly among the colonists and a lack of understanding between the colony manager and the Montreal committee becoming evident. McDiarmid appears to have demonstrated considerable patience and optimism in spite of the difficulties of his task as colony manager, but he did not get any encouragement from anyone except for Asher Pierce, on whose advice the settlement site had been chosen.³¹

The Pierce's were one of the Jewish families who settled at Oxbow after the CPR branch line to Estevan was opened in 1888. They were already

farming successfully and were also operating general stores at Oxbow and Melita.

Asher Pierce made several visits to Hirsch where he advised and assisted the settlers. He wrote to Montreal in the frankest terms about the problems they were encountering, in response to a request from D.S. Friedman, treasurer of the Montreal organization. He was critical of the settlers because each one wanted to build for himself, which made it difficult to get them to work together. But they did build some sod houses together and showed they could “work as hard and as well as any men.”³²

Pierce was much more critical of the quality of aid being provided from Montreal. He recommended sod-finished frame houses as being cheaper than all-sod houses and warned that one team of horses for each group of ten people was insufficient because of the system of allocating alternate homesteads. He urged at least a team of oxen for each family “before they can commence to live,” and declared that the Moosomin effort had failed “just on this account.” He also warned that because of the late plowing start “you will have to feed these people next year.”³³

McDiarmid’s concerns about the difficulty of keeping track of records and transactions while directing the men at every stage were supported by Pierce who said of the manager “very often he knows not what to do first.”³⁴ Pierce also said of the settlers there would be “no fears once they are rightly and fairly started.” In the fall, after many of the families arrived to join the men at Hirsch he felt moved to write again about the unsatisfactory conditions at the colony.³⁵

W.H. Baker, the clerk of the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal, replied to Pierce that his pleadings in behalf of the colonists were not appreciated. Baker’s letter was a clear example of the colonialist attitude of some of the Montreal leaders. The settlers would be given just enough cash “to keep body and soul together.” It would not be enough to keep them if they couldn’t find work in the winter months. They must not try to return to Montreal but should find work “no further east than Winnipeg.” He also claimed that they could not ask the J.C.A. in Paris for more help.

There were 70 homesteaders with a total population of 300 living at Hirsch by the end of the year.³⁷ Before the end of January 1893 McDairmid resigned as manager and Baker, the clerk, soon took over personal management of the colony. Baker was directing most of the Baron de Hirsch Institute work at this time and appears as a rather ubiquitous character, whose background is not fully known. He spent some time at Hirsch in the spring of 1893 and, predictably, complained to the former

manager about the accounts being mixed up.³⁸ McDiarmid admitted neglecting the accounts and said that some thought it “better to have left the Jews to freeze or starve than to get behind in the accounts.”³⁹

Before returning to Montreal Baker was interviewed by the *Free Press* in Winnipeg about the reported troubles at Hirsch. He stated that the main problem was the refusal of most settlers to sign mortgage liens for advances made to them, as a means of ensuring further help from the society. Claiming the settlers were “too well treated” he demonstrated the traditional authoritarian welfare attitude that there would be more help only for “proven individual cases” and emphasised that “the settlers as a whole would not be fed for any lengthened period.”⁴⁰

The situation at Hirsch aroused the concern of some non-Jewish neighbours and one of them, Wm. Lougheed, a justice of the peace from Bienfait sent sworn affidavits of complaint from the “poor Jews” to the Minister of the Interior.⁴¹ When the Montreal society was informed about this they rejected the complaints and charged outside interference.⁴² The Winnipeg Dominion Lands office however ordered a homestead inspector to make “a searching inquiry” into conditions at the colony.⁴³

By mid-September the inspector, W.H. Allison, reported crop failure for the second year and generally bad conditions. He urged a more thorough investigation by a commission of two including “a good man of their own faith and language.” Allison also said the majority of the colonists were “industrious and well disposed people, capable of making good settlers.” He warned however that the colony could not be successfully managed from Montreal, and pointed out that some basic amenities were lacking with “almost the entire colony . . . in a bad way for want of water.”⁴⁴ There were now 45 families, averaging five per family, living at Hirsch and they had broken about ten acres per homestead with buildings at an average value of \$100. Another 20 families were now living outside the colony and apparently trying to make it on their own.⁴⁵

At the end of October, J. Grutchfield, who had been left in charge of Hirsch by Baker, reported that supplies had run out and “many of the people are in want of food and fuel.”⁴⁶ After receiving the Allison and Grutchfield reports, David Ansell, the new president of the society in Montreal, announced that Lazarus Cohen, the treasurer and new chairman of the colonization committee would be sent to Hirsch to investigate.⁴⁷ Cohen certainly filled the bill of Allison’s urging for “a good man of their own faith and language.”⁴⁸ Lazarus Cohen was one of the first East Europeans to rise to leadership in the Montreal Jewish com-

munity. He was a unique personality who combined learning and piety with success in business and he was one of the founders of the Zionist movement in Canada.

As he arrived in the west, accompanied by Baker, Cohen learned that a special messenger had been sent on ahead to serve legal notice on the Hirsch settlers who had so far refused to sign mortgage liens. Cohen insisted that this be stopped and Homestead Inspector Allison went on ahead to intercept the notice server.⁴⁹

Lazarus Cohen was a man of Mosaic mien, flowing beard and all, and in the west he made a deep impression on officials and settlers alike. The Homestead Inspector found him to be “an excellent and judicious mediator” who worked “assiduously” for the benefit of the colonists whose esteem he quickly won. Cohen remained at the colony for more than a month advising the settlers to organize their own committee to govern the affairs of the settlement. He stated that the Baron de Hirsch in Europe, perhaps like some great white father, was dissatisfied with the way funds had been formerly doled out. But he, Cohen, had been asked to determine what further amount would be needed to help them in the coming year. The government would also be asked to help by providing seed grain.⁵¹

Before Lazarus Cohen returned to Montreal the settlers all signed a letter commending him for his diligent efforts in their behalf, as a result of which he would understand that “notwithstanding all reports . . . we are farmers in the fullest sense of the word . . . you know what we have — or to put it better — what we don’t have.” They pleaded not to be forgotten in Montreal.⁵²

By mid-January confirmation was received by Asher Pierce that more funds would be coming from the Jewish Colonization Association.⁵³ The settlers elected their colonists’ committee, as Cohen had recommended, and they began to work in a more organized manner. They developed a plan according to which they purchased needed supplies and assigned tasks to those best able to carry them out, e.g., the five most experienced men were assigned to do all the sowing of seed on the land ready for crops.⁵⁴

Lazarus Cohen’s visit certainly appeared to give some hope for the improvement of the situation at Hirsch, but after a while financial aid was again being distributed as a form of dole.⁵⁵ The progress of the colony was seriously hindered during its first ten years by bureaucratic direction resulting from the patronizing attitude of the leaders in Montreal and con-

sequently by bad management in the field.⁵⁶ Lazarus Cohen appears to have been the only Montreal leader to encourage the settlers to govern themselves.

Isaac Mendels, Cohen's successor as colonization committee chairman in 1897, moved out to the colony, assumed direct management and became the most hated man in the area.⁵⁷ As a result of all this, there was frequent movement of settlers out of the colony with new ones recruited in their place. Rabbi Marcus Berner was one of those who arrived at Hirsch in 1899, and remained there for 40 years.

Those who left did not always give up farming; sometimes they simply took another homestead nearby that was not under the control of the organization. Among those who remained in the colony, as well as those who took farms outside, it was soon demonstrated that only those with ability, who demonstrated personal initiative and perseverance could hope to succeed.⁵⁸

In 1899 there was a new exodus of Jews from Eastern Europe, this time from Romania, where persecution had become intensified. A number of prominent English Jews had now become involved with the Jewish Colonization Association including Alfred L. Cohen, Claude Montefiore and the Chief Rabbi, Hermann Adler.

When the United States began to bar "poor immigrants" who required assistance by an immigrant aid society, the Jewish Colonization Association began discussions with Canadian authorities about sending Romanian Jews to this country. Since Canadian policy was opposed to allowing immigrants to settle in the cities the discussions turned on the possibility of establishing a new Jewish farm settlement in the west.

The London Jewish leaders were under the impression that the Canadian government was favorably disposed to settling more Jews on the land. This belief came about as a result of a statement to this effect, allegedly made by Sir Wilfred Laurier in an interview with Herman Landau during the Canadian Prime Minister's visit to London for the Queen's Silver Jubilee in 1897.⁵⁹

Alfred Cohen began to discuss the idea of a new farm settlement with Lord Revelstoke, the Colonial Secretary and Lord Minto, the Canadian Governor General. Canada's High Commissioner to London, Lord Strathcona, was also drawn in. But the only one who appears to have been in favor of the project, personally, was W.T.R. Preston, the Canadian immigration agent.⁶

Preston suggested to the Jewish leaders that Canada might make a grant of townships to the Jewish Colonization Association, on the understanding that the association would cover the cost of transit and provide 40 pounds per family for settlement expenses. But he said that he was not absolutely pledging himself to this. In explaining the situation to Lord Strathcona, Preston stated that long negotiations were only started with the J.C.A. when it was learned that a large number of Romanian Jews without means were already being sent to Canada and to prevent "that line of policy being adopted". Ottawa had already advised Preston of its objection to Romanian Jews as immigrants.⁶¹

In these discussions, which began in the summer of 1900, the Jewish leaders were concerned that "alien immigration" should not add to the congestion of the London East End. And, in one of his letters, Alfred Cohen suggested that if "unsuitable emigrants" were infiltrating Canadian cities it was due to the "rather profuse propaganda" of Canadian immigration agents.⁶²

Cohen quickly became aware of the negative attitude of the Canadian authorities, but Preston encouraged him to believe that Ottawa might still go along with the plan for a Romanian Jewish farm settlement. Cohen tried to persuade Ottawa to approve the project by promising that the would-be homesteaders would be given "a rigid supervision and selection as to their physique, morality and condition."⁶³

The J.C.A. was prepared to grant a settlement allowance of 80 to 100 pounds for each settler and also offered to pay the salary of a government-appointed supervisor for the new settlement.⁶⁴ W.T.R. Preston, the immigration agent, actually visited Romania to check on the prospective settlers. He found that "only a very small proportion" of the Jews there knew anything about farm life. Nevertheless he suggested that with "proper selection and medical examination . . . it might be well to try the experiment."⁶⁵ It seems likely that Preston, who had been meeting with the Montefiores and Rothchilds as well as Alfred Cohen, on this project, was more impressed with the wealth of the Jewish philanthropists and the possibility that they might be prepared to invest large sums of money in western Canada.

This possibility did not influence officials in the Department of the Interior in Ottawa however. James Smart, the Deputy Minister, advised Clifford Sifton, the minister, that Preston's plan was "entirely unworkable" and recommended that the Jewish settlement project be rejected. Sifton received this advice in December 1900 but it took him until

mid-April before he passed Smart's memorandum on to Prime Minister Laurier with a covering note of his own stating "experience shows . . . Jewish people do not become agriculturists. However strong the attempts . . . to induce them to remain upon land . . . such efforts have . . . proved an undoubted failure."⁶⁶

The government's decision to reject the project was sent to Alfred Cohen in London via Lord Minto, the Governor General, but by the time it reached its destination 65 immigrants were already on the high seas and a smaller group was preparing to leave.⁶⁷ At this point the government relented and allowed the new settlement to proceed. That was the way in which the Lipton-Cupar settlement in the Qu'Appelle Valley began in 1901. It was operated under the direction of a supervisor appointed by the Department of the Interior for the first two years.⁶⁸

Since they were now responsible for two settlements in Western Canada, the leaders of the Jewish Colonization Association in Europe began to take a more direct interest in the progress of the Canadian colonies. Soon after the Lipton colony was started, Claude Montefiore sought the advice of W.T.R. Preston, the immigration agent, on what to do about the Hirsch settlement.⁶⁹ The latter arranged for a special study to be made of conditions at the Hirsch colony. The resulting report commended most of the settlers who had stuck it out at the colony and laid most of the blame for the settlement's problems on the bad management given the colony by the representatives of the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal.⁷⁰ At the same time, however, it turned out that the Lipton colony, which was being managed by government appointed people, was experiencing similar problems in its early years, due to the paternalistic attitude of the people placed in charge.⁷¹

In 1903, the management of both colonies was turned over to the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in New York, an affiliate of the Jewish Colonization Association. This relationship only lasted for some four years, however, and in 1907 the J.C.A. established its own Canadian Committee with headquarters in Montreal.⁷²

In 1901, when the J.C.A. began to enlarge its efforts in Western Canada, the settlers at Wapella also began to get some help. At the same time, a Jewish agricultural school was established at Slobodka Lesna in Austrian Galicia. One of the first students at this school was Israel Hoffer, age 14. Four years later, Hoffer and several other agricultural school graduates set out for Canada and arrived in the new province of Saskatchewan. For a while they worked for some of the established

Jewish farmers at Wapella and Hirsch. In 1907, Israel Hoffer led a group of these young men, including Philip Berger, Myer Feldman and Max Feuer, to establish their own colony about 50 miles west of Estevan. It was named Sonnenfeld, after the first director of the J.C.A. The Sonnenfeld colony represented the first successful combination of individual effort and organizational backing.⁷³

Also at this time a more highly individualistic effort at Jewish land settlement was being started several hundred miles to the north, along the banks of the Carrot River. This area was densely wooded, in contrast to the bare prairie land of southern Saskatchewan. It was here that two groups of Jews, many of them originally from Lithuania, sought to achieve their ambition to become farmers.

Each group had lived somewhere else first before deciding to come to Canada to claim some of the "free" homestead land. One group had settled first in South Africa, where they became small traders. The other group lived for a time in the east end of London and worked in its sweatshops, where they acquired radical ideas. It is significant that some people with the trader mentality and others with an idealized socialist view both saw land settlement as the solution to their problems.

The Edenbridge settlement, which never had more than 50 or 60 families, came to represent in microcosm the social differences that developed among the Jewish population as a whole in Canada during the first half of this century. This is the one settlement that had a community centre as well as a synagogue. Some members of both social groups succeeded as farmers, and some members of both groups also failed.⁷⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. Arthur A. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba*, University of Toronto Press, 1961, p. 46.
2. Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates*; Canadian Jewish Congress and Jewish Colonization Association, Montreal, 1966; p. 14 and fn. p. 22.
3. *Ibid*, p. 53; also Mark Wischnitzer, *To Dwell in Safety*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1948, pp. 60-63.
4. Ismar Elbogen, *A Century of Jewish Life*, Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1966, p. 328; also Joseph Brandes, *Immigrants to Freedom*, Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1971, p. 21.
5. A.J. Arnold, Jewish Immigration to Western Canada in the 1880s, *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal* October 1977, p. 94 and fn. 30 p., 96.
6. Norman Macdonald, Canada: *Immigration and Colonization*, MacMillan of Canada, Toronto, 1966; p. 220.
7. A.J. Arnold, *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, October 1977, p. 93 and fn. 28, p. 96.
8. N. Macdonald, fn. 6, above, p. 224.

9. Copy of letter, dated at London, 2nd September 1886 from Alexander Begg, C.P.R. emigration agent in England to the C.P.R. Lands Commissioner in Winnipeg, Department of the Interior Dominion Lands Branch files for 1886 (#128731) in the Public Archives of Canada (PAC), Ottawa.
10. Copy of letter, March 24 1887, from J.H. McTavish, C.P.R. land commissioner at Winnipeg to H. Landau in London with supporting correspondence and memos, dated March 24 to April 29 from McTavish to H.H. Smith, Dominion Lands Commissioner at Winnipeg, Department of Interior files #146609, PAC.
11. Copy of resolution, dated April 18, 1887, protesting reservation of land for Jews in Department of Interior files with PAC.
12. Letter #146414, April 26, 1887, from A.A. Ruttan, asst. Secretary Dominion Lands Commission office, Winnipeg, to Department of Interior Secretary, Ottawa. Also letters #73586, of May 3, 1887 from A.M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, Ottawa to W.D. Perley MP and H.H. Smith, Dominion Lands Commissioner, Winnipeg.
13. July 19, 1887, Report of Homestead Inspector R.S. Park to H.H. Smith, Dominion Lands Commissioner, Winnipeg: #153854 PAC.
14. Cyril E. Leonoff, *Wapella Farm Settlement, a pictorial history*; Manitoba Historical Society and Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, Winnipeg, 1972, pp. 3-5.
15. *Ibid.*, list of settlers at Wapella, 1887-1900, p. 36.
16. Petitions to Edgar Dewdney, Minister of the Interior, Ottawa, May 29 and June 29, 1889, reference #21284 in Department of Interior files, PAC.
17. Letter, August 2, 1889, from John R. Hall, secretary Interior Department, Ottawa to J.R. Neff, Moosomin, citing Mr. Hamilton's opinion, ref. #212834 (PAC).
18. Letter, March 8, 1892, from Ignatius Roth and Chas. McDiarmid to the President, the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Baron de Hirsch files, Montreal.
19. Immigration reports, Sessional Papers 1892 (No. 7) pp. 3, 14, 105.
20. Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates*, p. 60.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 60-61.
22. Letter, February 17 and 10-page memorandum, February 15, 1892, from H.B. Small, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa to W.H. Baker, Clerk of Baron de Hirsch Institute, Montreal, in Baron de Hirsch files.
23. Belkin, *Gates*, p. 70.
24. *Manitoba Free Press*, January 15, 1892, p. 5, col. 3.
25. Letter and cable from Jewish Colonization Association in Paris, recorded in minutes of Baron de Hirsch Institute, April 3 & 10, 1892, included in documents relating to Canadian Jewish History prepared for Canadian Jewish Congress by Sheldon Godfrey in 1963, Congress Archives, Montreal.
26. Letter, March 3, 1892, A.M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of Interior to Dominion Lands Agents, file # 269180 (PAC).
27. Notice to Farmers, March 7, 1892, in Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada archives, Winnipeg.
28. D.W. Reidle letter, January 25, 1892 to W.H. Baker, Montreal, Baron de Hirsch papers in Congress Archives, Montreal.
29. Baron de Hirsch Institute minutes, April 17, 1892, extracted in Godfrey papers, Congress archives, Montreal.
30. Belkin, *Gates*, p. 72 and Appendix #3 p. 213; Thomas Bennett (immigration agent) letter to Harris Vineberg, Montreal, in Congress Archives, Montreal.
31. Belkin, *Gates*, p. 71.
32. Ascher (OScar) Pierce letter to D.S. Friedman, June 16, 1892, Baron de Hirsch Institute papers, Congress Archives, Montreal.

33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. Letter October 20, 1892, Baker to Pierce in Jewish Colonization file, Department of Interior, Dominion Lands Branch file #269180 PAC.
37. Report of C.E. Phipps, Dominion Land Agent at Estevan, November 15, 1892 in Department of Interior report for 1892 Sessional papers, Vol. 26, 1893, p. 91.
38. April 22, 1893, Baker recorded as Agent of Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society (Baron de Hirsch Institute) at Hirsch, in Dept. of Interior, Dominion Lands Branch File #269180, PAC.
39. March 14, 1893, McDiarmid letter to Baker from Covey Hills in Baron de Hirsch Institute files.
40. Undated copy of *Free Press* report: Baron Hirsch Colony, Manager Baker Explains the Causes of Discontent Among Settlers—The Advances Made.
41. June 27, 1892 and July 1, 1893 Letters from William Lougheed, Bienfait in file #269180 PAC.
42. July 13, 1893 Letter from Julius Scherman, Vice-president Young Men's Hebrew Benefit Society, Montreal to Minister of the Interior, Ottawa; file #269180, PAC.
43. August 23, 1893, letter from Burpee, Secretary, Dominion Lands Commission, Winnipeg to W.H. Allison, homestead inspector at Estevan, file #269180, PAC.
44. Letter September 18, 1893, W.H. Allison at Oxbow to Dominion Lands Commission, Winnipeg, file #269180, PAC.
45. Telegram, November 22, 1893, W.J. Grutchfield, Hirsch to Dominion Lands Commission, Winnipeg, file #269180 PAC.
46. Letter, October 30, 1893, W.J. Grutchfield, Hirsch to Dominion Lands Commission, Winnipeg, file #269180 PAC.
47. November 3, 1893, David Ansell, President Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society to Minister of Interior, file #269180 PAC.
48. Allison to H.H. Smith, telegram September 13, 1893.
49. November 23, 1893, Allison to Dominion Lands Commissioner, Winnipeg.
50. *Ibid.*, and Allison letter, December 19, 1893.
51. January 15, 1894, Allison letter to Dominion Lands office, Winnipeg.
52. Translation of Yiddish letter, dated Tuesday 19th of Tavis 5654 (1894) in Second Annual publication of Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, April, 1972, pp. 62, 63.
53. Allison letter, January 15, 1894 (see FN 51).
54. Letter February 11, 1894 from Colonists Committee at Hirsch to Colonization Committee, Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, Montreal.
55. Copy of letter (8 pp.), London, December 18, 1901, from W.T.R. Preston Canadian immigration agent to Claude Montefiore from Jewish Colonization Association files.
56. *Ibid.*
57. Report on conditions at Hirsch colony, March 6, 1902, prepared for Jewish Colonization Association by representative appointed by Preston (signature on report illegible); copy from Jewish Colonization Association files.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Jewish Times*, Montreal, February 9, 1906, pp. 94-96, reprinted from London Jewish Chronicle.
60. Correspondence, July 13, 1900 and August 22, 1900, A.L. Cohen to Lord Revelstoke, Revelstoke to Lord Minto and Cohen to Minto in Governor General's External Affairs papers, RG 7 G18, Vol. 100 (4) (PAC).

61. W.T.R. Preston to Lord Strathcona, London, and Israel Tarte, Canadian representative in Paris, July 27 & 28, 1900, Tarte Papers, Colonization 1900-1905; MG 27-11D16, Vol. 15 (PAC).
62. A.L. Cohen letters to Lord Revelstoke, July 13, 1900, see fn. 60.
63. *Ibid.*
64. Cohen to Lord Minto, November 10, 1900 GG's External Affairs papers, PAC (see fn. 60).
65. *Ibid.*
66. Clifford Sifton to Prime Minister Laurier, April 15, 1901, GG's External Affairs papers PAC (see fn. 60).
67. A.L. Cohen to Lord Minto, May 3, 1901, GG's External Affairs, see fn. 60.
68. Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates*, page 76 and Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews*, p. 220. It should be noted that neither Rosenberg, nor Belkin had available to them the Governor General's External Affairs papers cited extensively in this essay.
69. W.T.R. Preston to Claude Montefiore, December 18, 1901 (see fn. 55) and Montefiore letter to Preston, December 19.
70. Report on conditions at Hirsch, March 6, 1902 (see fn. 57).
71. Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates*, p. 77.
72. *Ibid.*
73. Belkin, pp. 88-81.
74. Belkin, pp 79-80.

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

HENRY TRACHTENBERG

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".

*Paper presented to the fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society, Canadian Learned Societies Conference, Saskatoon, Tuesday, June 5, 1979.

**The writer is indebted to Mrs. Molly Begleiter, Librarian, Jewish Public Library, Winnipeg, and to his parents, Lillian and Samuel Trachtenberg, for translating a number of sources from Yiddish to English.

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 peddlars’ 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-shippers” 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 Yiddishe 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).

Continuity and Change: The Jewish Experience in Winnipeg's North End, 1900 - 1914*

ROZ USISKIN

Résumé

Pour les sociologues concernés par le phénomène de changement social, le processus de l'immigration et de l'affiliation ethnique continue de leur fournir des aperçus inappréciables dans le champ de la dynamique des relations sociales.

Le changement, tel que plaidé par des idéologues libéraux fut incorporé à un modèle dit "modèle de diffusion" et par lequel on pouvait prédire que des immigrants, au contact d'un processus industriel permanent seraient assimilés au sein de la culture nationale prédominante. L'assimilation devint donc un thème familier. D'après Oscar Handlin, l'immigration est un phénomène de déracinement d'un environnement et de traditions auxquels les gens sont habitués et qui se trouvent projetés dans un milieu et un mode de vie qui leur est sinon étrange voire curieux.

De nos jours, l'assimilation a donné lieu à la naissance d'idéologies nouvelles axées sur des thèmes tels que: le "multiculturalisme", le "pluralisme", etc. . . . appuyant l'idée selon laquelle la pérennité de la culture se poursuit comme étant le thème dominant de toute interaction sociale.

Selon William Ogburn: ". . . Il y a assurément de la résistance qui s'oppose au changement comme tout réformateur moderne pourrait en témoigner".

De nos jours, les théoriciens de la sociologie admettent de plus en plus le fait que "changement" et "continuité" ou en d'autres termes "classe" et "ethnité" peuvent et doivent exister de façon simultanée.

D'un point de vue très général et radical, Daniel Chirot dira que: "Il

*Paper presented to the 14th Annual Northern Great Plains History Conference — October 11 - 13th, 1979. University of Winnipeg.

n'est pas juste de dire que le développement met un terme aux divisions ethniques . . .”

Dans ce document, l'auteur se penchera sur l'analyse des processus du changement et de la continuité et mettra l'accent sur ces problèmes en prenant à titre d'exemple une communauté bien précise afin d'illustrer l'élaboration de son étude: la classe des travailleurs de la communauté juive du Winnipeg's North End.

For social scientists concerned with the phenomenon of social change, the process of immigration and ethnic affiliation continues to provide valuable insights into the dynamics of social relationships. Generally, two dominant themes have emerged focusing upon change and continuity as explanatory models for immigrant behaviour. Change, as advocated by liberal ideologists, was incorporated into a 'diffusion' model, a model which predicted that immigrants, upon contact with an ongoing industrial process would eventually be assimilated into the dominant national culture. Assimilation, therefore, became a familiar theme. One writer stated emphatically: "Traditional societal habits and customs seldom fitted into the patterns of industrial life, and they had to be discredited as hindrances to progress". As a result, it was incumbent upon the nation state as Guttman pointed out,¹ to regularly absorb and transform "new groups of pre-industrial peoples". A defender of this position, Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted* saw the immigrant plight in this way:

Emigration took these people out of traditional, accustomed environments and replanted them in strange ground, among strangers, where strange manners prevailed. The customary modes of behaviour were no longer adequate, for the problems of life were new and different. With old ties snapped, men faced the enormous compulsion of working out new relationships, new meanings to their lives, often under harsh and hostile circumstances.²

The assimilatory theme was staunchly advanced by Marxists as well, asserting that class was far more relevant to a capitalist, industrial society than narrow parochial concerns. However, the policy of assimilation and the hopes for homogenization of North America's diverse population have now been called into question as ethnic cohesiveness and ethnic cultures continue to flourish and some even to grow. Today, assimilation has given way to new themes such as 'multi-culturalism', 'pluralism', etc., giving support to a growing body of evidence that continuity of culture continues as a dominant theme of all social interaction. In his work on culture lag, William Ogburn notes that: "The persistence of culture at times appears

so strong that it seems as though culture actually resists change. There certainly is resistance to change, as any modern reformer will testify".³

Patterns of continuity among immigrant ethnic groups became particularly clear with the growth and emphasis upon social history. Since then, the ordinary working people, the immigrant and his community of interaction has gained status. This intense investigation has brought into clear focus the patterns of continuity of life styles, social relationships and structures often more reminiscent of the old than of the new. For Gutman, "An analytic model that distinguishes between culture and society reveals that even in a period of radical economic change powerful social continuities and adaptations continued to shape the historical behaviour of diverse working class behaviour".⁴ And, although one cannot deny E. P. Thompson's contention that "there is no such thing as economic growth which is not, at the same time growth or change of a culture", it was also Thompson who cautioned that "we should not assume any automatic, or overdirect correspondence between the dynamic of economic growth and the dynamic of social or cultural life".⁵

Today, social theorists are more and more recognizing that both themes — change and continuity — that is class and ethnicity, can and do exist simultaneously. Therefore, an analysis of any society must necessarily account not only for stability and continuity, but also for conflict and change, that is, the transformation of a society and its culture. Both sets of relationships must be dealt with for both continuity and change are but two facets of an ongoing social process. This duality was more recently elaborated by Daniel Chirot in his book *Social Change in the Twentieth Century*. Analyzing conflicts, particularly ethnic and national conflicts, from a global perspective and using a radical mode, Chirot finds that: "It is not correct to state that development [change] ends ethnic divisions, not as long as there exists a culturally based division of labor in which certain culturally defined groups continue to occupy only certain economic positions."⁶

From a Canadian perspective, this dual theme of continuity and change was strongly expressed by Marsden and Harvey in a new study, *Fragile Federation; Social Change in Canada*. They conclude that:

. . . Marx has provided us with an analysis of the emergence of industrial capitalism societies and the significance of class conflict in social change. Still, as we have seen in our analysis of social change in Canada, to focus on the dynamics of class relations alone is to lose much of the complexity and dynamic richness of social change in this nation. Canadians have class interests, that is not denied. We do suggest however, that in many instances interests of region or interest of language or

ethnicity are more directly relevant to people, are more likely to form the basic identity of group consciousness of people, and, as such, are more likely to operate as the principle catalyst of change.⁷

With processes of change and continuity as our theme, this paper will focus in upon one immigrant ethnic community so that we can more readily examine these dual processes in interaction. While this duality was general to all immigrant communities, it is our contention that the Jewish community in Winnipeg's north end — the working class community — has provided a microcosm which more clearly demonstrates these dual patterns. While there were powerful forces within this community that sought to maintain continuity with the past, there was also a growing element that sought to change and redirect it to the new. Essentially, by studying one particular group, by revealing the nature of a given part, as Handlin has pointed out, perhaps we will be better equipped to "throw light upon the essence of the whole".⁸ Furthermore, by studying the Jewish community, Robert E. Park, an American sociologist, found that the Jews everywhere "tend to be more sensitive to the trends in the larger society than others and that as a result they often anticipate the general cultural patterns of the future".⁹ A parallel to the Canadian scene can similarly be drawn. By studying the Jewish community in Winnipeg's north end, one can learn a "lesson not only about Jews but also about the nature of Canada itself".¹⁰ Second only to the Anglo Saxons, the Jewish community during the first two decades of this century was not only instrumental in shaping Winnipeg's multi-ethnic character, but played a dominant role in developing the unique qualities that have become characteristic to the north end of Winnipeg. The scope of this paper is confined to the period 1900 - 1920 as the period of intense Jewish immigration to the north end of Winnipeg, the period when Jewish communal life was crystallized and its structures determined. By 1920 the essential patterns had been established and thereafter provided the community with its tone and character.

This paper will examine two areas of interaction: Jewish cultural life and the effects of the public schools as the prime socialization agent of social change. These areas have been selected because they clearly expose the interrelationship between the dual processes of change and continuity. A brief review of Winnipeg's north end, as a ghetto community, will be undertaken. This is essential, since social relationships, Parks noted, have, as well, a spatial dimension and are 'inevitably correlated'.

In Winnipeg of 1902, one observer worried about the tide of 'foreigners' inundating the city, consequently disturbing the "homogeneity of Canada's population" strongly urged that "they had best be shoved into ghettos like Winnipeg's North End".¹¹ By the turn of the century, Winnipeg's north end ghetto was operational and rapidly acquiring a distinctiveness since recognized throughout Canada. Since each area in the city was "suited for some functions better than any other",¹² the north end became the repository of the 'poor and the homeless', the 'alien and the foreigner'. And, as if the medieval walls were in place, the ghetto swallowed up its inhabitants, walled them off from the larger community and forgot them, 'the strangers within our gates'.

The main physical barrier to the north end was the C.P.R. tracks. For many 'north-enders', the C.P.R. subway became the barrier separating them from the rest of the city. This isolation was not only a physical fact but became a symbolic class barrier that separated the 'north-end working class' from the 'rich south-enders'. This division was frequently stressed in the Jewish community. In several articles, Hestrin, the editor of *The Israelite Press* called for 'peace' and for unity amongst the Jewish community.

First, there exists a subway which divides us into two parts, south end and north end. We did not build it but the mighty C.P.R. did and not for this purpose, that Winnipeg should be divided. But see how we are divided — the south end from the north end Jews when we meet together. ¹³

This north-south split produced a situation whereby those on "the wrong side of the tracks grew up in complete awareness of how the other half lived".¹⁴ By its very nature, the ghetto effectively walled off, controlled and limited class interaction. For many, the isolation of the immigrant working class was complete, the ghetto became their total experience, their total reality. In this way, Winnipeg's elites were able to create their life styles without scrutiny, without guilt, while the ghetto dwellers had virtually no points of reference whereby they could compare their life styles to others. For Gray, this isolation was clear. "Those in the North End Ghetto know no more about life among the Anglo-Saxon rich than the latter did about life among the ghetto poor".¹⁵

In essence, "Winnipeg became two distinct cities" as Tom Peterson pointed out.¹⁶ The ghetto became a city within a city. Although inextricably tied to the metropol, by the turn of the century the ghetto was evolving its own institutions and structures that went beyond merely the geographic. Now it was a multi-dimensional community organized along

religious, cultural, economic, political, social and educational lines. More often, these were the replicas of organizations and institutions that they had transported with them.

Isolated from the mainstream of society, faced with a hostile environment, unable to speak the language or to comprehend the dominant Anglo-Saxon, Protestant mores, immigrants found a haven in this enforced isolation, “a refuge among their own kind”.¹⁷ It was here in the ghetto that their traditions, their culture and their life-styles again came alive. Forming their own distinctive enclaves within the ghetto community, the immigrants of the north end sought to recreate their own habitat. Bound together by a common geography, the East European immigrants again found their own country-men, their *landsmen*. These often included the Jews fleeing from Czarist pogroms, the Mennonites — also fleeing from persecution, the Poles, the Russians, the Galicians and the Ukrainians.

From a meagre beginning of 21 in 1881, the Jewish community quickly grew, absorbing the streams of pogrom victims, so that by 1911 it constituted the second largest ethnic group in the city. By 1912, the north end had gathered together 60% of all Germans, 86% of all Ukrainians, 84% of all Jews in Winnipeg.¹⁸ Mr. Smiler a newly arrived immigrant, recalled this tremendous diversity within the north end and the familiar continuation of relations well established in the old country:

When the Jewish immigrant came to Western Canada, he found a strange world. He found his old neighbor, the Russian or Ukrainian peasant in their familiar clothing driving a pair of oxen. He found their familiar straw covered huts with the brick bake-ovens. It did not take long for the Jew to recognize that his Russian or Ukrainian or German was more important to him than his English. The Russian or Ukrainian or German looked to the Jewish storekeeper or peddler for it was the Jew who was able to discuss their daily needs in their language. The Jew, therefore, sought to reside in those areas where the language was familiar. In Winnipeg, these factors were clearly recognizable. The Winnipeg Jewish street was so much Jewish that one thinks it could be Lituania or in the Ukraine. The Jewish community remained ingrained with the spirit of the “old home”.¹⁹

For the Jews, the ghetto was a familiar habitat, extending back into Jewish history to 1084 in Germany. Since then it has played a vital role in Jewish experience for “no medieval institution moulded the Jew more than the ghetto”.²⁰ As an institution, the ghetto was all encompassing, regulating and controlling the social, cultural and religious life of its members. In Winnipeg’s north end, the Jew again experienced the intimate, informal spontaneous relationships, the strong kinship ties that had been the basis of earlier ghetto life. Essentially, it is this kind of

milieux that Breton, in his work on “Institutional Completeness” found essential for the newly arrived immigrant whose initial need is to “reconstruct his inter-personal field”.²¹ It was here in the ghetto that group solidarity was re-established. As Gutman stressed: “Strong familial and kin ties made possible the transmission and adaptation of European working class cultural patterns and beliefs to industrializing America”.²² While Jews came with the expectation that their ghetto experience was a relic of the past, instead they found that they had replaced one ghetto for another. The medieval ghetto had indeed been left behind in the old country, only to appear again in the new world.

Finally, it was in the ghetto that the immigrant was first introduced and ‘fitted’ into a capitalist social structure — a process that wrought tremendous painful adjustments for the first generation of proletariats to industrialization. Of peasant background (in 1907, 85% of East Europeans were rural)²³ the largest proportion of East Europeans were transplanted from a pre-industrial society, bringing with them experiences unsuited to the demands of an industrial production.

Due to specific socio-historic experiences, the Jews often showed greater flexibility and more diverse skills than their East European neighbors, having been involved in and experienced with the growth of Europe’s industrialization, urbanization and migration processes. Although some Jews came prepared and did become farmers, the vast majority of Jews flocked into the cities prepared to make a living at whatever occupations were open to them. The overwhelming majority were firmly entrenched within the working class and were occupied in many diverse pursuits, primarily in light industry. They found work as painters, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, tinsmiths, hat makers, furriers, and, of course, as factory workers, particularly in the needle trade industry. The unskilled found their way into heavy industry and worked as track layers, hydro linemen, in slaughter houses, on the railway and in construction.²⁴ Others, within the lower middle class, turned to petty trade and became peddlars and the storekeepers and operated family clothing shops. Over time, there developed a reciprocal relationship between social class, ethnicity and the community in which these elements interacted. This community in Winnipeg was the north end, the symbolic home of the working class, where the East European immigrant became predominant.

Jewish Culture in Winnipeg’s North End

The whole of my life was centred within the cultural and educational work . . . Every young person who participated in such organizations, spiritually benefitted from it

and became imbued with the love of . . . art, drama and song. The influence of the Reading Hall was extraordinary and left indelible impressions on those who participated in its cultural treasury.²⁵

This was the assessment of one immigrant who grew up in the cultural milieu of Winnipeg's north end working class. Contrary to middle class, Anglo-Saxon stereotypes, which depicted the immigrant as 'uncultured', suffering from cultural deprivation (as depicted by the *Manitoba Free Press*, April 1, 1892), many of the north end inhabitants enjoyed a culture that displayed a vitality, a vigor and a variety which provided them with both spiritual and intellectual stimulation. Although most suffered from material deprivation, the immigrants brought with them an extensive cultural heritage of ancient traditions, a heritage at times far older and richer than the one they encountered upon arrival. In their homes and through the numerous voluntary cultural organizations that they founded, their culture was given expression. Here in the north end, the immigrant found again an environment not unfamiliar to that of the old home where they could interact with their own kind, where they were able to speak their own language, where they could feel comfortable in their 'old country' dress and where they had a set of common values and behaviour patterns to guide them. From their cultural heritage, they derived a dignity, a sense of belonging and a sense of continuity not accorded them by the dominant community.

While Ogburn argued that cultures — that is the continuation of patterns of thought and behaviour passed on from one generation to the next — tend toward the static even though non-material cultural, i.e. technology, is rapidly changing, in a more recent study Raymond Williams found that a society at any given historic period contains not only the dominant culture — which Marx refers to as "the ruling ideas of the ruling class" — but simultaneously exhibits both 'residual' and 'emergent' cultures". 'Residual' culture, according to Williams, is that culture which maintains the heritage of a 'previous social formation', one which continues to affect the thought and behaviour patterns of a segment of contemporary society.²⁶ Others have found that turning to the past or to the 'residual' for inspiration is more frequent than we suppose. For "under rapidly changing national conditions, intellectuals frequently search the past for suggestive ideas to solutions of new problems".²⁷ However utilized, persistence and continuation of 'residual cultures' continue to have an input into all societies. 'Emergent' culture is defined by Williams as either 'alternative' or 'oppositional' to the dominant culture stream.

While the 'alternative' stream seeks to find different life styles, isolated from the larger society, i.e. the hippie subculture, the 'oppositional' culture contends that this can only be achieved by radically changing the society, i.e. Marxists, and the New Left. In this larger framework of Williams, continuity and change are constantly interacting and interrelating. Culture, in this way, is seen as a continuing on-going process.

Perhaps the evolution of Jewish culture can illustrate best this dynamic relationship between culture and society, between continuity and change. For by the 18th century, the feudal economic order was giving way to the first stages of capitalism. Europe was experiencing "an age of rationalism", an intense intellectual activity, producing a new prodigious Renaissance".²⁸ Jews were not to get caught up in this ferment until the mid 18th century when Jews were being slowly ushered into the intellectual and aesthetic life of the European world. This initial impetus gave rise in the 19th century to the Haskalah movement (Enlightenment), a cultural renaissance that for the first time introduced secularism into Jewish thought. As a middle class movement, the Haskalah had a "profound and enduring impact on the life and times of their people and their civilization".²⁹ One of its important aspects was its emphasis on spreading education and enlightenment to the Jewish masses enmeshed in the superstitions and parochialism of the ghetto. Thereby, secular Jewish culture and education, with Hebrew as its language of expression, came into existence. It was this movement that paved the way for socialist thought in Jewish life toward the end of the 19th century. Now unfettered by religious and parochial traditionalism, large numbers of Jews embraced socialism as the panacea for all their social ills. Yiddish, as opposed to Hebrew, became not only the cultural vehicle of the vast majority of Jews, but for the first time, the language of instruction. Its strongest adherents were in East Europe. The culture that was subsequently developed was rich and vibrant, expressing the centuries of pain and suffering of the ordinary labouring Jews. Moreover, this cultural renaissance — a dramatic departure from the hegemony of religious orthodoxy — was a synthesis between class and ethnicity, between the continuation of Judaism and radicalism. This synthesis became, thereafter, the basis of Jewish socialist thought throughout North America. It was this cultural baggage — the old and the new — the orthodox, the secular, and the radical — which was brought to Winnipeg's North End. It was these two strains — change and continuity — that was most distinctive in the culture of Winnipeg's Jewish community.

However, it was not continuity maintaining or preserving the old that became problematical to this first generation of immigrants, but its very opposite. Their greatest perceived challenge was how to adjust to changes of the new socio-economic conditions. Toward this goal, their cultural organizations played a decisive role. It was within these organizations that the immigrants were first introduced to and linked with the larger community. It was here that they confronted numerous problems such as unemployment, poverty, overcrowding, sickness, discrimination, prejudice, etc. and it was here that they evolved their own solutions. The North End proliferated with numerous mutual aid societies, self-help organizations, i.e. Hebrew Sick Benefit Association. Whether these were affiliated with their synagogues or through cultural, secular organizations through the numerous 'landsmanschaften', i.e. Kiever, Babrover, Nikoliever, etc., organizational life became a vital component of Jewish life, both as a necessary adaptation to new economic conditions, as well as the continuation of their historic identity.

In this milieu, numbers of synagogues, Jewish schools, theatres and halls began to make their appearance soon after the turn of the century. Winnipeg's landscape slowly began to change, exhibiting the variety of architecture, both in form and in content, that was peculiar to the people of the North End. As Hershfield recalled: "The area abounded in synagogues and shtebelach (small private)". The attachment to a particular Shule was described nostalgically in this way:

This nostalgia of attachment lingers with me to this day, and as I pass frequently this corner, unforgettable memories come to mind . . . The Adas Yeshurun Synagogue was like home to me. On my way to and from school, I would go in and warm myself at the stove . . . and often on Saturday afternoons I would sit on the bench outside with the men, warming ourselves in the late afternoon sun. I would listen to their stories and tales of 'der alter heim' (the old country), of their difficulties in the shtetle (village), of how they 'geganvet dem grenitz' (smuggled across the border) . . . and always the complaint that their children were not following in the ways of their elders.³⁰

Increasingly, the religious elements felt threatened with the growth of the socialist movement and with the influx and influence in North America of Jewish radicals after the failure of the 1905 Russian Revolution. From then on, the Jewish community was infused with an ideological dimension that often shattered its earlier monolithic character. Thereafter, both the 'left' and the 'right' sought to gain influence within the community. Each faction vied with each other in establishing their own drama groups,

*Landsmanchaften — organizations based on the towns or cities of the immigrant's origin.

libraries, literary circles, choirs, dance groups, newspapers, parochial schools, etc. with the result that culture in one form or another reached into almost every home and heart in the north end.

The Jewish community was divided into three major streams, streams that were endemic to their European experience. From the Biblical era, religion was carried forward as a dominant stream bringing with it the continuity of the past, while zionism and socialism, the two major ideologies, developed toward the end of the 19th century. Within each division, there were further emergent cultures. The religious stream began to evolve into orthodox and reform minded elements, the latter eventually emerging with the Conservatives. The zionists were divided into the labor or socialist-zionists, i.e. the Poale Zion and Socialist Territorialists, and the General Zionists. The latter became the dominant wing, while the Mizrachi came to express the religious aspect of zionism. Similarly, Jewish socialists had their divisions. Here were to be found the revolutionary Marxists (Internationalists), the Moderates (Nationalists) and the Anarchists. For a time all three factions were united within the Arbeiter Ring (Workmen's Circle). Each division quickly developed its own culture, its own sphere of influence, its class affiliates and its schools. For example, the religious community founded the Talmud Torah in 1907. It was also backed by the General Zionist community. The Labour Zionists organized the Jewish Radical School in May, 1914. It was renamed the I. L. Peretz School in 1915, the name it retains today, while Marxists founded the Arbeiter Ring Shule in 1921, later named the Liberty Temple.

Within a very short time, Winnipeg's Jewish community became renowned throughout North America as a 'cultural oasis' providing an example and a leadership to all of Canada. Rabbi Chiel's recollections of Winnipeg maintained that: "It was a Yiddishe Shtot (Jewish city) unlike any that I had contact with in the United States".³¹ Jewish newspapers, at first *The Israelite Press*, and later *The Jewish Post* proudly announced the various activities that were being offered. The response of Winnipeg's Jewry was an overwhelming enthusiasm with reports of 400 - 600 people attending lectures, concerts, operas, etc. The period between 1908 - 1920 was a time of intense socio-political, cultural, educational and religious activity, responding to the needs of the tremendous influx of immigrants and the ferment within the country at this time.

Several examples can perhaps best indicate this cultural vitality within the Jewish community. Among its greatest cultural achievements, drama

reached the hearts of the immigrant Jew more deeply than any other cultural expression. Here they combined both laughter and tears, education and entertainment, a continuation of old themes while introducing the new. Here on stage one could choose historic themes, comedies of Jewish life with a 'real folk spirit', the estrangement of the newcomer in the new country, families breaking up and children turning from their parents as well as "the senseless scramble for money".³²

Jewish theatre was introduced in Winnipeg for the first time in 1902, beginning with amateurs. The Yiddish Drama Group was first organized by the Poale Zion in 1906, staging numerous plays with "social content" for a large appreciative audience. Later, Jewish theatre incorporated both amateurs and professionals, eventually the very finest Jewish theatre companies were imported from the United States. By 1917, popular demand had increased to the point where a building was purchased on Selkirk Avenue. The Queen's Theatre was to provide Winnipeggers with "good Jewish theatre".³³ The magic of the hours spent here was recalled by one young admirer:

The Queen's Theatre . . . what a delightful place it was. It brought the world of make believe and fantasy to people daily absorbed in their labors and in their problems. Depicted on the stage were various facets of Jewish life . . . But the plays always left a sense of promise and hope for the future . . . It was because of their efforts (promoters of the theatre) that people were able to see such renowned Jewish actors as Shilkraut, Adler, Schwartz, Moishe Oysher, Grossman, Molly Picon and the like.³⁴

In the political life of the community, renowned personalities from Europe and America were frequent guests in Winnipeg. These included, for example, anarchists Rudolph Rocker and Emma Goldman. In his autobiography *The London Years*, Rocker later described the Jewish audience of 1913: "There was a good intelligent Jewish public in Winnipeg, and I felt very happy among them. I stayed in Winnipeg a whole month. I delivered twelve lectures there, on social subjects, economic questions and literary themes. The discussions that followed were extremely interesting".³⁵ Indeed, it was not an uncommon occurrence for discussions to grow heated particularly amongst the growing radical community. Views were strongly held and defended. One labor Zionist lecture in 1906, by Bella Pevsner of New York, indicated the ferment, the vitality and the strong idealism of all radicals — Jews included. The discussion became so argumentative between extremists and moderates that "the lady fainted in the middle of her lecture, and thankfully recovered just in time to finish her speech".³⁶

In time, a new culture was being created, side by side with the traditional. For the first time in Jewish experience, a vigorous secular culture was being created by the immigrant worker himself, a culture which mirrored his pain and his degradation as he was first introduced into the industrial work place in North America. The degradation of the factory system, where Jews were prominent, was eloquently depicted by four Jewish proletarian writers living in the United States who became renowned throughout the world, their poems translated into other languages, as well. Wherever Yiddish was spoken, workers gained inspiration and courage from their militancy. These poets were Morris Rosenfeld (1862 - 1932); David Edelstadt (1886 - 1892); Joseph Bovshover (1872 - 1915) and Morris Winchevsky, the father of Jewish socialism (1856 - 1915). Many of their works were put to music and became the basis for the numerous secular and radical choirs that were emerging throughout North America. Many of these songs and poems were recited and sung here in Winnipeg by Jewish workers, by their children in their homes, in their schools and on the stage as they are today. Besides these working class poets, there were Jewish writers, dramatists, journalists, all attempting to weave together a realistic portrayal of the new Jewish immigrant working class in North America. Many were frequent guests in Winnipeg. The period 1915 - 1918 was a particularly exciting time for Winnipeg Jewry when they played host to the author Sholem Asch in 1915 and in 1918, the dramatist Peretz Hirshbein in 1917 and Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky in 1915, 1916 and 1917.³⁷

Cultural activities were not confined solely to the organizational spheres. There were numerous holidays to be observed in the homes. In this way European cultural patterns and beliefs were transmitted and adapted to the new country. Religious holidays abounded — Rosh Hoshonah, Yom Kippur, Passover, and so on. Besides, each family had its own special days — birthdays, weddings, funerals, Bar Mitzvahs, each with special foods, traditions, customs, songs and prayers that have transcended throughout Jewish history. As Mrs. Dorfman recalled: “It was one big Mishpocha (Family): a simcha [celebration] in one home meant an invitation to all”,³⁸ and reiterated by Hershfield: “The people in the area were like one big family. They knew each others business and participated in their simchas (celebrations) and their sorrows”.³⁹

Culture, then, in whatever form, was an integral component in the lives of the North End Jewish Community in Winnipeg. While culture for one segment was determined to establish as closely as possible that which they

experienced in the old country, for another segment — for secularist, for radicals — continuity had to make way for change. In a synthesis of the old and the new, the immigrant — through his work experience, through economic necessity, through the influence of the socialist movement — began to change himself as well as his culture, thereby adding a rich, vital, creative dimension to a materially impoverished existence.

The Impetus for Change — The Public School as a Prime Socialization Agent for the Immigrant

I was enrolled in the Strathcona School, the English public school which was the closest to our home. I clearly recall my father meeting with the school principal — a tall dark man with a dark wide moustache — whose name, I learned soon enough was Mr. Sisler.

“What is the boy’s name?” “Sheppy or Shaftel.” “There is no English name like this. We will give him an English name.” “No sir, my son must be called by his Jewish name.” “Well, all right, we will call him Shatly.”⁴⁰

In this way, the Jewish immigrant child was first introduced into the public school system. Similarly, for their parents, this was one of their first associations with and introduction to the institutions of the new country. Perhaps, of even greater significance, was the resultant confrontation between the immigrant and the dominant society.

At the turn of the century, the fundamental problem facing the Anglo-Saxon community was how to maintain its hegemony over the growing ‘foreign’ population, how to inculcate the newcomer with the appropriate values and beliefs in becoming “Canadianized”. Although numerous community leaders expressed these fears, it was J. W. Sparling — a north end school principal, who enlarged these fears into “the great national danger, for there is danger and it is national”. For Sparling, the choices were clear. “Either to educate and elevate the incoming multitude or they will surely drag us and our children down to their lower level. We must see to it that the civilization and ideals of southeastern Europe are not transplanted to and perpetuated on our virgin soil”.⁴¹ The great hope then, the agency for assimilating and unifying this diversified mass was the public school system. “Manitoba, at the cost of a severe struggle”, Morton argued, “had established a common or national school system partly in anticipation of the need of unifying a diverse population.”⁴²

Unity was undoubtedly a very real concern, but one that was not as readily acknowledged was the imperative for an industrializing society to discipline, to control and to mold the growing immigrant labor force. To this extent, Shatly and many thousands were stripped of their identity and

resocialized into a future industrial labor force. This was one of the primary functions of the school system.

Notwithstanding all difficulties facing immigrant children, school enrollment between 1900 and 1923 increased 200% from 7,500 to 22,000, from 119 teachers in 1900 to 527 in 1913. By 1915, 10,000 out of 22,488 Winnipeg school children were housed in the north end. As a result, north end schools were outrageously over-crowded. Strathcona School, built to accommodate 500 - 600 elementary students, had enrolled 900 in 1908.

In three years, from 1905 - 1908, Sisler wrote, the whole ethnic composition of the school had changed from a predominantly English speaking student body to an east European, speaking Yiddish, German, Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian and Polish. Within a short span, the new names such as Greenberg, Goldberg, Timorchick, Shmelnitsky and Semchyshyn, (those endings with "skis", "ovitches" and "bergs") began to replace the McLaughlin's and Thistlewaite's and MacTavish's, etc.⁴³

The Jews, Sisler found, were the first to take advantage of the schools.⁴⁴ Despite the initial impulse to send their children to work, Jewish parents quickly seized the opportunity for free public education. This impulse for education amongst the Jews "has been second in importance only to their search for livelihood".⁴⁵

For the first time in Jewish experience, all levels of education were made available to them, although discrimination and prejudice were always present. As a result, attendance of Jewish children in the public school system was close to 100% and illiteracy was almost non-existent.⁴⁶

Immigrant children found numerous problems awaiting them in the public schools. Many of them stemmed from the homes and reflected, in many instances, the ambivalent attitudes of many immigrants towards the re-socializing, assimilatory processes of the public schools. As a result, many were over-age upon entering school and "under-motivated, bewildered and defeated by a new language and a new way of life, uprooted and rebellious."⁴⁷

In re-socializing the immigrant child, questioning authority was obviously the first hurdle to be overcome. One teacher described her efforts to establish 'proper' authority in this way:

... it was a bad school. There were some bad boys in it. The first day in school, I looked the class over and I knew I had to be fierce. They wouldn't get me, no sirree. That first morning I went into the drawer and I got out this big leather strap. . . . I never smiled once, I looked fierce all the time. Fierce. I wanted them to know that was what and that I was boss. I wasn't going to take any nonsense off of them.⁴⁸

Others were more understanding and many early pioneers recalled with fond memories their first teachers who were almost all Anglo-Saxons. Listening to their stories, one can see how quickly and how effectively this socialization process became rooted, a process that often wrought inalterable tensions and conflicts between parents and their children. One story showed clearly some of the tensions that arose out of the school experience:

We must have been hard to put up with, because we admired them (teachers) so much that we wanted to be close to them. We walked around at recess hanging on to their skirts and sleeves. We stood as close to them as we could get when we went up to the desk to have our spelling marked. We wanted so badly to please them. Most of them were very good to us. We wanted to be like them and we were ashamed of our parents and grandparents.⁴⁹

This 'culture conflict' between parents and children was often of a subtle nature, displayed in a variety of forms. As the primary agent for weaning the child away from the home and into the dominant society, the teacher and the principal became the role model for immigrant children to emulate. It was their language, their mannerisms, their dress, their way of looking at the world that became the necessary requisite, the ultimate goal of entering into their society.

Some insights into this process can be gleaned from oral interviews. Although there were few Anglo Saxons in Aberdeen School, one young immigrant found that 'they' always sat apart from us "for they always felt superior to us. They were the example". In dealing with the problem of lice, the teacher would invariably point to the 'English kids' and say, "They keep their hair clean, why can't you? Nobody wanted to know about us immigrant kids and about where we came from. We were all the same to them. We began to develop a feeling that our parents were of lower status. We began to feel ashamed of our parents, of our Jewishness."⁵⁰

Another area of culture conflict generated by the school system which was painful especially to the Jews, was in the field of sport. In his book *Peaceful Invasion*, Mr. Sisler repeatedly emphasized the importance of sport for it provided not only good physical exercise, muscular coordination and self-control, but also it was a "means for employing the leisure time of boys, girls and young men and women". Not only was the socialization process a 9 to 4 routine, but had to be extended so that regimentation of the young was doubly enforced. Soccer, lacrosse, baseball, softball, basketball, hockey, and volleyball were all part of the

sports program. One incident stood out clearly in Mr. Sisler's recollections:

I remember two boys who were not allowed by their parents to ride on a street car or do any work with their hands on Saturday. As most of our games were played on that day, this restriction would apparently keep them out of the games. The boys made no objection to walking long distances to the games, and when it was pointed out to the father that soccer was played with the feet and using the hands was contrary to the rules, there was no further objection. The boys developed into good players and used to rise early and walk a mile or two in order to be on the field in time to begin play.⁵¹

Traditionally, Jews had had little encounter with sports, placing their main emphasis on 'learning'. Here in this new environment, there were strange physical games that had little relation to past experiences. The sons, however, were quickly attracted to the vigorous activities that were being offered. Many rebelled against their parents' attempts to ameliorate or circumvent the conflict. Often, as Chiel found, the conflict was "heightened and the generation gap was rarely overcome and often led to serious emotional dislocations within families."⁵²

Here is how Hershfield attempted to deal with this problem:

As I grew older, I became a member of our football team at school. The games were played on Saturday mornings. This created a problem which I solved in this manner. I would bring my football shoes with me to the synagogue and hide them outside under the wooden sidewalk. At *lai-ening* time (reading of the Torah) I would disappear from the synagogue and run off to play football. In the afternoon, I would get quite a lecture from my father.⁵³

In their attempts to create a feeling of harmony and friendliness amongst their diverse student body, Winnipeg's north end school principals generally displayed an insensitivity for the conflicts they were creating. Their greatest imperative was to regiment the child into accepting 'voluntarily' the values and life styles of the greater society. Military drill was another feature of regimentation, one that was particularly offensive to the thousands of Jewish parents fleeing military conscription in the Old Country.

In time, the public school presence was an increasingly pervasive influence in the life of the immigrant community, a new experience for most North End immigrant people of East European descent. As Woodsworth reported in 1910, the schools were becoming "the rallying point for all kinds of social activities",⁵⁴ enlarging its function into those areas traditionally confined to the home. Cooking, sewing and manual training had already been introduced into the school curriculum, while school grounds were opened as playgrounds for the surrounding community. Industrial training was not overlooked and reformers and educators, i.e.

Woodworth and Sisler, early campaigned for technical training. By 1913, free technical training was being offered at night school.⁵⁵

Similarly, adult socialization within the public school system was not overlooked. By 1907, evening classes or 'night school' had been established with ten English classes. As it grew in popularity, six more classes were added.⁵⁶ Of this number, twelve were to be found in the north end. These classes were publicized in the local press and by distributing handbills in various languages. Night classes were offered in most of the north end schools and were open to those fourteen years of age and over, on Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday from 7:30 to 9:30.⁵⁷ Classes were free and after the first year, Woodsworth reported that 400 immigrants were being instructed in English, the results were "very gratifying".⁵⁸ Most were men, but as Sisler found there were a "fair number of old girls and a few married women. It was not uncommon for a girl 10 or 12 years old to bring her mother to school, sit beside her for the whole evening and help with difficulties in the lesson".⁵⁹ Everybody from infant to the aged, was shown new ways to behave, taught new skills, regimented into new social patterns.

However, while the public schools continued as a persistent impetus for change, immigrant communities — the Jewish community without exception — developed their own unique countervailing influences. In a reality that divided the immigrant child between two contrasting worlds, many youngsters returned to their familiar cultural environment after school, to their ethnic halls and their ethnic schools. "Going to cheder" was a well known expression amongst north end Jewish youngsters. Whether it was in a classroom situation, in music, art and dance, etc., young people were furnished with a social activity that attempted not only to perpetuate their cultural heritage but also to balance the assimilatory trends of the public school. It was in this sphere that parental influence attempted to balance rapid change with cultural continuity.

Ethnic activity for the immigrant child served another social function. Peer group influence had become a fact of urban life as young people were largely left to their own devices during a good portion of the day. Gangs of youth, often defined by ethnic affiliation, roamed the streets in search of adventure and loot, many times defending the honor of their particular group. As Gray pointed out, there was little respect for private property amidst a group who did not have any or were unlikely to acquire any. In a

society that was rapidly generating a thirst for commodity production, Gray found that:

We all learned early there was little point in asking our parents to buy us something we yearned for, whether it was a bag of marbles or a coaster sleigh. Mostly the yearning led to thoughts of where and how the desired objects could be pinched . . . Surely a thin line divided the Phil Newfelds (a boy arrested for petty thievery) from the Jimmy Grays of Winnipeg . . . in the raids we staged on the fruit wagons and junkmen's carts . . . we were just plain lucky not to be caught. That enabled time to help us to outgrow our criminal tendencies by diverting our attention in another direction.⁶⁰

One wonders whether these 'criminal tendencies' that Gray assumed to be inherent, might perhaps have been the result of social injustices within their environment. Perhaps in a small way they were expressing the needs of the vast majority of society, how best to redistribute society's wealth more equitably.

Moreover, the growth of peer group influence indicated the changing nature of the family structure under capitalism.⁶¹ Traditionally children had been nurtured in a communal atmosphere, never separated from the adult community or from the rural pastoral economy. With the development of the factory system, economic life was now separated from family life, fathers were removed from the home for the largest portion of the day, and children, in this new social setting, had no assigned roles. They were at a loss as to their social purpose. Children, as a result, roamed the streets, a situation not peculiar to one group but general to the whole community. It was primarily in an effort to rectify this situation that compulsory education was introduced in 1916.

Here is how Hershfield described these Jewish gangs:

The boys growing up in this area were under the influence of gangs of Jewish youths, who were tough, vicious, mischievous and trouble seeking. From this area came the future leaders of our community in business and professions. But this area also spawned professional fighters, narcotic peddlars, boys like H. A. who joined Detroit's notorious Purple Gang and was shot to death while holding up a drugstore, or A. S., who was in the same room when Bugsy Segal was murdered in Los Vegas. Since I was much younger than the average member of the gang, I became a hanger-on(er). I recall accompanying them to the Grand Opera House, corner Jarvis and Main Street next to Miller's Book Store, and there participating in pelling of eggs and tomatoes from the gallery on the people sitting below. When we attended the Queen's Theatre, we rolled pop bottles down the sloping wooden floors, just as a most crucial moment was being depicted on the stage.⁶²

In this chaotic situation, parents, ethnic communities and the public schools often found that their goals were similar, to plan and to schedule every moment of the child's day. To this end, their efforts have been successful.

In summation, the public school system, for many immigrants, was a new experience, an experience traditionally reserved for the elites. Though education was always present, universal schooling to the extent that was advanced at the turn of the century in the new country was a new phenomenon. This phenomenon was clearly more evident in the urban centres where the need for unifying and ‘Canadianizing’ a population of such diverse languages and cultures was of greatest concern. Moreover, it was in the urban centres that the need for a literate, disciplined labor force was becoming urgent. For Braverman, “Reading and figuring are, apart from all their other meanings, the elementary attributes of a manageable population”.⁶³ At the same time, Braverman pointed out:

. . . What the child must learn is no longer adaptation to the slow round of seasonal labor in an immediately natural environment, but rather adaptation to a speedy and intricate social machinery which is not adjusted to social humanity in general, let alone to the individual, but dictates the rounds of production, consumption, survival, and amusement. . . . In school, the child and the adolescent practise what they will be called upon to do as adults; the conformity to routines, the manner in which they will be expected to snatch from the fast-moving machinery their needs and wants.⁶⁴

As a result, whereas the occupational expectations in a non-industrialized society was toward continuity — one generation following closely the patterns laid down by past generations, in an industrialized society, new avenues were opened up for the second generation immigrant. Generational patterns were often disrupted, bringing into the family both tension and conflict. Indeed, Adele Wiseman’s central theme in *The Sacrifice* revolves upon this ‘generation gap’.

Specific to the Jewish experience, schools provided not only intellectual stimulation but also the means whereby they could become integrated into the economic, political life of the community, areas that had formally been denied to them. In this aspect there was no equivocation; universal schooling and unilingualism were strongly advocated so that Jewish children upon entering the schools were mentally prepared for the school environment. However, integration for the Jews did not mean obliteration. Their desire to safeguard their culture, their religion and their traditions provided the impetus for the parallel formation of Jewish schools and a relatively autonomous community life.

Conclusion

During this period under investigation, Winnipeg developed into an industrial capitalist society with all the corresponding social ills characteristic of North American urban existence. Winnipeg’s haphazard

spatial growth spawned several segregated districts, with the north end as the symbolic ghetto for the working class immigrant.

Within this reality, immigrant communities, Jews included, established as closely as possible the lifestyles, behavior patterns, institutions and cultural forms which were familiar and which they had transported to the new country. Through this continuation, they found a security and comradeship, the communal ties, the mutual aid that were often reminiscent of the old. Here, they were to find the dignity that was not accessible to them in the larger environment.

However, the North End did not exist in a vacuum. Immigrants not only had to interact outside their work places, but within the North End, in the public schools where the process of 'Canadianizing the foreigner' began to make inroads. In the work place, in the schools, immigrants were gradually forced to adapt to new situations, behavior patterns, work habits and skills. In this industrializing process, many Jews found it increasingly difficult to maintain their religious purity, their dietary practices, their Sabbath in the traditional ways. Many began to recognize that their economic interests were of more immediate concern than their religious interests. Over time, a modifying process began. Building upon their past, Jews, as they had done numerous times before, began to change themselves, as well as their culture. In this way, the old and the new coalesced into the formation of what Park defined as a "cultural hybrid". While the Jews became integrated into their larger society, they were never willing to break with their past and their traditions.

This 'culture lag'* that Ogburn observed as characteristic of all rapidly changing societies, has now been recognized as having served a dual function, a defense mechanism for both the immigrants and for the larger society. For the immigrants, 'culture lag', or the continuation of past patterns of behavior and thought, was a defense against too rapid change, the depersonalized, atomistic relationships that were demoralizing to a newly arrived minority group. Culture lag also enabled the immigrants to retain some measure of control over their lives and those of their children, and the perpetuation of their cultural heritage. For the larger society, culture lag allowed the immigrant community some means of cultural expression,

**Culture Lag* — a concept defined by anthropologist William F. Ogburn in which one part or phrase of a culture lags behind another, i.e. rate of accumulation of material culture, i.e. economics, technology, etc. as opposed to the non-material, thereby causing tension and conflict in a society undergoing rapid change.

thereby preventing excess tensions and “placing too heavy a strain on society”. In this way, societies undergoing rapid change have maintained a greater degree of stability and cohesion.

Further, Handlin’s thesis of discontinuity has been argued from the point of view that the immigrants exchanged their identity, accepting a state of uprootedness in order to gain freedom. We agree with Handlin that many immigrants and Jews especially, did, indeed, come to the new country to gain freedom. Of this there can be no doubt. We would, however, argue that freedom for the Jews meant precisely the right to self-identity and the continuation of their cultural heritage, whether expressed in religious, Zionist or socialist terms.

From our study of the Jewish community in Winnipeg’s north end, we can conclude that freedom was a dominant theme of Jewish migration but identity was never a commodity of exchange. As we have indicated, Jewish culture underwent a process of change reflecting the needs of a changing society, but these changes always maintained its link to the past. As a result, Jewish institutions, Jewish consciousness, “the sense of mutual belongingness” has remained strong over time.

While the pendulum has swung between conflict and change on the one hand and continuity on the other, historians have made little attempt to bring both elements into a systematic whole. The study of the Winnipeg Jewish community has been an attempt in this direction.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gutman, Herbert G., *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 14.
2. Handlin, Oscar, *The Uprooted*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), p. 9.
3. Nisbet, Robert (Ed), *Social Change*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 6-7.
4. Gutman, Herbert, *Work Culture and Society in Industrializing America*. p. 17-18.
5. Thompson, E. P., *The Making of the English Working Class*, (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1963).
6. Chirot, Daniel, *Social Change in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc., 1977), p. 57.
7. Marsden, L. and Harvey, E., *Fragile Federation; Social Change in Canada*. (Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson Limited, 1979), p. 225.
8. Handlin, Oscar, *Adventure in Freedom; Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America*. (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press, 1954), p. 3.
9. Rosenberg, Stuart, *The Jewish Community in Canada*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1970), p. 10-11.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Taylor, John, “The Urban West, Public Welfare, and a Theory of Urban Development”. In *Cities In The West; Papers of the Western Canadian Urban Historical*

- Conference. University of Winnipeg, October, 1974. Eds. McCormack, A. R., and MacPherson, Ian, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, 1975, p. 295.
12. Wirth, Louis, *The Ghetto*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 285.
 13. *The Israelite Press*, August 17, 1915.
 14. Gray, James, *The Boy From Winnipeg*. (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1970), p. 114.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
 16. Peterson, Tom, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba" in *Canadian Provincial Politics*, ed. Martin Robins, (Scarborough, Ontario, Prentice Hall of Canada Limited, 1972).
 17. Dubovsky, Melvyn, *When Workers Organize: New York City in the Progressive Era*. (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1968), p. 15.
 18. Carlisle, W. J. "Growth, Ethnic Groups, and Socio-Economic Areas of Winnipeg" in Kuz, Tony J., *Winnipeg 1874 - 1974 Progress and Prospects*. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce, 1974), p. 32.
 19. *The Israelite Press*, October 11, 1918.
 20. Sachar, Abram Leon, *A History of the Jews* (5th edition — 1965) (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishers, 1930) p. 253.
 21. Breton, Raymond, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal relations of Immigrants" in *Canada: A Sociological Profile*, (ed.) W. E. Mann, (Toronto: The Copp Clarke Publishing Company, 1968), p. 194.
 22. Gutman, Herbert, *Work, Culture & Society in Industrializing America*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), p. 563.
 23. Rosenblum, Gerald, *Immigrant Workers*. (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1973), p. 50.
 24. Belkin, Simon, *The Labor Zionist Movement in Canada; 1904 to 1920*. (Montreal: Actions Committee of the Labor Zionist Movement in Canada. (In Yiddish) 1956), p. 82.
 25. Marunchak, M. H., *The Ukrainian Canadians; A History*. Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. (Yorkton, Canada: Redeemers' Voice Press, 1970), p. 456.
 26. Williams, Raymond, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory", in *New Left Review*, 1975, p. 11 - 14.
 27. Schwendinger, Herman, and Schwendinger, Julia R., *The Sociologists of the Chair*. (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1974), p. 97.
 28. Sachar, Abram, *A History of the Jews*. p. 263.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
 30. Hershfield, Sheppy, "Growing Up in North Winnipeg", in *The Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada; Second Annual Publication*, presented in 1969-70, Winnipeg, April, 1972, p. 25.
 31. Chiel, A., "Jews of Manitoba Revisited" in *The Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada; Second Annual Publication; A Selection of Papers Presented in 1969 - 70*, Winnipeg, April, 1972, p. 6.
 32. Schappes, Morris, *The Jews in the United States*. (New York: The Citadel Press, 1958), p. 129.
 33. *The Israelite Press*, April 12, 1917.
 34. Hershfield, Sheppy, "Growing Up in North Winnipeg", p. 22.
 35. Rocker, Rudolph, *The London Years*. (London: Robert Anscombe and Company Limited, 1956), p. 38.
 36. Belkin, S., *The Labor Zionist Movement in Canada, 1904 - 1920*. (Montreal: Actions Committee of the Labor Zionist Movement in Canada (In Yiddish), 1956), p. 45.
 37. *The Israelite Press*, March 4, 1915; February 1, 1918; September 1, 1917; October 12, 1917; etc.

38. Dorfman, Sarah, Oral interview — tape #188. Undertaken by the *Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada*.
39. Hershfield, Sheppy, "Growing Up in North Winnipeg", p. 25.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
41. Shack, Sybil, "The Immigrant Child in the Manitoba Schools in the Early Twentieth Century", Paper presented at a joint meeting of the Manitoba Historical Society and the Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada, December 11, 1974, p. 9.
42. Morton, W. L., *Manitoba: A History*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, ((Second edition, 1973)), p. 311.
43. Shack, Sybil, "The Immigrant Child in the Manitoba Schools in the Early Twentieth Century", p. 11 - 14.
44. Sisler, *Peaceful Invasion*, (Winnipeg: Ketchen Printing Co., 1944) p. 15.
45. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba*, p. 92.
46. Rosenberg, Louis, *Canada's Jews*, (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939), p. 263 - 265.
47. Shack, Sybil, "The Immigrant Child in the Manitoba Schools in the Early Twentieth Century", p. 22.
48. Broadfoot, Barry, *The Pioneer Years 1895 - 1914*. (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1976), p. 289.
49. Shack, Sybil, "The Immigrant Child in the Manitoba Schools in the Early Twentieth Century", p. 16.
50. Padolsky interview, conducted by the author.
51. Sisler, *Peaceful Invasion*, p. 47, p. 40.
52. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba*, p. 109.
53. Hershfield, "Growing up in North Winnipeg, p. 19.
54. *The Voice*, February 1, 1910.
55. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1913.
56. Artibise, Allan, Winnipeg: *A Social History of Urban Growth 1874 - 1914*. (Montreal: McGill — Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 210.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
58. Woodsworth, J. S., *Strangers Within Our Gates*. (Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909. Revised edition, 1972), p. 238.
59. Sisler, *Peaceful Invasion*. p. 73.
60. Gray, James, *The Boy From Winnipeg*, p. 149.
61. Zaretsky, Eli, *Capitalism, The Family and Personal Life*. A Canadian Dimension Pamphlet, p. 231.
62. Hershfield, Sheppy, "Growing Up in North Winnipeg", p. 20 - 21.
63. Braverman, Harry, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in The Twentieth Century*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), p. 436.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 289.

The Jews of Toronto: A History to 1937

STEPHEN A. SPEISMAN

McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1979

pp. 380, illustrated with bibliography and index

Reviewed By: J.M.S. Careless

Résumé

Il y a différentes façons d'envisager la recension de Stephen A. Speisman *The Jews of Toronto; A History to 1937*. La première consisterait en une évaluation faite par un membre de la Communauté Juive de Toronto. Le défaut de la cuirasse résiderait en ce que, prise sous cet angle, le membre de la communauté risquerait de n'être pas aussi au courant du passé que Stephen A. Speisman.

La seconde façon consisterait à donner l'oeuvre à un spécialiste en matière d'immigration et en études ethniques au Canada.

Quant à la troisième, elle résiderait en une plus ample évaluation de l'oeuvre par rapport à l'histoire urbaine et sociale du Canada plus généralement.

Je m'aviserais de tenter dans ce contexte de m'en tenir à la troisième approche c'est-à-dire une plus ample évaluation de l'oeuvre par rapport à l'histoire urbaine et sociale du Canada plus généralement.

Le livre *The Jews of Toronto* enrichit de façon remarquable notre connaissance des développements dans l'une des villes principales du Canada, survenus au cours de la période importante allant de la croissance urbaine moderne c'est-à-dire de la moitié du XIXe siècle jusqu'à l'approche de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale.

Le Dr. Speisman nous explique par le biais d'une histoire parfois complexe des choses à propos de l'expérience au Canada de l'immigrant Juif, ses rapports sociaux à Toronto ainsi que la vie d'une communauté culturelle et religieuse influente de façon croissante et se développant dans un contexte canadien.

Le Dr. Speisman relate une histoire complexe car il doit traiter de plusieurs forces en présence au sein de la Communauté Juive, c'est-à-dire orthodoxe/réformé, éléments "Anciens/Nouveaux" la tendance

yiddichisante/l'anglo-acculturation, orientation rabbinique/poussées séculaires, etc . . .

Il est important de souligner que l'oeuvre du Dr. S.A. Speisman nous présente la vivante effervescence d'une multiplicité et d'une différence au sein même du Judaïsme de Toronto dont l'évolution et la croissance sont à tout le moins saisissants.

Une grande partie du livre traite de la montée continue des services et des activités de la Communauté Juive en Education et en occupations à caractère culturel, au plan des agences de bien-être et en ce qui a trait aux hôpitaux. En fait, en terminant de le lire, en s'approchant des années 1937, l'auteur croit qu'une structure institutionnelle a été établie par le Judaïsme de Toronto.

Il est regrettable de constater que certains aspects de ce front commun naissant furent conçus en réaction à la sempiternelle crainte de résurgence de l'antisémitisme réapparu dans les années 30 et qui plus est, que l'étape suivante menant vers l'unité de la communauté reposerait sur l'Holocauste.

Néanmoins, le Dr. Speisman à la fin de son livre, c'est-à-dire vers 1937, laisse malgré tout une communauté juive respectée, bien établie et relativement mûre si l'on considère les plus grandes entités de Toronto, d'Ontario et du Canada.

Reviews of this important book could take several different forms. One kind might be written by a member of the Toronto Jewish community, by one as much a part of it, though likely not so deeply versed in its past, as the author himself. A second sort could be produced by a specialist in immigrant and ethnic studies in Canada, weighing the works valuable contribution to that fast-growing field. And the third would be a broader assessment of it, in terms of Canadian social and urban history more generally.

I am not qualified to do the first form of review. As for the second, I could say more; for without being a specialist in ethnic studies, I do have considerable interest in the multicultural history of Canada, in which Jewish groups have played so prominent a part, and which this book helps notably to illuminate. But it is chiefly the third sort of approach which is offered here. And in this regard, let me summarize my opinion at the outset, by saying that *The Jews of Toronto* sizeably enlarges our knowledge

of developments in one of Canada's chief cities during a major period of modern urban growth, from the mid-nineteenth century to the approach of the Second World War. By clearly tracing out and substantially explaining an often complex story, Dr. Speisman tells us a great deal about Jewish immigrant experience in Canada, social relationships within Toronto in particular, and the life of an increasingly influential religious and cultural community growing within the Canadian context.

His story is necessarily complex, as he deals with vigorously contending forces within the Jewish community—whether “Old” versus “New” elements, orthodoxy versus reform, Yiddishism versus Anglo-acculturation, rabbinical direction versus secularist impulses, ethnic, class and Zionist pulls and counter-pulls, and even more. The outsider may feel inclined to ask anew, “With Jews like these, who needs Gentiles?” But it is of the essence of Dr. Speisman's work to present the lively ferment of variety and dissent within Toronto Jewry, against which the growth of communal self-organization and mutual achievement stand out all the more strikingly.

Much of this book, moreover, sets forth the continued rise of Jewish community activities and services, in education and cultural pursuits, hospital and welfare agencies. Indeed, by the close, in 1937, the author deems that an enduring institutional framework had been established by Toronto Jewry, the next stage being that of building a common outlook on this basis. Yet it is sad to note, as he does, that some of this emerging common front was shaped in reaction to the age-old external threat of anti-semitism re-appearing in the dirty thirties; and far worse, that the path ahead towards communal unity would lie through the destruction of European Jewry in the Holocaust. Nonetheless, Dr. Speisman can leave the Jews of Toronto in 1937 as a firmly grounded, relatively mature and actively self-respecting body within the larger entities of Toronto, Ontario and Canada.

There is still more to his many-sided account; but there are possible shortfalls to consider also. One concerns the entry of Jews into professional or business elements that reached beyond the ethnic community. This certainly gets mentioned but, like the process of acculturation in general, tends to be treated peripherally. One can well understand that the author's viewpoint centres on the distinctive Jewish community. Yet acculturation may not be just a detraction from it, but can also involve its accomodation and operation within the larger citizen group, and thus be a part of the very adjustment and survival of the Jewish community itself. This matter of acculturation is well treated in regard to politics (a very

useful chapter) but might have been more fully and positively examined elsewhere.

In similar fashion, the Jewish labour movement, and radicalism, socialism, secularism, are seldom treated centre-stage. In fact one might say that Dr. Speisman's view is decidedly main-line, and religiously-oriented: the strong concerns of many non-religious Jews get far less attention, for example, than involved disputes over ritual and dietary issues in synagogues or butcher shops. One might argue that the latter meant more to most Jews in Toronto during the period that is covered. And — as always — speaking as an outsider, I cannot claim any weight of decision on the point. Yet it seems a bit ironic that a study of a minority (with so many minorities within it) should focus on one kind of majority viewpoint for the community as a whole.

Of course, there are answers; and the best is given by Dr. Speisman himself in his introduction: no author can do everything, and he has done a great deal, in any event. Furthermore, every historian has a perspective, must have one, and will select according to it. The most he can do is recognize it, and be as fair and judicious as he can be to factors beyond — as this author certainly seeks to do. In any case, there is always room for more books to be added, which keeps historians usefully employed.

Finally, the book has still more merits to its credit, particularly the way in which its author has dealt with problems of documentary evidence, usually in short supply among newly arriving, and often very mobile, immigrant groups who tend to save few early records of their lives and labours. Through close knowledge of community informants, widespread drawing on their verbal memories, and careful use of well developed techniques of oral history, Dr. Speisman has filled in the evidence gaps to remarkable effect, producing a coherent account that carries conviction throughout. This indeed is an admirable contribution to scholarship. But beyond that, his book is well written, helpfully illustrated with fine historic photographs, and altogether enjoyable, as well as most instructive. Who could ask for more?

CONTRIBUTORS

ABRAHAM ARNOLD — is the Secretary of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society and co-author of *Jewish Life in Canada*. He was the winner of the Caiserman award of Canadian Jewish Congress for 1979.

DR. J.M.S. CARELESS — is Professor of History and former chairman of the Department of History at the University of Toronto. He has been President of the Canadian Historical Association and editor of the *Canadian Historical Review*. Twice winner of the Governor-General's award, he has written extensively in many areas of Canadian history. His special interest in recent years has been urban and metropolitan themes.

BEN KAYFETZ — is Executive Director of the Joint Community Relations Committee of Canadian Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith. For many years, he has been active in community service, and has written and spoken extensively on subjects of Jewish, as well as Canadian Jewish interest.

DR. MOSHE STERN — is currently an assistant professor of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies at the University of Manitoba and Rav of the Fellowship of Prayer, Winnipeg. He has completed his Ph.D. under the tutelage of Professor Moshe Perlmann and the late G. E. von Grunebaum at the University of California, Los Angeles. He has published in the *Islamic Quarterly*, *American Historical Review*, *Journal of Language Problems and Language Planning*, *Mesa Bulletin*, and the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*.

HENRY TRACHTENBERG — is a Doctoral candidate in the Department of History at York University. He lives in Winnipeg and is engaged in researching and writing his thesis, "The Role of the Manitoba Jewish Community in Canadian Politics and Labour, 1882-1940". He has lectured in Canadian history for the University of Manitoba and is at present a sessional lecturer with the Department of History at the University of Winnipeg.

MRS. ROZ USISKIN — taught sociology at the University of Winnipeg. She has a Masters Degree in Sociology and an Honours Degree in History. Presently, she is doing research in the industrial union in the needle trades in Winnipeg. She presented a paper at the Learned Societies Conference of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society in Saskatoon. She also published a paper in the *Journal of the Manitoba Historical Society* and the *Jewish Historical Society of Western Canada*.

The following is a list of members who have become Patrons and Sponsors of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society. Those Patrons and Sponsors whose notification arrived subsequent to publication will be included in the fall issue.

PATRONS

Mr. & Mrs. David Azrieli
Allan and Lucy Bronfman Family Foundation
Mr. Charles Bronfman
Marjorie and Gerald Bronfman Foundation
Mrs. Saidye Bronfman
The Samuel & Saidye Bronfman Family Foundation
David and Lois Buck
The Harold and Miriam Green Charitable Foundation
Mr. Milton Harris
The Raphael Lowy Memorial Foundation
Mr. I. C. Pollack
Sumner Press
The Fay and Joseph Tanenbaum Charitable Foundation

SPONSORS

Mr. Edward Barkoff	I. Meretsky Furniture
Freda Baron	(Leamington) Limited
Mr. Lavy Becker	Mr. & Mrs. Sydney Morris
Mr. Monty Berger	Mr. David E. Newman
Senator & Mrs. Sidney L. Buckwold	Miss Tamar Newman
Mr. & Mrs. Donald Carr	The Pascal Family Foundation
Dr. & Mrs. Robert B. Disenhouse	R. Lou Ronson
Mr. & Mrs. Darrell Draper	Mr. & Mrs. Fred Schaeffer
Dr. Victor C. Goldbloom	Dr. Harold N. Segall
Mr. Syd Greenstein	Rabbi Wilfred Schuchat
S. Gross & Son Diamonds Ltd.	Mrs. Sadie Stren
Mr. & Mrs. Harry Gutkin	Mr. Philip F. Vineberg
J. A. Lyone Heppner & Associates Ltd.	Mrs. Eudelle Wall
Mr. & Mrs. Ted J. Hochberg	Mr. Hart Wintrob
Mr. Jacob Kosoy	Mr. Ben Yolleck
Lazare's Furs Limited	Mr. Floyd Zalev
Mr. Irving Matlow	