THE LIPTON JEWISH AGRICULTURAL COLONY

1901-1951:

PIONEERING ON CANADA'S PRAIRIES

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INTRODUCTION—WHY CANADA, WHY WEST?

What would bring Jews from the Russian Empire and Rumania, a population that on the whole had long been separated from any significant agricultural life, to undertake pioneering on Canada'sPrairies? 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 to re-connect the Jewish people with the agricultural life that had been its ancient past. In Russia, Argentina, in the Land of Israel, and in several other countries there were simultaneous attempts, and that in Canada was far from the largest. Nevertheless it is an important chapter in the development of the Canadian Jewish community, an integral and basic part of the development of Canada'sPrairie provinces and provides interesting comparative material for the study of other agricultural settlement efforts, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

In this monograph, we present the reader with a detailed exposition and analysis of the political, social, economic and cultural environments that moulded the Lipton colony in its fifty-year existence as one of several dozen attempts to plant Jewish agricultural colonies on Canada's WesternPrairies. 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. At the same time we will draw the readers' attention to research that indicates that Jews no more tended to abandon the land than other ethnic groups, and in fact had a better record of continuing to farm than did their non-Jewish neighbours.

CANADA AND THE JEWS: IMMIGRATION POLICY AND PRACTICE

We should remember that the end of the 19th century saw the spread of railways through Russia and Europe, as well as the advent of trans-oceanic steamships. This development of modernization greatly increased the mobility of masses of people, making the option of large scale emigration to the new world feasible. 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 close to two million Jewish migrants and Canada was among the many countries that offered a new home to those who sought relief from old prejudices and restrictions on the free frontiers of 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] In 1915, 3,000 Jews lived on farms in Canada.[5] 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 such immigration was gradually closed down by an increasingly discriminatory immigration policy through the 1930s.[6] 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 West.[7]

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. These repeated pogroms were the flash points of an ongoing anti-Jewish atmosphere in the Russian Empire and in Romania, characterized by a growing xenophobic nationalism and legislation discriminating against Jews in education, in their economic life, in their professional pursuits and in their residence rights.[8] In addition there were other underlying causes.

The second half of the 19th century brought with it a rapid growth of population in Russia, resulting in 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. In addition to the land hunger that affected the agricultural population, industrialization, advancing rapidly in Russia at the turn of the century, began to squeeze out some of the artisan and manufacturing enterprises that were the source of livelihood for many Jews. This process of rural impoverishment stunted a Jewish agricultural movement that had started in Russia in the early19th century, and by the end of the century embraced 10,550 farms populated by 63,342 Jews in Jewish farm colonies in the three provinces of what was known as "New Russia" in the south eastern Ukraine, (approximately 1.2% of the Jewish population of the Russian Empire), far surpassing in absolute numbers, though not in percentage of population, 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.[9] In addition, the majority of the Jewish farm colonies were in the Southern Ukraine in the Ekaterinoslav and Kherson regions, where, much like Western Canada, drought, locusts and other afflictions made prosperous farming difficult. At the same time, beginning in the 1890s, there was a growing relief effort, headed by the Paris-based Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) and by ORT, the acronym for the

Russian words *Obshchestvo Remeslenogo zemledelcheskogo Truda* (The Association for Artisan and Agricultural Labour, known today as the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training.), a group that devoted itself to teaching various manufacturing and agricultural skills to the Jewish population, thereby bettering their social and economic status. These provided the farmers with agricultural education and advice, credit for the purchase of better livestock and machinery, and support of community institutions. As a result, while the general Jewish population was increasingly impoverished, some of the colonies were strengthened and their population increased in the 1890s and the first decade of the 20th century in spite of the political and economic hardships imposed on them.

However, the great majority of the Jews of the Russian Empire were totally alienated from both the regime and the increasingly nationalist population. One avenue of relief from this poverty and alienation was emigration, a solution increasingly sought by Jews of the Russian Empire, Galicia and Romania as the civic disabilities imposed on them increased and stories of life in "the New World" filtered back from relatives and neighbours who had already emigrated. The members of the first graduating class of the ICA agricultural school at Slobodka Lesnya in Galicia were all given boat tickets to Canada or Australia rather than being directed towards the farm colonies in the Russian Empire. 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 of 1904-'05, brought many young men to the decision to emigrate. In addition to being a personal reason, this movement was an additional expression of the 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 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, and was repeatedly a part of the public discourse on the "Jewish Question," as a means of improving both the moral and economic status of the Jewish population. Such discussion may be found as early as the latter half of the 18th century and throughout the 19th century, expressed by personages as different as representatives in the Polish *Sejm* (Parliament), the Russian writer and Senator, Gavrila Romanovich Derzhavin, and various figures of the Jewish elite as well as Jewish religious figures, Enlightenment writers and thinkers, and the Zionist leader Nachum Sokolov.[10] The roots of this idea were not necessarily connected originally with Jewish problems. The idea came to Russia from the philosophy of the 18th century French Physiocrats and of Jean Jacques Rousseau (with whom Empress Catherine the Great carried on an extensive correspondence) whose ideas were absorbed and translated into the Russian social context by Russia's Populist movement and further Russified by the rural socialism of Lev Tolstoi who saw in the peasant the embodiment of virtue, and in agricultural life the closest approximation of a harmonious communion of man and nature. This thought was nothing less than an obsession with the Baron de Hirsch, who saw in the creation of a large Jewish farming population a remedy for anti-Semitism.[11] This *zeitgeist* 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, the former focusing on settlement in North America while the latter aspired to settling the Land of Israel. However much this idea may have figured in adding moral justification to the material reasons for agricultural settlement, the immigration to Canada was at bottom neither ideological, 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.[12]

Canadian interests in large-scale immigration were also multiple. Canada was eager to attract new population, for its expanses were 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, had agreed to join the Canadian Confederation on the condition that a trans-continental railway be built to link them to "civilization."[13] 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. Once this line was built, its viability depended on the economic development and population of the territories through which the railway passed.

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.[14] 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.[15] 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.[16]

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.[17] 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* in 1885 that shocked the entire North West Territories.[18] In addition, to the south of the new British-linked Dominion, the United States had emerged from its 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 then held by Russia. 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, creating an anxiety in Ottawa lest these masses push north into Canada, bringing with them American political pressures to annex these new lands.[19] In the mid-1880s, a growing influx of American cattle ranchers who drove their herds north into Canada to graze caused considerable anxiety in Ottawa lest these incursions carry with them territorial demands.[20]

Within ten years, the Canadian government passed an almost identical homestead act, seeking to attract settlers to Manitoba and the territories that would later be Saskatchewan and Alberta, as a counterbalance to the American settlers.[21] Any male over 21 years of age, or a female who was the sole support of a family (Lipton was to have at least five such homesteaders) 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 *laisser faire* economic environment, were the best way to achieve both territorial consolidation and economic development.[22] As experience later proved, the homesteads allotted were too small to serve as viable grain farms and the conditions of farming in Saskatchewan were 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.[23] Thus, a new immigrant family that succeeded in getting title to its homestead could, if it so later wished, sell the farm, and embark on some other life with a modest capital in hand. The dominant pattern that eventually emerged among the many who did not find their calling in agriculture; was of a movement from the agricultural colonies' or from individual farms to an adjacent village or small town, and later to an urban centre. The motivations for such moves were multiple, including both the search for a livelihood and the universal parental imperative of seeking a good education and suitable mates for the children. For many, the search for a large and active Jewish community figured prominently in their considerations. The Jewish immigrants were extremely mobile, moving from place to place repeatedly in search of congenial surroundings and a decent livelihood.

CANADA'S GENERAL IMMIGRATION POLICIES

Canadian immigration policy was consistent from the formation of the Dominion through to World War II, though the nuances and enunciation varied with the size of immigration and with the political and administrative 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 East 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.[24] 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).[25] In spite of these restrictions there is evidence that the message of free land reached the Jews of the Russian Empire, and influenced their choice of emigration destinations.[26] An effort was made to avoid rapid growth of the Eastern cities, and to direct immigrants onto the Western lands of Canada. The recruiting effort was not only based on propaganda. Material incentives were offered as well. Any family settling on the land in the North West Territories was offered a ten dollar grant for the head of the family and five dollars for each family member over twelve

years of age.[27] Mennonite groups were offered free transportation and exemption from military service.[28] 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.[29] 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.[30] 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 also extended to a proposal to send Stemshorn to personally guide the prospective immigrants on their journey to Canada and shepherd them directly to Regina by the most direct and economical route.[31]

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."[32] 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."[33]

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. Many had, indeed, "a stout wife and a half dozen children," but few had any direct experience in living on the land or farming it for a living, let alone a multi-generational heritage of agricultural life. 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."[34] 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* [Italics mine—T.F.] Jews [of Russia—T.F.] to Canada." He adds: "It seems not a bad opportunity of interesting the Hebrews in our North West."[35] Galt had invested extensively from his own funds in development projects in the Canadian North West, and knowing of Maurice de Hirsch's success in building and activating the Turkish Orient rail line linking Constantinople to Europe, had vainly attempted to convince the Baron to invest in the Canadian Pacific Railway project. Galt had also 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.[36] Attuned both to Galt's interests and the potential for investment by the Rothschilds, Hermann Landau

and other Anglo-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."[37] 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 request 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, approximately 150 persons.[38] The 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?"[39] The continuing of Jewish immigration and settlement in the West, even after World War I would indicate that despite an aversion to Jews as new Canadians, bolstering the population of the Western provinces was an overriding consideration for Canadian decision-makers, bringing them to respond to 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, with the exception of Winnipeg, already a city of 8,000 souls by 1882, settled first in rural locations, only later gravitating to urban communities that began to develop.[40] Both the undeveloped state of most urban settlements and their cultural milieu combined to make these urban communities less than attractive in the earliest years of Jewish immigration.[41] In addition, as we have seen, Canadian immigration policy was intended to bring agricultural settlers and not urban dwellers to the West, and, as we have noted, the possibility of receiving a substantial parcel of land almost free of charge was a powerful attraction for many of the poorer Jews of Romania and from Russia's Pale of Settlement..

The ambivalence of the higher authorities appeared to induce inconsistency at the local level. At times, local implementation could be in direct contradiction to the policy aims of higher authorities, and different local authorities could issue contradictory proclamations. A handbill issued by the government immigration agent in Winnipeg in March 1892 calling on local farmers to invite Germans from Russia as farm labourers, included the sentence: "It is guaranteed that no Jews will be brought

out under this scheme."[42] Only a year earlier, in a letter dated January 15, 1891, the government immigration agent in Regina, John T. Stemshorn addressed a letter to a Montreal Jewish committee that had undertaken to encourage Jewish settlement in Western Canada, writing: "I notice by the papers that you are contemplating settling Russian Jews in the North West Territories. I take the liberty to inform you that the Russians already in the Regina district are all doing well, and that we have still a large quantity of homestead land within a radius of ten miles from Regina. Any information you may require will be cheerfully given."[43] The covering letter addressed by Stemshorn to the secretary of the federal Department of Agriculture in Ottawa, and the secretary's response, indicate that the letter was with the full knowledge and agreement of the higher authorities.[44] In examining such a phenomenon we should take into account intra-governmental bureaucratic contradictions. While the Ministry of the Interior saw its mandate as preventing "undesirable" immigration that might imperil the British ethnic and cultural nature of Canada's population, the mandate of the Ministry of Agriculture was the settlement of masses of farmers to productivize Canada's vast and empty prairies.

With the assistance of the federal Ministry of Agriculture, the government body charged with settling immigrants throughout the West, Stemshorn's letter eventually found its way to the Settlement Committee of the Montreal Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society (YMHBS). This society acted in conjunction with the newly-formed Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) that had no Canadian office of its own until 1907. In January 1892, the Settlement Committee of the YMHBS met with Prime Minister Abbott, with the Ministers of Agriculture and the Interior present, and came away with the impression that the Canadian government was truly committed to bringing substantial numbers of Jewish immigrants and providing them with land on which to settle.[45] Shortly after, the federal Department of Agriculture proposed settling Jewish colonies in the vicinity of Red Deer, Edmonton and Regina.[46] The inclusion of Regina was a direct response to Stemshorn's initiative and 260 families of Jewish immigrants from Russia were proposed for the Regina district.[47] The Ministry of Agriculture promptly notified one of its local agents that W.H. Baker, the Secretary of the Settlement Committee of the "Baron Hirsch Institute (as the YMHBS had renamed itself as Canadian representatives of ICA), accompanied by two representatives of the potential settlers, would be looking at lands "in the Red Deer, Moosomin and Prince Albert districts."[48]

The Anglo-Saxon, Christian middle class population that dominated Regina at the time was aghast at this prospect and a special public meeting of the Board of Trade was called at which speeches, resolutions and telegrams to the authorities protested that: "Regina is not a desirable place to make a dumping ground for Russia's pauper element," and contending that a year previously "four townships had been settled with Jews and not one family remained, while the land remained tied up, denying it to bona-fide would-be settlers.[49] Regina's total population numbered about 1,700 at that time including nine Jews.[50] An influx of 260 immigrant families, settling in its environs, would most certainly have completely altered the ethnic and cultural character of the town. The prospects for agricultural settlement on a homesteading basis were, however, both broader than any one small district and sufficiently attractive to circumvent any fear of local opposition.

Opposition to "foreign" settlers was not restricted to Jews. Russian Doukhobors, German Mennonites and Ukrainians all faced opposition from established Anglo Saxons when they arrived in any considerable numbers. Chinese and Japanese suffered physical violence as well as government opposition when they

tried to settle in Vancouver.[51] What was the Jewish experience in this respect? When a group of Jewish railway workers passed through Regina, the local newspaper reported in a tone of contemptuous scepticism: "The captain of the group, Mr. Kaufman, stated that they worked well, hoped to be industrious citizens and intended to settle on the land. If not, they will be as useful as so many prairie lice."[52] The Wapella settlers were met with threats that never materialized, and Lipton settlers could recount an incident of hooliganism aimed at them.[53] On the whole, however, the tradition of mutual aid and solidarity that was part of the frontier ethos, prevailed. The native settlers around Lipton assisted the newcomers in building their first homes from the materials at hand, offering shelter in their own homes and assistance in building up their livestock holdings. As always, cooperative labour in the harvest season was the norm. Non-Jews, with few exceptions, looked upon Jewish religious rituals with respect and friendly curiosity.[54] When, at the initiative of a number of Christian clergymen, the elderly Avraham Feuer of Sonnenfeld was fined for contravening the Lord's Day Act by threshing his crops on a Sunday, Israel Hoffer, the leader of the settlement, who also served as the local Justice of the Peace, protested to the Attorney General of Saskatchewan, explaining that religiously observant Jewish farmers took their Lord's Day on Saturday and could not afford to be idle two days a week. The response of the Attorney General was that the Jews should continue in their own customs without fear of any legal retribution.[55] Whatever the prejudiced attitudes of individual officials, townspeople and somewhat removed observers, neighbouring farmers with few exceptions accepted the Jews as individuals to be respected or rejected as individuals in accordance with their deeds. The exceptions, very few of which appear to have involved violence, must have appeared as marginal incidents compared to the physical violence of pogroms that the Jewish New Canadians had experienced in their former homes. Moreover, the possibility of turning to the police and the courts for protection was precisely what the colonists had sought when they left the tyrannies and prejudice of Eastern Europe for a New World based on law and liberty. The most succinct expression of this Jewish aspiration to justice and freedom was a letter written to the Saskatchewan newspaper, *The Western Producer*, in 1928, protesting the xenophobic incitement carried on by the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan. "As a Jew I am not asking for mercy, because the British flag will protect me; I am not asking you to pity us, I am not asking praise. What I do ask is justice, broadmindedness and fair play." [56]

The Dominion Land Act offered the immigrant the prospect of becoming a property owner; ICA and local Canadian Jewish organizations were supportive with loans and training, and the frontier traditions of mutual aid created a freer, more tolerant society than that of the cities. Thus, in the years 1884-1912, 31 Jewish agricultural colonies were established in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.[57]

THE LIPTON COLONY, THE EARLY YEARS

The Lipton Jewish agricultural colony, established in the summer of 1901, was as Louis Rosenberg wrote thirty years later: "...the first and only attempt in Canada to delegate to government the founding and administration of a Jewish agricultural settlement, and it bears the scars of that attempt to this very day."[58] A Canadian government immigration official was sent with sole authority to recruit, screen and approve the three Romanian groups of settlers who founded the Lipton colony in 1901 and 1902. Though the Jewish Colonization Association advanced money as loans to the settlers for their travel and initial expenses for living and establishing their farms until their first crops were harvested, it had no say in picking the settlers. In addition,

the Deputy Minister of the Interior was given control of the siting and administering of the colony, including control of disbursing the ICA funds to the settlers. This was in contrast to the general experience of Jewish colonization in Canada, in which the settlers were said to have come spontaneously, paying their own travel expenses and investing their own funds in their farms, with ICA entering the picture, if at all, only as a source of credit and of support for religious and educational institutions..[59] The Lipton arrangements were the result of negotiations between ICA representatives and Canada's immigration agent in London, an agreement that was implemented despite not being approved by the Canadian government.

The screening was apparently ineffective. The first group, consisting of 100 persons representing 49 families, were totally unprepared, both professionally and psychologically for the rigours of farm life on Canada'sPrairies. Indeed, an exchange of letters between the official responsible for the screening and the Deputy Minister of the Interior shows that the immigration agent was fully aware that the immigrants were unsuitable, but nevertheless sent them to Canada against the advice of his superior.[60] . In addition, as will be set forth in detail below, they suffered misfortunes, and were the victims of every possible error and malfeasance.[61] They were sold inferior livestock, they were charged high prices for their supplies and equipment and were treated with arrogance and hostile suspicion by the administrators. Last, but not least, upon their arrival in Qu'Appelle, the group was ravaged by an epidemic of diphtheria that not only caused the deaths of a number of the settlers, but delayed them from settling on their lands and beginning to prepare for the coming season.

The Lipton colony was remote from any centres of communication and settlement and isolated from markets and services. It lay at the meeting point of two wagon trails leading to Hudson's Bay Company trading posts. Until the opening of a railway branch line in 1906, these trails were the area's only lines of communication with the rest of the world.[62] It was also physically scattered—so much so that the original settlement was divided in two; Lipton and Cupar, 19 miles further west.[63] Its early frosts along with a generally harsh climate made the area unsuited for grain growing making its agriculture highly problematic. In addition to these disadvantages, and in no small measure because of them, the settlement never attained the "critical mass" that would have given it social stability. Despite all these factors, Lipton existed as a Jewish community for half a century, into the 1950s, and the last Jewish farms in the area were still worked by the original families up to 2002.[64]

The site for the settlement was chosen by D.H. MacDonald, a prominent local banker and merchant, delegated by the Deputy Minister to administer the colony.[65] MacDonald further delegated the actual running of the colony to two local people, Barnes and Morrison, one a farmer and the other a storekeeper. Neither they nor MacDonald had any common language with the new settlers and there was much mutual suspicion and mistrust between the administrators and the colonists.[66] This lack of communication was not solely a problem in Lipton, but characterized the relations between officials and Jewish colonists in general.

MacDonald has been called incompetent, unscrupulous and dishonest and more specifically was accused of selling the colonists inferior livestock at inflated prices.[67] When Saskatchewan became a province in 1905 MacDonald was elected to the Provincial Legislature from the Lipton district, but was unseated in 1914 due to a vote fraud scandal.

The locale chosen was nearly thirty miles from the nearest railway station at Qu'Appelle, and seventy miles from Regina, the nearest town that was large enough to serve as a market for the colony's products. Ten years earlier, when land was

being chosen for the Hirsch settlers, an ICA proposal that the lands of the former "New Jerusalem" colony be re-settled was rejected, largely due to the remonstrations of Asher Pierce, an early Jewish settler of the Oxbow district who undertook to assist the newcomers, because the Moosomin lands were 25 miles from a railway station, and had no access to markets. The Hirsch colony was eventually sited at a point where a new station, to be named Hirsch, was already under construction.[68] That MacDonald should be unaware of this precedent or unconcerned by it, is understandable, but that ICA did not press for a more suitable locale indicates the extent to which it was remote and ineffectual in assisting the colonists in anything other than administration of loans. It was not until 1906, five years after the founding of the colony that a railway branch came to the vicinity and the village of Lipton, 12 miles from the Lipton colony, was founded. Adding to the isolation of the colony was the fact that there were no roads in the area, only the faint tracks across the prairie. All-weather paved or even gravelled roads were introduced widely in thePrairie countryside only in the 1940s.[69] Irene Dodek recalls that at the end of the 1930s the road from the Barish farm in Wapella to the railway station at Rocanville was only partially gravelled and that for eight miles this road was simply a rutted dirt track across the prairie. In similar fashion, Hope Richman recalls that a sixty mile automobile trip from Southey to Lipton to visit her family took the better part of a day, with fifty miles of gravel roads and ten miles of prairie trails, cattle pastures and farmyards.[70]

The isolation of the colony also meant the isolation of the colonists from the Canadian Jewish community, from Jewish educational institutions, from religious rituals and services. They were faced with the need of providing all these for themselves or going without. While not all the settlers were observant Jews, maintaining all Jewish laws and customs, for many of them these were an important part of their lives and they were unwilling to give up on them, whatever the hardships involved. At this point, we pose the isolation in which the Lipton colony found itself as one of the economic and social problems faced by the new colony. How the colonists coped with it will be discussed later.

Isolation was not the only disadvantage of Lipton. The colonists were also physically scattered over the lands allotted to the colony. The Lipton farms, a quarter sections each, were spread over an area 40 km. from north to south and almost 30 km. from east to west.[71] With a maximum population of a little less than 400 this meant one person for each three km^2—a population density found in North-Eastern Siberia or in sub-Polar territories today. This scattering had its roots in the provisions of the Dominion Land Act that demanded that each homesteader live on his own quarter section. This was in contrast to the traditional European village in which the houses were clustered together around a village church, school, store and well, and the fields were spread around it. The provisions of the Dominion Land Act were not the only reason for this scattering. The Canadian authorities were reluctant to have solid blocks of "foreign" culture transplanted to Canadian soil.[72] Experience with Mennonite and Dukhobor settlement groups only reinforced the government's determination to scatter the colonists among sections withheld from the colony (close to half the lands of the Canadian West, a total of 32 million acres, was held by the railway and the Hudson's Bay Co.) that would eventually include other settlers as well.[73] A plan, presented by the Lipton colonists to set up a central village with the farms around it was firmly rejected by the Canadian authorities.[74] However, the government persuaded the Canadian Pacific Railway to exchange some of its parcels

of land so that the Jewish settlers could take up contiguous sections, a benevolent exception to the general settlement practices.

The Lipton colonists quickly found a way to attenuate, though not to eliminate the hardships of isolation. A group of four relatives or close friends would file for homesteads on a whole section and then would proceed to build their houses close to the corner where the four quarters met in the centre of the section. This not only gave them easy constant communication with each other, a matter that was of particular importance to the wives, softening the isolation of those who were generally in or around the home, tending the kitchen garden, the dairy cattle, the chickens and the children as well as maintaining the household. It also lightened the task of establishing the farms. Four families could quickly build a house in which all lived until the remaining houses, barns, fences and wells were in place, and each family could develop its own economy.[75] In the first, crucial stages of setting up the colony, when equipment and draught animals were often in short supply, this strategy also facilitated the sharing of the limited means of production within a group that had some strong internal ties.[76]

The Lipton colony was also climatically disadvantaged. The colony's lands fell within "Palliser's Triangle," a vast area embracing almost all of South-Central Saskatchewan, surveyed in the 1850's and deemed unfit for cultivation since it was thought to be simply an extension of the desert lands of the U.S.A.[77] Although there were those who denied the accuracy of his conclusions, Palliser proved in large measure correct until the development of suitable high-yield, disease-resistant, hardy, swift-maturing varieties of grain, agricultural techniques and machines, and a highly-developed infrastructure of railways and all-weather farm-to-market roads. None of these were available to the Lipton settlers in their first years on the land, and they all too slowly accumulated over the latter years of the colony's life.

Lipton was particularly susceptible to early frosts. Snow was known to have fallen as early as mid-October and as late as the third week in May.[78] Only 90 days a year on average were frost-free (South Western Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine average 125 frost-free days per year) and crop damage due to bad weather at harvest time was frequent, resulting in low prices for the colonists' grain.[79] The Preston wheat, generally used on Saskatchewan farms at the start of the twentieth century required 110-120 days to mature. Only in 1912, at the urging of Harry Barish of the Wapella Jewish colony, who in addition to running his family's farm served as an agricultural instructor for ICA, was the faster growing Red Fife variety introduced bringing a series of good harvests that culminated in the record crop of 1915.[80] Other areas not far from Lipton suffered much less from early frosts.[81] Israel Hoffer relates how his in-laws, the Schwartzes of Lipton were impressed seeing the sprouting fields of grain in Sonnenfeld at a time when Lipton fields were not yet fully sown.[82] Precipitation was sparse in Lipton, 17 inches per year, of which only ten fell during the growing season, the remainder accumulating mainly as winter snowfall.[83] The climate was not only unkind to agriculture, it was also a threat to human life. The winter, in particular, was perilous, often adding tragedy to hardship. The first burial in the Lipton Jewish cemetery was of one of the first group of settlers who was walking to a nearby farm in search of work, when a winter blizzard caught him. His body was found only in spring.[84] In his four years in Lipton Jacob Baltzan twice narrowly escaped death in winter storms, saved mainly by the ability of his horses to find the way home.[85] Nine-year old Tasha Leah Brodie became violently ill in winter. Her parents bundled her into a sled and set out to the nearest physician in Fort Qu'Appelle. A winter blizzard hit them half way, blotting out all landmarks and

foundering the sled in the snowdrifts. The parents turned the sled over and took shelter under it, but by the time the storm abated, the little girl had no more need of a doctor.[86] So disorienting were these sudden winter "whiteouts" that the farmers had ropes stretched from their houses to the barn to keep them from getting lost when going to tend the livestock.[87]

Summers, too, could be dangerous, with terrifying electrical storms, and prairie fires that consumed everything in their path. And always there was the reality or the threat of drought. Though in its earliest years Lipton did not suffer badly from this particular affliction, there were four dry years from 1917 to 1921 and finally nine consecutive drought years from 1929 to 1937. The drought was accompanied by massive grasshopper infestations and this combination of plagues depressed and severely damaged the colony and all of Saskatchewan agriculture. In the years 1931-41, the threePrairie provinces lost 247,000 residents. The 1936 census reported 13,900 abandoned farms, 8,200 of them in Saskatchewan. In the year 1933 alone, grasshoppers caused thirty million dollars in crop damage, and despite an intensive campaign to eradicate them, twenty million dollars worth of crops were destroyed in 1934.[88]

The Lipton colonists themselves were a mixed group. In May 1901, the first group of Rumanians, "screened" by a Canadian government immigration official, arrived at the Qu'Appelle railway station. The group was held there for some weeks by a diphtheria epidemic that killed a number of them. By the time they arrived at their allocated lands, (by foot or by ox-cart from Qu'Appelle) it was too late to plant grain crops. The second group of Rumanians arrived in August, too late to do anything but erect improvised dugout shelters in which to pass the winter. As a result, the $200,000 budget allocated by ICA for livestock, implements and seed grain was used for food and basic necessities to keep the colonists alive until their first harvest in the summer and autumn of 1902.[89] As might be expected, many of the new settlers abandoned their homesteads almost immediately. This was not an exceptional phenomenon for even in the comparatively good years between 1911 and 1931 almost sixty per cent of Saskatchewan homesteaders abandoned their farms before gaining title to them.[90] Again we may note that the same mistake of late settlement had been made ten years earlier with the Hirsch settlers, but no lesson seems to have been learned. ICA officials do not appear to have intervened, though they had seen the negative effects of late settlement on the Hirsch colonists. In truth, once the Lipton settlement group had reached Qu'Appelle there was little alternative to sending them forward to their allotted lands.[91]

The Lipton colony was populated by three initial groups of settlers. The first and second groups came from Rumania, the third group from Russia. As noted above the first groups of Lipton settlers, recruited by a Canadian government official, arrived in early May and was quarantined for diphtheria for two months. The second half of this group arrived in the colony in August. Both parts of this group had been wagon drivers, tailors, shoemakers, unskilled workers, and simply unemployed. A few, who joined the group on its way to Lipton, were part of the Rumanian-Jewish phenomenon known as "the *Fusgeyers*"—the walkers, who, too poor to travel by rail to the ports of embarkation for Canada, but determined to leave the growing oppression of Rumania, made their way on foot over the border into the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to points where Jewish organizations would assist them with funds for the journey.[92] None of this group had any farming experience applicable to the Saskatchewan prairie. They were made up of "clans," were uneducated and coarse, and with few exceptions, in the harsh circumstances of Lipton, quickly became

demoralized and passive. "They whiled away the time playing dominoes, smoking, eating and telling stories about the old home."[93] They were unused to any physical labour, and neither planned ahead, nor took any initiative. Their thinking, so Baltzan writes, focused on how to enlarge their own portions of the largesse doled out by the "rich uncle."[94] Testimony to their passivity is the fact that although four men working together could construct a habitable home within two weeks, many of the Rumanians were still living in semi-underground dugouts three and four years after their arrival.[95]

The second Rumanian group arrived in May 1902. It was made up of persons many of whom had been property owners and even landowners, of better education, whose children had gone to secondary schools or had private tutoring, more polished and worldly wise, but no more prepared than the first group for the hardships of CanadianPrairie pioneering.[96] They too, began life in dugouts, and soon fell prey to the alienated and discouraged atmosphere of the colony. The redeeming virtue of these people in Baltzan's eyes was their generous and cheerful hospitality. Of the 365 Rumanian settlers in these two groups, 193 had left by the winter of 1903.[97] Their exodus was marked by ruined buildings, rusting farm implements and the skeletons of dead oxen that greeted Baltzan on his arrival in 1904.[98] Despite this generally dark picture, in 1937, the latest year for which such statistics are available, 11 of the 21 Jewish farmers still working their land in the Lipton colony, despite drought and depression, were from the Rumanian groups of 1901-'02. Only two of the 21 were from the Russian group of 1905-'06.[99]

The third group of settlers came from Russia, and they were in many ways different than their predecessors. Among them were some who had agricultural training and experience in a climate more similar to that of Saskatchewan than was sunny Rumania, and they generally were said to have brought considerable capital of their own so they were less dependent on ICA funding for their basic equipment and supplies.[100] Isaac Friedgut, whose wife Anna ran a small store in Ekaterinoslav while he worked as an accounts clerk in an industrial enterprise before their immigration to Canada, brought savings of $2,700 with him. Isaac Sinclair came from a farming family in the Ukraine, and the Jampolsky family had been substantial grain merchants in Russia and brought with them a huge capital of $50,000 as well as sacks of seed grain and other necessary seeds. The Jampolsky home, a large two-storey structure with a full cellar, was the first, and until 1905, the only permanent home in the Lipton colony.[101]

The Russian group had somewhat easier conditions than had the Rumanians five years earlier. First of all, a turning point was reached at the beginning of 1903, when the Deputy Minister who was nominally responsible for the colony asked to be relieved of his burden. ICA, having received numerous complaints from the colonists, took over the management, through its American subsidiary, the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society in New York, though apart from the invaluable energy and organizing capacities of the new supervisor, Louis Kahn, little technical help was forthcoming from this source either. It is significant that no neighbouring Jewish colonist, or farmer well versed in local conditions could be found to guide the Lipton settlers, as had Asher Pierce and his sons of Oxbow, for the Hirsch settlers. The absence of close supervision and first-hand information about the Western Canadian agricultural colonies was one of ICA's chronic problems. As we have seen, there was no learning process by which the Lipton settlers could have avoided repeating some of the errors that had plagued "New Jerusalem" and Hirsch. Not until 1907 did ICA open a Canadian office in Montreal, and although almost all

the association's activities were then in Western Canada, a Winnipeg office opened only in 1912.[102]

A new supervisor, Louis Kahn, formerly an instructor in the Baron Hirsch agricultural school in Woodbine, New Jersey, was appointed by ICA and lived on the colony during most of his two-year tenure. In a year of intense work, he put the colony on a productive basis, increasing the cultivated acreage. The dole of foodstuffs, instituted by MacDonald's supervisors for physical survival in the crisis of the colony's first year had used the budgets intended for equipment and livestock. This not only crippled the colony's productive development, but also corrupted and demoralized those whose natural inclination was not in the direction of agricultural labour. Now the dole was sharply reduced and the colony was pushed to rely more on its own efforts. New loans were provided to enable the colonists to buy cattle, draught animals and implements. Perhaps most important of all, Kahn began weeding out the misfits and brought eleven new homesteaders to the colony—evidently the first of the Russian group that formed over the next five years.[103] Kahn's work was not simple, for some of the colonists saw him as an outsider and a tyrant, whose aim was to institute New York control in place of the lapsed Qu'Appelle control, upsetting arrangements that were evidently comfortable for some of the group. Letters and petitions of complaint were sent to Ottawa, London, Paris and Montreal. Kahn was dubbed "Pharaoh" and a "New York real estate drummer" who was seeking control of the colony's assets. Kahn had to resort to a lawsuit to recover colony property that some of the colonists had appropriated for themselves.[104]

One more signal event, marking the emergence of the colony from its birth pangs and infancy, was the opening in 1906 of a branch line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, with a station at what rapidly grew into the village of Lipton. Now the colonists could not only get their grain to the railroad in two to two and a half hours, rather than the day and a half to two day round trip to Qu'Appelle, but also had necessary services— a blacksmith, a harness maker, a general store, all relatively close at hand, although there was no doctor in Lipton until 1922[105]. Lipton's terrible isolation was being broken.

LIPTON'S AGRICULTURE: RISE AND DECLINE, 1903-1941

The agricultural economy never truly flourished, but it did gain a measure of stability and took shape as mixed farming: various grains, beef cattle that provided the better part of the colonists' income, and potatoes, poultry, a vegetable garden, and some dairy cattle that were the basis of the food consumption of the population. The soil and climate were not propitious for grain growing as was the case in Wapella and Sonnenfeld, but there was plentiful timber for construction, poplar and tamarack, and numerous sloughs gave a source of water for livestock. Unfortunately, ICA, under the leadership of Baron Hirsch, was fixated on grain growing (at one point, Argentinean colonists were forbidden to raise cattle), as was the government in Ottawa, and these were the two bodies invested with the power of decision in the first years of Lipton's existence. The colonists themselves had to learn from their neighbours and from their own observation the advantages of including livestock raising as an integral branch of their agriculture. In retrospect the comment appended to the 1917 statistical report appears to be a near-utopian optimism. The author writes: "Wheat growing [is] growing in importance, as new methods of cultivation make it possible to minimize the danger of frosts. Stock raising and mixed farming [are] no longer an experiment, but a well-established and profitable system." [106]

Grain yields fluctuated widely in the colony. Statistical records available between 1910 and 1925 show a high of 27.4 bushels of wheat per acre, and a low of six and this extreme fluctuation made it impossible to base the farms mainly on grain crops as had originally been intended.[107] Rain or snow during the harvest frequently lowered the grading of the wheat, depressing the price the farmers received. Although sturdier, faster-maturing and disease-resistant varieties were gradually introduced by agriculturally educated professional farmers like the Barish brothers, other agro-technical problems developed. The hopes generated by the hardy, swift-maturing Red Fife variety and the record 1915 crop faded when rust fungus blew into Saskatchewan from the United States in 1916, ruining the grain. Isa Milman, a Saskatchewan poetess whose book, *Prairie Kaddish,* was inspired by stories of Lipton colony life and a visit to the Lipton cemetery, wrote of this plague: "Mostly we feared/the red cloud/rising/when we bound/our wheat/...."[108] Only in the mid-1920s were the rust-resistant Reward and Garnet varieties, suitable to Lipton's climate, introduced.[109] The rust struck repeatedly, and in 1934 put an end to the popularity of Marquis, the fastest maturing highest quality wheat then in use.[110] But once again the Lipton farmers could not realize the full potential of their land. Wild oats and couch grass infested the farmers' lands as a result of tainted seed provided by the government in 1908 as relief after a drought. By 1926, these weeds had cut grain yields in half. Had the farmers been equipped with fanning mills, blowers that separated the lighter weed seeds from the heavier grain seeds, they might have avoided this infestation, but they had none at that time. Once the weeds took hold, there were only two remedies: one was to cultivate with a special stiff-toothed cultivator that cost $150 and was possessed by only one of Lipton's Jewish farmers. The alternative was to take the land out of cultivation for 3-4 years and/or to acquire virgin tracts of prairie, enlarging the farms. Only four of the Lipton colonists had sufficient capital to choose this latter course.[111] Two characteristics are exemplified here: under-capitalization that limited both Lipton and Hirsch from their beginnings under ICA supervision, and were typical of many other colonies; and the lack of appropriate agricultural education and experience that would have brought the colonists to put agricultural hygiene much higher on their list of priorities. The one factor sometimes reinforced the other, trapping the colonists in a vicious circle. The ICA authorities hired Harry Barish of Wapella, who held an agricultural degree and was a successful and progressive farmer, to lecture to the colonists on improving their grain and livestock varieties. Mr. Foksaner, one of the founders of Lipton asked "How can I buy good seed when I have no money?"[112] Rosenberg comments that those who maintained a proper cultivation and fallow regime got yields of 20 bushels to the acre. "There are few such, however, among the Jewish farmers in this colony."[113]

Eggs and dairy products were largely slated for home use, as the distance of the colony from rail transportation and the time it took for produce to reach the markets (Regina was seventy miles distant and Winnipeg 400 miles) made it impossible for Lipton to ship them.[114] Though early attempts were made to market cheese and butter in Winnipeg during the winter months when it could be shipped without fear of spoilage, these proved uneconomical. Farmers close by Winnipeg, many of them Jewish, produced and delivered these commodities much more cheaply than the Lipton farmers. The first year that income from sale of dairy products was recorded, was 1915, and in 1916 there is record of income from dairy and poultry sales as well as from the sale of cattle. The dairy and poultry sales brought an income of only $3,268 out of total farm and off-farm earnings of $75,000 recorded for the 46

farms active in Lipton that year.[115] This would indicate that the sale of poultry and dairy products was not a truly commercial undertaking, but a matter of occasional sales to visitors or passersby. Despite its improved position after 1906, the remoteness of markets and the relative underdevelopment of Saskatchewan remained limiting factors on the economy of the Lipton farms.

We have previously mentioned the lack of agricultural experience and knowledge among the Lipton colonists. A survey conducted in 1939 found that only 31 percent of Jewish farmers in Western Canada had been engaged in agriculture before coming to Canada.[116] In Lipton, the Sinclairs came from a farming back ground in the Ukraine, and Wolf and Zlata Raichman came from a farming village in White Russia. It was one of ICA's many errors in administering the Lipton colony that a 1909 proposal to establish a model experimental farm in the colony was ignored. Such a project would have demonstrated the most advanced agricultural technology to the colonists, but nothing was done about it.[117] Even those who had some experience of agriculture in Europe may not have had any formal training and their European experience may not have been appropriate to the CanadianPrairies. There was an ICA sponsored agricultural school at Slobodka Lesnya in Galicia, established in 1899, where 80 young people took a four-year course in agriculture. This was one of four such schools subsidized by ICA that operated until the outbreak of World War I.[118] When the first class graduated, the students were given tickets to Australia and Canada by the ICA authorities. Among the 36 graduates who settled in Western Canada in 1906 were Israel Hoffer, who became the mainstay of the Sonnenfeld colony, and Shlomo Meir Feuer, who brought his father and three brothers to Sonnenfeld, along with two other friends from his graduating class. Of the school, the father, Avraham Feuer, wrote: "The boys learned to work and to work hard, but the teachers were not qualified to give over the scientific aspects of cattle breeding, absorption of nutrients by plants, and such."[119] An ICA agricultural school also operated at Woodbine, New Jersey, near the Baron Hirsch colony there.[120] Some of the children who grew up on the farms acquired university training in agriculture. Harry Barish of Wapella received a diploma from the University of Manitoba in 1908, and was followed by his brother Sam who was one of the early agriculture students receiving a certificate in agriculture at the University of Saskatoon.[121] In Lipton it was Sol Sinclair who in 1932 was the first Jewish graduate o receive a full degree in agriculture from the University of Saskatchewan, despite having his education interrupted by responsibility for the family farm and by poor crop years.[122] Other young colonists also attended agricultural courses, broadening their horizons as to the possibilities of improving agricultural practices. These graduates were quick to adopt new grain varieties and to realize that the progeny of pure-bred beef cattle fetched four times the price of the random-bred "mongrels" raised in the early years of the colony. Oxen were replaced entirely by horses by 1923, but in 1941 there was as yet only one tractor among all the Lipton farms. Horses remained the sole power for field work.[123] Oxen were slow for transport, but powerful for ploughing. A pair of oxen could do the ploughing of two pair of horses, but took three times as long to haul grain to a railhead. Threshing, the critical stage of converting stacked wheat sheaves into sacked grain was at the mercy of traveling threshing crews. A few days' delay might see rain, frost or snow ruining the cut grain, but only Isaac Sinclair and Moses Davidner got together to buy a small portable thresher that rendered them independent of the full-sized steam-driven thresher that served entire areas.[124] Combines were introduced only after World War II.

After the creation of the College of Agriculture as one of the two first units of the University of Saskatchewan in 1909, an effort was made to interest farmers all over the province in new advances in agricultural science, but with limited success.[125] Only in 1935, in the throes of the drought and depression that crippled the province's agriculture was a comprehensive effort made to reach out to Saskatchewan farmers and give them an improved infrastructure as well as an extension service that brought agricultural advances to the farmer at home. This was the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration, (PFRA) that together with a rural electrification program pulled local agriculture through its crisis. This assistance was too little to save many of the Jewish farms of Saskatchewan, whose numbers diminished from 196 to 140, while the Jewish farm population of the province shrank from 908 to 640, a decrease of 30 percent between 1931 and 1941, while in every other province of Canada the numbers of Jewish farms and farm population were still increasing. In Manitoba, for example, the number of farms rose from 86 to 103, and the Jewish farm population of the province grew from 447 to 540. In the whole of Canada there were, in 1931, there were 2,188 Jews living on farms and this grew, despite drought and depression, to 2,486 in 1941 .[126] For Lipton, throughout this difficult decade of drought and grasshoppers, there was a slow, but steady and ultimately lethal diminution, from 25 farms with a total population of 80, to 18 farms with a population of 44.[127] The significant fact here is the drop in average farm family size, from 3.2 to 2.4 persons. This means that families with children were leaving the colony while those who stayed were long-time colonists whose children were grown and had often sought careers off the farm. We should remember that when Lipton was founded, the average family was five or six persons, and that the tendency in rural life the world over is towards large families. The sharp long-term drop in the size of Lipton families was thus a clear danger signal regarding the colony's future. By 1941 there were only five colony children over the age of 19 remaining on the farms of Lipton, while 38 were elsewhere. Twelve of the 18 farmers were aged 50 or more and only one less than 40. Thirteen of the farmers had been 35 years or more in the colony, and 11 of these had evidently arrived with the first two Rumanian groups in 1901 and 1902.[128] The Lipton colony was declining into senescence.

LIVING STANDARDS: HOUSING AND DIET

As we have noted, the circumstances in which the first Lipton settlers arrived, the lack of preparations for their arrival and their own lack of knowledge, dictated their spending the first winter in Lipton in hastily built dugouts. A long, narrow trench was scooped out to a depth of perhaps half a metre and the excavated earth raised up to form walls so that the combined height of the excavation and the wall was sufficient to allow people to stand upright inside. Where the nature of the soil permitted, the walls could be made of sod, carved out of the turf and laid like blocks to form a wall. The sod construction had the advantage of being inexpensive, cool in summer and warm in winter, though in a heavy, prolonged rain, the roof tended to drip water for many days after. Moreover, proper choice of sod type, proper roofing and plastering of the sod were essential to prevent the structure from melting away in a heavy rain.[129] Entry was from a low door and two or three steps down into the dwelling. The floor was usually of packed earth. Poles were erected along the sides, and a roof of poles, branches, and thin boards covered with sod provided shelter from the elements. A plastering of clay and straw over the earthen walls, inside and out, with whitewash at least on the inside, provided stability, aesthetics and further insulation against the cold. One or two small windows fitted into the earthen wall,

and a door, completed the structure. A stove, both for heating and cooking, with a chimney pipe through the roof, marked the delineation between the kitchen and the eating and sleeping space. The colonists would have been familiar with such structures which were used by workers in the new industrial districts of the Ukraine where such a dwelling was known as a *zemlianka*, and from Bessarabia where it was called a *barday* and served primarily to house seasonal agricultural workers.[130] These structures had the advantage of being quickly completed, cheap, based on easily available materials, and requiring little skill for construction. By their very nature, however, they were damp, cramped, and lacked any privacy. These should have been temporary structures, but when Jacob Baltzan arrived in Lipton three years after the colony's founding, he found families from the first groups still living in such dugouts.[131]

The next step up the housing ladder, and one which many of the later families made without the interval of semi-underground life, was a log cabin, chinked with moss and clay, and plastered inside and out with a clay-straw mixture for insulation, and whitewashed for aesthetics. This was a structure generally used by the native inhabitants of the region, who shared their know-how and experience freely with the new settlers, assisting them in the building of their homes. The Lipton colonists were fortunate in having suitable trees growing in their regions. Israel Hoffer recorded his envy of such "riches" as he rode through thick stands of spruce, poplar and willow from the treeless plains around Sonnenfeld to Lipton to woo his future bride, Clara Schwartz, the daughter of Lipton colonists whom he had met on the boat from Europe.[132] In these structures the roof was often of thatching—a fire hazard given the nature of the chimneys from the heating and cooking stoves.[133] As the farms developed, the thatch or sod roof was generally replaced by a much safer and more serviceable shingle roof. As in the dugouts, the floor might be of packed earth in such houses, though where it was available, a layer of clay that hardened when dry was preferred. Barns and other farm outbuildings were generally of log construction.[134]

The third step up was a frame house built of dressed lumber, with a deep and capacious cellar for storage, and proper windows and doors. These might be small and cramped dwellings or grand, two-storey buildings capable of accommodating family and guests without inconvenience. The Friedgut home in 1908, two years after the family had come to Lipton, measured 24 by 14 feet, a total area of 336 square feet, and housed seven souls, two adults and five children. There was thus a living space of 48.6square feet (nine square metres) for each person; only half of what was then (and even today) internationally considered the sanitary minimum for housing.[135] The house was valued at three hundred and fifty dollars.[136] In contrast, the Jampolsky home, the first permanent house built in Lipton, and the first with a wooden floor, was large enough to house not only the family, but twenty young bachelors who worked for Jampolsky in the summer of 1905, completing the house's construction and building his farm buildings. The Baltzan's permanent house was described as three large rooms, a deep cellar, a second floor all bedrooms, twelve windows facing the road and a balcony on the second floor.[137]

Building a home was, in the beginning, a matter of learning and of cooperative effort. For the latter, the family groupings found so commonly in the colony proved invaluable. Feeling the approach of winter in their first year in Sonnenfeld, the five Feuers worked intensively together and succeeded in building a house with a deep, stone-lined cellar and attached barn, roofed with boards and earth.[138] Similarly, in ten 12-hour days, the combined forces of the entire Segall family of Lipton constructed a winter-proofed house with a deep basement for the family.[139]

A substantial part of the challenge of pioneering life was the learning of new skills, either from the few resident or transient artisans with experience, or by trial and error. Thus the basic structure of a log cabin was learned from neighbours, while more specialized skills; laying a wooden floor or building an oven and chimney, were learned from itinerant tradesmen with these skills. The building of a light horse-drawn sled to meet the needs of winter travel was a matter of inventiveness, initiative and of trial and error.[140] The challenge of the new, and the satisfaction from each achievement; a home built, a garden yielding its harvest, a successful well with pure, cold water, each of these renewed the strength of the colonists, particularly when they were living simple bachelor lives with much camaraderie and few needs, before the wives and children arrived, bringing with them new responsibilities.

Just as the standard of living in housing gradually rose through the years, so did the diet. It would appear that despite the general poverty of the first Lipton settlers, actual hunger was rarely a menace. There was, however, particularly at the beginning, a monotony of diet and the need to accommodate oneself to a menu both different and simpler than that to which the colonists had been accustomed in their former homes. For the men who came in advance of their families this was not a great hardship, for they were caught up in the euphoria of pioneering and understood that the simplicity of their diet was temporary. Thus, after a gruelling day's work cutting and hauling trees for fence posts or for house construction, onions fried in oil with baked potatoes, washed down by tea could be considered a veritable feast.[141]

In the initial years of Lipton, the prairies abounded in wild fowl and animals that were easily hunted: ducks, geese, turkeys and rabbits. The problem for religious Jews was that any animal had to be of a permitted *(kosher)* species, and butchered according to Jewish ritual to be edible. The result was that many (though not all) of the Lipton colonists abstained from meat until a trained *shochet* (ritual slaughterer) had been engaged. This was only after some four years of the colony's existence. Another group gave lip service to religious ritual, muttering whatever blessing came into their mind while cutting the throat of some wild or domestic animal. This often was the source of domestic friction as the wives tended to be more strictly observant than were their husbands. A third group ignored religious strictures, feasting on the plenty provided by nature in their first years on thePrairies.[142] Kosher meat could only be obtained from Winnipeg and with no refrigeration, the 12-hour train journey to Qu'Appelle and the full day's trip from Qu'Appelle to Lipton made such imports impracticable for much of the year.

Even for the most observant, however, there was no lack of protein, for every farm had dairy cows and the colonists had butter and cheese that they were unable to market, which when stored properly in the depths of a well-constructed milk house, could see them through the summer and winter. The farmers also had chickens and thus a plentiful supply of eggs as well as the eggs of wild fowl that nested near the sloughs. Fresh fish was a holiday luxury, but kegs of salted herring, which became known in the Qu'Appelle store as "Jews' food," were one of the mainstays of the early Lipton diet.[143] Baltzan notes with sadness that in his first winter in Lipton (1904), he and his brother and brothers-in-law had to buy potatoes for the winter from nearby English farmers since, although three years had passed since the founding of the colony, "none were available from Jewish farmers."[144] In later years the colony was more than self sufficient in vegetables, and faced the painful dilemma of a surplus of produce for which there was no market. Once the farms were established and full families were present, each farmyard had a vegetable garden that yielded far more than the family could consume even when potatoes, cabbages, root vegetables

and various canned fruits and berries were preserved or stored in the root cellar that was part of every well-constructed colony home.

The presence of a wife and children old enough to share in chores of housekeeping and tending the garden and poultry was reflected in an improved diet. On the Baltzan farm, breakfast was porridge, coffee, milk, eggs, butter and bread. Lunch would be meat and vegetables, while the evening meal would be dairy: a *mamaligeh* (a Rumanian steamed or baked cornmeal pudding) with butter and cheese. Holidays were celebrated with fish brought from Qu'Appelle, and in later years, beef bought from Pechet's local store that kept a kosher meat section, poultry (their own) and such luxuries as grapes.[145] This was a great step up from the first *Sukkot* (Feast of Tabernacles) celebration at Jampolsky's, where Mrs. J. (who had arrived in Lipton only a month earlier) served twenty guests with herring, potatoes and Wissotsky tea with lemon and lump sugar in the evening, tea and bread for breakfast and a hearty Russian *borscht* for lunch accompanied by other foods, "but it was still meagre...compared to what we had in the old country."[146]

JEWISH RELIGION AND CULTURE IN LIPTON

The settlers of Lipton, despite their isolation, saw great importance in maintaining Jewish traditions, knowledge and identity. Not all fulfilled scrupulously Jewish dietary and ritual laws, yet Jewish values were recognized widely as norms to be maintained. It was Baltzan's brother, Moshe, who, having traveled to Winnipeg to bring his wife and children to Lipton, brought back Reuven Levin, a young Lithuanian-born idealist, dedicated to the cause of inculcating Jewish religious values, who served as ritual slaughterer, circumciser of new-born males, cantor, and itinerant teacher, who went from home to home through the colony, giving Jewish instruction to the children since there was as yet no school.[147] From that time on, there was always someone local, if not resident in the colony, for the provision of religious services.[148] An early photograph, from 1906 or 1907, shows an open-air service, attended by some 150 people (this would be almost the entire population of the colony) on an unnamed holiday. The Rabbi, attired in holiday robes, is in the centre. To his left, the women, many in plumed hats and ruffled long gowns, and the white-shirted children; while to his right the men are arrayed, the majority in dark suits, homburg, derby and fedora hats, and wearing ties.[149] It is interesting to note that in this photograph a large public building has been sketched in the background--presumably a future synagogue, which in Lipton's case was never built.

In the first years, various groups gathered at individual homes for the prayer services, with colonists themselves, many arrayed in top hats and Prince Albert frock coats, "just as it was in the old country," sharing the honour of leading the services, and after prayers, festive meals, such as we have described above, served to the congregation.[150] The Lipton colony never had a synagogue, though there was one in Lipton village as the Jewish population there grew. Rather, the three colony schools served as places of prayer until 1935, when the government demanded the removal of all religious apparatus. This arrangement, more or less dictated by the dispersed nature of the settlement, weakened its social solidarity, essentially dividing it into three distinct groups.

The Saskatchewan government was sensitive to the educational needs of the farmers' children. Wherever there were twelve children of school age, the government approved the creation of a rural school district not exceeding five miles square, so that theoretically no child would live more than three and a half miles (5.6 km., an easy hour's walk in summer) from school.[151] The government also provided a

grant toward the cost of building the school, and two thirds of the cost of running and maintaining the school. A local Board of Trustees was elected within the district, supervising the staffing and running of the school, and empowered to tax all district residents to provide the remaining sum.[152] In this way, a spirit of autonomy and self-help was inculcated. The government responded willingly to any request for schools in "foreign" areas, quite rightly seeing in the school an instrument of "Canadianizing" both the children and their immigrant parents.

The fact that Tiferes Israel, the first of three schools built in the Lipton colony, came into existence only in 1905, four years after the colony's founding, demands some explanation. There were surely more than twelve school age children there during those first years. It would appear that just as with the engaging of a religious official, the initiative for building a school had to await the coming of the Russian group to Lipton.

The construction of the Tiferes Israel school in 1905 was almost completely covered by a government grant, and colonists with construction skills (in many cases acquired the previous year in the building of the Jampolsky home and in the building of other colonists' homes) found additional employment and income in this project. The school, valued at approximately $1,250, was considered modern for its time and location. It had a cloakroom for the pupils' heavy winter garb, indoor toilets and a full spacious basement. It had an enrolment of 40 to 50 pupils.[153] Tiferes Israel was followed by the Herzl school a year later, and later by the Yeshurun school. All three schools were completely Jewish until the mid-1920s. Tiferes Yisrael was located centrally, Herzl, the largest of the three schools was the most northerly and Yeshurun was toward the southern edge of the colony, closest to Lipton village. It would appear that the founding of Yeshurun was a result of internal Jewish politics for all those who participated in its establishment were said to be related.[154]

The teachers included Louis Rosenberg, a graduate of Leeds University in England, who later was a member of the Regina Board of Education and ultimately headed the Social and Economic Research Division of the Canadian Jewish Congress; Moses Yampolsky who had served as Sholom Aleichem's secretary, and a Scottish bachelor, Andrew Scoular who taught from 1919 to the mid-1930s and learned Yiddish so that he could communicate freely with the Yiddish-speaking parents. A member of the Feuer family of Sonnenfeld also served as a Hebrew teacher at the Herzl school. Clearly, the teaching staff was of high quality and dedicated.

All three schools served also as synagogues and community centres. By law, a rural one-room school was only up to the eighth grade, but the Herzl school became the first rural school in Saskatchewan to offer a full secondary school curriculum. [155] In 1935, the Tiferes Israel School was renamed the Reindeer School and in the years following World War II, with the decline of rural population and the creation of an all-weather road system, rural pupils of the area were bussed into Lipton, the Jewish studies that had been provided for the colony's children since the schools opened, were terminated and the Jewish origins of settlement in the district became a subject in the history curriculum.[156]

Not all Jewish agricultural colonies added Jewish subjects to the children's curriculum, but in Lipton most of the colonists thought it important.[157] The education statutes of Saskatchewan provided for an optional half hour of religious or foreign language studies to be added to the standard school program at the end of each day, but the Lipton colonists considered this inadequate. The three school trustees, Isaac Sinclair, Michael Kohn and Jacob Glassman created a full Jewish studies curriculum to be added to the English language curriculum. This involved the

children staying for two hours after the regular school day.[158] Special teachers hired by the colonists, with financial assistance from ICA, were retained to teach the Jewish subjects. Two reports from Tiferes Israel for July and August of 1915 show respectively 19 and 12 children, aged 7-14 years, studying Yiddish and Hebrew reading and writing, Hebrew translation, religion, Bible translation, recitation of prayers, singing of Yiddish and Hebrew songs, grammar, and Jewish history.[159]

The question of Jewish education for the children of the scattered Jewish colonies did not remain solely the problem of the colonists. In Winnipeg, the Yiddish-language *Israelite Press* ran a series of articles discussing a plan put forth by Aaron Osovsky for a boarding school in Winnipeg for colonists' children, to be attached to the Jewish Orphanage. The aim was to provide a Jewish environment and education to youngsters living in scattered localities that had either no facilities or scanty facilities for such instruction. The plan was scuttled by a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the parents, who were reluctant to send their children so far away (particularly when the children were also needed to assist with the farm work).[160] This was not the first such suggestion. Fifteen years earlier it had been suggested to ICA that a boarding school be set up in the centre of the Lipton colony to meet the needs of children from outlying farms and further locations who had difficulty travelling to the Lipton schools. It was stated that such a school would benefit the younger generation who could learn not only the regular school curriculum and a curriculum of Jewish studies on a high level, but could be taught advanced agricultural techniques as well. However nothing came of it.[161]

The Lipton colony had a good educational system, both in the general and the Jewish sense. By 1932, the Herzl school could count among its graduates a doctor, a dentist, an agronomist, two nurses and nine school teachers.[162] It was in the forefront of achievement for its time and location. Nevertheless, it could not retain the younger generation within the farming community, and limitations, both of size and of location, should be seen as a part of this problem.[163]

BUILDING A COMMUNITY

The Jews of the Lipton colony saw themselves as an integral part of the larger Jewish community, and took part in various charitable activities both as part of the community life and as part of its educational system, raising their children in the tradition of giving to others that had been part of their own upbringing. We have already mentioned the concern of Winnipeg's Jews with the Jewish education of colonists' children, as well as a Lipton resident's participation in the debate, and the fact that Lipton's first religious official was recruited in Winnipeg. The first Torah scroll was loaned to the Lipton congregation for its High Holiday services by a Winnipeg synagogue, and was later returned "with a suitable monetary donation."[164]

There is an abundant additional record of charitable activity of the colonists and their children through the Herzl School, extending from 1917 through to 1943, encompassing a broad spectrum of local and international projects: aid to Jewish war refugees during World War I, the Red Magen David in Palestine, the Jewish orphanage and old folks' home in Winnipeg, and the Aid to Russia Fund in 1943.[165] The teas, dances, fairs and bazaars at which these money-raising events were held made these charitable activities not only an educational event, but provided opportunities for community socializing, thus helping the women in particular in breaking the isolation of their lives.[166]

In addition to providing for the Jewish education of their children, the Lipton colonists were also active in maintaining their own cultural environment along with

religious, charitable and social activities. We have already seen that some of the colonists participated in public debates in the Canadian Yiddish-language press, publishing letters and articles in the *Israelite Press* of Winnipeg and in Montreal's *Canader Adler*. During the agricultural season the organization of community activities was difficult, for field work and care of livestock were a pre-dawn to late night matter, leaving little time for other diversions. In the winter, however, a Cultural Club met regularly, providing participants with lectures on Jewish History or Jewish Literature, readings from Jewish literary classics, or discussions on current events. While the active core of the club in 1934 consisted of seven families (out of the 20 families in the colony in that year), as many as thirty people would gather at its meetings. The activists of the club also maintained contact with the Winnipeg Jewish Library, ordering books for the colonists and seeing to their timely return.[167] One of the early complaints of the Lipton colonists had been that the ICA administration had made no efforts to provide them with a library or other cultural materials.[168] There was an amateur theatrical group that presented an annual play, in one case a totally original production written by Moses Yampolsky, the Tiferes Israel teacher who had served as Shalom Aleichem's secretary and apparently had literary aspirations of his own.

The Zionist movement also had its adherents in Lipton. Only four or five years after the founding of the colony a visiting lecturer, Aaron Osovsky of Winnipeg, generated great enthusiasm among the youth by his description of the goals and activities of Zionism. Shortly after the end of World War I, a group of 18 Lipton farmers declared itself for emigration to Palestine, complaining of "the alienation of farming a land of exile, feeding strangers with the lion's share of the fruits of our labour," and warning that their children would lose their Jewish identity and religion if they did not go to their historic home and farm its soil, "for our people, our religion and our homeland."[169] Their plan appears to have been to exchange their Lipton homesteads for tracts of land in Palestine supposedly owned by ICA.[170] This exchange never materialized, and the group dissolved. There was also a women's Zionist association in Lipton.[171] Even some of those who had no intention of leaving the Canadian Prairies to pioneer in Palestine declared themselves as hoping to become "heroes of our nation…a substratum of Zionism."[172]

As a society, the Lipton community embodied numerous internal contradictions. On the one hand, it had all the frontier traditions of mutual aid and hospitality. A bed, a meal and care for horses or oxen were unfailingly extended to any traveler caught en route by a storm or by nightfall. Knowledge and experience were shared unstintingly. There was extensive cooperation in house-building, harvesting and other activities. These were the basics of civilization and survival on the frontier, and went beyond the limits of the Jewish community, embracing the entire population. They were one of the forms in which the Lipton farmers gained acceptance as equals with their non-Jewish neighbours.

The Lipton farmers also went beyond the rudiments of cooperation, and in 1915 established the Jewish Farmers' Cooperative Credit Union of Lipton. Farmers bought shares at five dollars each and were then eligible for loans of fifty to one hundred dollars for buying seed, calves, and other small farm needs.[173] Isaac Sinclair, one of the initiators of the credit union, was also active in establishing the Saskatchewan Farmers' Union and in bringing Aaron Sapiro from California to organize the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, a farmers' marketing cooperative, in 1924.[174]

At the same time, the Lipton community was riven by factionalism on a multitude of axes, ethnic, social, commercial and political. Although similar conflicts

could be found in other communities, and were sufficiently apparent that outsiders could remark on them, this phenomenon appears particularly salient in Lipton, perhaps because of the basic social structure of the colony, in which two very different groups, the Rumanians, and the Ekaterinoslav Russians lived together.[175] .

In addition, it should be remembered that the colonists felt a strong suspicion of and alienation from the local administrators about whom we have already written, as well as from the ICA authorities, who, with the exception of Louis Kahn, who lived with the colonists for the two years of his association with Lipton, were remote from the struggling farmers, both geographically and spiritually. One Lipton farmer wrote in 1912: "if the ICA and Baron de Hirsch executives would come to see Lipton with their own eyes, they would gain better understanding of the achievements and difficulties of the Jewish farmers of Lipton."[176]

One observer, herself a native of a Baron Hirsch colony in Argentina, charged that the overbearing condescension of the ICA officials was a conscious and intentional tyranny, imposed to mould the Jewish farmers into a humbled and undemanding public who would busy themselves only with their own mean existence, and not make any demands, neither of their non-Jewish neighbours nor of their ICA benefactors.[177] Theodore Norman's account of ICA in its early days substantiates this charge, explaining it as part of the Baron Hirsch's ideas and his total domination of the organization, its values and its administrative style. He notes an incident in which the colonists of Mauricio in Argentina were settled on the land but had neither draught animals nor implements. Their non-Jewish neighbours were hired to plough and prepare their fields for seeding. When a report of this reached ICA headquarters in Paris, the Baron, believing that the colonists were lazing about while others worked, flew into a rage and ordered that all colonists should work seven days a week and fifteen hours a day, and that those who balked should be forcefully evicted from his colonies.[178] Whether such a prejudiced view of the colonists was intentional or not, when a three-person delegation of colonists went to Montreal in 1907 to present requests for an improvement in their conditions, they were met with a hostility and lack of understanding similar to that which had greeted a similar delegation to MacDonald and his associates in Fort Qu'Appelle five years earlier.[179] The Lipton farmers had no recourse to other institutions, for there was a strong air of suspicious mistrust between Canadian government officials and ICA, with the government officials insisting on independent inspections without the presence of any ICA personnel.[180]

Factional quarrels appear to have been more than a local Lipton phenomenon. In 1884 the *Moosomin Courier* published the following comment on the "New Jerusalem" settlers. "The Jewish colonists near Moose Mountain have always borne the character of being a quarrelsome people among themselves."[181] The article by Rasporich that we have quoted a number of times is largely devoted to an analysis of the phenomenon of factionalism in the Saskatchewan colonies, its sources and effects. Perhaps the most poignant point in his discussion is the description of the resignation, after 32 years of service and an impressive record of community positions, of Rabbi Marcus Berner, whose letter of resignation to the ICA office read: "Why shall I devote my time, labour and ability for such a class of people who instead of appreciating are opposing and at the same time are also are torturing my life to the very extreme. It is really needless to explain any more for you had the opportunity to witness the many abuses and ill treatment towards me at the last two great meetings at Hirsch. It is enough."[182] The source of the conflict appears to have been the attempt of a second *shochet* to establish his own business in Hirsch by inciting a boycott

against Rabbi Berner. After leaving Hirsch in 1931, Rabbi Berner spent the last ten years of his life as Rabbi of a congregation in Victoria, B.C., where after his death he was described as "the sainted and highly respected Rabbi Berner."

Even earlier, in a report on the Jewish farm colonies of New Russia written in 1845, a tsarist official had noted that the Jews "are endowed with a special tendency to complaints and bitterness over all sorts of issues."[183] The same might have been written about Lipton. There was little rapport between the Russians and Rumanians, the former looking down on the latter as crude, ignorant, ("Who can get along with these animals?") lazy and insufficiently Jewish.[184]

When Moishe Baltzan and Jampolsky brought the *shochet*, Levin to Lipton, some of the Rumanians resented him as a Lithuanian, some because he was more knowledgeable than they, and the remainder because he spoke at length with the women whose children he was tutoring.[185] Any small difference between two colonists could be the cause of squabbling. Handing out of honours at religious services might start a beard-pulling fight. Canadian politics set groups and individuals at loggerheads. At one point a group of eighteen families wanted to set up their own congregation, dissatisfied with the way religious services were conducted. In one of Rosenberg's reports he paints a picture of strained relations so tangled that only clean cutting of such a Gordian knot could settle matters.[186] A similar picture may be found in the Argentinean colonies where the internal frictions brought the cooperative societies to found mediation boards that were empowered to settle petty property disputes. The ubiquitousness of such quarrels over time and geography raises the question (unanswerable here) as to whether such factionalism is a particularly Jewish trait or whether similar phenomena are to be found to a similar extent in other ethnic, religious and cultural settings. Such conflicts, whether born of alienation, frustration, poverty or simply twisted human nature, could hardly be expected to strengthen the colony, and probably were a factor in more than one family's decision to leave Lipton.

It is in place to emphasize here that none of the Jewish agricultural settlements were of a communitarian nature. In this they were very different from the Mennonite or Doukhobor settlements. The Jewish colonists were not bound together by any single ideological principle, whether religious, social or political. As mentioned at the outset, they did not as a group have the Utopian view of agricultural labour that motivated the Am Olam settlers nor the national vision that motivated the Zionist Bilu, though some of the colonists might have responded positively to such an idea. The nearest thing to a communitarian group was the group of socialist London tailors who made up a part of the Edenbridge colony. There were individuals who were Socialists in Lipton. Louis Rosenberg was active in the C.C.F. (Social Democratic) party, and Isaac Sinclair took part in many initiatives advancing cooperative production and marketing. Nevertheless, these were individual initiatives, no more representative of the colony as a whole than Pechet's support of the Conservative Party or Levin's enthusiasm for the Liberals. With the one exception of the group in Edenbridge the colonists settled as individuals with individual ideas of religion, nationality, social organization and politics.[187] The most prominent common denominator to be found in the Jewish colonies was that of family, with groups related by blood or by marriage settling in close proximity to one another... This factor appears to have increased factionalism as various clans vied for resources, positions and status. Perhaps it was this, alongside the absence of a "mainstream" ideology that gave rise to some of the factional friction that we have seen demonstrated here.

Women had a special niche in the structure of Lipton's society. Often their first view of the colony was traumatic. Women brought up in urban, educated circumstances had to make a drastic adjustment to Lipton's harsh living conditions and isolation.[188] As was the case in every frontier society, they shared all the farm tasks as well as those of housekeeping, child rearing and hospitality, which at harvest time meant feeding a threshing crew of up to twenty men for as long as it took to bring the crop in.[189] The vegetable garden, the poultry and the dairy herd were largely a woman's domain, with the assistance of the children and these were the basis for the family's subsistence, but Lipton's women and children also stooked wheat, dug potatoes, hauled water, cut wood, and ploughed with oxen. Anna Friedgut (already mother to four children and expecting a fifth) and her sister, Katya Griesdorf mixed straw and clay and plastered the house that the two families were building.[190] Few there were who could relate to their arduous work life with the same humour as one of the founders of the Hirsch colony. Upon reading in one of the regional newspapers a discussion as to the worth of women she wrote to the editors the following estimate of her 35 years of work: "„ I do not reckon it as the wage of a maid but I figure it as taking the produce to market...I estimate the value of my work for these 35 years as $141,578. I have cooked 361,351 meals, baked 78,800 loaves of bread, 12,045 cakes, 5,158 pies, preserved 3,300 quarts of fruit, churned 13,728 pounds of butter and raised 4,950 poultry. I have put in 48,180 hours scrubbing, cleaning and washing. I think this is quite a record and will be pleased to hear from any woman who can beat it."[191]

Perhaps more arduous than the physical hardships, was the isolation. Most particularly in pregnancy and childbirth, or during a child's illness, the absence of the men on trips to Qu'Appelle or on commercial forays or for work on other people's land to supplement their meagre farm incomes weighed heavily on the women. One older woman in Lipton, thinking of the isolation of her family's farm, grieved that no stranger would ever find his way to their door to ask for a meal and she would thus be forever deprived of the chance to perform a pious act of charity.[192] When an opportunity was offered for women to get together, they were willing to make a considerable effort to take advantage of it. During the 1930s, as the Lipton colony population slowly dwindled and scattered, the women's Zionist association took to meeting periodically in various homes in the small towns to which the colonists had moved: at the Segalls in Cupar, at the Raichmans in Southey and Earl Grey, at the Gibbs in Dysart and other small Saskatchewan towns. Their meetings drew as many as 35 women, though the travel there and back was arduous.[193]

Anxiety as to children's health and access to medical care only added to women's burdens. We earlier mentioned the death of the Brodie family's daughter. Baltzan records his and his wife's sad thoughts as to whether the death of their own daughter might have been prevented had better medical care been at hand.[194] A report of 1924 speaks of "much sickness in the colony, though not infectious," naming five women who needed continuous medical attention.[195] The first doctor in Lipton village (and a dentist as well) was resident only from 1922. Otherwise health care was largely in the hands of Mrs. Nacht, a midwife. Only in extreme cases such as the 1919 flu epidemic when "almost everybody fell ill" and three people died, could the overburdened Dr. Hall, resident in Fort Qu'Appelle, come to Lipton.[196]

The harsh climate was part of women's burden as well. A woman gathering berries was caught by a fierce electrical storm and cloudburst in mid-summer, and was only rescued by search parties the next morning, suffering from exposure and cold. At times, the cumulative weight of living conditions and surroundings led not only to physical illness but also to loss of sanity and even suicide.[197] While housing

conditions and diet improved over time, women's life in Lipton never became easy. Decent roads were slow in coming. The first telephone in the colony was installed only in 1920.[198] A map of Saskatchewan's power grid in 1931 shows no power lines in the Lipton area. Only in 1949 did the Rural Electrification Program of the province get under way. Thus there were no washing machines, refrigerators or other electrical appliances to lighten women's work, and it was probably a rare farm that could afford an engine-driven pump to eliminate dragging water from the well in buckets, and the daily cleaning and filling of kerosene lamps, although over the years wind-driven pumps might supply some of the water for livestock. Until then, hauling water for livestock in winter could turn one into a walking icicle.

LIPTON'S LIFE CYCLE

As is the case with every living organism, Lipton had a clear life cycle, beginning with the struggle against infantile illnesses, and progressing through growth, stability and increasing strength, to senescence and ultimate demise. In Lipton, the life cycle took the form of a series of crises and recoveries, with each successive recovery and stabilization at a slightly lower level than the previous peak. Lipton never quite achieved "takeoff," that critical mass of population and economic resources that would have created a self-sustaining community. Instead the community struggled for every inch of progress against a riptide of consecutive disasters that they were, on the whole, ill-equipped to overcome. At each crisis, the number of colonists shrank, and the young in particular left for more promising careers and a broader and more attractive social milieu. The life of Lipton can be divided into perhaps five periods: the struggle for existence from the founding in 1901 by the Rumanian groups to the advent of the railway and the Russians in 1906; a period of growth and stability to the crisis of 1913; numerical growth and economic flowering to the end of World War I; the collapse of cattle prices and land values at the beginning of the 1920s with a modicum of recovery towards the end of the decade; and stability, and ultimately a slow but inexorable twenty-year decline shaped by the prolonged drought and economic depression that were the dominant characteristic of the 1930s.

The peak of the colony's population was at its beginning, the nearly 400 souls who made up the Rumanian groups that came in 1901 and 1902, and in large measure dispersed within a year. With the advent of the Russians, growth resumed, and in the years 1910-1911 the colony numbered some 80 homesteads and a population of over 250. Two years later, in 1913, a crisis of totally unknown nature struck the colony and it declined from the 79 homesteads of 1911 to 39 in 1914.[199] One possible explanation would be the leaving of two or three families that drew after it the leaving of all their extended "clan."[200]

During the years of World War I, the colony again grew, reaching 49 farms with 218 souls in 1917. The size of the farms, the worth of an acre of land, and the average net worth of a farm all rose considerably, while the average gross income from a farm's crops more than tripled, from $649 in 1914 to $2042 in 1917. To the Lipton colonists it must have seemed that comfort, if not full prosperity, was within their reach.

The collapse of cattle prices at the start of the 1920s, followed in 1929 by a drastic fall in grain prices as American wheat flooded the world market, presaging the general depression, put an end to the vision of a bright future. On top of all these hardships came the disaster of drought that ravaged Palliser's triangle for nine consecutive years from 1929 through 1937, a year of absolute crop failure. The 1938

The end of World War II in 1945 saw Canada enter a period of economic expansion, but one quite different than earlier booms. Although the rural sector and agriculture made great progress, cities and industry grew much more. New waves of European immigrants poured into the country, and in contrast to the immediate pre-war period when the government's policy toward Jewish immigration was "none is too many," tens of thousands of Jewish Holocaust survivors were among them. These were not directed to the west to settle on the land. The existence of easier, more attractive urban places of residence, with a variety of fields of employment, and large Jewish communities whose institutions were well equipped to absorb the newcomers meant that the thinning ranks of the Jewish agricultural settlements were not reinforced by this new wave of immigrants. Saskatchewan, as an agriculture-based economy, saw itself falling behind the rest of Canada in development. There was no basis on which the dwindling Jewish agricultural colonies could be revived, and one by one, they disappeared in the 1950s and 1960s.

CONCLUSIONS: WHAT KILLED LIPTON?

Lipton died, but it is not at all correct to say that Lipton failed. On the contrary, it has been shown that Jewish farmers in Saskatchewan were no more prone to abandon their homesteads than were non-Jews. The difficulties of Saskatchewan agriculture brought some sixty percent of would-be homesteaders to leave the land before they could assume title. At the same time, Jewish farmers surpassed their non-Jewish neighbours in their tenacity and perseverance in long-term cultivation of their homesteads.[209] For half a century, the colony functioned as a living Jewish agricultural community, creating and maintaining institutions of education, religion and economic cooperation, and fighting back against successive waves of economic and climatic disaster. The decisive factor in the death of Lipton appears to be that of lack of a supportive environment and an appropriate technology. Lipton fell victim to the social and economic trends that then plagued, and in some measure still afflict Saskatchewan's agriculture. Technological advances came too little and too late (The Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration from 1935, rural electrification from 1949) to support effectively the colony's development.[210] The drought and grasshoppers of the 1930s drove masses of Saskatchewan farmers, Jews and non-Jews, off the land. The province as a whole was economically stagnant even in Canada's post-war economic boom. We must also remember that agriculture in Canada, even in normal times "is still a 'depressed industry' as compared with other occupations."[211] Whereas, by 1963, farmers' incomes had increased by 54 percent over their 1949 level, incomes in the rest of the economy had grown by 90 percent.[212] This stagnation, along with the province's harsh climate caused the general population of Saskatchewan to drop by over seven percent between 1941 and 1951.[213] This must be added to the massive outflow in the decade of the "dirty thirties."

It is also relevant that the colonists of Lipton and their children were not Sir Clifford Sifton's ideal agricultural immigrants. Where many of the other ethnic groups settling on thePrairies had a cultural and historical background rooted in generations of peasant life, a small minority of the Jewish settlers had agricultural experience while most of them had a background that included many other environments and occupations, and this background appears to have influenced both their own and their children's career choices.[214] No less influential was the fact that the general social trend in Canada, as elsewhere in the modern world, was toward urbanization, with a sharp diminution of the proportion of rural and agricultural population. When faced with the hardships and uncertainties of an agricultural life—

and witnesses to the suffering of their wives, the Lipton colonists could and did consider alternative livelihoods, and only those select few who saw in agriculture a true avocation, continued to farm.

True, there were many other contributing factors. The administration of the colony was a liability, particularly in the crucial beginning period. In the first six years of Lipton's existence, the source of funds and policy changed four times, from Ottawa to Paris, New York and in 1907 to Montreal, each change accompanied by delay and policy changes in what, for the colonists, were vital decisions. Except for the two years during which Louis Kahn directed the colony, ICA confined itself largely to long distance organizing and administering of loans to the colonists, supplementing this only marginally with support of cultural and educational activities. Kahn's two-year tenure demonstrated the potential for improvement of the productive aspect of the colony, but this was followed up only intermittently and at a distance by the employment of Barish as an agricultural adviser. Neither was the provincial nor federal government of Canada equipped to give useful assistance to farmers during this early period of Lipton's life. It would take close to forty years and the experience of the human and ecological disaster of the "dirty thirties" before government brought itself to create the necessary institutions to support Saskatchewan agriculture.

Perhaps the basic flaw in ICA's relations with the colonists was the remote, patronizing and even dictatorial approach that saw in the colonists mere objects of administration rather than partners in development. The basic situation of the ICA officials as debt collectors in their relation to the indebted farmers carried with it seeds of conflict. In this, as a colony founded and financed from the outset by ICA, Lipton was in a different position than were Edenbridge, Sonnenfeld or Wapella, in which the settlers themselves established and developed their own farms by their own initiative, and ICA entered the picture only as a source of credit in difficult times.

The ICA officials were guided by Baron de Hirsch's conviction that agricultural work was in and of itself a regenerative force, a view shared by very few of the colonists. In the absence of a binding ideological or religious imperative, this view proved Utopian. Moreover, the view of Baron Hirsch was that the farmers should be submissive to the decisions of his administrators, directing all of their energies into their work, asking no questions and making no demands. This, as we have seen, was far from the nature of the colonists. The very fact that they had chosen to leave the land of their birth and migrate to the new world showed them to be of an active and aspiring nature. The Lipton settlers had come to Canada seeking freedom and prosperity, and most had taken a homestead as a means to the latter, rather than as an end in itself. When harsh reality shattered their visions of prosperity on the land, the overwhelming majority turned elsewhere. As the supply of available homestead land diminished, and the criteria for granting a homestead changed to favour returning war veterans, a continuation of their parents' profession became even less real and less appealing to the next generation. Canada had given them freedom and justice, and they had earned equality by their work on the land and their service to the state. Prosperity eventually lay in other places and other callings.[215]

Lipton's lack of markets for produce, the isolation, dispersion and physical hardship, even the factional bickering in the community all can be seen as weakening the colony, but influenced it most in its early years, diminishing with time. The fact that the Jewish farm settlements were small and scattered, lacking the "critical mass" to maintain an integral community life as a Jewish society, and thereby perpetuate themselves was more a symptom of under-development than a cause.[216] Ultimately, the homestead system proved itself an effective development strategy in two different

ways. First of all, it fulfilled its stated purpose of creating agriculture on the CanadianPrairies. True, this agriculture had a long and difficult development to today's large-scale, capital intensive industry, but the immigrant's quarter section, in colonies such as Lipton and on myriads of separate farms, was the first step along this road. The unintended consequence of the system, perhaps no less important, was the factor to which we pointed at the beginning of our discussion. The homestead provided the immigrant with a first step into Canadian society. It was a way station in which to learn the workings of the new country, learn its language, make the critical choices from a solid basis of knowledge and, with some capital, continue up the ladder. The Lipton colony, whatever its troubled existence and ultimate disappearance, and the other Jewish agricultural colonies of the CanadianPrairies, provided an example of both these fulfillments. Its history remains a fascinating, even inspiring chapter in the history of the growth of Western Canada and of Canada's Jewish community.

Jerusalem, July 2009.

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ENDNOTES

[1] A detailed discussion of the agricultural colonies in Western Canada, Jewish and non-Jewish 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 Jewish 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), Cyril Edel Leonoff, *The Jewish Farmers of Western Canada*, (Santa Monica), 1984.

[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 Wischnitzer, *To Dwell in Safety* (Philadelphia, 1948), 99. Wischnitzer'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. Theodore Norman, *An Outstretched Arm: A History of the Jewish Colonization Association* (London, 1985), 51, puts Jewish immigration into Canada in 1913 at 9,882 out of a Jewish emigration of 120,000 from the Russian Empire. 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] Norman, 97. Among these were a considerable number of individual Jewish farmers who lived outside the concentrations of Jewish agriculturalists in the various colonies.

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

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

[8] Irene S. Dodek, *You'll Always be My Darling: A Prairie Girl's Memories*, (Vancouver, B.C., 2007), 13-14, mentions this as a factor in her family's emigration to Canada.

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

[10] 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 Livni-Liberman, *Haklaim Yehudiim B'Aravot Russia.* (Jewish Farmers in RussianFields); (Tel Aviv, 1965). (Hebrew), pp. 17, 21, 81-82.

[11] See the discussion in Norman, 2.

[12] For a similar multi-factorial analysis of motivations for Jewish emigration from the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe see Wischnitzer, 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. As we have written, such a spirit was undoubtedly present, though not dominant in the period of the mass emigration from Eastern Europe. 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), the *Am Olam* movement or some other individuals, it can hardly be applied to the majority.

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

[14]Knowles, 56.

[15] Knowles, 58.

[16] 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.

[17] Rosenberg, (1931), 81.

[18] 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.

[19] Dodek, 14, mentions this geo-political factor in connection with the Canadian government's interest in settling its Western territories.

[20] James H. Grey, *Men Against the Desert*, (Saskatoon, 1967), 8.

[21] 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/.

[22] 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, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba),1970, 47.

[23] 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.

[24] Knowles, 64.

[25] 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.

[26] Avraham Ben Shlomo Meir Feuer, *Zikhron Mordekhai* , (New York, 1924), p.151, ff.

[27] Letter of the Deputy Minister of Agriculture to Vineberg of the YMHBS Settlement Committee, December 18, 1891.

[28] Geoffrey C. Ward, *The West*, (Boston, 1996), 243-244.

[29] 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."

[30] See the extensive correspondence of Stemshorn, the Board of Trade and Davin with the Department of Agriculture, Canadian National Archive, vol. 689. files no. 78988, 78933, 78937, 77787, 78685, March-September 1891.

[31] 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.

[32] 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.

[33] 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.

[34] Scott (1913), 571.

[35] 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.

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

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

[38] Norman, 95.

[39] Scott (1913), 571, 588-89.

[40] 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.

[41] 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.

[42] Western Canada 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.

[43] 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.

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

[45] Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, *29th Annual Report of the Board of Directors for the Year Ending October 1st, 1892* (M0ntreal, 1892), 12. See also Sack, 222-23.

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

[47] Leonoff (1984), 26.

[48] Canadian National Archive, Ministry of Agriculture, vol. 651, file 269180, part 1, Burgess to Smith, March 3, 1892.

[49] *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.

[50] 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.

[51] Knowles, 70.

[52] *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.

[53] 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.

[54] 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.

[55] Hoffer and Kahn, 100. For a similar incident instigated by clergy in Estevan near the Hirsch colony see Anna Feldman, "A Woman of Valour Who Can Find?": Jewish Saskatchewan Women in Two Rural Settings," 67, in David De Brou and Aileen Moffatt, eds., *"Other" Voices: Historical Essays on Saskatchewan Women"* (Regina, 1995), 60-75.

[56] William Calderwood, "Religious Reactions to the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan," *Saskatchewan History*, 16, 3, 114. Other incidents are known in which Jews received justice when unfairly charged with misdoing.

[57] 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.

[58] 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.

[59] 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. In other colonies ICA gave loans and on occasion funded educational and religious activity.

[60] Leonoff (1984), 36-37.

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

[62] 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.

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

[64] Personal communication from Joe Elfenbaum, grandson of a Lipton founder and himself a retired farmer. Elfenbaum's nephew, the last family member to remain on the land in Lipton, retired from farming only in 2002. Two Jewish persons, married to local non-Jews still farm in the Lipton area.

[65] Rosenberg (1931), 221.

[66] Rosenberg (1931), 221. The first High Holiday prayer service was held 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.

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

[68] YMHBS, 13.

[69] 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.

[70] Richman, ed., 17.

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

[72] *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.

[73] 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.

[74] Baltzan, 100.

[75] 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 Rabinovitches and Isaac Friedgut (all related by marriage) also employed this strategy.

[76] 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.

[77] 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.

[78] 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.

[79] Rosenberg (1931), 222.

[80] Sinclair, 39. To this day, when you ask a Saskatchewan farmer as to the years in which there was a true "bumper crop," the answer will be: "1915 and next year!"

[81] Baltzan, 254.

[82] Hoffer and Kahn, 55.

[83] Baltzan, 254.

[84] Baltzan, 117-118. 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.

[85] Baltzan, 130-131 and 205-211.

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

[87] Baltzan, 117.

[88] James H. Grey, *Men Against the Desert*, (Saskatoon, 1967), 41-42, 110, 190.

[89] The budget allotted is specified in Norman, 97.

[90] Feldman, (2003), 64.

[91] For the Hirsch experience see YMHBS, 16-17. See also the letter of May 23, 1892 from M. Vineberg in Montreal to Sonnenfeld of the ICA in Paris stating that the Hirsch settlers should have been on the land at least a month to six weeks earlier.
[92] 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.

[93] Baltzan, 104-105, 109-111.

[94] Baltzan, 111.

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

[96] Baltzan, 104.

[97] 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.

[98] Baltzan, 60.

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

[100] Rosenberg (1931), 221. See also Baltzan, 92.

[101] See "Jampolsky Family" in Drever, ed., 462. Also Baltzan, 82. Also CJC Archive, DA162, File 174 for Friedgut. Friedgut's capital would be the equivalent in buying power of $53,000 in 2005.

[102] Archer 4, Switzer-Rakos, 404. An office was opened in Regina at some point, but was abandoned in 1940. See CJC archive, File KB1, report of April 4, 1940.

[103] 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.

[104] Anthony W. Rasporich, "Early Twentieth Century Jewish Farm Settlements in Saskatchewan: A Utopian View," *Saskatchewan History*, 42, 1, winter 1989, 31-32.

[105] Sinclair, (1987), 40.

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

[107] 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.

[108] Isa Milman, *Prairie Kaddish*, (Regina, 2008), 41.

[109] Sinclair, 39.

[110] Grey, 34.

[111] "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.

[112] Sinclair, 37.

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

[114] Baltzan, 153-154.

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

[116] 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, a Jewish settlement founded in 1807 whose population moved *en bloc* to Canada in 1911, to the settlement of New Hirsch (Camper, Manitoba). See Robinson, 52.

[117] The details and circumstances of this suggestion are discussed in Rasporich, 31.

[118] Norman, 45, 104.

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

[120] Belkin, (1926), 485.

[121] 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. A number of such Jewish farms may be found.

[122] *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.

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

[124] Sinclair, 40.

[125] 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."

[126] Rosenberg (1950), 211-212.

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

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

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

[130] 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.

[131] See Baltzan, 56-57 contrasting this phenomenon to the initiative shown by "the Russians."

[132] Hoffer and Kahn, 50.

[133] The Schwartz home in Lipton was victim of such a fire, and Baltzan's first house came close to such a fate. The first Barish home was also destroyed by fire.

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

[135] "The minimum sanitary housing norm adopted by the World Health Organization from earlier intyernational standards is 96.8 square feet per person

[136] CJC Archive, DA 162, File 174.

[137] Baltzan, 160.

[138] Feuer, 96

[139] Booklet Committee, 4.

[140] 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 handbook as the only guide.

[141] Baltzan, 87.

[142] Baltzan, 89-90.

[143] 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.

[144] Baltzan, 76.

[145] Baltzan, 160.

[146] Baltzan, 63, 66.

[147] 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.

[148] Booklet Committee, 26 for Rabbi Joseph Aaron (Molchadsky), who served the colony from 1909 to 1922, when he left Lipton for Palestine. Sinclair, 42, writes that "Reb Yosef" in Lipton provided for all the religious needs of the colony. See *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.

[149] CJC Archive, Louis Rosenberg photograph album.

[150] Baltzan, 172.

[151] Robinson, 53.

[152] YMHBS, 19.

[153] Anna (Parlee) Bahsler, in Drever, ed., 597.

[154] Sinclair, 38.

[155] Sinclair, 40-41.

[156] Booklet Committee, 17-20.

[157] 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."

[158] Sinclair, p. 41. Kohn was the only one of the three who spoke any English at the time.

[159] 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.

[160] 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 Skepticism, 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.

[161] Rasporich, 32.

[162] Sinclair, 40.

[163] See this opinion in Booklet Committee, 36.

[164] 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.

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

[166] For a discussion of this, see Feldman, (1995), 68.

[167] *Israelite Press*, January 19, 1934, 7.

[168] Baltzan, 65.

[169] 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.

[170] This plan was proposed by the group to ICA in Montreal in a letter dated October 15, 1920. See Rasporich, 33, and n. 36, citing Louis Rosenberg.

[171] Dodek, 39.

[172] Rasporich, 32.

[173] 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.

[174] Sinclair, 43. Sapiro, who devoted much of his career to advancing legislation regarding cooperatives, was a lawyer by profession. One of his most famous cases was a successful libel suit in 1927 against Henry Ford who had accused Jews, and Sapiro in particular, of robbing American farmers through a deception guised as cooperative marketing.

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

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

[177] 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.

[178] Norman, 24.

[179] Baltzan, 110, 222.

[180] 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 disgruntled 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.

[181] 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.

[182] Rasporich, 34.

[183] Livni-Liberman, 95.

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

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

[186] 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.

[187] The attempt by Rasporich to present the Jewish colonies as communitarian institutions that foundered on the rock of factionalism is a fundamental weakness in what is otherwise a highly enlightening and interesting article.

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

[189] Sinclair, 34.

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

[191] Mrs. C. Zelickson, *Nor'West Farmer*, March 5, 1925, as cited by Feldman (1995), 64-65.

[192] Dodek, 27.

[193] Dodek, 39.

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

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

[196] Sinclair, 40 and Drever, ed., "Raichman Family," 613.

[197] 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

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[198] Sinclair, 40.

[199] All the statistics for this section are taken from the statistical resumes of various years held in the Canadian Jewish Congress Archive. See note 109. 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.

[200] 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.

[201] Grey, 44.

[202] Friedgut, (1970) Table 28, 206. Taking the five-year period 1935-1939 as an index of 100, we find land values in Saskatchewan declining from 170 in 1926 to 100 in 1941. 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.

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

[204] Norman, 101.

[205] Leonoff (1984), 44.

[206] The trends 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, (1970) Table 3, 53.

[207] 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 and additional purchased land. See Leonoff (1970), 28. The Hoffer farm reached 1,600 acres and the Kleiman brothers farm at Hirsch was 2,880 acres.

[208] Cyril Edel Leonoff, (1982), *Pioneers, Ploughs and Prayers: The Jewish Farmers of Western Canada*, internet version, p. 5. Seen at http://cap.estevan.sk.ca/community/history/ppp/ Visited Dec. 15, 2008.

[209] Rosenberg, (1931), 227, Table 136. See also the interesting and original research of Anna Feldman, "Were Jewish Farmers Failures? The Case of Township 2-15-W2nd," *Saskatchewan History*, 55, 1, (Spring 2003), 21-30. Also Leonoff, (1982), 9.

[210] For details of the technological and legislative changes that helped advance the Canadian agricultural sector after World War II, see Friedgut, (1970) 189.

[211] Rosenberg, (1950), 214.

[212] For the lag of farm income behind that of other sectors of the Canadian economy from 1945 to 1965 see Friedgut, (1970) 48.

[213] 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.

[214] "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.

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

[216] 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.