

JEWISH PIONEERS ON CANADA'S PRAIRIES: THE LIPTON JEWISH AGRICULTURAL COLONY 1901-1951

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INTRODUCTION

What would bring Jews from the Russian Empire and Rumania, a population that on the whole had long been separated from any agricultural life, to undertake a pioneering farm life on Canada's prairies? Equally interesting is the question as to what Canada's interest was in investing in the settlement of Jews, most totally without agricultural experience, in the young Dominion's western regions? Jewish agricultural settlement in Western Canada was only one of several such projects, and far from the largest. Nevertheless it is an important chapter in the development of the Canadian Jewish community, as well as providing interesting comparative material for the study of Jewish agricultural settlement in Russia (both pre and post revolution), in Argentina, and in the Land of Israel.

In this monograph, we present the reader with a detailed exposition and analysis of the political, social, economic and environmental forces that molded the Lipton colony in its fifty-year existence as one of several dozen attempts to plant Jewish agricultural colonies on Canada's Western prairies. By comparing both the particularities and the common features of Lipton and some other colonies we may be able to strengthen some of the commonly accepted generalizations regarding these colonies, while at the same time marking other assumptions as questionable or even perhaps, mythical.¹ In our conclusions we will suggest that after a half century of vibrant cultural, social and economic life, the demise of Lipton and of the Jewish agricultural colonies in general was largely because of the state of Saskatchewan's agriculture as a chronically depressed industry.

CANADA AND THE JEWS: IMMIGRATION POLICY AND PRACTICE

The wave of migration that swelled out of the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe peaked in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. It carried with it over a million Jewish migrants and Canada was among the many countries that offered a new home to those who sought relief in the new world.² In the years 1901-1914 alone, 1,602,441 Jews are said to have emigrated from the Russian Empire, Galicia and Rumania, between 3 and 6 percent of them to Canada where a sizable percentage settled on the land.³ According to the 1901 census, out of a total of 16,131 Jews counted, 2,661 (16.5%) lived in the rural localities of Canada and this was before the largest wave of Jewish immigration between 1901 and 1914, when 50,000 additional Jews came to the Dominion, almost half of them, in 1913-1914.⁴ Jewish immigration continued through the 1920s at a rate of three to four thousand per year, with perhaps one quarter of the immigrants going to Western Canada, before being closed down by a progressively more discriminatory immigration policy through the 1930s.⁵ The result was that in the last pre-World War II decade, out of a total of 5,000 Jewish immigrants who succeeded in entering Canada, there were only 204 Jewish farm families, and of these only 27 families were settled in the Western colonies.⁶

The peaks of Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe were closely correlated with the social and economic environment: the 1882-83 wave of pogroms that followed the assassination of Alexander II; the 1890-92 period of famine, cholera and pogrom; the 1899-1903 series of pogroms that spread from Rumania and Bessarabia, culminating in the April 1903 Kishinev pogrom and the Gomel pogrom in August the same year; the violence and pogroms of the 1905-1907 years of revolution and reaction. In addition there were other underlying causes.

The second half of the 19th century brought with it a rapid growth of population in Russia, and with it a growing rural impoverishment. The Jews, largely concentrated in the market towns of the Pale of Settlement, limited in their occupations and places of habitation by a growing body of discriminatory legislation and largely dependent on the rural sector for their livelihood, became part of this cycle of increased population and growing poverty. This process of rural impoverishment stunted a Jewish agricultural movement that had started in Russia in the early 19th century, and embraced 10,550 farms populated by 63,342 Jews (approximately 1.2% of the Jewish population of the Russian Empire) by the end of the 19th century, a number far surpassing the peak of Jewish agriculture in Canada. Population increase and the confiscation of Jewish farmers' lands by the Russian government caused a sharp decrease in the size of family land holdings towards the end of the century.⁷ One avenue of relief was emigration, a solution increasingly sought by Jews of the Russian Empire as the civic disabilities imposed on Russia's Jews increased and stories of life in "the New World" filtered back from relatives and neighbors who had already emigrated. A chain of emigration was formed, pulling group after group in the wake of those who had left earlier. In addition, such personal motivations as the desire to avoid conscription for military service, particularly during the Russo-Japanese War, brought many young men to the decision to emigrate. In addition to being a personal reason, this movement expressed a growing alienation of the Jewish public as a whole from the Russian regime and society. In the huge emigration that embraced a quarter of the Russian Empire's Jewish population, or even in the much more modest emigration to Canada, a broad spectrum of personal motivations could be found. There were individuals who wanted to prove to the

Gentiles that Jews could farm as well as anyone. There were those who saw in the tilling of the soil a regenerative process that would “normalize” the Jewish presence in the modern world. This idea had surfaced many times in Poland and Russia, as early as the latter half of the 18th century, expressed by personages as different as representatives in the Polish *Sejm* (Parliament), the Russian writer and Senator, Derzhavin, and various figures of the Jewish elite as well as Enlightenment writers and thinkers.⁸ The roots of this idea came to Russia from the philosophy of Jean Jacques Rousseau (with whom Empress Catherine the Great carried on an extensive correspondence) whose ideas were absorbed and translated into Russia’s social context by Russia’s Populist movement and further Russified by the rural socialism of Lev Tolstoi, that saw in the peasant the embodiment of virtue, and in agricultural life the closest approximation of a harmonious communion of man and nature. This *tseitgeist* had considerable influence among Jewish youth in the latter part of the 19th century, and influenced both the Am Olam movement and the Zionist Bilu, both of which believed in agricultural labour as a redeeming and purifying influence in Jewish life. However this idea may have figured in adding moral justification to the material reasons for agricultural settlement, the immigration to Canada was at bottom neither an ideological, a national, nor a religious movement. On the whole it was a personal search for escape from oppression, physical dangers and poverty. The motivations for Jewish emigration were thus multiple and complex, involving both “push” and “pull” factors.⁹

Canadian interests in large-scale immigration were also multiple. Canada was eager to attract new population, for its territory was vast and empty, particularly its Western territories, the Province of British Columbia and the North West Territories that in 1905 became the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, that had agreed to join the Canadian Confederation on the condition that a trans-continental railway be built to link them to “civilization.”¹⁰ An organized effort to build a coast to coast main line began with the formation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in 1881, and after intensive construction the eastern and western sections were joined in 1885 and a full trans-continental line went into operation in 1889.

Settlement of the West was one of the three pillars on which Canadian Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald based his vision of Canada’s economic development.¹¹ The harnessing of rich resources and development of a large, productive agricultural sector were part of this vision. Advancing industrialization and population increase in Europe created a demand for grain and rising grain prices.¹² There was a growing confidence that a large agricultural population could support itself comfortably within a short time of settlement. Discussions of settlement funding were based on the assumption that new settlers could become economically independent after two years on the land.¹³

The Canadian government was prompted to seek immigrants not only by the prospect of “filling the country with people who will sell wheat and buy manufactured goods from Eastern Canada,” as Interior Minister Frank Oliver put it, but also by geo-political considerations.¹⁴ To the south of the new British-linked Dominion, the United States had emerged from the Civil War with new expansive energies. As early as the 1840s a dispute over the Oregon Territory had engendered an American demand for the border to be pushed north to meet the Alaskan Territories held by Russia. The geo-political urgency of filling the empty prairie provinces with tens of thousands of Europeans was even more harshly emphasized by the Riel Rebellion of Indians and *Metis* (French-Indian half breeds) in 1885 that shocked the entire North West Territories.¹⁵ On January 1, 1863 the United States Homestead Act came into

force and tens of thousands of new immigrants and landless sons of Eastern farmers began to take up farmsteads in the open lands of the American West, many of them along the border with the Canadian territories. Within ten years the Canadian government passed an almost identical act, seeking to attract settlers to Manitoba and the territories that would later be Saskatchewan and Alberta, as a counterbalance to the American settlers.¹⁶ Any male over 21 years of age, or a female who was the sole support of a family could register for a homestead of 160 acres, (A quarter section-- A section was one square mile) and by occupying the land for three years, building a home and cultivating 30 acres, could gain title to this for a registration fee of only ten dollars. During the years that this provision was in force, until homesteads were reserved for returning war veterans in 1919, 478,000 acres (approximately 30,000 homesteads) were given to new settlers. The Canadian government was acting on the belief that family farms, working in a *laissez faire* economic environment, were the best way to achieve both territorial consolidation and economic development.¹⁷ As experience later proved, the homesteads allotted were too small to serve as viable grain farms, and the conditions of farming in Saskatchewan too unstable to permit a completely free market system. Both these factors played important roles in the subsequent history of the Lipton Jewish farm colony.

What a homestead meant to a new immigrant of limited means is exemplified by the case of Abraham Griesdorf, who with his wife and four children took up a homestead in the Lipton colony in 1906. A year later, his land alone, exclusive of buildings and fences, was valued at \$2,000, and his buildings, implements and livestock were worth an additional \$1,490.¹⁸ Thus, a new immigrant family that succeeded in getting title to its homestead could, if it so wished, sell the farm, and embark on some other life with a modest capital. The dominant pattern that eventually emerged was of a movement from the agricultural colonies to an adjacent village or small town, and later to an urban center.

CANADA'S IMMIGRATION POLICIES

Canadian immigration policy was consistent from the formation of the Dominion through to the end of World War II, though the nuances and enunciation varied with the size of immigration and with the personalities involved, and, as will be shown, with the personal proclivities of the individuals involved in its implementation at lower levels. A concerted effort was made to attract farmers, farm labourers and female domestic servants from the British Isles and Northern Europe, with tolerance in the earlier years for some Central and East European populations, and a consistent rejection of East Indians, Africans and Asians. A great advertising and educational campaign was carried on, with lecturers combing the rural areas of the British Isles, touting the advantages of Canada and spreading literature. Sir Clifford Sifton, as Minister of the Interior, urged his emissaries abroad to act as salesmen for Canada to potential immigrants.¹⁹ In 1906 alone nearly three million brochures were sent out in eight languages, including Gaelic and Icelandic (but none in Yiddish, Hebrew, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish or Rumanian).²⁰ An effort was made to avoid rapid growth of the Eastern cities, and to direct immigrants onto the Western lands of Canada. The underlying concept was that Canada would be a European, and as far as possible a culturally and demographically Anglo-Saxon nation in the New World.²¹ Other ethnic groups were expected to adopt the majority, British, culture along with their citizenship. Canadian multi-culturalism was still far in the future.

Local immigration agents were active in locating and assisting potential immigrants. In Regina, John T. Stemshorn made a successful recruiting trip to the

Dakotas, and with the active assistance of the Regina Board of Trade and the local member of Parliament, Nicholas Flood Davin, attracted and hosted two representatives of a group of would-be immigrants from South Russia, interested in settling on homestead lands in the Regina district.²² Their lobbying included not only hosting the two delegates, described as “two gentlemen of means” who represented between fifty and two hundred families, all of whom were said to be “well off, and would bring considerable capital with them,” but extended to a proposal to send Stenshorn to personally guide the prospective immigrants on their journey to Canada and shepherd them directly to Regina by the most direct and economical route.²³

During the tenure of Sir Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior, (1895-1905) such preferences as to the origins of immigrants, while existing as basic guidelines, were interpreted liberally. Sifton’s image of the ideal immigrant was “a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife, and a half-dozen children.”²⁴ His successor, Frank Oliver, adopted more openly racially and culturally restrictive policies that found expression explicitly in the 1910 version of the federal law on immigration giving the government a power of executive decree to exclude “people whom we consider undesirable.”²⁵

JEWS IN WESTERN CANADA

Where did the Jews of Russia and Eastern Europe fit into such a policy? Clearly the great majority of them did not fit Sifton’s vision of the ideal immigrant. In 1913 Scott wrote: “No effort is or has been made by the government of Canada to induce Jewish immigration to come to the Dominion.”²⁶ This however, appears to be more a statement of then-current policy than of historical truth.

In the wake of the 1881-82 pogroms in Russia, Sir Alexander Galt, Canadian High Commissioner in London, wrote to Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald of his initiative in approaching Lord Rothschild as to “the feasibility of moving the *agricultural* Jews [of Russia—T.F.] to Canada.” [Italics mine—T.F.] He adds: “It seems not a bad opportunity of interesting the Hebrews in our North West.”²⁷ Galt, who had invested extensively in development projects in the Canadian North West, joined the British “Mansion House Committee” for relief of Russian Jews, victims of the pogroms. His first letter was quickly followed by another in which Galt explained that though Russian Jews are “partly agricultural,” they are mostly trade people but possessing sufficient capital to establish themselves in a new land.²⁸ Attuned both to Galt’s interests and the potential for investment by the Rothschilds and other Jewish financiers, Macdonald responded in a letter not free of cynical contempt towards the Jews: “The Old Clo’ [the reference is to the call of the rag peddlers, “Old Clothes.”—T.F.] move is a good one. A *sprinkling* [italics mine—T.F.] of Jews in the North West would do good. They would at once go in for peddling and politics.”²⁹ In this statement, the prime Minister expressed an intuitive grasp of the importance of an entrepreneurial, civically active middle class in the development of a democratic society. This was an understanding foreign to Russia throughout its history, and remaining foreign there to this day. Though Macdonald appeared totally unimpressed by the agricultural potential of Russia’s Jews, he nevertheless forwarded Galt’s proposal to the Governor General, with a wish that land be made available for such an immigration.

The result was that in 1882 a group of Russian Jews arrived in Canada to found its first Western Canadian Jewish agricultural colony, “New Jerusalem,” near Moosomin,

then part of the North West Territories. The colonists had to suffer a two-year wait before lands were made available to them, during which the settlement group shrank from its original 350 members to 27 families.³⁰ This colony was abandoned after a few years for reasons that we will discuss at a later point, but this initiative was followed by active government cooperation in settling groups of Jewish immigrants at the start of the 1890s, and by government representatives' selection of the earliest settlement groups in Lipton, as well as government representatives' control of the location and running of the Lipton colony in its first years. It was only in the later, more restrictive, period that an official discussing immigration policy would emphasize regarding the Jews: "They cannot be regarded as agriculturalists, and the number who have engaged in this occupation is small....," adding for good measure in the context of preventing the arrival of "undesirable immigrants": "Who would not regret to see the ghettos and slums of New York with her hived population and reeking sweatshops duplicated in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg?"³¹ The continuing of a substantial Jewish immigration and settlement in the West through to the economic crisis of the 1930s, suggests that despite an aversion to Jews as future Canadians, bolstering the population of these regions was an overriding consideration for Canadian decision-makers along with the pressure of the mass Jewish emigration from eastern Europe in search of security, freedom and prosperity.

Unlike Eastern Canada, in which Jewish immigrants first settled in the principal urban centres, Western Canada's Jews settled first in rural locations, only later gravitating to urban communities that began to

develop.³² 33334353637383940414243444546474849505152535455565758596061626364 A65de66t67ai68led6970 discussion71of the Jewish72 7374 7576 ag77icultural colonies in Western Canada may be found in Yossi Katz and John C. Lehr, *The Last Best West: Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian Prairies* (Jerusalem, 1999). Other sources discussing the colonies and the reasons for their establishment and ultimate disappearance are: Louis Rosenberg, "Jewish Agriculture in Canada" *YIVO Annual of Social Sciences* 5 (1950), 205-215; Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews of Canada in the 1930s* (Montreal, 1931); Abraham J. Arnold, "The Contribution of the Jews to the Opening and Development of the West" *Transactions of the Manitoba Historical Society* Series 3 no. 3, (Winnipeg, 1968-'69).

For the dynamics of Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire in the last half of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century see Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York, 1987), 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, 72-73.

Mark Wischnitzky, *To Dwell in Safety* (Philadelphia, 1948), 99. Wischnitzky's estimate is much higher than that of Scott, (see below, n.4).

W.D. Scott, "Immigration and Population" in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds. *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions* (Edinburgh, 1913), 517-590. Baron, 73, writes that Jewish immigration to Canada peaked in 1914 at 11,252 Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Here it should be remembered that the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 must have cut short emigration.

See the *Israelite Press*, (Winnipeg), December 25, 1925, 5, and May 22, 1928, 1.

Cyril Edel Leonoff, *The Jewish Farmers of Western Canada* (Santa Monica, California, 1984), 76.

Leonard G. Robinson, "Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 14, 1912-13, (Philadelphia, 1912) 21-115.

A detailed discussion of the persons putting forward thin idea and the circumstances in which it was presented to Polish and Russian officialdom will be found in Zvi Livne-Liberman, *haklaim Yehudiim B'Aravot Russia*. (Jewish Agriculturalists on the Russian Steppe); Sifriat Hapoalim. (Tel Aviv, 1965). (Hebrew).

For a similar multi-factorial analysis of motivations for Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe see Wischnitzky, 100. Gerald Tulchinsky, *Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto, 1992), 109, writes that throughout the emigration wave, the perception of economic opportunity was the principal motivating factor. Kennee Switzer-Rakos, "Baron de Hirsch, the Jewish Colonization Association and Canada," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 32 (1987), 385-406, 406, writes that "normalization" of the Jewish presence in the modern world was the principal motivation of the settlers throughout this period. While this was the outlook of Baron de Hirsch and the Jewish Colonization Association and may be true of some groups (e.g., the socialist London tailors who joined the Edenbridge colony), or some other individuals, it can hardly be applied to the majority.

Valery Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990* (Toronto, 1997), 57.

Knowles, 56.

Knowles, 58.

Louis Rosenberg, (1931), 220, noting that the Canadian government had assured ICA that the loans and advances provided by ICA to the settlers of Lipton could be repaid beginning two years from the date of settlement. See also Leonoff, (1984), 38.

Rosenberg, (1931), 81.

For a description of the feelings of panic and isolation that gripped the general population of Western Canada during this uprising, see Earl G. Drake, *Regina: The Queen City* (Toronto, 1955), 33-45.

For a summary of the principal terms of the Dominion Land Act of 1872 see Katz and Lehr, (1999), 48. For the text of the Act and the history of its development over the years, see <http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Dominion-Lands-Act/>.

For discussion of the government's outlook at this time see Isaac Tully Friedgut, *Capital Accumulation and its Implications for the Family Farm in Canada* unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1970, 47.

Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, Series KC, 1907. We have, of course, no information as to how much he had invested in his farm, nor what debts he had incurred.

Knowles, 64. ,

W. D. Scott, " 1906 Report of the Superintendent of Immigration to the Minister of the Interior." http://www.canadahistory.com/actions/documents/report_on_immigration.htm/ See also Trevor W. Sissing, "How they kept Canada almost lily white" in *The Black Community in the History of Quebec and Canada* (Quebec City, 1996), Unit 4, 8, reproducing a memorandum from Scott to the government immigration agent in Halifax explaining that although it certainly was the policy of the government to keep black people out, this should never be mentioned publicly or put in writing.

Scott (1913), 577, writes: "The immigration policy of Canada is to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm labourers and domestic servants *from countries which are classed as desirable.*" (italics mine—T.F.). On 577 he lists these countries as "U.S.A., British Isles, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland."

See the extensive correspondence of Stemshorn, the Board of Trade and Davin with the Department of Agriculture, Canadian national Archive, vol. 689. files no. 789788, 78933, 78937, 77787, 78685, March-September 1891.

Canadian national Archive, vol. 689, file 78685, letter of Reginald Shell, Secretary of the Regina Board of Trade, May 22, 1891 to the Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa.

Ellen Scheinberg and Melissa K. Rombout, "Projecting Images of the Nation: The Immigration Program and its Use of Lantern Slides" *The Archivist*, 111, at <http://www.collectionscanada.ca> citing *Sifton Papers*, vol. 255, 16.

Scott (1913), 573, quoting Interior Minister Oliver. Scott was, at the time of his writing, Deputy Minister, and had previously served under Sifton as Superintendent of Immigration in the Ministry of the Interior. Canadian immigration law underwent four major revisions in the period under review: 1869, 1886, 1906, 1910. Each successive revision appears to have been more restrictive of "undesirable" immigration than its predecessor.

Scott (1913), 571.

Letter of January 25, 1882, from Galt to Sir John A. Macdonald quoted in Benjamin G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada From the Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day* (Montreal, 1945), vol. 1, 273. Sack presents the full texts of this series of letters as an appendix to his book.

Sack, 273, Galt to Macdonald, letter of February 3, 1882.

Sack, 273-274, Macdonald to Galt, February 27, 1882.

Theodore Norman, *An Outstretched Arm: A History of the Jewish Colonization Association*. (London, 1985), 95.

Scott (1913), 571, 588-89.

For discussion of this phenomenon and a survey of early Jewish settlement efforts in the prairie provinces see John Archer, "Jewish Settlers in Western Canada" Part II, *Viewpoint*, 7, 4, (1967), 3-5.

See the scathing description of Winnipeg's primitive state by Shragai Feivel Ruder (signing himself ShF"R) one of the first group of Jewish immigrants to be brought there in 1882, in *Hamelitz*, 18, 29 (July 27/August 8, 1882), cols. 579-582.

Western Canadian Jewish Heritage Centre Archive 001 File 3, MS 2313. Note that the invitation is for the immigration of Germans from Russia, and not ethnic Russian immigrants.

Sack, 207. To my regret, I have been unable to find the original of this letter in any archive, though Sack's text indicates that he saw the original.

National Archive of Canada, Stemshorn to Small, Dep't. of Agriculture, 15 January, 1891 vol. 689, file no. 82023.

Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, *29th Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year Ending October 1st, 1892* (Montreal, 1892), 12. See also Sack, 222-23.

Simon Belkin, "Jewish Colonization in Canada," in Arthur Daniel Hart, ed., *The Jew in Canada* (Toronto and Montreal, 1926), 483-488.

Leonoff (1984), 26.

Regina Leader (March 22, 1892), 8. The objections to settlement of Jews in and around Regina are the same as those voiced five years earlier in a public resolution against reserving lands for the Wapella colony, and calling the would-be Jewish farmers "A most undesirable class of settlers." See Leonoff (1984), 10. Wapella eventually became the most successful and long-lived of the Jewish agricultural colonies.

Louis Rosenberg, *A Gazeteer of Jewish Communities in Canada, Canadian Jewish Population Studies, no. 7* (Montreal, n.d.), 3. Rosenberg's figures are based on the 1891 census. *The Regina Leader*, (October 27, 1891), 8, reports the arrival of nine Jewish families in the Regina district. The nine newly-arrived families were part of the group that went to found Hirsch a year later. See Leonoff (1984), 28. The nine resident Jews evidently left Regina in the "hard times" of the 1890s, for no Jews were found in the city in the 1901 census and only in 1905 were there enough active Jews to establish a community.

Knowles, 70.

The Regina Leader (April 5, 1883), 4. These were evidently part of the "New Jerusalem" group who were forced to wait two years for their land. In the interim, some of them supported themselves and their families by building the railways. During this period the Jewish group suffered attacks by other workers who beat them and stole their kosher food.

Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)* (Montreal, 1966), 58 for Wapella and Booklet Committee, *Echoes From the Lipton Jewish Colony, 1901* (Regina, 2001), 20 for Lipton.

Jacob A. Baltzan, *Memoirs of a Pioneer Farmer in Western Canada at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1994), 176-179 and *passim*. The accounts in Avraham Ben Shlomo Meir Feuer, *Zikhron Mordekhai* (New York, 1924), (Hebrew), and Clara Hoffer and F.H. Kahan, *Land of Hope* (Saskatoon, 1960) regarding the Sonnenfeld colony; and Cyril Edel Leonoff, *Wapella Farm Settlement: The First Successful Jewish Farm Settlement in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1970), regarding Wapella, are very similar in their descriptions of relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Hoffer and Kahn, 100.

See Katz and Lehr(1999), 99, for a list and map. After World War I, new settlers were generally directed into existing settlements rather than establishing new ones.

Louis Rosenberg (1931), 220. Rosenberg was familiar with Lipton not only as an inspector for ICA or as head of the Bureau of Social and Economic Research of the Canadian Jewish Congress, but also from first-hand experience. As a new immigrant in Canada from 1914 he served for several years as a teacher in the Tiferes Israel school in Lipton.

Katz and Lehr (1999), 48. In fact, the settlers of Hirsch in 1892 were screened by ICA and by the Montreal-based YMHBS, and received funding for their establishment. See YMHBS, 12. Lipton and Hirsch are the only two exceptions to the general rule posed by Katz and Lehr.

Switzer-Rakos, 392, writes that such ineffective screening of potential settlers was the general rule for ICA colonies, both in Argentina and North America.

Leonoff (1984), 36-37.

Sol Sinclair, "Memories of Early Jewish Settlement at Lipton, Saskatchewan," in Marjorie Drever, ed., *Trails and Tales of Settlement and Progress, Lipton and District, 1875-1985*. (Regina, 1987), 37.

The colony was originally named Qu'Appelle, because the regional land registration office was located there, but it is universally remembered as the Lipton colony and occasionally as Lipton-Cupar.

Rosenberg (1931), 221.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. The first High Holiday prayer service was held in Ft. Qu'Appelle in the local store. At one p.m., Morrison, the proprietor, intervened saying, "Enough praying, you can go home now," and shooed them out. See Booklet Committee, 23. Rosenberg, "Lipton Inspection Tour, May 25-27, 1926, writes of mistrust between ICA and the regional government officials.

Switzer-Rakos, 402, and Sinclair, 37. Switzer-Rakos adds that the three administrators "mistrusted all foreigners."

Sinclair, 37.

YMHBS, 13.

Leonoff (1970), 25. Booklet Committee, 10, has a 1937 photograph showing a horse-drawn sled hauling a load of grain to Lipton. Oxen were stronger than horses, but much slower. Their replacement by horses enabled farmers to reach Qu'Appelle and return the same day, but a journey to the railway at Fort Qu'Appelle still involved more than a single day's trip. To Lipton and back was two to two and a half hours ride from the nearest farms of the colony.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. See also Booklet Committee, 8.

Israelite Press, (Yiddish), February 12, 1926. The article, written at a time when ICA was striving to consolidate and enlarge the Jewish colonies, discusses the consistent policy of the Canadian government to assimilate all minorities into Anglo Saxon culture and to prevent any "foreign" ethnic minority from achieving strength.

Arnold (1968-69), 9, Louis Rosenberg, (1950), 205-215. See also Katz and Lehr (1999), 129, and Baltzan, 100-101 for the difficulties this posed for the Jewish colonists.

Baltzan, 100.

Baltzan, 184, names the first Lipton settlers who employed this strategy, and later notes that he and his brother and two brothers-in-law did the same. Abe Griesdorf, two Rabinoviches and Isaac Friedgut (all related by marriage) also employed this strategy.

YMBHS, 17-18, the report of Moses Vineberg and D.S. Friedman on their visit to Hirsch in 1892, emphasizes the importance of such an arrangement. The first group of Lipton settlers received only one pair of horses and one team of oxen for each six homesteaders. Family groupings of homesteads thus were of great advantage. See Baltzan, 111.

Laura N. Bonikowski, "Drought in Palliser's Triangle" at <http://www.the.canadianencyclopedia.com>. The apex of Palliser's Triangle was in the region of North Battleford, Saskatchewan, the Eastern edge of its base at Brandon, Manitoba, and its Western edge near Lethbridge, Alberta.

Louis Rosenberg, "Memorandum: Lipton Inspection Trip, November 30th-December 2nd, 1925, and "Lipton Inspection Trip, May 25-27, 1926. Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, Louis Rosenberg Collection.

Rosenberg (1931), 222.

Sinclair, 39.

Baltzan, 254.

Hoffer and Kahn, 55.

Baltzan, 254.

Baltzan, 117-118. Baltzan, 130-131 and 205-211, relates how he himself twice barely escaped such a death in his four years in Lipton. The Rabbi of the New Jerusalem colony lost both feet due to frostbite. Feuer, 96, describes an ice storm that destroyed buildings and killed livestock.

Jerry Brodie, "Early Days on the Lipton Colony" in Fred I. Curtis, ed., *Our Heritage: The History of the Regina and Region Jewish Community* (Regina, 1989), 21-24.

Baltzan, 117.

Bonikowski. During this period, 13,900 farms were abandoned in the province.

The budget allotted is specified in Norman, 97.

For the Hirsch experience see YMHBS, 16-17.

Booklet Committee, 7. Since the average Jewish immigrant family was said to number five souls, it would appear that this was an advance party, probably made up mainly of men to lay the foundations of the settlement.

See Jill Culiner, *Finding Home: In the footsteps of the Jewish Fusgeyers*, (Toronto, 2004). See pp. 295-296 for a picture of Leib Swartz, a *fusgeyer*, and his family in Lipton and his daughter's description of her father's reticence about this episode.

Baltzan, 104-105, 109-111.

Baltzan, 111.

For examples of quick construction of homes and barns see Baltzan, 160, Booklet Committee, 4, Feuer, 96.

Baltzan, 104.

Switzer-Rakos, 402. Belkin (1966), 77, citing ICA reports, writes that at the end of 1903, only 56 farmers remained, cultivating only 500 acres of land, and that the entire Lipton colony numbered only 195 souls. As previously noted, the "New Jerusalem" colony had been totally abandoned after four years. Robinson, 50, notes that after three successive years of total crop failure, and faced with a demand to begin repaying their loans to ICA, the founding families of the Hirsch settlement sold out and left. Archer, 3, relates that a group of experienced Scots farmers also abandoned the homesteads they had taken up not far from the "New Jerusalem" colony.

Baltzan, 60.

"Statistical Summary of the Lipton Colony" Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, series KC, 1937, 3.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. See also Baltzan, 92.

See "Jampolsky Family" in Drever, ed., 462. Also Baltzan, 82. Also CJC Archive, DA162, File 174 for Friedgut. This would be the equivalent in buying power of \$53,000 in 2005.

Archer 4, Switzer-Rakos, 404.

Switzer-Rakos, 403. Baltzan renders the new supervisor's name as Cohen, but his book is a translation from a Yiddish original, and the translator is notably weak on names. Switzer-Rakos, who worked from ICA documents is more probably correct.

CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, "Lipton Colony: Statistical Resume, 1917," 1.

CJC Archive, JCA Collection Series KC, "Lipton Colony: Statistical Resume" various years. The title varies slightly in different years. The entire series runs from 1910 to 1941, with gaps from 1917 to 1923, and 1926 to 1931, and only partial information for 1923-1926. The format and information contained changes in various years.

Sinclair, 39.

"Lipton Inspection Report, May 25-27, 1926," CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg collection, 1. As late as 1931 there were still only four cultivators and six fanning mills for the colony's 25 farms. See CJC Archive, Series KC, 1931.

Sinclair, 37.

"Lipton Inspection, October 25-27, 1925," CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, 1.

Baltzan, 153-154.

"Lipton, Sask. Statistical Resume, 1915 CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, 1, 1916, 1.

Rosenberg, (1950), 212. The declarations of the settlers may be treated with a certain amount of skepticism. CJC Archive, DA162, File 174, contains a loan application in which the applicant, Isaac Friedgut, states that his occupation before coming to Canada was "farmer." In fact, before coming to Canada he was an accounts clerk in an industrial enterprise in the city of Ekaterinoslav, though he may have been born in a rural area of Ukraine. An example of immigrants with farm experience is the case of the Jewish agricultural settlement of Israeloffka in Russia, whose population moved *en bloc* to Canada in 1911, founding the settlement of New Hirsch (Camper, Manitoba). See Robinson, 52.

Norman, 45, 104.

See Hoffer and Kahan, 19; Feuer, 89-91; Curtis, ed., 21.

Belkin, (1926), 485.

Leonoff, (1970), 24. The Barish farm grew and survived through the drought and depression years and the years of World War II, and had 1100 acres under cultivation into the 1960s.

Israelite Press, June 4, 1937, p. 2. The Sinclair farm had pure-bred Aberdeen Angus cattle in the late 1920s, and the first tractor in Lipton in 1926. Booklet Committee, p.19; Rosenberg (1926), 2. Sol Sinclair went on to earn a Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota

founding and developing the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Manitoba where the Solomon Sinclair Institute of Farm Management exists in his memory.

See Curtis, ed., 21, Leonoff, (1970), 28, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, various years.

Leonoff (1970), 27. Sam Barish of Wapella is quoted: "The problem is to get the farmers to come and take that information...very few others from our area had gone there."

Rosenberg (1950), 211.

"Lipton Colony Statistical Resume," 1931, 1941, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC.

"Lipton Colony Statistical Resume" 1941, 3, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC.

For the failure of Israel Hoffer's first attempt to build a sod house see Hoffer and Kahn, 36-37.

For discussion of the *zemlianka* see Theodore H. Friedgut, *Iuzovka and Revolution: vol. I, Life and work in Russia's Donbass, 1869-1924*, Princeton, N.J., 1989, pp. 89-90. Baltzan, 47, describes the construction and internal arrangement of an early Lipton dugout used by a large family.

See Baltzan, 56-57 contrasting this phenomenon to the initiative shown by "the Russians." Hoffer, and Kahn, 50.

The Schwartz home was victim of such a fire, and Baltzan's first house came close to such a fate.

Baltzan, 157 describes his family's milk-house as such. Lipton photographs include records of such houses and barns.

CJC Archive, DA 162, File 174.

Baltzan, 160.

Feuer, 96

Book Committee, 4.

Baltzan's account is replete with examples of the colonists' learning. See 155 for the planting of a vegetable garden with a do-it-yourself book as the only guide.

Baltzan, 87.

Baltzan, 55, 76. Hoffer and Kahn, 23, notes that Israel Hoffer's first meal when he arrived in a Jewish colony was herring on black bread and a cup of tea. Not only Jews existed on herring. Feuer, 93 writes of Norwegian immigrants dining on salt fish and a slice of bread.

Baltzan, 76.

Baltzan, 160.

Baltzan, 63, 66.

Booklet Committee, 24, bringing the testimony of a grand-nephew. Various sources give his name as Levine and Levene, see Baltzan, 100-101, who writes that Levin was from Latvia. Levin's pay was \$35 per month, but he also took a homestead.

Booklet Committee, 26 for Rabbi Joseph Aaron (Molchadsky), who served the colony from 1909 to 1922, when he left Lipton for Palestine, and *Israelite Press*, July 2, 1933, June 29, 1934, June 21, 1936, November 15, 1940 for record of Rabbi Yitzchak Hirshman's religious activities in the colony.

CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg photograph album.

Baltzan, 172.

Robinson, 53.

YMHBS, 19.

Sinclair, 40-41.

Booklet Committee, 17-20.

Leonoff (1970), 19, notes that in Wapella there was no Jewish education. Booklet Committee, 40, Sol Sinclair relates that his family moved from the Wapella area to Lipton in 1910 because of the latter's Jewish educational facilities.

Baltzan, 50, relates that when he arrived in Lipton in early 1904 and asked whether they had a Jewish school, the answer was: "What for? Who needs it?" Twenty years later, Rosenberg reported that those who no longer had school age children had no interest in the Jewish education program, and were reluctant to contribute to its maintenance. See CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, "Lipton Colony Inspection, September, 9-11, 1924."

CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg Papers, DA2, Box 8, File 6. The reports are signed by Chaim Meirovich and N. Golubnik as teachers, and are witnessed by the trustees, Clarman, Isaac Sinclair and J. Glassman

See Aaron Osovsky, "A Jewish Boarding School for Out-of-Town Children," *Israelite Press*, August 5 and 8, 1924; Isaac Sinclair, "A Country Jew Who Views Winnipeg With Scepticism, Expresses His Opinion Regarding the Planned Boarding School," *Israelite Press*, August 22, 1924, and the editorial, "The Country Jews Should Have a Say," *Israel Press*, August 22, 1924.

Sinclair, 40.

See this opinion in Booklet Committee, 36.

Baltzan, 170. Leonoff (1984), 54 relates the experience of the Edenbridge settlers from whom a Winnipeg synagogue demanded a forty dollar payment for the loan of a torah scroll.

See *Israelite Press*, September 21, 1917, April 25, 1919, February 3, 1933, January 15, 1943.

Israelite Press, January 19, 1934, 7.

Baltzan, 65.

On Osovsky's lecture and activities on behalf of the Lipton settlers see Baltzan, 228-229. Osovsky later became the father-in-law of young Abraham Friedgut who was probably among

the youths attending the lecture. The manifesto of the Lipton Zionist settlement group is in *Israelite Press*, December 21, 1920. Few, if any of the 18 signers actually settled in Palestine, though some other members of the colony did so at various times..

Curtis, ed., 22. This credit union was the model for the Regina Hebrew Savings and Credit Union which was the first to receive a provincial charter under the 1937 Credit Union Act.

Sinclair, 43.

Leonoff (1984), 54 notes of the Bender, Manitoba colony that "living in close quarters there was the usual gossiping and quarrels."

Y. Glauton, "Jewish Farmers," *Der Canader Adler*, (Yiddish) 18 September, 1912.

Ann Schorr, *Memoir Six, Baron Maurice de Hirsch*, unpublished typescript, 6-7. She quotes Baron de Hirsch as wanting to eliminate anti-Semitism by getting Jews to be humble farmers, not too brainy and pushy. She writes: "Baron de Hirsch's commandments were that the colonists must work fifteen hour days, seven days a week." Ann Schorr grew up in a Baron Hirsch colony in Argentina. Her account of life there has much in common with that in Lipton.

Norman, 24.

Baltzan, 110, 222.

See "Report of Lipton Inspection Trip, May 25-27, 1926" CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection. Rosenberg recounts a clandestine visit by a government inspector who after talking briefly with two colonists, to whom he presented himself as an ICA official, declared that he had seen enough of what the Jewish farmers of the area were.

Bert McKay, "The Jews and the Harsh Years: No Promised Land, This" *The Western Producer*, April 10, 1975, 10. The internal quarrels were attributed to the colonists having come from different regions and countries.

Baltzan, 61. see also Baltzan, 66 for Mrs. Jampolsky's contempt for the Romanians.

Baltzan, 100-101. Levin's contract as a religious official was with the Russians only, and not with the colony as a whole.

Booklet Committee, 27, for the remembrances of Lillian Margulies-Jampolsky, and 28 as well as Sinclair, 42 for synagogue squabbles over honours. Baltzan, 110, 222, 251, and CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, Series DA2, Box 9, File 1, "Memorandum, Inspection September 9-11, 1924", 2, noting that of the five people actively involved in Lipton's school affairs, three are mortal enemies, each of the other two, while the two remaining, as relatives of the Lipton village butcher are embattled with the rest over the services of the ritual slaughterer, whose salary is paid mainly by ICA. Such conflicts were not unique to Lipton. See Hoffer and Kahan, ch. 13, for an account of Israel Hoffer's conflicts with a malcontent in Sonnenfeld. Curtis, ed., 38, relates how friction between competing butchers over the services of a ritual slaughterer, split the Regina Jewish community.

See Baltzan, 205 for his own wife's reaction to her first taste of colony life, and 218 for an even more drastic reaction.

See Baltzan, 232, 243, 245, Leonoff, 7, Western Jewish Heritage Centre Archive, photo JHS #3135, Booklet Committee, 13 and <http://www.lkessler.com/myfamily.shtml> for examples.

Baltzan, 237. Of the 73 known graves in the Lipton Jewish cemetery, at least ten are of children under the age of fifteen years.

"Memorandum, Inspection, September 9th-11th, 1924" CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, Series DA2, Box 9, File 1, 2.

Sinclair, 40 and Drever, ed., "Raichman Family," 613.

Booklet Committee, 32. A woman whose family lore knows her as a suicide, is buried apart in the extreme North West corner of the Lipton Jewish cemetery. See Booklet Committee, 54

Sinclair, 40.

All the statistics for this section are taken from the statistical resumes of various years held in the Canadian Jewish Congress Archive. See note 92. Nothing in any of the archival materials, memoirs or other sources that I have consulted even refers to the 1913 crisis, let alone explains it. There was no economic crisis, for the average net worth of a farm and the price of an acre of land both increased steadily.

Gladys Friedman Paulin, personal communication with the author, relates that her grandfather and his relatives took up a total of twenty homesteads in Lipton and Cupar, and when one or two left most of the rest followed.

Friedgut, Table 28, 206. Even taking into account the drop in the general consumer price index due to the depression, land prices declined in real terms during this period, recovering only in the post-World War II years.

"Lipton Inspection report, May 25-27, 1926" CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, 4.

Leonoff (1984), 44.

The trend of fewer but larger farms and a shrinking of farm population were general and continuous in Canada from 1931 to 1966. Farm population dropped from 3.3 million to 2.1 million, and from 31.7 percent of Canada's population to 9.8 percent. See Friedgut, Table 3, 53.

In 1917 the average farm had been 220 acres. By 1931 it was 586 acres and in 1941, 684 acres. The Kaplun farm in Wapella was over 1,000 acres in 1969, composed of his grandfather's homestead, his father's and his own. See Leonoff (1970), 28.

For details of the technological and legislative changes that helped advance the Canadian agricultural sector after World War II, see Friedgut, 189.

Rosenberg, (1950), 214.

For the lag of farm income behind that of other sectors of the Canadian economy from 1945 to 1965 see Friedgut, 48.

Louis Rosenberg, *The Jewish Population of Canada: A Statistical Summary From 1860 to 1943 (with supplement to 1951)*, (Montreal, 1951), Supplement, Table 8. The election of a social-democratic provincial government in 1944 caused an exodus of business and professional people. The Jewish population of the province, which had been diminishing since the census of 1921, dropped by 27 percent in this decade and has continued to drop to the present.

"Summary of Lipton Statistics, 1931," CJC archive, Series KC, gives the previous occupations of the 24 Lipton homesteaders as: 8 farmers, 1 baker, 1 carpenter, 3 labourers, 3 merchants,

1 cattle buyer, 1 teacher, 1 housewife, 5 school children. It would appear from this that thirty years after the colony's founding, only five of the original settlers' children had taken over their parents' farm or established a farm of their own in the colony. The 1931 occupations of the settlement's 33 adult children were: 10 farmers, 13 teachers, 6 clerks, 2 merchants, 1 doctor, 1 student.

For similar opinions see Switzer-Rakos, 405, and Baltzan, 194-195.

Katz and Lehr (1999), 99 and Rosenberg (1950), 214, emphasize the importance of "critical mass" in keeping the colonies alive, but do not point to the derivative nature of this weakness.

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nnnnnnnnnnA detailed discussion of the Jewish agricultural colonies in Western Canada may be found in Yossi Katz and John C. Lehr, *The Last Best West: Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian Prairies* (Jerusalem, 1999). Other sources discussing the colonies and the reasons for their establishment and ultimate disappearance are: Louis Rosenberg, "Jewish Agriculture in Canada" *YIVO Annual of Social Sciences* 5 (1950), 205-215; Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews of Canada in the 1930s* (Montreal, 1931); Abraham J. Arnold, "The Contribution of the Jews to the Opening and Development of the West" *Transactions of the Manitoba Historical Society* Series 3 no. 3, (Winnipeg, 1968-'69).

For the dynamics of Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire in the last half of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century see Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York, 1987), 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, 72-73.

Mark Wischnitzky, *To Dwell in Safety* (Philadelphia, 1948), 99. Wischnitzky's estimate is much higher than that of Scott, (see below, n.4).

W.D. Scott, "Immigration and Population" in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds. *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions* (Edinburgh, 1913), 517-590. Baron, 73, writes that Jewish immigration to Canada peaked in 1914 at 11,252 Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Here it should be remembered that the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 must have cut short emigration.

See the *Israelite Press*, (Winnipeg), December 25, 1925, 5, and May 22, 1928, 1.

Cyril Edel Leonoff, *The Jewish Farmers of Western Canada* (Santa Monica, California, 1984), 76.

Leonard G. Robinson, "Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 14, 1912-13, (Philadelphia, 1912) 21-115.

A detailed discussion of the persons putting forward this idea and the circumstances in which it was presented to Polish and Russian officialdom will be found in Zvi Livne-Liberman, *haklaim Yehudiim B'Aravot Russia*. (Jewish Agriculturalists on the Russian Steppe); Sifriat Hapoalim. (Tel Aviv, 1965). (Hebrew).

For a similar multi-factorial analysis of motivations for Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe see Wischnitzky, 100. Gerald Tulchinsky, *Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto, 1992), 109, writes that throughout the emigration wave, the perception of economic opportunity was the principal motivating factor. Kennee Switzer-Rakos, "Baron de Hirsch, the Jewish Colonization Association and Canada, *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 32 (1987), 385-406, 406, writes that "normalization" of the Jewish presence in the modern world was the principal motivation of the settlers throughout

this period. While this was the outlook of Baron de Hirsch and the Jewish Colonization Association and may be true of some groups (e.g., the socialist London tailors who joined the Edenbridge colony), or some other individuals, it can hardly be applied to the majority.

Valery Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990* (Toronto, 1997), 57.

Knowles, 56.

Knowles, 58.

Louis Rosenberg, (1931), 220, noting that the Canadian government had assured ICA that the loans and advances provided by ICA to the settlers of Lipton could be repaid beginning two years from the date of settlement. See also Leonoff, (1984), 38.

Rosenberg, (1931), 81.

For a description of the feelings of panic and isolation that gripped the general population of Western Canada during this uprising, see Earl G. Drake, *Regina: The Queen City* (Toronto, 1955), 33-45.

For a summary of the principal terms of the Dominion Land Act of 1872 see Katz and Lehr, (1999), 48. For the text of the Act and the history of its development over the years, see <http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Dominion-Lands-Act/>.

For discussion of the government's outlook at this time see Isaac Tully Friedgut, *Capital Accumulation and its Implications for the Family Farm in Canada* unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1970, 47.

Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, Series KC, 1907. We have, of course, no information as to how much he had invested in his farm, nor what debts he had incurred.

Knowles, 64. ,

W. D. Scott, " 1906 Report of the Superintendent of Immigration to the Minister of the Interior." http://www.canadahistory.com/actions/documents/report_on_immigration.htm/

See also Trevor W. Sissing, "How they kept Canada almost lily white" in *The Black Community in the History of Quebec and Canada* (Quebec City, 1996), Unit 4, 8, reproducing a memorandum from Scott to the government immigration agent in Halifax explaining that although it certainly was the policy of the government to keep black people out, this should never be mentioned publicly or put in writing.

Scott (1913), 577, writes: "The immigration policy of Canada is to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm labourers and domestic servants *from countries which are classed as desirable.*" (italics mine—T.F.). On 577 he lists these countries as "U.S.A., British Isles, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland."

See the extensive correspondence of Stemshorn, the Board of Trade and Davin with the Department of Agriculture, Canadian national Archive, vol. 689. files no. 789788, 78933, 78937, 77787, 78685, March-September 1891.

Canadian national Archive, vol. 689, file 78685, letter of Reginald Shell, Secretary of the Regina Board of Trade, May 22, 1891 to the Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa.

Ellen Scheinberg and Melissa K. Rombout, "Projecting Images of the Nation: The Immigration Program and its Use of Lantern Slides" *The Archivist*, 111, at <http://www.collectionscanada.ca> citing *Sifton Papers*, vol. 255, 16.

Scott (1913), 573, quoting Interior Minister Oliver. Scott was, at the time of his writing, Deputy Minister, and had previously served under Sifton as Superintendent of Immigration in the Ministry of the Interior. Canadian immigration law underwent four major revisions in the period under review: 1869, 1886, 1906, 1910. Each successive revision appears to have been more restrictive of "undesirable" immigration than its predecessor.

Scott (1913), 571.

Letter of January 25, 1882, from Galt to Sir John A. Macdonald quoted in Benjamin G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada From the Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day* (Montreal, 1945), vol. 1, 273. Sack presents the full texts of this series of letters as an appendix to his book.

Sack, 273, Galt to Macdonald, letter of February 3, 1882.

Sack, 273-274, Macdonald to Galt, February 27, 1882.

Theodore Norman, *An Outstretched Arm: A History of the Jewish Colonization Association*. (London, 1985), 95.

Scott (1913), 571, 588-89.

For discussion of this phenomenon and a survey of early Jewish settlement efforts in the prairie provinces see John Archer, "Jewish Settlers in Western Canada" Part II, *Viewpoint*, 7, 4, (1967), 3-5.

See the scathing description of Winnipeg's primitive state by Shragai Feivel Ruder (signing himself ShF'R) one of the first group of Jewish immigrants to be brought there in 1882, in *Hamelitz*, 18, 29 (July 27/August 8, 1882), cols. 579-582.

Western Canadian Jewish Heritage Centre Archive 001 File 3, MS 2313. Note that the invitation is for the immigration of Germans from Russia, and not ethnic Russian immigrants.

Sack, 207. To my regret, I have been unable to find the original of this letter in any archive, though Sack's text indicates that he saw the original.

National Archive of Canada, Stenshorn to Small, Dep't. of Agriculture, 15 January, 1891 vol. 689, file no. 82023.

Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, *29th Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year Ending October 1st, 1892* (Montreal, 1892), 12. See also Sack, 222-23.

Simon Belkin, "Jewish Colonization in Canada," in Arthur Daniel Hart, ed., *The Jew in Canada* (Toronto and Montreal, 1926), 483-488.

Leonoff (1984), 26.

Regina Leader (March 22, 1892), 8. The objections to settlement of Jews in and around Regina are the same as those voiced five years earlier in a public resolution against reserving lands for the Wapella colony, and calling the would-be Jewish farmers "A most undesirable class of settlers." See Leonoff (1984), 10. Wapella eventually became the most successful and long-lived of the Jewish agricultural colonies.

Louis Rosenberg, *A Gazeteer of Jewish Communities in Canada, Canadian Jewish Population Studies*, no. 7 (Montreal, n.d.), 3. Rosenberg's figures are based on the 1891 census. *The Regina Leader*, (October 27, 1891), 8, reports the arrival of nine Jewish families in the Regina

district The nine newly-arrived families were part of the group that went to found Hirsch a year later. See Leonoff (1984), 28. The nine resident Jews evidently left Regina in the "hard times" of the 1890s, for no Jews were found in the city in the 1901 census and only in 1905 were there enough active Jews to establish a community.

Knowles, 70.

The Regina Leader (April 5, 1883), 4. These were evidently part of the "New Jerusalem" group who were forced to wait two years for their land. In the interim, some of them supported themselves and their families by building the railways. During this period the Jewish group suffered attacks by other workers who beat them and stole their kosher food.

Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)* (Montreal, 1966), 58 for Wapella and Booklet Committee, *Echoes From the Lipton Jewish Colony, 1901* (Regina, 2001), 20 for Lipton.

Jacob A. Baltzan, *Memoirs of a Pioneer Farmer in Western Canada at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1994), 176-179 and *passim*. The accounts in Avraham Ben Shlomo Meir Feuer, *Zikhron Mordekhai* (New York, 1924), (Hebrew), and Clara Hoffer and F.H. Kahan, *Land of Hope* (Saskatoon, 1960) regarding the Sonnenfeld colony; and Cyril Edel Leonoff, *Wapella Farm Settlement: The First Successful Jewish Farm Settlement in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1970), regarding Wapella, are very similar in their descriptions of relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Hoffer and Kahn, 100.

See Katz and Lehr(1999), 99, for a list and map. After World War I, new settlers were generally directed into existing settlements rather than establishing new ones.

Louis Rosenberg (1931), 220. Rosenberg was familiar with Lipton not only as an inspector for ICA or as head of the Bureau of Social and Economic Research of the Canadian Jewish Congress, but also from first-hand experience. As a new immigrant in Canada from 1914 he served for several years as a teacher in the Tiferes Israel school in Lipton.

Katz and Lehr (1999), 48. In fact, the settlers of Hirsch in 1892 were screened by ICA and by the Montreal-based YMHBS, and received funding for their establishment. See YMHBS, 12. Lipton and Hirsch are the only two exceptions to the general rule posed by Katz and Lehr.

Switzer-Rakos, 392, writes that such ineffective screening of potential settlers was the general rule for ICA colonies, both in Argentina and North America.

Leonoff (1984), 36-37.

Sol Sinclair, "Memories of Early Jewish Settlement at Lipton, Saskatchewan," in Marjorie Drever, ed., *Trails and Tales of Settlement and Progress, Lipton and District, 1875-1985*. (Regina, 1987), 37.

The colony was originally named Qu'Appelle, because the regional land registration office was located there, but it is universally remembered as the Lipton colony and occasionally as Lipton-Cupar.

Rosenberg (1931), 221.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. The first High Holiday prayer service was held in Ft. Qu'Appelle in the local store. At one p.m., Morrison, the proprietor, intervened saying, "Enough praying, you can go home now," and shooed them out. See Booklet Committee, 23. Rosenberg,

"Lipton Inspection Tour, May 25-27, 1926, writes of mistrust between ICA and the regional government officials.

Switzer-Rakos, 402, and Sinclair, 37. Switzer-Rakos adds that the three administrators "mistrusted all foreigners."

Sinclair, 37.

YMHBS, 13.

Leonoff (1970), 25. Booklet Committee, 10, has a 1937 photograph showing a horse-drawn sled hauling a load of grain to Lipton. Oxen were stronger than horses, but much slower. Their replacement by horses enabled farmers to reach Qu'Appelle and return the same day, but a journey to the railway at Fort Qu'Appelle still involved more than a single day's trip. To Lipton and back was two to two and a half hours ride from the nearest farms of the colony.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. See also Booklet Committee, 8.

Israelite Press, (Yiddish), February 12, 1926. The article, written at a time when ICA was striving to consolidate and enlarge the Jewish colonies, discusses the consistent policy of the Canadian government to assimilate all minorities into Anglo Saxon culture and to prevent any "foreign" ethnic minority from achieving strength.

Arnold (1968-69), 9, Louis Rosenberg, (1950), 205-215. See also Katz and Lehr (1999), 129, and Baltzan, 100-101 for the difficulties this posed for the Jewish colonists.

Baltzan, 100.

Baltzan, 184, names the first Lipton settlers who employed this strategy, and later notes that he and his brother and two brothers-in-law did the same. Abe Griesdorf, two Rabinoviches and Isaac Friedgut (all related by marriage) also employed this strategy.

YMBHS, 17-18, the report of Moses Vineberg and D.S. Friedman on their visit to Hirsch in 1892, emphasizes the importance of such an arrangement. The first group of Lipton settlers received only one pair of horses and one team of oxen for each six homesteaders. Family groupings of homesteads thus were of great advantage. See Baltzan, 111.

Laura N. Bonikowski, "Drought in Palliser's Triangle" at <http://www.the.canadianencyclopedia.com>. The apex of Palliser's Triangle was in the region of North Battleford, Saskatchewan, the Eastern edge of its base at Brandon, Manitoba, and its Western edge near Lethbridge, Alberta.

Louis Rosenberg, "Memorandum: Lipton Inspection Trip, November 30th-December 2nd, 1925, and "Lipton Inspection Trip, May 25-27, 1926. Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, Louis Rosenberg Collection.

Rosenberg (1931), 222.

Sinclair, 39.

Baltzan, 254.

Hoffer and Kahn, 55.

Baltzan, 254.

Baltzan, 117-118. Baltzan, 130-131 and 205-211, relates how he himself twice barely escaped such a death in his four years in Lipton. The Rabbi of the New Jerusalem colony lost both feet due to frostbite. Feuer, 96, describes an ice storm that destroyed buildings and killed livestock.

Jerry Brodie, "Early Days on the Lipton Colony" in Fred I. Curtis, ed., *Our Heritage: The History of the Regina and Region Jewish Community* (Regina, 1989), 21-24.

Baltzan, 117.

Bonikowski. During this period, 13,900 farms were abandoned in the province.

The budget allotted is specified in Norman, 97.

For the Hirsch experience see YMHBS, 16-17.

Booklet Committee, 7. Since the average Jewish immigrant family was said to number five souls, it would appear that this was an advance party, probably made up mainly of men to lay the foundations of the settlement.

See Jill Culiner, *Finding Home: In the footsteps of the Jewish Fusgeyers*, (Toronto, 2004). See pp. 295-296 for a picture of Leib Swartz, a *fusgeyer*, and his family in Lipton and his daughter's description of her father's reticence about this episode.

Baltzan, 104-105, 109-111.

Baltzan, 111.

For examples of quick construction of homes and barns see Baltzan, 160, Booklet Committee, 4, Feuer, 96.

Baltzan, 104.

Switzer-Rakos, 402. Belkin (1966), 77, citing ICA reports, writes that at the end of 1903, only 56 farmers remained, cultivating only 500 acres of land, and that the entire Lipton colony numbered only 195 souls. As previously noted, the "New Jerusalem" colony had been totally abandoned after four years. Robinson, 50, notes that after three successive years of total crop failure, and faced with a demand to begin repaying their loans to ICA, the founding families of the Hirsch settlement sold out and left. Archer, 3, relates that a group of experienced Scots farmers also abandoned the homesteads they had taken up not far from the "New Jerusalem" colony.

Baltzan, 60.

"Statistical Summary of the Lipton Colony" Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, series KC, 1937, 3.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. See also Baltzan, 92.

See "Jampolsky Family" in Drever, ed., 462. Also Baltzan, 82. Also CJC Archive, DA162, File 174 for Friedgut. This would be the equivalent in buying power of \$53,000 in 2005.

Archer 4, Switzer-Rakos, 404.

Switzer-Rakos, 403. Baltzan renders the new supervisor's name as Cohen, but his book is a translation from a Yiddish original, and the translator is notably weak on names. Switzer-Rakos, who worked from ICA documents is more probably correct.

CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, "Lipton Colony: Statistical Resume, 1917," 1.

CJC Archive, JCA Collection Series KC, "Lipton Colony: Statistical Resume" various years. The title varies slightly in different years. The entire series runs from 1910 to 1941, with gaps from 1917 to 1923, and 1926 to 1931, and only partial information for 1923-1926. The format and information contained changes in various years.

Sinclair, 39.

"Lipton Inspection Report, May 25-27, 1926," CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg collection, 1. As late as 1931 there were still only four cultivators and six fanning mills for the colony's 25 farms. See CJC Archive, Series KC, 1931.

Sinclair, 37.

"Lipton Inspection, October 25-27, 1925," CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, 1.

Baltzan, 153-154.

"Lipton, Sask. Statistical Resume, 1915 CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, 1, 1916, 1.

Rosenberg, (1950), 212. The declarations of the settlers may be treated with a certain amount of skepticism. CJC Archive, DA162, File 174, contains a loan application in which the applicant, Isaac Friedgut, states that his occupation before coming to Canada was "farmer." In fact, before coming to Canada he was an accounts clerk in an industrial enterprise in the city of Ekaterinoslav, though he may have been born in a rural area of Ukraine. An example of immigrants with farm experience is the case of the Jewish agricultural settlement of Israeloffka in Russia, whose population moved *en bloc* to Canada in 1911, founding the settlement of New Hirsch (Camper, Manitoba). See Robinson, 52.

Norman, 45, 104.

See Hoffer and Kahan, 19; Feuer, 89-91; Curtis, ed., 21.

Belkin, (1926), 485.

Leonoff, (1970), 24. The Barish farm grew and survived through the drought and depression years and the years of World War II, and had 1100 acres under cultivation into the 1960s.

Israelite Press, June 4, 1937, p. 2. The Sinclair farm had pure-bred Aberdeen Angus cattle in the late 1920s, and the first tractor in Lipton in 1926. Booklet Committee, p.19; Rosenberg (1926), 2. Sol Sinclair went on to earn a Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota founding and developing the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Manitoba where the Solomon Sinclair Institute of Farm Management exists in his memory.

See Curtis, ed., 21, Leonoff, (1970), 28, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, various years.

Leonoff (1970), 27. Sam Barish of Wapella is quoted: "The problem is to get the farmers to come and take that information...very few others from our area had gone there."

Rosenberg (1950), 211.

"Lipton Colony Statistical Resume," 1931, 1941, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC.

"Lipton Colony Statistical Resume" 1941, 3, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC.

For the failure of Israel Hoffer's first attempt to build a sod house see Hoffer and Kahn, 36-37.

For discussion of the *zemlianka* see Theodore H. Friedgut, *Iuzovka and Revolution: vol. I, Life and work in Russia's Donbass, 1869-1924*, Princeton, N.J., 1989, pp. 89-90. Baltzan, 47, describes the construction and internal arrangement of an early Lipton dugout used by a large family.

See Baltzan, 56-57 contrasting this phenomenon to the initiative shown by "the Russians." Hoffer, and Kahn, 50.

The Schwartz home was victim of such a fire, and Baltzan's first house came close to such a fate.

Baltzan, 157 describes his family's milk-house as such. Lipton photographs include records of such houses and barns.

CJC Archive, DA 162, File 174.

Baltzan, 160.

Feuer, 96

Book Committee, 4.

Baltzan's account is replete with examples of the colonists' learning. See 155 for the planting of a vegetable garden with a do-it-yourself book as the only guide.

Baltzan, 87.

Baltzan, 55, 76. Hoffer and Kahn, 23, notes that Israel Hoffer's first meal when he arrived in a Jewish colony was herring on black bread and a cup of tea. Not only Jews existed on herring. Feuer, 93 writes of Norwegian immigrants dining on salt fish and a slice of bread.

Baltzan, 76.

Baltzan, 160.

Baltzan, 63, 66.

Booklet Committee, 24, bringing the testimony of a grand-nephew. Various sources give his name as Levine and Levene, see Baltzan, 100-101, who writes that Levin was from Latvia. Levin's pay was \$35 per month, but he also took a homestead.

Booklet Committee, 26 for Rabbi Joseph Aaron (Molchadsky), who served the colony from 1909 to 1922, when he left Lipton for Palestine, and *Israelite Press*, July 2, 1933, June 29, 1934, June 21, 1936, November 15, 1940 for record of Rabbi Yitzchak Hirshman's religious activities in the colony.

CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg photograph album.

Baltzan, 172.

Robinson, 53.

YMHS, 19.

Sinclair, 40-41.

Booklet Committee, 17-20.

Leonoff (1970), 19, notes that in Wapella there was no Jewish education. Booklet Committee, 40, Sol Sinclair relates that his family moved from the Wapella area to Lipton in 1910 because of the latter's Jewish educational facilities.

Baltzan, 50, relates that when he arrived in Lipton in early 1904 and asked whether they had a Jewish school, the answer was: "What for? Who needs it?" Twenty years later, Rosenberg reported that those who no longer had school age children had no interest in the Jewish education program, and were reluctant to contribute to its maintenance. See CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, "Lipton Colony Inspection, September, 9-11, 1924."

CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg Papers, DA2, Box 8, File 6. The reports are signed by Chaim Meirovich and N. Golubnik as teachers, and are witnessed by the trustees, Clarman, Isaac Sinclair and J. Glassman

See Aaron Osovsky, "A Jewish Boarding School for Out-of-Town Children," *Israelite Press*, August 5 and 8, 1924; Isaac Sinclair, "A Country Jew Who Views Winnipeg With Scepticism, Expresses His Opinion Regarding the Planned Boarding School," *Israelite Press*, August 22, 1924, and the editorial, "The Country Jews Should Have a Say," *Israel Press*, August 22, 1924.

Sinclair, 40.

See this opinion in Booklet Committee, 36.

Baltzan, 170. Leonoff (1984), 54 relates the experience of the Edenbridge settlers from whom a Winnipeg synagogue demanded a forty dollar payment for the loan of a torah scroll.

See *Israelite Press*, September 21, 1917, April 25, 1919, February 3, 1933, January 15, 1943.

Israelite Press, January 19, 1934, 7.

Baltzan, 65.

On Osovsky's lecture and activities on behalf of the Lipton settlers see Baltzan, 228-229. Osovsky later became the father-in-law of young Abraham Friedgut who was probably among the youths attending the lecture. The manifesto of the Lipton Zionist settlement group is in *Israelite Press*, December 21, 1920. Few, if any of the 18 signers actually settled in Palestine, though some other members of the colony did so at various times..

Curtis, ed., 22. This credit union was the model for the Regina Hebrew Savings and Credit Union which was the first to receive a provincial charter under the 1937 Credit Union Act. Sinclair, 43.

Leonoff (1984), 54 notes of the Bender, Manitoba colony that "living in close quarters there was the usual gossiping and quarrels."

Y. Glauton, "Jewish Farmers," *Der Canader Adler*, (Yiddish) 18 September, 1912.

Ann Schorr, *Memoir Six, Baron Maurice de Hirsch*, unpublished typescript, 6-7. She quotes Baron de Hirsch as wanting to eliminate anti-Semitism by getting Jews to be humble farmers, not too brainy and pushy. She writes: "Baron de Hirsch's commandments were that the colonists must work fifteen hour days, seven days a week." Ann Schorr grew up in a Baron

Hirsch colony in Argentina. Her account of life there has much in common with that in Lipton.

Norman, 24.

Baltzan, 110, 222.

See "Report of Lipton Inspection Trip, May 25-27, 1926" CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection. Rosenberg recounts a clandestine visit by a government inspector who after talking briefly with two colonists, to whom he presented himself as an ICA official, declared that he had seen enough of what the Jewish farmers of the area were.

Bert McKay, "The Jews and the Harsh Years: No Promised Land, This" *The Western Producer*, April 10, 1975, 10. The internal quarrels were attributed to the colonists having come from different regions and countries.

Baltzan, 61. see also Baltzan, 66 for Mrs. Jampolsky's contempt for the Romanians.

Baltzan, 100-101. Levin's contract as a religious official was with the Russians only, and not with the colony as a whole.

Booklet Committee, 27, for the remembrances of Lillian Margulies-Jampolsky, and 28 as well as Sinclair, 42 for synagogue squabbles over honours. Baltzan, 110, 222, 251, and CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, Series DA2, Box 9, File 1, "Memorandum, Inspection September 9-11, 1924", 2, noting that of the five people actively involved in Lipton's school affairs, three are mortal enemies, each of the other two, while the two remaining, as relatives of the Lipton village butcher are embattled with the rest over the services of the ritual slaughterer, whose salary is paid mainly by ICA. Such conflicts were not unique to Lipton. See Hoffer and Kahan, ch. 13, for an account of Israel Hoffer's conflicts with a malcontent in Sonnenfeld. Curtis, ed., 38, relates how friction between competing butchers over the services of a ritual slaughterer, split the Regina Jewish community.

See Baltzan, 205 for his own wife's reaction to her first taste of colony life, and 218 for an even more drastic reaction.

See Baltzan, 232, 243, 245, Leonoff, 7, Western Jewish Heritage Centre Archive, photo JHS #3135, Booklet Committee, 13 and <http://www.lkessler.com/myfamily.shtml> for examples.

Baltzan, 237. Of the 73 known graves in the Lipton Jewish cemetery, at least ten are of children under the age of fifteen years.

"Memorandum, Inspection, September 9th-11th, 1924" CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, Series DA2, Box 9, File 1, 2.

Sinclair, 40 and Drever, ed., "Raichman Family," 613.

Booklet Committee, 32. A woman whose family lore knows her as a suicide, is buried apart in the extreme North West corner of the Lipton Jewish cemetery. See Booklet Committee, 54

Sinclair, 40.

All the statistics for this section are taken from the statistical resumes of various years held in the Canadian Jewish Congress Archive. See note 92. Nothing in any of the archival materials, memoirs or other sources that I have consulted even refers to the 1913 crisis, let alone explains it. There was no economic crisis, for the average net worth of a farm and the price of an acre of land both increased steadily.

Gladys Friedman Paulin, personal communication with the author, relates that her grandfather and his relatives took up a total of twenty homesteads in Lipton and Cupar, and when one or two left most of the rest followed.

Friedgut, Table 28, 206. Even taking into account the drop in the general consumer price index due to the depression, land prices declined in real terms during this period, recovering only in the post-World War II years.

"Lipton Inspection report, May 25-27, 1926" CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, 4.

Leonoff (1984), 44.

The trend of fewer but larger farms and a shrinking of farm population were general and continuous in Canada from 1931 to 1966. Farm population dropped from 3.3 million to 2.1 million, and from 31.7 percent of Canada's population to 9.8 percent. See Friedgut, Table 3, 53.

In 1917 the average farm had been 220 acres. By 1931 it was 586 acres and in 1941, 684 acres. The Kaplun farm in Wapella was over 1,000 acres in 1969, composed of his grandfather's homestead, his father's and his own. See Leonoff (1970), 28.

For details of the technological and legislative changes that helped advance the Canadian agricultural sector after World War II, see Friedgut, 189.

Rosenberg, (1950), 214.

For the lag of farm income behind that of other sectors of the Canadian economy from 1945 to 1965 see Friedgut, 48.

Louis Rosenberg, *The Jewish Population of Canada: A Statistical Summary From 1860 to 1943 (with supplement to 1951)*, (Montreal, 1951), Supplement, Table 8. The election of a social-democratic provincial government in 1944 caused an exodus of business and professional people. The Jewish population of the province, which had been diminishing since the census of 1921, dropped by 27 percent in this decade and has continued to drop to the present.

"Summary of Lipton Statistics, 1931," CJC archive, Series KC, gives the previous occupations of the 24 Lipton homesteaders as: 8 farmers, 1 baker, 1 carpenter, 3 labourers, 3 merchants, 1 cattle buyer, 1 teacher, 1 housewife, 5 school children. It would appear from this that thirty years after the colony's founding, only five of the original settlers' children had taken over their parents' farm or established a farm of their own in the colony. The 1931 occupations of the settlement's 33 adult children were: 10 farmers, 13 teachers, 6 clerks, 2 merchants, 1 doctor, 1 student.

For similar opinions see Switzer-Rakos, 405, and Baltzan, 194-195.

Katz and Lehr (1999), 99 and Rosenberg (1950), 214, emphasize the importance of "critical mass" in keeping the colonies alive, but do not point to the derivative nature of this weakness.

¹ A detailed discussion of the Jewish agricultural colonies in Western Canada may be found in Yossi Katz and John C. Lehr, *The Last Best West: Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian Prairies* (Jerusalem, 1999). Other sources discussing the colonies and the reasons for their establishment and ultimate disappearance are: Louis Rosenberg, "Jewish Agriculture

in Canada" *YIVO Annual of Social Sciences* 5 (1950), 205-215; Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews of Canada in the 1930s* (Montreal, 1931); Abraham J. Arnold, "The Contribution of the Jews to the Opening and Development of the West" *Transactions of the Manitoba Historical Society Series* 3 no. 3, (Winnipeg, 1968-'69).

2

For the dynamics of Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire in the last half of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century see Salo W. Baron, *The Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets* (New York, 1987), 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, 72-73.

3

Mark Wischnitzky, *To Dwell in Safety* (Philadelphia, 1948), 99. Wischnitzky's estimate is much higher than that of Scott, (see below, n.4).

⁴ W.D. Scott, "Immigration and Population" in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds. *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions* (Edinburgh, 1913), 517-590. Baron, 73, writes that Jewish immigration to Canada peaked in 1914 at 11,252 Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Here it should be remembered that the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 must have cut short emigration.

5

See the *Israelite Press*, (Winnipeg), December 25, 1925, 5, and May 22, 1928, 1.

6

Cyril Edel Leonoff, *The Jewish Farmers of Western Canada* (Santa Monica, California, 1984), 76.

7

Leonard G. Robinson, "Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 14, 1912-13, (Philadelphia, 1912) 21-115.

⁸ A detailed discussion of the persons putting forward this idea and the circumstances in which it was presented to Polish and Russian officialdom will be found in Zvi Livne-Liberman, *haklaim Yehudiim B'Aravot Russia*. (Jewish Agriculturalists on the Russian Steppe); Sifriat Hapoalim. (Tel Aviv, 1965). (Hebrew).

9

For a similar multi-factorial analysis of motivations for Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe see Wischnitzky, 100. Gerald Tulchinsky, *Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto, 1992), 109, writes that throughout the emigration wave, the perception of economic opportunity was the principal motivating factor. Kennee Switzer-Rakos, "Baron de Hirsch, the Jewish Colonization Association and Canada, *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 32 (1987), 385-406, 406, writes that "normalization" of the Jewish presence in the modern world was the principal motivation of the settlers throughout this period. While this was the outlook of Baron de Hirsch and the Jewish Colonization Association and may be true of some groups (e.g., the socialist London tailors who joined the Edenbridge colony), or some other individuals, it can hardly be applied to the majority.

10

Valery Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990* (Toronto, 1997), 57.

11

Knowles, 56.

12

Knowles, 58.

13

Louis Rosenberg, (1931), 220, noting that the Canadian government had assured ICA that the loans and advances provided by ICA to the settlers of Lipton could be repaid beginning two years from the date of settlement. See also Leonoff, (1984), 38.

14

Rosenberg, (1931), 81.

15

For a description of the feelings of panic and isolation that gripped the general population of Western Canada during this uprising, see Earl G. Drake, *Regina: The Queen City* (Toronto, 1955), 33-45.

16

For a summary of the principal terms of the Dominion Land Act of 1872 see Katz and Lehr, (1999), 48. For the text of the Act and the history of its development over the years, see <http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Dominion-Lands-Act/>.

17

For discussion of the government's outlook at this time see Isaac Tully Friedgut, *Capital Accumulation and its Implications for the Family Farm in Canada* unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1970, 47.

18

Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, Series KC, 1907. We have, of course, no information as to how much he had invested in his farm, nor what debts he had incurred.

19

Knowles, 64. ,

20

W. D. Scott, " 1906 Report of the Superintendent of Immigration to the Minister of the Interior." http://www.canadahistory.com/actions/documents/report_on_immigration.htm/ See also Trevor W. Sissing, "How they kept Canada almost lily white" in *The Black Community in the History of Quebec and Canada* (Quebec City, 1996), Unit 4, 8, reproducing a memorandum from Scott to the government immigration agent in Halifax explaining that although it certainly was the policy of the government to keep black people out, this should never be mentioned publicly or put in writing.

21

Scott (1913), 577, writes: "The immigration policy of Canada is to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm labourers and domestic servants *from countries which are classed as desirable.*" (italics mine—T.F.). On 577 he lists these countries as "U.S.A., British Isles, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland."

²² See the extensive correspondence of Stenshorn, the Board of Trade and Davin with the Department of Agriculture, Canadian national Archive, vol. 689. files no. 789788, 78933, 78937, 77787, 78685, March-September 1891.

²³ Canadian national Archive, vol. 689, file 78685, letter of Reginald Shell, Secretary of the Regina Board of Trade, May 22, 1891 to the Minister of Agriculture in Ottawa.

24

Ellen Scheinberg and Melissa K. Rombout, "Projecting Images of the Nation: The Immigration Program and its Use of Lantern Slides" *The Archivist*, 111, at <http://www.collectionscanada.ca> citing *Sifton Papers*, vol. 255, 16.

25

Scott (1913), 573, quoting Interior Minister Oliver. Scott was, at the time of his writing, Deputy Minister, and had previously served under Sifton as Superintendent of Immigration in the Ministry of the Interior. Canadian immigration law underwent four major revisions in the period under review: 1869, 1886, 1906, 1910. Each successive revision appears to have been more restrictive of "undesirable" immigration than its predecessor.

26

Scott (1913), 571.

27

Letter of January 25, 1882, from Galt to Sir John A. Macdonald quoted in Benjamin G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada From the Earliest Beginnings to the Present Day* (Montreal, 1945), vol. 1, 273. Sack presents the full texts of this series of letters as an appendix to his book.

28

Sack, 273, Galt to Macdonald, letter of February 3, 1882.

29

Sack, 273-274, Macdonald to Galt, February 27, 1882.

³⁰ Theodore Norman, *An Outstretched Arm: A History of the Jewish Colonization Association*. (London, 1985), 95.

³¹

Scott (1913), 571, 588-89.

³²

For discussion of this phenomenon and a survey of early Jewish settlement efforts in the prairie provinces see John Archer, "Jewish Settlers in Western Canada" Part II, *Viewpoint*, 7, 4, (1967), 3-5.

See the scathing description of Winnipeg's primitive state by Shragai Feivel Ruder (signing himself ShF"R) one of the first group of Jewish immigrants to be brought there in 1882, in *Hamelitz*, 18, 29 (July 27/August 8, 1882), cols. 579-582.

Western Canadian Jewish Heritage Centre Archive 001 File 3, MS 2313. Note that the invitation is for the immigration of Germans from Russia, and not ethnic Russian immigrants.

Sack, 207. To my regret, I have been unable to find the original of this letter in any archive, though Sack's text indicates that he saw the original.

National Archive of Canada, Stenshorn to Small, Dep't. of Agriculture, 15 January, 1891 vol. 689, file no. 82023.

Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, *29th Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year Ending October 1st, 1892* (Montreal, 1892), 12. See also Sack, 222-23.

Simon Belkin, "Jewish Colonization in Canada," in Arthur Daniel Hart, ed., *The Jew in Canada* (Toronto and Montreal, 1926), 483-488.

Leonoff (1984), 26.

Regina Leader (March 22, 1892), 8. The objections to settlement of Jews in and around Regina are the same as those voiced five years earlier in a public resolution against reserving lands for the Wapella colony, and calling the would-be Jewish farmers "A most undesirable class of settlers." See Leonoff (1984), 10. Wapella eventually became the most successful and long-lived of the Jewish agricultural colonies.

Louis Rosenberg, *A Gazeteer of Jewish Communities in Canada, Canadian Jewish Population Studies, no. 7* (Montreal, n.d.), 3. Rosenberg's figures are based on the 1891 census. *The Regina Leader*, (October 27, 1891), 8, reports the arrival of nine Jewish families in the Regina district. The nine newly-arrived families were part of the group that went to found Hirsch a year later. See Leonoff (1984), 28. The nine resident Jews evidently left Regina in the "hard times" of the 1890s, for no Jews were found in the city in the 1901 census and only in 1905 were there enough active Jews to establish a community.

Knowles, 70.

The Regina Leader (April 5, 1883), 4. These were evidently part of the "New Jerusalem" group who were forced to wait two years for their land. In the interim, some of them supported themselves and their families by building the railways. During this period the Jewish group suffered attacks by other workers who beat them and stole their kosher food.

Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)* (Montreal, 1966), 58 for Wapella and Booklet Committee, *Echoes From the Lipton Jewish Colony, 1901* (Regina, 2001), 20 for Lipton.

Jacob A. Baltzan, *Memoirs of a Pioneer Farmer in Western Canada at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (Toronto, 1994), 176-179 and *passim*. The accounts in Avraham Ben Shlomo Meir Feuer, *Zikhron Mordekhai* (New York, 1924), (Hebrew), and Clara Hoffer and F.H. Kahan, *Land of Hope* (Saskatoon, 1960) regarding the Sonnenfeld colony; and Cyril Edel Leonoff, *Wapella Farm Settlement: The First Successful Jewish Farm Settlement in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1970), regarding Wapella, are very similar in their descriptions of relations between Jews and non-Jews.

Hoffer and Kahn, 100.

See Katz and Lehr(1999), 99, for a list and map. After World War I, new settlers were generally directed into existing settlements rather than establishing new ones.

Louis Rosenberg (1931), 220. Rosenberg was familiar with Lipton not only as an inspector for ICA or as head of the Bureau of Social and Economic Research of the Canadian Jewish Congress, but also from first-hand experience. As a new immigrant in Canada from 1914 he served for several years as a teacher in the Tiferes Israel school in Lipton.

Katz and Lehr (1999), 48. In fact, the settlers of Hirsch in 1892 were screened by ICA and by the Montreal-based YMHBS, and received funding for their establishment. See YMHBS, 12. Lipton and Hirsch are the only two exceptions to the general rule posed by Katz and Lehr.

Switzer-Rakos, 392, writes that such ineffective screening of potential settlers was the general rule for ICA colonies, both in Argentina and North America.

Leonoff (1984), 36-37.

Sol Sinclair, "Memories of Early Jewish Settlement at Lipton, Saskatchewan," in Marjorie Drever, ed., *Trails and Tales of Settlement and Progress, Lipton and District, 1875-1985*. (Regina, 1987), 37.

The colony was originally named Qu'Appelle, because the regional land registration office was located there, but it is universally remembered as the Lipton colony and occasionally as Lipton-Cupar.

Rosenberg (1931), 221.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. The first High Holiday prayer service was held in Ft. Qu'Appelle in the local store. At one p.m., Morrison, the proprietor, intervened saying, "Enough praying, you can go home now," and shooed them out. See Booklet Committee, 23. Rosenberg, "Lipton Inspection Tour, May 25-27, 1926, writes of mistrust between ICA and the regional government officials.

Switzer-Rakos, 402, and Sinclair, 37. Switzer-Rakos adds that the three administrators "mistrusted all foreigners."

Sinclair, 37.

YMHBS, 13.

Leonoff (1970), 25. Booklet Committee, 10, has a 1937 photograph showing a horse-drawn sled hauling a load of grain to Lipton. Oxen were stronger than horses, but much slower. Their replacement by horses enabled farmers to reach Qu'Appelle and return the same day, but a journey to the railway at Fort Qu'Appelle still involved more than a single day's trip. To Lipton and back was two to two and a half hours ride from the nearest farms of the colony.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. See also Booklet Committee, 8.

Israelite Press, (Yiddish), February 12, 1926. The article, written at a time when ICA was striving to consolidate and enlarge the Jewish colonies, discusses the consistent policy of the Canadian government to assimilate all minorities into Anglo Saxon culture and to prevent any "foreign" ethnic minority from achieving strength.

Arnold (1968-69), 9, Louis Rosenberg, (1950), 205-215. See also Katz and Lehr (1999), 129, and Baltzan, 100-101 for the difficulties this posed for the Jewish colonists.

Baltzan, 100.

Baltzan, 184, names the first Lipton settlers who employed this strategy, and later notes that he and his brother and two brothers-in-law did the same. Abe Griesdorf, two Rabinoviches and Isaac Friedgut (all related by marriage) also employed this strategy.

YMBHS, 17-18, the report of Moses Vineberg and D.S. Friedman on their visit to Hirsch in 1892, emphasizes the importance of such an arrangement. The first group of Lipton settlers received only one pair of horses and one team of oxen for each six homesteaders. Family groupings of homesteads thus were of great advantage. See Baltzan, 111.

Laura N. Bonikowski, "Drought in Palliser's Triangle" at <http://www.the.canadianencyclopedia.com>. The apex of Palliser's Triangle was in the region of North Battleford, Saskatchewan, the Eastern edge of its base at Brandon, Manitoba, and its Western edge near Lethbridge, Alberta.

Louis Rosenberg, "Memorandum: Lipton Inspection Trip, November 30th-December 2nd, 1925, and "Lipton Inspection Trip, May 25-27, 1926. Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, Louis Rosenberg Collection.

Rosenberg (1931), 222.

Sinclair, 39.

Baltzan, 254.

Hoffer and Kahn, 55.

Baltzan, 254.

Baltzan, 117-118. Baltzan, 130-131 and 205-211, relates how he himself twice barely escaped such a death in his four years in Lipton. The Rabbi of the New Jerusalem colony lost both feet due to frostbite. Feuer, 96, describes an ice storm that destroyed buildings and killed livestock.

Jerry Brodie, "Early Days on the Lipton Colony" in Fred I. Curtis, ed., *Our Heritage: The History of the Regina and Region Jewish Community* (Regina, 1989), 21-24.

Baltzan, 117.

Bonikowski. During this period, 13,900 farms were abandoned in the province.

The budget allotted is specified in Norman, 97.

For the Hirsch experience see YMHBS, 16-17.

Booklet Committee, 7. Since the average Jewish immigrant family was said to number five souls, it would appear that this was an advance party, probably made up mainly of men to lay the foundations of the settlement.

See Jill Culiner, *Finding Home: In the footsteps of the Jewish Fusgeyers*, (Toronto, 2004). See pp. 295-296 for a picture of Leib Swartz, a *fusgeyer*, and his family in Lipton and his daughter's description of her father's reticence about this episode.

Baltzan, 104-105, 109-111.

Baltzan, 111.

For examples of quick construction of homes and barns see Baltzan, 160, Booklet Committee, 4, Feuer, 96.

Baltzan, 104.

Switzer-Rakos, 402. Belkin (1966), 77, citing ICA reports, writes that at the end of 1903, only 56 farmers remained, cultivating only 500 acres of land, and that the entire Lipton colony numbered only 195 souls. As previously noted, the "New Jerusalem" colony had been totally abandoned after four years. Robinson, 50, notes that after three successive years of total crop failure, and faced with a demand to begin repaying their loans to ICA, the founding families of the Hirsch settlement sold out and left. Archer, 3, relates that a group of experienced Scots farmers also abandoned the homesteads they had taken up not far from the "New Jerusalem" colony.

Baltzan, 60.

"Statistical Summary of the Lipton Colony" Canadian Jewish Congress Archive, series KC, 1937, 3.

Rosenberg (1931), 221. See also Baltzan, 92.

See "Jampolsky Family" in Drever, ed., 462. Also Baltzan, 82. Also CJC Archive, DA162, File 174 for Friedgut. This would be the equivalent in buying power of \$53,000 in 2005.

Archer 4, Switzer-Rakos, 404.

Switzer-Rakos, 403. Baltzan renders the new supervisor's name as Cohen, but his book is a translation from a Yiddish original, and the translator is notably weak on names. Switzer-Rakos, who worked from ICA documents is more probably correct.

CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, "Lipton Colony: Statistical Resume, 1917," 1.

CJC Archive, JCA Collection Series KC, "Lipton Colony: Statistical Resume" various years. The title varies slightly in different years. The entire series runs from 1910 to 1941, with gaps from 1917 to 1923, and 1926 to 1931, and only partial information for 1923-1926. The format and information contained changes in various years.

Sinclair, 39.

"Lipton Inspection Report, May 25-27, 1926," CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg collection, 1. As late as 1931 there were still only four cultivators and six fanning mills for the colony's 25 farms. See CJC Archive, Series KC, 1931.

Sinclair, 37.

"Lipton Inspection, October 25-27, 1925," CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, 1.

Baltzan, 153-154.

"Lipton, Sask. Statistical Resume, 1915 CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, 1, 1916, 1.

Rosenberg, (1950), 212. The declarations of the settlers may be treated with a certain amount of skepticism. CJC Archive, DA162, File 174, contains a loan application in which the applicant, Isaac Friedgut, states that his occupation before coming to Canada was "farmer." In fact, before coming to Canada he was an accounts clerk in an industrial enterprise in the city of Ekaterinoslav, though he may have been born in a rural area of Ukraine. An example of immigrants with farm experience is the case of the Jewish agricultural settlement of Israeloffka in Russia, whose population moved *en bloc* to Canada in 1911, founding the settlement of New Hirsch (Camper, Manitoba). See Robinson, 52.

Norman, 45, 104.

See Hoffer and Kahan, 19; Feuer, 89-91; Curtis, ed., 21.

Belkin, (1926), 485.

Leonoff, (1970), 24. The Barish farm grew and survived through the drought and depression years and the years of World War II, and had 1100 acres under cultivation into the 1960s.

Israelite Press, June 4, 1937, p. 2. The Sinclair farm had pure-bred Aberdeen Angus cattle in the late 1920s, and the first tractor in Lipton in 1926. Booklet Committee, p.19; Rosenberg (1926), 2. Sol Sinclair went on to earn a Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota founding and developing the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Manitoba where the Solomon Sinclair Institute of Farm Management exists in his memory.

See Curtis, ed., 21, Leonoff, (1970), 28, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC, various years.

Leonoff (1970), 27. Sam Barish of Wapella is quoted: "The problem is to get the farmers to come and take that information...very few others from our area had gone there."

Rosenberg (1950), 211.

"Lipton Colony Statistical Resume," 1931, 1941, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC.

"Lipton Colony Statistical Resume" 1941, 3, CJC Archive, JCA Collection, Series KC.

For the failure of Israel Hoffer's first attempt to build a sod house see Hoffer and Kahn, 36-37.

For discussion of the *zemlianka* see Theodore H. Friedgut, *Iuzovka and Revolution: vol. I, Life and work in Russia's Donbass, 1869-1924*, Princeton, N.J., 1989, pp. 89-90. Baltzan, 47, describes the construction and internal arrangement of an early Lipton dugout used by a large family.

See Baltzan, 56-57 contrasting this phenomenon to the initiative shown by "the Russians." Hoffer, and Kahn, 50.

The Schwartz home was victim of such a fire, and Baltzan's first house came close to such a fate.

Baltzan, 157 describes his family's milk-house as such. Lipton photographs include records of such houses and barns.

CJC Archive, DA 162, File 174.

Baltzan, 160.

Feuer, 96

Book Committee, 4.

Baltzan's account is replete with examples of the colonists' learning. See 155 for the planting of a vegetable garden with a do-it-yourself book as the only guide.

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Baltzan, 76.

Baltzan, 160.

Baltzan, 63, 66.

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CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg photograph album.

Baltzan, 172.

Robinson, 53.

YMHS, 19.

Sinclair, 40-41.

Booklet Committee, 17-20.

Leonoff (1970), 19, notes that in Wapella there was no Jewish education. Booklet Committee, 40, Sol Sinclair relates that his family moved from the Wapella area to Lipton in 1910 because of the latter's Jewish educational facilities.

Baltzan, 50, relates that when he arrived in Lipton in early 1904 and asked whether they had a Jewish school, the answer was: "What for? Who needs it?" Twenty years later, Rosenberg reported that those who no longer had school age children had no interest in the Jewish education program, and were reluctant to contribute to its maintenance. See CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, "Lipton Colony Inspection, September, 9-11, 1924."

CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg Papers, DA2, Box 8, File 6. The reports are signed by Chaim Meirovich and N. Golubnik as teachers, and are witnessed by the trustees, Clarman, Isaac Sinclair and J. Glassman

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Sinclair, 43.

Leonoff (1984), 54 notes of the Bender, Manitoba colony that "living in close quarters there was the usual gossiping and quarrels."

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Norman, 24.

Baltzan, 110, 222.

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Baltzan, 61. see also Baltzan, 66 for Mrs. Jampolsky's contempt for the Romanians.

Baltzan, 100-101. Levin's contract as a religious official was with the Russians only, and not with the colony as a whole.

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See Baltzan, 205 for his own wife's reaction to her first taste of colony life, and 218 for an even more drastic reaction.

See Baltzan, 232, 243, 245, Leonoff, 7, Western Jewish Heritage Centre Archive, photo JHS #3135, Booklet Committee, 13 and <http://www.lkessler.com/myfamily.shtml> for examples.

Baltzan, 237. Of the 73 known graves in the Lipton Jewish cemetery, at least ten are of children under the age of fifteen years.

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Sinclair, 40 and Drever, ed., "Raichman Family," 613.

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All the statistics for this section are taken from the statistical resumes of various years held in the Canadian Jewish Congress Archive. See note 92. Nothing in any of the archival materials, memoirs or other sources that I have consulted even refers to the 1913 crisis, let alone explains it. There was no economic crisis, for the average net worth of a farm and the price of an acre of land both increased steadily.

Gladys Friedman Paulin, personal communication with the author, relates that her grandfather and his relatives took up a total of twenty homesteads in Lipton and Cupar, and when one or two left most of the rest followed.

Friedgut, Table 28, 206. Even taking into account the drop in the general consumer price index due to the depression, land prices declined in real terms during this period, recovering only in the post-World War II years.

"Lipton Inspection report, May 25-27, 1926" CJC Archive, Rosenberg Collection, 4.

Leonoff (1984), 44.

The trend of fewer but larger farms and a shrinking of farm population were general and continuous in Canada from 1931 to 1966. Farm population dropped from 3.3 million to 2.1 million, and from 31.7 percent of Canada's population to 9.8 percent. See Friedgut, Table 3, 53.

In 1917 the average farm had been 220 acres. By 1931 it was 586 acres and in 1941, 684 acres. The Kaplun farm in Wapella was over 1,000 acres in 1969, composed of his grandfather's homestead, his father's and his own. See Leonoff (1970), 28.

For details of the technological and legislative changes that helped advance the Canadian agricultural sector after World War II, see Friedgut, 189.

Rosenberg, (1950), 214.

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