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Front cover photograph/photographie de la page couverture:
Bernard Finestone, shown here as a toddler in the early 20s,
examines his image in the mirror. His autobiography, ghost
written by K. David Brody, released in November 2013.
Courtesy of Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee
National Archives.

Bernard Finestone, vu ici comme un enfant dans les premières
années 1920, examine son image dans le miroir. Son autobi-
ographie, écrit par K. David Brody, a été publié en Novembre
2013. Une gracieuseté des Archives nationales du Congrès juif
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The journal and the Association encourage research on the Canadian Jewish experience through the disciplines of history, political science, sociology, economics, geography, demography, education, religion, linguistics, literature, architecture, performing and fine arts, among others.

The ACJS gratefully acknowledges the ongoing support of the Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies at Concordia University. The association is also pleased to be affiliated with the Israel and Golda Koschitzky Centre for Jewish Studies at York University, the Jewish Studies Program of the University of Toronto and Vered Jewish Canadian Studies Program at the University of Ottawa.

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À PROPOS DE LA REVUE

La revue *Canadian Jewish Studies/ Études juives canadiennes* est publiée par l'Association d'études juives canadiennes. Il s'agit d'une revue accessible au grand public gratuitement sur le Web, ou en version papier pour les membres de l'Association.

L'Association fut fondée en 1976 sous le nom Canadian Jewish Historical Society / Société d'histoire juive canadienne. De 1977 à 1988, elle a publié la Revue de la Société de l'histoire juive canadienne. La Société a commencé à publier sa revue scientifique évaluée par des pairs en 1993. En 1996, le nom de l'organisme est devenu l'Association for Canadian Jewish Studies / l'Association d'études juives canadiennes.

La revue et l'Association promeuvent la recherche touchant l'expérience juive canadienne à travers différentes disciplines, notamment l'histoire, les sciences politiques, la sociologie, l'économie, la géographie, la démographie, l'éducation, la religion, la linguistique, la littérature, l'architecture, les beaux-arts, et les arts et spectacles, entre autres.

L'AEJV reconnaît la précieuse contribution de la Chaire de l'Université Concordia en études juives canadiennes. L'Association est également heureuse d'être affiliée au Israel and Golda Koschitzky Centre for Jewish Studies de l'Université York, au programme d'études juives de l'Université de Toronto et au programme d'études juives canadiennes Vered de l'Université d'Ottawa.

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David S. Koffman and Stephanie Tara Schwartz

**ON PROBLEMS OF THE PERSONAL FOR
CANADIAN JEWISH STUDIES**

Organizers of a conference called “Personal Digital Archiving,” held in February 2013 and hosted by Maryland University’s Institute for Technology in the Humanities and the Library of Congress, emphasized that many of our personal records, family photographs and personal documents, as well as our health and financial information, are now digital, entirely and only. These archived details are a mix of qualitative, intimate artifacts (photos, memoirs), and quantitative, depersonalized data (banking and medical records). The latter, quantitative, set of archived details, in many ways, store and represent more of our personal uniqueness than do the former, qualitative set. Collections of our personal data are growing exponentially, in both size and complexity. The massive sea of virtual material already out there is, simultaneously, more intimate and more depersonalized than ever. New capture devices and media forms are reshaping our personal and collective experiences in ways that feel relatively seamless, but signify profound changes in how our lives take shape. This is, of course, the way that living in time – being part of history – works. We, and the stuff that represents us, feel fairly constant. Yet the ways and technologies with which we make “selves” change constantly, almost without us noticing it.

Documents of the everyday, lived experiences of Canadian Jews, as for most people around the world, are proliferating in a variety of media, including photo-video hard drives, blogs, electronic diaries, email folders, and via various forms of

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“status update” compilations, be they textual, photographic or videographic, rapidly accruing on a range of commercially driven social networking sites. The collection, capture, and remediation strategies of the latest media might be thought of as new forms of databases and archives, though they look radically different from the ones we know and have come to rely on. These technologies, the programmers who design them, and of course their users gather, curate, and preserve the documentary material of personal, filial, professional and/or public lives. If we do take these forms of documentary seriously, as we think we ought, we are faced with a bewildering set of new questions in three broad categories: (1) what constitutes an archive, (2) what counts as “personal” and, (3) how will scholars of the future access, re-create, conceive, and re-present meaningful elements of personal lives? How will scholarly insight be gleaned from these sources, and how will personal data itself be changed on account of these new practices?

As archivists, the Personal Digital Archiving conference organizers were interested in the problems of ensuring long-term access for personal collections and archives at a time when private companies and individuals have begun managing massive quantities of content outside of archives themselves and without the rigour or protocol they bring to cataloguing and organizing archival data. We scholars of Canadian Jewish Studies share some of their questions: how should libraries, museums, and archives be involved in the collection of personal digital materials? How might archive professionals encourage individuals to undertake personal digital archiving? What are the key issues associated with digital estate planning and “the digital afterlife” – who inherits personal data and how? We also have some of our own questions to add. What kinds of personal records are relevant for our public archives? How are digital archiving and new media altering the way we self-fashion or remember? What will scholars of the future do with all these new forms of data? What other challenges will new technologies pose to scholars of Canadian Jewish life? And finally, as all

these queries imply, our main question is: does the category of “the personal” help unravel the complexity of specific contemporary issues in Canadian Jewish Studies, and if so, does it obscure others?

A roundtable discussion with David S. Koffman (York University), Stephanie Tara Schwartz (Interactive Museum of Jewish Montreal), Andrea Eiding (University of the Fraser Valley), and Jennifer Yuhasz (Jewish Museum and Archives of British Columbia) at the Association for Canadian Jewish Studies Annual Conference in Victoria (June 2013) tried to address some of these questions and begin such a dialogue. Each panelist opened with prepared statements on why “the personal” is a relevant category to the professional work that they do and followed with a discussion of the limits and potentials of the personal in their area of Canadian Jewish studies. The panelists spoke of the personal as an important tool for building and maintaining relationships between community members and Canadian Jewish studies professionals. Community members might share family photos or oral histories with archives, museums, and researchers, while professionals might use their personal experiences to connect with an interviewee, visitor, or potential donor. A point was made that self-reflexivity should be a part of every professional’s ethical practice. How do one’s own interests generate research questions and findings? How do these interests shape the kinds of stories we end up telling about Canadian Jews? What information should be revealed or censored? In addition, personal motivation is often key to work in a small field such as Canadian Jewish studies, especially for those seeking to bridge professional and community work. In non-profit organizations such as museums and archives struggling for resources in bleak economic environments, financial incentives are not the only motivators for collecting and sharing Canadian Jewish history; staff and volunteers are often personally committed to the mission. Canadian Jewish archives exist today in large part because of the personal motivations of individuals such as David Rome, Cyril Leonoff, or Stephen

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Speisman, who painstakingly collected historical documents for the Jewish Public Library, Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives, the Jewish Museum and Archives of British Columbia, and the Ontario Jewish Archives. As these endeavors have an emotional aspect to them, what happens when those doing the work of Canadian Jewish studies lose personal interest in their mission?

The panel was entitled “Problems of the Personal” because problems are good to think with, but also because it seems to us that there are all kinds of new questions that our field must soon face, in terms of conceiving and collecting the material that captures something of our object of study, Canadian Jewish life, and in terms of the scholarly and professional tools and problems that arise from our scholarly and professional practices. In our view, the *new* questions that new media practices invite, are questions that can apply equally well to all of the older forms of material collections, like photo albums, family histories, journals, and letters, so thinking about new media and new archives is not just a mediation on the cutting edge or what is to come, but a useful position from which to consider the current practices, and the things we all take for granted, but likely should not.

Biography is one aspect of the personal that we might consider. Professional historians often give scant, sometimes even derisive attention to books or articles that are overtly focused on an individual, his or her “personal” story. Scholarly discussion among professional historians often centres on abstracted themes, ideas, or conflicts, about explanations, causality, or agency, rather than personalized stories or meanings. The professional historian seems more and more to value analysis over description. This, despite the fact that descriptive works about unique individuals comprise a fairly large share of the history book market. Advocates of biography argue that personal material is useful, essential, and insightful: it animates and gives texture and timbre to otherwise impersonal academic writing. It “brings subjects to life.” Good biographical writing

that makes use of emotional and narrative techniques are fused with data to make *story* out of history. As fund-raisers and non-profit directors know well, there is an undeniable rhetorical power in a single story, in the technique of describing the whole through its most dramatic part, the idea of metonymy. Biography has been used to illuminate the intimate dimensions of large-scale events and processes.

We can and should use personal material, but we must maintain some critical suspicion about material that has been generated and presented by a person in order to represent herself or someone else. This entails some methodological cautions that include the following:

1. Verification requires non-personal data; perception and subjectivity are slippery; scholarship cannot be based on it alone.
2. “Experience” is shaped by history and culture, so that the categories of thought, including language, gender, class, and ethnicity tilt expression in culturally patterned ways that subjects are often unaware of.
3. The ways that individuals experience their own feelings, their bodies, pain, pleasure, love, and their memories are situationally flexible and contingent upon many circumstantial and present-time forces. These contemporary forces often shape and alter the way the past is reconstructed and understood in fundamental ways.
4. Remembering is anything but straightforward recall, particularly in terms of traumatic memory, which has tense implications for the discussion of Holocaust memoirs, which is, of course, of central importance to Canadian Jewish studies.
5. Books about the self, like all other books, require a market – with market forces and demands – that make certain things valuable. It was booksellers who created the

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genre and market for biography in the late eighteenth century, as just the thing to fit the gap between the modern novel and a work of history.¹ Various Copyright Acts in the middle of the nineteenth century helped make the voices of those who had been very marginalized in society, like prostitutes, captives, religious dissenters, and criminals, actually worth something; supply side forces, not simply readers' demands, made authors and their stories into salable, valuable books, only when market forces and regulations for that market permitted it.²

6. Critics of biography, most famously Janet Malcolm, have eviscerated the genre, claiming that, biographers empty lives of their meanings, and produce melodrama, burglary, voyeurism, slander, and uninvited intimacy, rather than the honest representation of lives.³
7. Biographical and autobiographical work is invariably political, often heretical, oppositional, sometimes even radical. Studies focused on gender, class, or ethnic minorities are likely to draw on autobiographies in order to yield a resonant discussion about representation and experience of oppression.⁴

It is important to examine connections between the personal and the collective. Is the personal always at odds with the larger "we"? What, precisely, do books about Izzy Asper, John Hirsch, Mordecai Richler, Samuel Bronfman, Bora Laskin or Henry Morgentaler – just to name a few subjects of fine Canadian Jewish biographies – have to really teach us about Canadian Jewry? If they are only about certain individuals, should we ask *why them* and *so what*? Does scholarship of the personal need to transcend the personal to be a contribution to a broader discussion, like the politics of migration, as a model for social psychology of group identity formation, or as an incarnation of a literary moment?

The practice of writing analytically about ordinary individuals is actually of relative recent vintage for professional historians. Though we have innumerable accounts of individuals from the dawn of the written word, by most scholarly accounts, it was only in the 1970s and 1980s that attention to the lived lives of ordinary people began to replace event history, political, or military history. Scholars took a deep interest in individuals as an antidote to several problems in the field of history, such as: (1) the teleology and elitism of traditional political history; (2) the reductive determinism of social history as it was practiced in the 1950s and 1960s, which was fond of social scientific, quantitative research; (3) a certain disillusionment with liberal democracy and consumerist society that seemed to strip the uniqueness out of selves and replace them with manufactured desires; and (4) that modernization theory and structuralism both tended to de-humanize individuals as subjects, or just ignore them.

Two influential historiographical movements took off in the 1970s and 1980s that contributed to our valorization of the personal. The Italian school of micro-history lead by Carlo Ginzberg, and *Alltagsgeschichte* [literally, the history of everyday life], lead by Alf Leudtke in Germany, both made deep headway into the American academy, particularly for scholars born in the 1940s and 1950s, as noted by the micro-history scholar and champion Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon.⁵ These schools of thought, in turn, emerged in response to dominant trends in the French *Annales* school, which emphasized long and medium term structural forces of society. Though micro-history, *Alltagsgeschichte*, and *Annales* all shared an agenda of bringing common people, the lost people of Europe, into history, they disagreed as to how best to implement their goal. Micro-historians did not accept that the best way to come to grips with popular culture was through quantitative methods and historical demography. They instead focused on in-depth investigations of individuals, families, small communities, or just a single event. For them, individual subjectivity took on

significance as a primary shaper of historical reality. In their scholarship, the precisely contextualized replaced the serial; it tried to pry into the lived moment in and of itself, rather than to emphasize change over time. Their method was to move away from grand historical narratives, to replace the focus on mentalities, or the modern nation-state with subtler matters like the changing conceptions of the body, the family, or social relations. They urged historians to see something of the bigger picture that might otherwise be missed. Some of these studies began with an apparently insignificant detail, something that is so normal that it is barely mentioned, while others focused on that which is at first sight incomprehensible or strange, in order to elucidate a gap between our mindset (or the mindset of those who recorded a given document) and that which is revealed in the archive. Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre*, for example, showed that the behavior of the impostor who pretended to be Martin Guerre tells us, amongst other things, about the mores dominating in sixteenth-century French family life, which he tried to appropriate (even as he subverted them).⁶ To the historian, the impostor reflected an element of normal life that was so ordinary to his contemporaries that it was utterly taken for granted.

Focusing on the individual rather than the group also has led historians to explore the margins of power rather than the centre, and this, it seems to us – more than the motives that drove micro-history, *Alltagsgeschichte*, and *Annales* – is where Canadian Jewish studies' fondness for the personal comes in.⁷ Almost by definition, Canadian Jewish studies scholars are interested in examining the lives and experiences of the marginalized, those individuals who are often neglected by nation-sized studies and who rarely fit the existing or resulting models. We have written biographical essays about Canadian Jews that occasionally border on the hagiographic, but nevertheless are aimed at serious students of both Canadian life in general and modern Jewish history more broadly. Though methodological and stylistic considerations have changed considerably over

time – Bernard Figler’s 1962 biographies of Lillian and Archie Freiman are quite different from Gerald Tulchinsky’s 2013 biography of Joe Salsberg – both shared the goal of contributing to Canadian and Jewish studies.⁸ It seems to us, however, that it is worth asking if, or to what extent, has our field confused micro-history or *Alltagsgeschichte* with local history or biography. Though they all use similar research-gathering methodology, local history, and biography, they sometimes fail to connect specific events with broader social contexts. As one champion of micro-history has put it, “micro-history scrutinizes isolated topics to come to grips with the larger universe of historical circumstances and transformations,” while local history is better described as mere “anecdotal antiquarianism.”⁹

Biography, memoir, and autobiography are, no doubt, important in Canadian Jewish studies. The Helen and Stan Vine Canadian Jewish Book Awards grants one of its nine winners each year to a book classified as Biography. They have also awarded a significant number of “personal” books classified in their Non-Fiction, History, Literary Criticism, Holocaust, Yiddish, and Young Peoples’ Literature categories. Perhaps 25% of our journal articles have been devoted to biographical sketches, sometimes with analytic rigor, sometimes without. The 1999 Bibliography of Canadian Jewish Studies listed over three hundred significant entries under Biography, Memoirs, and Autobiographies. Perhaps two hundred more have been written since then. The majority of articles in this volume, and over half of the books under review, are centred on individuals.

Jewish studies scholarship has taken an interest in studying biography and autobiography with works like Marcus Moseley’s *Being For Myself Alone: Origins of Jewish Autobiography* (2006), Michael Stanislawski’s *Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning* (2004), Jeffrey Shander’s *Awakening Lives: Autobiographies of Jewish Youth in Poland* (2002), or the works of Jocelyn Cohen and Daniel Soyer, Steven Rubin, Mark Cohen, J.J. Schacter, Elishevah Carlbach, and David Ruderman.¹⁰ This is a rich literature that has done an excellent

job at addressing the various critiques of the personal. It seems to us we ought to mine it carefully for insights we can bring to the coming puzzle of new media “personal” material.

We might also learn from the pioneering work of Marie Burdugo-Cohen, Yolande Cohen, and Joseph Lévy¹¹ who collected oral history to record the everyday experiences (in Morocco) of Moroccan Jews who had immigrated to Canada. Theirs was the first study to capture the unique stories of this community marginalized both within Quebec society as a whole, and within the Anglophone Ashkenazi Jewish community in particular. In a later study, Cohen¹² reflected on the tendency demonstrated by the interviewees of that project toward “oral archaeology”; they seemed to essentialize their lives in Morocco and gloss over or “forget” the circumstances of the departure and arrival in Canada. At the time, Burdugo-Cohen, Cohen, and Lévy decided to publish the biographies without analyzing the “amnesia about the past” that they discovered in their subjects. But the remaining skepticism toward personal and collective memories around the experiences of migration compelled Cohen to reformulate her questions when interviewing Moroccan Jews for *Life Stories of Montrealers Displaced by War, Genocide and Other Human Rights Violations*.¹³ After conducting fifteen new interviews and a detailed analysis of the interview materials and of the historical and historiographical context of the emigration of Moroccan Jews, Cohen was able to turn her skepticism about the personal into a productive analysis of these competing narratives by Moroccan Jews about the moment of departure. Cohen’s analytical approach to oral history work is thus highly compelling for thinking through “the problems of the personal” in Canadian Jewish studies and how to combine stories of the individual with rigorous analysis. Studies that both collect and problematize “the personal” help to reveal new perspectives on the Canadian Jewish experience.

In, “Archives Matter,” a new special section of *Canadian Jewish Studies*, we asked the archivists of Canada’s Jewish archival collections to band together to present some case material

on the theme of biography. We aim to include this sub-section devoted to primary materials and/or written contributions from archivists in every forthcoming journal issue. With a different theme in each volume, we hope that this will become a space for archivists of Canadian Jewry to share material and perspectives that only archivists have with the scholarly community, and in turn, for our multi-disciplinary scholarly readership to gain knowledge of, richer access to, and newly stimulated research possibilities from all that these critical resources can offer.

To introduce this volume's special theme of biography Janice Rosen (Canadian Jewish Congress Charities Committee National Archives), the editor of our Archives Matter subsection, writes that documents of the personal (such as a letter or diary entry) "have the ability to speak across time to the reader, showing us what the author experiences as if those events were unfolding only days before we had the chance to read about them" providing a "feeling of immediacy" between the researcher and her subject. Shannon Hodge (Jewish Public Library Archives) cautions us of relegating archival photographs "to the position of demonstrative evidence rather than being considered a primary source of evidence on their own," while Jennifer Yuhasz (Jewish Museum and Archives of British Columbia) warns against dismissing oral histories for their presumed *lack* of dependable "documentary evidence due to their reliance on fallible memory and subjective interpretation." Dara Solomon (Ontario Jewish Archives) discusses the OJA's collection of hand and typewritten letters in the personal fonds of Jewish community members, and suggests that the authors' styles of communication can reveal important dimensions about a person. She also considers some of the consequences of the decline of print correspondences in the digital age. Finally Janice Rosen herself brings us into the often "personal, terse, and cryptic" world of Canadian Jewish diaries – still mostly unexplored in the CJCCC National Archives. The "Archives Matter" section provokes scholars to delve deeper into the range of documentary material available on the personal in Canadian

Jewish studies and challenge us to experiment with new practices for engaging these materials.

In this volume, we begin with two scholarly essays whose central preoccupation is with one individual. Using oral history and primary sources, Sharon Gubbay Helfer takes us into the life of David Rome, who used a personal approach to build dialogue between the Anglophone Jewish community of Montreal and French Quebecers. Her paper analyzes dialogue as a process that occurred between two motivated individuals within a specific socio-historical context but also how the personal missions of “dialogue pioneers” can lead to divisions between the individual and collective as contexts, missions and relationships change over time. Rome’s desire to dialogue with French Canadians, essential to his work in public relations at the Canadian Jewish Congress, ultimately conflicted with the anxieties of the Allied Jewish Community Services, as their position became more tenuous over the course of the Quiet Revolution in an increasingly nationalist Quebec. Rachel Mines analyzes the rare biography of Jennie Lifschitz, a Canadian-born Holocaust survivor. Her article raises compelling questions about the lives of individuals who do not seem to fit into the mold of usual models of acculturation of immigrants, survivors, or refugees. Instead, she analyzes Jennie’s experiences according to multiple identity theory “which assumes neither impermeable boundaries between groups nor fixed classification schemes, and which instead emphasizes individual’s own attitudes and ability to identify according to social context...” Furthermore, her article raises questions of self-reflexivity and scholarly distance, as the subject of the article is her own mother. Together with the Archives Matter, these articles expand the possibility of biography as a subject and methodology for Canadian Jewish studies.

Volume 20 of *Canadian Jewish Studies* includes three additional essays, some of which also touch on the theme of the personal. Peter J. Usher’s article is not dedicated to the personal or the study of a single individual, but it was motivated by his personal connection to two relatives that died in service as

members of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF). He conducts an illuminating study on the large proportion of Jewish navigators in the RCAF. Christian Samson uses content analysis to determine the quality and range of representations of the Jewish population of Quebec City in the *Quebec Chronicle* during an important period of Eastern-European Jewish immigration to Canada, between 1900-1924. Aubrey L. Glazer parses out the cultural, religious, and intellectual strands in the mystically inflected writings and lives of two very different Jewish Montrealers – Rabbi Meshulam Feish Segal-Loewy, the Tosher Rebbe, and the singer-songwriter-poet Leonard Cohen. Glazer offers an original conceptualization of a Montreal brand of Canadian Jewish mysticism that sees home, “Zion,” within exile.

In closing, we, David and Stephanie, would like to extend our gratitude to everyone who participated in the volume as contributors, and peer reviewers. We would especially like to thank Past Editors Faith Jones and Rebecca Margolis, Publication Assistant Cimminnee Holt, Archives Matter Editor Janice Rosen, Book Review Editor Ira Robinson, Translation Editors Chantal Ringuet and Lee Ah-nen, Layout Editor Teresa Lynne, Dave Friesen at Hignell Printing Ltd. and Randal Schnoor, President of the Association for Canadian Jewish Studies. We hope you enjoy reading volume twenty of *Canadian Jewish Studies*.

Endnotes

¹ Michael Masch, *Origins of the Individualists Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591-1791* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

² Marijke Huisman, “Selling the Self: Marketing and Publishing Autobiographies in the Nineteenth Century,” in Alfred Hornung, ed., *Auto/Biography and Mediation* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2010), 117-128.

³ Janet Malcolm, *The Silent Woman: Sylvia Plath & Ted Hughes* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1994). Hughes famously tried to prevent Plath biographies, especially that of Paul Alexanders’ and Janet Malcolm, *The Journalist and the Murderer* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990).

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⁴ Julia Swindells, ed., *The Uses of Autobiography* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995).

⁵ See <http://www.akademia.is/sigm/research.html>; and <http://www.microhistory.org/>.

⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).

⁷ George Iggers, "From Macro-to Microhistory: The History of Everyday Life," in *Historiography of the 20th Century* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997).

⁸ Bernard Figler, *Lillian and Archie Freiman: Biographies* (Montreal: Northern Printing and Lithographing Co., 1962); Tulchinsky, Gerald, *Joe Salsberg: A Life of Commitment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

⁹ Walt Woodward, "Historians to Debate Value of New Historical Approach – Oct. 11, 1999," UConn Advance, n.d. <<http://www.advance.uconn.edu/10119912.htm>> (10 March 2003).

¹⁰ Marcus Moseley, *Being For Myself Alone: Origins of Jewish Autobiography* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006); Michael Stanislawski, *Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004); Jeffrey Shandler, ed., *Awakening Lives: Autobiographies of Jewish Youth in Poland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Jocelyn Cohen and Daniel Soyer, *My Future is in America: Autobiographies of Eastern Europeans* (New York: NYU Press, 2008); Steven Rubin, *Writing Our Lives: Autobiographies of American Jews, 1890-1990* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1991).

¹¹ Marie Berdugo-Cohen, Yolande Cohen, and Joseph Lévy, *Juifs marocains à Montréal. Témoignages d'une immigration moderne* (Montréal: VLB Éditeur, 1987).

¹² Yolande Cohen, "The Migrations of Moroccan Jews to Montreal: Memory, (Oral) history and History and Historical Narrative" *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 10.2 (2011): 245-262.

¹³ See www.lifestoriesmontreal.ca.