A SOCIAL PROFILE OF PEDDLERS IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF TORONTO, 1891-1930

In the drama that is Jewish history in North America, the Jewish peddler has captured the popular imagination. In this script, the character development is straightforward: An immigrant, virtually penniless and ignorant of English, arrives in America. Completely unprepared for life in North American society, the immigrant turns to peddling as an occupation ostensibly requiring nothing more than a minimal capital outlay and a strong constitution. Within a few years of ceaseless labour, the peddler acquires a knowledge of English, learns the way business is conducted in North America and saves enough money to open a shop, thereby climbing the first rung on the socio-economic ladder to success.

This portrayal is, in fact, a stereotype, but the scholarly literature has just begun to study the lives and careers of peddlers with the detail and rigour required to counteract this limited portrayal. Thus far, scholars have examined the economic and social contexts of peddling, thereby providing useful background material for more detailed work. From the macroeconomic perspective, the significance of the trade to the Canadian economy has been noted. Peddlers fulfilled a role later played by department stores in urban centres, and patronizing them was both more convenient and less expensive than shopping in an established store.[1] From the point of view of the individual making economic choices, peddling offered a first step in the business world to a variety of immigrant groups in North America. Italians, the Lebanese, as well as Jews, used street trading as a threshold occupation

from which to launch their careers.[2]

In addition to these economic concerns, some scholars have focussed on peddling in the context of Jewish society. Peddling has been frequently described as the first step in a process of upward mobility. These businessmen quickly perceived that the old-world values of piety and scholarship were no longer rewarded socially. If in the old country religious officials could still command a degree of respect, it was often noted that in the New World "those below are on top, and those on top are below."[3] In other words, the new elite was very nearly the antithesis of the old. And with the many renowned examples of peddlers who had become eminently successful, upward mobility seemed a distinct possibility, and peddling was perceived as a means for the immigrant to become part of the new North American Jewish elite.[4]

This research on the role of peddling in the eastern European Jewish experience in North American is useful, but it is also very general, and certainly there has been little detailed research on the Canadian experience. In this study, I propose to examine a group of seventy-two Jewish immigrants in Toronto between 1890 and 1930.[5] The individuals studied were selected from a larger group of 201 people who peddled in that city during the 1890s,[6] but only the seventy-two can be traced to the city directory for 1910.[7] A close examination of the careers and social lives of these immigrants provides a chance to re-examine some of the often-repeated claims about peddlers. An analysis of the organizations to which these peddlers belonged can challenge the image of the peddler as rugged individualist. Finally, the study of the fate of these peddlers allows for a re-examination of the image of an inexorable, upwardly-mobile climb to financial and social success by Jewish peddlers.

I

The Canadian careers of the peddlers examined in this study lived on Centre Avenue, Chestnut, or Elizabeth Street in the "Ward," an immigrant receiving area in Toronto, between 1890 and 1899. Here inexpensive housing was available, job possibilities were not far

away, and above all, it was a predominantly Jewish neighbourhood.[8] Street life in the Ward resembled that of a European village—the name St. John's Shtetl was not far from the truth—and presumably offered a secure environment for immigrants accommodating to life in Toronto[9] A sense of expediency, community and familiarity thus drew Jewish immigrants, among others, to this area.

Family ties played a significant role in determining place of settlement and occupation. Of the seventy-two individuals studied who were living in the Ward, thirty-three belonged to just thirteen families, and three of these families each produced five members of the group studied.[10] Kinship ties provided a means of support to individual immigrants. Many immigrants followed the migration chain from their home region to Toronto, where they initially lived in the homes of their family members. When a new immigrant arrived in Toronto, the migration chain provided him with a means of coping with the new environment and a network upon which he could depend.[11]

In many instances peddlers followed their relatives' occupational patterns and engaged in peddling,[12] as more experienced family members provided immigrants with connections to wholesalers and other businessman.[13] When career changes were made, several relatives would often turn to their new pursuits at approximately the same time.[14] Essentially, the older immigrants provided the newer ones with examples to be followed.

As a result of the advantage of exploiting ties of kinship, certain families in Toronto specialized in peddling. A case in point from this study is the Greisman family. The Greisman's comprised a large group of at least ten males in both 1900 and 1905. Each of them peddled at one point between 1890 and the latter date. Throughout the 1890s and in the early part of the 1900s, all of the Greisman's lived within six city blocks of one another. Furthermore, during this period various members of the family lived in the home of Joseph Greisman, who appears to have been the group's patriarch.[15] The close knit nature of the Greisman family is obvious, as is the support that individual members received from their kin.

In addition to bonds with family members, the world of the voluntary organizations had a significant impact on the social and

business lives of immigrants. Mutual benefit societies and synagogues organized as *landsmanschaften*, with their memberships comprised of people from the same town or region of Europe, were common in Toronto. The purpose of these organizations was to provide immigrants with a sense of security and familiarity, and it was common for *landsmen*, or countrymen, to help one another in their careers.[16] With the exception of the Polish organizations, voluntary associations in Toronto were organized along regional or national lines. Polish Jews, representing a larger community than the other national groups, had associations based on their members' home towns.[17]

A significant number of the immigrants studied belonged to these organizations. Twenty-one of the of the seventy-two peddlers were members of the Hebrew Burial Society (Chevra Kadisha Chessed shel Emet), a Galician organization, and are buried in that organization's cemetery. A number of peddlers belonged to several organizations of Jews from Galicia, including Machzikei Hadas, or Teraulay Street, and Shomrei Shabboth Congregations.[18] Moses Brody was President of the Shomrei Shabboth Congregation in 1900 and is buried in the Chessed Shel Emet's cemetery. Chaim Bochner and Michael Stone served officers in Shomrei Shabboth Congregation, but were also members of the Chessed Shel Emet.[19] Some evidence exists for the Russian Jews as well: Julius Brown, Samuel Ginsberg and Chaim Wilder, for example, all belonged to the Russian Beth Hamidrash Hagadol Chevra Tehillim Congregation.[20]

Some peddlers, however, joined institutions which were not linked directly to their region of origin. Twenty-seven of the seventy-two peddlers belonged to the Goel Tzedek Congregation. Although organized as a Lithuanian synagogue, many of its members came from different regions of Europe. Mendel Granatstein, for example, was a Polish Jew. Nevertheless, he was a member of the Goel Tzedek who donated substantial sums to the synagogue, over and above his regular dues.[21] Joseph and Henry Greisman, originally from Galicia, were members of the Goel Tzedek as early as 1891,[22] and the latter also belonged to the Shomrei Shabboth Congregation and was buried at the Chevra Kadish Chessed Shel Emet.[23] Abraham Cohen is another case in point: Like the Greisman's, he was a member of the synagogue between 1889 and 1891, yet was buried in the cemetery

of the Galician Machzikei Hadas Congregation.[24] Multiple memberships of this type were especially common among Galician Jews who joined the Goel Tzedek. Rather than being classified only as a Lithuanian organization, the Goel Tzedek can be characterized as the congregation of the new elite of Toronto's eastern European Jewish community. A number of the peddlers studied clearly proclaimed their membership in this elite by joining Goel Tzedek, and likely retained close ties with each other.

The peddlers also belonged to two other types of organization. A number of peddlers joined general benevolent societies. Examples of these organizations are the Judean Benevolent Friendly Society, of which Max Cohen was a member; three of the seventy-two belonged to the Toronto Hebrew Benevolent Society.[25] Others joined societies with a clear ideological orientation towards the politics of the left: Samuel Shapiro was interred in the section of the cemetery reserved for members of the Farband Labour Zionist Organization. Samuel Greenbaum was buried in the cemetery of the communist United Jewish Peoples Order (UJPO).[26]

Most of the individuals studied, however, do not appear to have been connected with the organizations of the Jewish Labour Movement, and the history of the Toronto Hebrew Pedler's [sic] Protective Association (HPPA) provides an example of this aversion to the goals of organized labour. Founded sometime between 1900 and 1910, the HPPA was comprised of people largely concerned with their own socio-economic advancement. As a result, the union was poorly organized, perpetually low on funds and generally ineffective. The original members drifted away from the HPPA as soon as they accrued some sort of financial benefit which enabled them to abandon peddling.[27]

This ambivalence toward the HPPA indicates that most of the individuals studied intended to turn to other entrepreneurial pursuits as soon as circumstances allowed, and, indeed, tells us about the entrepreneurial individualism valued by the peddlers of Toronto; not, however, to the exclusion of other forms of ties. Membership in these organizations, whether for ethnic or other reasons, established and perpetuated potentially useful networks among the immigrants studied.

II

Just as the image of the peddler as rugged individualist requires re-examination on the basis of membership in various organizations which could, in turn, involve him in a network, so does the classic portrayal of peddling as the first stage towards success. Success, in the socio-economic sense, can be measured by both changes in occupation and residence since they are indicative of vertical and lateral mobility. The abandonment of peddling in favour of owning a shop, junk dealership, or manufacturing concern, displays clear evidence of upward mobility. Shifting occupation from peddling to working as a presser, cloakmaker, or a finisher is indicative of lateral economic mobility, since few economic gains could be made. From the perspective of status, however, becoming an employee was an example of downward mobility, since one could no longer control the conditions of work. The place of a person's business was also an important factor in determining status. Having a business in a location other than where he lived indicated that the proprietor could afford to maintain two buildings. In this section, we shall examine the social mobility of the peddlers, with a discussion of some test cases.

The hierarchy that emerged among the seventy-two individuals who began their careers in Toronto as peddlers suggests that most achieved some degree of upward mobility. The first group that emerges is the most successful and can be characterized as entrepreneurs. It is comprised of individuals who, at some point after they abandoned peddling, established companies that were usually involved in the garment or salvage industries. This set represents twenty-two (31 percent) of the seventy-two people studied. The second group in the hierarchy is the petty traders. The members of this class, who comprised exactly half of the individuals studied, usually operated shops or small businesses, although some remained peddlers throughout their careers. The final group is comprised of employees. It represents eighteen (25 percent) of the seventy-two people studied. Included in this class are those individuals who spent the majority of their careers as travellers, or travelling salesmen. Although their jobs were not substantially different from those of the peddlers, travellers traded total occupational independence for security. Since they

worked for specific firms, they could be assured of a product and a market to sell it in.[28] The members of the employee class were not necessarily on a lower economic plane than the petty traders, but they were not self-employed and were thus of a slightly lower status than the second group.

Related to vertical mobility was residential location. Between 1910 and 1915, significant numbers of the individuals studied experienced some degree of upward socio-economic mobility and migrated to a new Jewish neighbourhood in the Kensington Market area. Most people remained in this neighbourhood at least until 1930, the final year of the study. A few, however, moved into the more fashionable neighborhoods of the Annex and Forest Hill during the 1920s.[29]

The hierarchy of peddlers set out above is useful for the purposes of tracking careers. It must be noted, however, that these distinctions are both gradual and, in some ways, artificial. In all cases, when a peddler abandoned his trade for another, he was attempting to move up the socio-economic ladder, but the vertical mobility was not necessarily direct. In fact, there is evidence of a great deal of slippage between groups. Careers similar to Morris Steinberg's were not unusual. From 1895 until at least 1900 Steinberg was a peddler, and by 1905 he had become a presser. In 1910, however, he is listed in the city directory as a traveller. He remained with this job until approximately 1920, when he was listed as a paper box manufacturer. Steinberg's success in this endeavor is doubtful, since he disappears from the records soon after.[30] Joseph Greisman is another case in point. From 1890 to 1892 he worked as a peddler. By 1893, however, he had opened a grocery store, which he maintained until 1899, when he returned to peddling. Greisman continued in his original occupation until sometime between 1905 and 1910, when he began working as an operator for the T. Eaton Company. By 1920, however, he had succeeded in opening a tailor shop of his own, which in 1930, was still in operation.[31] Greisman used peddling as an occupation upon which he could rely when his other entrepreneurial pursuits failed.

But certainly there are the clear indications of upward mobility. Henry Greisman can be enumerated in the entrepreneurial class, the uppermost level of the peddlers' hierarchy. In fact, he was one of the

five most successful of the seventy-two individuals studied. Although a Galician Jew, he is recorded in the Goel Tzedek membership ledger of 1891. The first available record of Greisman's occupational activities indicates that between 1893 and 1899 he was living in the Ward and working as a peddler. From 1897 to 1899, he worked both as a jobber and a peddler. By 1897, Greisman owned all of the properties between 45 and 57 Chestnut Street, indicating that he had attained some measure of financial success in his occupational pursuits. This good fortune was to continue. In 1904, Henry Greisman, along with his partners Louis and Harry Rotenberg, also former peddlers, established the Empire Suspender Company. This partnership appears to have been a short term one, since in 1909 the King Suspender Company, with Henry Greisman as sole owner, was incorporated. He was to continue in this firm until his death in 1938. A further indication of Greisman's success is that in 1908 or 1909 he built a row of block houses on Chestnut Street. His early real estate ventures were apparently only a prelude to his later ones.[32]

Greisman's moves within Toronto reflect the upward mobility of his career. Between 1893 and 1895, when working as a peddler, he lived at the rear of 59-61 Chestnut Street and the rear of 96 William Street. By 1897, however, Greisman had achieved some degree of success and was living at 57 Chestnut Street, a home that he owned. He remained in the Ward until sometime between 1905 and 1910, when he moved to University Avenue. This was the western border of the Ward and indicative of the general westward migration of the Jewish population. By 1920 Greisman moved north into the Annex, a fashionable neighbourhood, inhabited only by those Jewish immigrants who had attained financial security.[33]

One last example of mobility also serves to remind us of the presence of family ties in business. Isaac and Barnet Cooper, owners of the Cooper Cap Company and Levinsky and Cooper, were clearly related. When they first appear in the Toronto records in 1898, they lived in the same home. They remained there until sometime between 1900 and 1905, when they both moved into the Kensington Market area. Louis Levinsky was a member of a large family, at least five members of which peddled during the 1890s. He lived in the Ward between 1894 and approximately 1910, when he too moved to the

Kensington Market neighbourhood. The Cooper's were of Galician origin, but maintained a membership in the Goel Tzedek. Levinsky, and his relatives, who were likely of Lithuanian origin, were also members of that congregation. Furthermore, all three of them were on the Board of Directors of that institution between 1908 and 1912. Isaac Cooper was the President, while Bernard Cooper and Louis Levinsky were among the officers.[34]

The second level in the peddlers' hierarchy is comprised of petty traders, and the career of Julius Brown provides an excellent case study. During the 1890s he worked as both a peddler and a traveller. In 1910, he was an operator working for the T. Eaton Company and by 1915 he had opened a shop specializing in men's clothing. Similar to most of the individuals studied, Brown began his career living in Ward, but moved westward to the Kensington Market area by 1910. After 1915 his home was located above or behind his shop at 333 Queen Street West. He was a member of the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol Chevra Tehilla, a Russian synagogue.[35]

Another example from this group is that of Samuel Greenbaum. He remained a peddler from 1894, when he first appeared in the city records, to 1930, the final year of the study. Nevertheless, he did achieve some upward mobility in that he moved from the Ward to Kensington Market. There is no indication that Greenbaum was a member of the Toronto Hebrew Pedler's Protective Association in 1938, the year when the only surviving document of that organization was published. He was, however, a member of the United Jewish People's Order, an association with a communist ideology.[36]

The third class consists, as indicated above, of those who abandoned self-employment completely. Samuel Ginsberg, for example, worked as a peddler in 1899, when he first appeared in the Toronto records. By 1905, however, he was employed as a tailor. This connection with the garment industry lasted throughout most of his career, although he is listed as a confectioner for both 1920 and 1925. Ginsberg had one relative living in Toronto in 1899, but by 1905 this number had grown to eight. This kin group appears to have been close knit, since during that year, four of them lived at 16 Elizabeth Street, while two others lived at number 21 Elizabeth Street. Ginsberg was a member of the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol Chevra Tehilla Congregation. Furthermore,

his residential pattern followed the general one. He lived first in the Ward and, by 1915, had moved in to the Kensington Market area.[37]

The career of Solomon Rapp followed a course similar to Ginsberg's. He peddled throughout the 1890s, but by 1900 had turned to the garment industry for employment. There is no evidence that he left this field before his death in 1932. Rapp had only one discernible relative in Toronto throughout the 1890 to 1930 period, but a membership in the Shomrei Shabboth Congregation indicates that he did have ties within the Galician segment of the community.[38]

Some evidence suggests that the two topics discussed thus far—networks and success—can be linked together.[39] Certainly, some of the most successful businessmen had a both intensive and extensive ties of family and organization. Some of the examples from the petty trader group suggest that they had either strong kin ties or strong institutional connections, but not both. But the evidence for pursuing this association is weak, and until other sources are investigated, the question of the direct relationship between success and intensity of network affiliations must remain largely unanswered.

III

The myth of the Jewish peddler in North America is clearly based upon fact in the case of Toronto's eastern European Jewish immigrants. Nevertheless, this myth is exaggerated and uni-dimensional. Many immigrants who peddled upon arrival in Toronto, or soon thereafter, were indeed successful. None, however, can be said to have attained the folkloric dimensions of those North American heroes named Gimbel and Macy.[40] Furthermore, some of the immigrants studied did not achieve any great measure of success as entrepreneurs. As a result, they abandoned the trade for safer, but lower status positions in the garment industry. Finally, the myth of the peddler ignores the fact that while it is individuals who reap the benefits, none of the successful immigrants studied was completely on their own. Rather, the networks with which they were affiliated provided mutual support in moral and, in some cases, financial terms. Communal ties must thus supplement the emphasis placed upon individual initiative in any further investigation of the history of

peddlers and peddling.

ENDNOTES

[1]John Benson, "Hawking and Peddling in Canada, 1867-1914," *Histoire Sociale/ Social History* 18(May 1985): 75-83.

[2]John E. Zucchi, "Occupations, Enterprise, and the Migration Chain: the Fruit Traders from Termini Imerese in Toronto, 1900-1930," *Studi Emigrazione* 77 (March 1985): 68-79. See also his *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935* (Montreal, 1988), pp. 86-96. For a discussion of Lebanese peddlers in Canada see Baha Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree* (Toronto, 1980).

[3]Lloyd P. Gartner, "Jewish Migrants en Route from Europe to North America: Traditions and Realities," in Moses Rischin, ed.,*The Jews of North America*, (Detroit, 1987), pp. 37-38.

[4] See, for example, Leon Harris Friedman, *Merchant Princes: An Intimate History of Jewish Families Who Built Great Department Stores* (New York, 1979) and Cyril Edel Leonoff, *Pioneers, Pedlars and Prayer Shawls: The Jewish Communities in British Columbia and the Yukon* (Victoria, 1978).

[5]While the peddlers studied do not comprise a statistically significant sample, an examination of these people allows the student to note the similarities in their lives and careers.

[6]Deena Nathanson, "Peddling as a Threshold Occupation Among Jewish Immigrants: The Jewish Peddlers of Toronto's Centre Avenue, Chestnut and Elizabeth Streets, 1890-1899," unpublished Master's essay, University of Toronto, 1988.

[7]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1910. At least these seventy-two, then, persisted in Toronto. Others from the original may still have been there, as it is often the case that individuals were not listed in the directory in a particular year even though they lived in Toronto. The possible reasons for this omission are numerous, but the most likely is simply that when the enumerators called at a specific residence, no one was available to answer their questions. Due to the paucity of information left by the peddlers themselves, however, we must rely on these admittedly spotty materials, as they provide the best source of knowledge about the peddlers.

[8]For discussions of the significance of language, culture, migration chains, occupation and income in the growth of ethnic neighborhoods see Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Immigrant Neighborhoods and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues," *Journal of American History* 66 (December 1979): 603-19; Robert F. Harney, "Ethnicity and Neighbourhoods," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1935*, ed. Robert F. Harney (Toronto, 1985), pp. 1-24.

[9]Robert Harney and Harold Troper, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto, 1975) pp. 23-48; Stephen A. Speisman, "St. John's Shtetl: The Ward in 1911," in *Gathering Place*, pp. 108-109; Harney, "Ethnicity and Neighbourhoods," p. 8.

[10]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930.

[11]Harvey M. Choldin, "Kinship Networks in the Migration Process," *International Migration Review* 7(Summer 1973); Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto*, pp. 86-96. Oral testimonies dealing with the years 1900-1925 clearly indicate that individuals often chose to migrate to specific destinations because they had relatives who had preceded them there. See, for example, Becky Lapedes, interview 7 June 1978, Multicultural History Society of Ontario [MHSO] #1003; Al Hershkovitz, interview, 29 September 1977, MHSO #0481.

[12]Following the occupational path laid out by one's kin is a phenomenon visible in all instances of chain migration. See, for example, Zoriana Yaworsky Sokolsky, "The Beginnings of Ukrainian Settlement in Toronto, 1891-1939," *Gathering Place*, pp. 297-302.

[13]Family members provided immigrants with contacts among the wholesalers and often acted as outfitters themselves. Joseph Kage asserts that new immigrants often became the customer, or assistant peddlers to their relatives who had already been in the business for a number of years. This process is evident in Toronto throughout the 1980-1930 period, both when the immigrants studied were peddlers and when they were engaged in other pursuits. Joseph Kage, *With Faith and Thanksgiving* (Montreal: The Eagle Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 33-34.

[14]See, for example, the case of Jacob and Charles Cadesky, *Might's Greater Toronto Directories*, 1890-1930.

[15]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1905; *Atlas of Toronto and Suburbs* (Toronto: Goad's Atlas and Plan Co., 1910).

[16]See, especially, David Rome, comp., *Canadian Jewish Archives*, vol. 9, *On Our Forerunners- At Work*, p. 18.

[17]Stephen A. Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto: A History to 1937* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), pp. 96-117.

[18]The Chevra Kadish Chessed Shel Emet cemetery is located in the Jones Avenue cemetery, while those of the Machziki Hadas and Shomrei Shabboth Congregations are located on Roselawn Avenue. The ethnicity or ideological orientations attributed to most of the organizations discussed in this essay are derived from Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto*. When questioned, Dr. Speisman was able to identify the principles around which all but one of the groups was founded.

[19]Shomrei Shabboth Congregation, twentieth anniversary testimonial dinner

honouring Rabbi Gedalia Felder, 18 June 1972, *Anniversary Book* (April 1973), Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region Archives [CJC]; Internment Records of Dawes Road and Jones Avenue Cemeteries, Amalgamated Dawes Road Trustees.

[20]The graves of those people buried in the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol cemetery are located at Dawes Road. Internment Records of Dawes Road and Jones Avenue Cemeteries, Amalgamated Dawes Road Trustees.

[21]Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto*, p. 113; Goel Tzedek Congregation, Ledger, 1908-1910, CJC.

[22]Goel Tzedek Congregation, Ledger, 1889-91, CJC.

[23]Internment Records, Dawes Road and Jones Avenue Cemeteries, Amalgamated Dawes Road Trustees; Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto*, p. 113.

[24]Goel Tzedek Congregation, Ledger, 1889-91, CJC; Machziki Hadas Congregation Cemetery, located at Roselawn Avenue.

[25] Judean Benevolent Friendly Society, cemetery at Roselawn Avenue; Internment Records, Dawes Road and Jones Avenue cemeteries.

[26]Internment Records, Dawes Road and Jones Avenue Cemeteries, Amalgamated Dawes Road Trustees.

[27]Toronto Hebrew Pedler's Protective Association, Silver Jubilee Banquet, 23 January 1938, Souvenir Program, Archives of Ontario.

[28]Joseph Goodman, for example, spent most of his working years as a traveller for the Copland Brewing Company. *Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930.

[29]Kathleen Troy, "The Growth of Kensington as an Ethnic Neighbourhood," unpublished, MHSO; Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto*, pp. 92-93; Harney and Troper, p. 26.

[30]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930.

[31]*Might's Greater Toronto city Directory*, 1890-1930.

[32]Goel Tzedek Congregation, Ledger, 1889-91, CJC; *Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930; City of Toronto, Assessment Rolls, 1890-1899; Speisman, "St. John's Shtetl: The Ward in 1911," p. 120, n. 13; Partnership Records, Companies Division, R.G. 55, 31, Archives of Ontario.

[33]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930.

[34]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930; Goel Tzedek Congregation, Ledger, 1889-91, 1908-10, CJC; Goel Tzedek Congregation, Minutes, 1908-12, CJC; Internment Records, Dawes Road and Jones Avenue Cemetery.

[35]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930; Internment Records, Dawes Road and Jones Avenue Cemeteries, Amalgamated Dawes Road Trustees.

[36]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1899; Toronto Hebrew Pedler's Protective Association, Silver Jubilee Banquet, Souvenir Program; Internment Records, Dawes Road and Jones Avenue Cemeteries.

[37]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930; Internment Records, Dawes Road and Jones Avenue Cemeteries.

[38]*Might's Greater Toronto City Directory*, 1890-1930; Shomrei Shabboth Congregation cemetery located at Roselawn Avenue.

[39]For a full range of examples, see Nathanson, "Peddling as Threshold Occupation."

[40]Harris, *Merchant Princes*.