THE GROWTH OF THE WINNIPEG JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THE EVOLUTION OF ITS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

A Thesis

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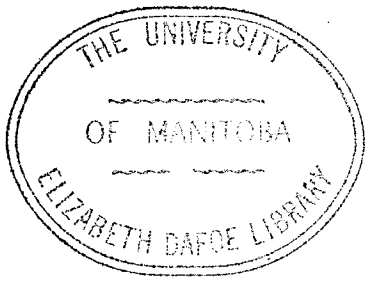

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by

Harvey Hymie Herstein

July 1964

DEDICATION

TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

To him, learning was holiness.

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis was to delineate and evaluate the growth of the Winnipeg Jewish community and its educational institutions.

Source of Data

Since no specific work on Jewish education in Winnipeg has been written, it was necessary to obtain information from relevant documentary material including proceedings of the governing bodies of the Jewish schools, miscellaneous memoirs, articles, speeches of synagogue leaders and educationalists, survey reports, and financial statements of the educational instructions. A major source of material was the contemporary Yiddish newspaper in which the activities of the educational institutions were reported.

Outline of the Study

Persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe was responsible, to a large extent, for the growth of the Winnipeg Jewish community. Large numbers arrived in Winnipeg following periods of severe persecution: in 1882--pogroms in Russia, in the 1890's--persecution in Rumania, and in 1905--oppression in Russia. The early Jewish immigrants were poor and suffered privation while they were striking roots in the new land. Soon after their arrival they organized charity and benevolent societies to help each other as well as their co-religionists in Eastern Europe.

These immigrants brought with them traditions of religion, Zionism, socialism, and education which they transplanted into the

rising Jewish community in Winnipeg. Synagogues, the most universal Jewish institution, were founded. As the community became more established, educational, social, fraternal, cultural, political, philanthropic, and sports organizations came into being. It was not too long before a Yiddish newspaper appeared--a medium through which the community could be informed of Jewish happenings in the community and in the world.

The new immigrants were interested in a Jewish education for their children to supplement the secular education they received in the public school. Those who could afford the fees entrusted their children to a melamed (an itinerant private teacher) or to a cheder (a private school) for rudimentary religious instruction. It was common knowledge that very few parents could afford such private instruction and that the education imparted by the melamed and cheder was inadequate. As a result, a Hebrew school was established by the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue as early as 1891. In time, Hebrew Religious Schools, Yiddish Progressive Schools, Yiddish Socialist Schools, and Congregational Schools were founded; each reflected a definite ideology or philosophy of the members of the sponsoring groups. At first they were evening schools which held classes after the regular school day, but they expanded into day schools, in which both regular public school programmes and Jewish studies were conducted.

The Jewish community in Winnipeg never was a homogeneous, idyllic community living in peace and harmony (in spite of efforts to depict it as such); rifts and disagreements characterised the community--all signs

of a vigorous and active community. Differences existed between wealthier "old timers" and poorer "greenhorns", Ashkenazic and Sephardic, religious orthodox and religious "modernists", religious and non-religious or anti-religious, Zionists and non-Zionists or anti-Zionists, Hebraists and Yiddishists, Socialists and Communists, and Stalinists and Trotzkyites. These schisms were reflected in the programmes of the Jewish schools. However, in spite of these differences, it has been a well-organized community which built many communal and educational institutions.

In 1937, the Jewish Welfare Fund of Winnipeg was organized to co-ordinate the many fund-raising projects on a federated basis; the Welfare Fund undertook the responsibility of supporting various institutions including Jewish schools. The budget of the Welfare Fund has increased from $50,000 in 1938 to $709,000 in 1963. The Jewish school system has grown to such an extent that in 1963, 85% of the 2,300 Jewish children of elementary school age were attending Jewish elementary schools, and the Welfare Fund grants to these schools increased from $17,600 in 1942 to $209,471 in 1963.

Conclusions

The Winnipeg Jewish community built many fine educational institutions. From the beginning, Winnipeg Jews felt that the needs of the Jewish community, including education, should not burden the community at large but should be looked after by Jews or Jewish institutions. This view may have influenced the Jewish educational institutions not to present a brief to The Manitoba Royal Commission on Education of 1959

which recommended government aid to private and parochial schools. Over the years, the content of the curricula of the Jewish schools converged. Although each school jealously guards its traditions, the greater uniformity in their programmes dispelled or moderated, to a great extent, the bitter ideological differences that existed in the Jewish educational system in the past. What was responsible for this? It may be that the Nazi decimation of European Jewry, World War II, and the emergence of the State of Israel convinced Jewish leaders that Jewish education, not lofty ideologies, is the key to Jewish survival.

The cost of education is constantly rising and the Jewish Welfare Fund is favouring the merging of Jewish schools, in neighbouring areas, into Community-Programmed Schools where facilities and services can be shared. In September, 1963, an amalgamation of two schools was accomplished and the results of this experiment are being anxiously awaited.

Jewish education in Winnipeg has been most successful at the elementary level, up to and including grade seven. Post-elementary education is being offered by most schools, but there seems to be a tendency for children to terminate their Jewish education upon reaching their bar-mitzvah, which coincides with the elementary school-leaving age. This problem worries Jewish educationalists who are exerting efforts to popularize higher Jewish studies.

This thesis is the first specific work on Jewish education in Winnipeg. Many areas of investigation were untouched; these would be suitable subjects for future research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a delineation and an evaluation of the growth of the Jewish community and its educational institutions. It is not the concern of this study to compare the merits of one institution with another; such a comparison can serve only as mental gymnastic and no useful end will derive from it. It is, therefore, necessary to adopt an attitude of detachment which will tend to eliminate or, at least minimize, the possibilities of undue praise or admonition. This procedure, although confining the scope within the framework mentioned, precludes neither the expression of opinions nor the use of suitable quotations in support of such opinions.

Jewish schools have always been regarded as communal institutions and as such they reported to the community their progress, needs, difficulties, and problems. The medium for the dissemination of such information was the Yiddish newspaper--The Israelite Press. Since no specific work on Jewish education in Winnipeg had been written, it was necessary to utilize the material from the files of this contemporary source for this thesis.[1]

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to give full treatment to the topic of Jewish education in Winnipeg without dealing at some length

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[1]Newspapers from 1911 to 1963 were consulted. This newspaper started in September, 1910, as The Canadian Israelite (Der Kanader Yid), changed its name to The Israelite (Der Yid) in May, 1912, and to The Israelite Press (Dos Yiddishe Vort) in August, 1915.

with the communal, religious, and institutional life of the Jewish community in Winnipeg. It is,therefore, imperative to give a thorough account of the Jewish community, its institutions, and synagogues.

It is necessary to consider the source of Jewish education--the synagogue. Synagogues are creations of communities; therefore, it is essential to trace the emergence of the community that gave rise to the synagogues that pioneered and sustained the first educational efforts. Jewish education had its roots in the synagogue; the study of the Torah was the basis of a way of living and a preparation for life.

In Eastern Europe, the synagogue gave leadership and instruction for generations and transmitted Jewish knowledge and culture; the synagogue was the heart of Jewish communal life. Early Jewish education in Winnipeg, essentially religious, was closely linked to the synagogue. It was not till the second decade of this century that secular education was undertaken in Winnipeg.

In order to present an adequate account of Jewish education in Winnipeg, this treatise will first consider the growth of the community and its institutions, the formation of congregations and synagogues, and only then the development of educational institutions.

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF THE WINNIPEG JEWISH COMMUNITY

SYNAGOGUES AND INSTITUTIONS

I. THE PERIOD UP TO 1882

Prior to 1880, there were some Jews in Winnipeg engaged in the purchase of furs and the export of these to the American market at St. Paul, Minnesota.[1] In the 1870's, there were several pedlars working out of Winnipeg selling goods to railway workers and settlers in the province.[2]

The reason for the subsequent coming of Jews to the West is not too clear, but it can be assumed that some followed the construction of the railroads and did business with the railway workers. When the railhead reached Winnipeg, some Jews decided to settle here and carry on their trade from headquarters in Winnipeg; others followed the railroad westward. Of those who remained in Winnipeg, a few established themselves as merchants and many of the prosperous Jewish families in Winnipeg are descendents of these early settlers.

What was the background of these early settlers? The fur dealers were largely from Alsace-Lorraine; the pedlars were of both German and Eastern European origin. They were absorbed in commercial pursuits to establish themselves economically in their new environment. As for their religious communal life--they had no synagogue but on the

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[1]Arthur A. Chiel, The Jews In Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 10-14.

[2]Ibid., p. 17.

High Holidays[1] they came together to conduct religious services. They also employed a shochet[2], who was also a merchant on the side, and supplied them with kosher[3] fowl. The German Jews leaned towards Reform Judaism[4] and were very anxious to integrate themselves into the Canadian life and to rid themselves of all signs of clannishness. In order not to be labelled "foreigners" they abandoned traditional religious practices and failed to give their children a Jewish education. They considered democracy--the great leveller--as the destroyer of social separatism; Jews should not be singled out as a group on religious grounds. They modified Jewish religious practices to make them more palatable to their non-Jewish neighbours with the hope of destroying the gentile's concept of the "typical" Jew and create an image of the "enlightened" Jew, a person fit to participate in all phases of democratic life in Canada. They did not succeed in their schizophrenic pursuit of not being a "typical" Jew and at the same time clinging to some vestiges of

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[1]Rosh Hashonah--Jewish New Year--celebrated for two days, falls in September or October. It is also referred to as Day of Remembrance and Day of Judgment. Yom Kippur--Day of Atonement--is the holiest and most solemn day in the Jewish religion. It is a day of fasting that marks the end of Ten Penitential Days which begin on Rosh Hashonah.

[2]A ritual slaughterer of fowl and cattle.

[3]Meat slaughtered according to Jewish religious practices.

[4]Charles M. Segal, Fascinating Facts About American Jewish History (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1955), p. 126, "Reform Judaism originated in Germany in 1810, as a means of modernizing traditional, Orthodox services. In 1824, Reform Judaism originated among members of Congregation Beth Olim (House of God) in Charleston, South Carolina. But it was not until 1873 that the first Reform movement was organized in the United States."

Judaism; as Jews in a Christian-dominated society they were isolated and often excluded from the community or else not accepted as equals. In spite of this, the Reform Jews clung to the belief that democracy meant the obliteration of social separation which would allow them complete assimilation into the life of the country, and they exerted their efforts towards that end in the face of the unwillingness of the Christian community to accept them.[1]

During this period no synagogues were established but, as noted previously, on the High Holidays Jews met to conduct religious services, at first in a home, later, as the Jewish population grew,[2] in a rented hall. It was not till 1881 that a rabbi served the community.[3] There is no record of Jewish social or cultural organizations at that time; the Jews were too busy striking roots in the new land.

II. THE PERIOD 1882-1905

Background to Russian-Jewish Immigration of 1882

Pogroms on Jews in Russia in 1881 and 1882 were Czarism's answer

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[1]Theodore Freedman and Robert Gordis, Jewish Life in America (New York: Horizon Press, 1955), p. 110. "Jewish bourgeoisie as represented by the Reform movement--to paraphrase the motto of the classical Reform, coined by Gustavius Poznanski, at Charleston, South Carolina in 1840, that 'America is our Zion and Washington our Jerusalem'."

[2]John Macoun, Manitoba And The Great North-West (Guelph: World Publishing Company, 1882), p. 684, gives the Jewish population of Manitoba in 1881, as 33.

Benjamin G. Sack, History Of The Jews In Canada (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1945), Vol.I, p. 179, states that of the 33 Jews in Manitoba in 1881, 21 were in Winnipeg.

[3]Chiel, op. cit., p. 69. Rev. Abraham Benjamin, not an ordained rabbi, came to serve the community as rabbi, without remunerations. He also acted as cantor and teacher.

to the revolutionary movement that culminated in the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. Russian Jews took up the wanderer's staff in a mass exodus from the land of oppression and persecution. They spread into western Europe and many Jews found their way to England where their plight was taken up by Jewish organizations, especially the London Board of Guardians. The pogroms aroused the conscience of the Christian world, and many prominent Christians denounced these outrages. At a London gathering, well-known personalities participated, among whom were Charles Darwin, Matthew Arnold, James Bryce, Robert Browning, and Cardinal Manning. Alexander Tilloch Galt, the Canadian High Commissioner in London, accepted an invitation to this meeting,

> ...I have consented to act on the Mansion House Committee to which I was nominated at the very influential meeting held Wednesday.[1]

Out of this meeting, the Mansion House Committee was formed to care for the refugees and help them to migrate to North America. In Montreal[2], the Jewish Emigration Aid Society was founded, the first Jewish organization of its kind in Canada, to aid the incoming refugees.[3]

At this unfortunate time, it was fortuitous that the pogroms coincided with a period of great interest displayed in financial circles

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[1]Galt to Macdonald, Feb. 3, 1882, in Sack, op. cit., p. 262.

[2]Louis Rosenberg, Language & Mother Tongue of Jews in Canada (Canadian Jewish Population Studies, Population Characteristic Series, No. 1. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1957), p. 5. "Although some Jews are known to have lived in the Northwest Territories of Canada as fur traders as early as 1732 and there was a small Jewish community in Halifax, Nova Scotia, as early as 1751, the first permanent Jewish community in Canada was established in Montreal in 1760 by Jewish officers and men in General Amherst's army which accepted the surrender of the city by the French in that year."

[3]Sack, op. cit., pp. 179-180.

in the opening of the Canadian West for settlement. Now that the railroad was being constructed, the railway company was eager to settle the land it was granted as an inducement to the construction of the railroad. This is succinctly expressed in the following:

> ...The building of the railroads in the opening of the West produced a comparable period of rapid prosperity in the early eighties. 'Speculation in lands was assisted by banks and loan companies, who brought a very large amount of capital into the country in 1881 and 1882'.[1]

Financial interests in Britain, France, and the United States invested heavily in Canada.[2]

Galt seemed to be greatly moved by the plight of the refugees. In his communication to Sir John A. Macdonald, the Canadian Prime Minister, he urged sympathetic consideration of the possibility of mass immigration of Jews to Western Canada:

> The Jewish persecution in Russia has induced me to write Rothschild suggesting that I would like to discuss with him the feasibility of removing the agricultural Jews to Canada....It seems not a bad opportunity of interesting the Hebrews in our North West.[3]

These humanitarian sentiments pale somewhat when further correspondences of Galt are examined, for in them, considerations other than compassion emerge. For example

> ...I found the American Jews were actively promoting emigration

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[1]H. A. Innis and A. R. M. Lower (ed.), Select Documents In Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885 (Toronto: 1933), cited in Innis, Mary Quayle, An Economic History of Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1935), pp. 220-221.

[2]Easterbrook, W. R. and Aitken, Hugh G. J., Canadian Economic History (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1956), pp. 428-435.

[3]Galt to Macdonald, Jan. 25, 1882, in Sack, op. cit., p. 261.

> to the United States and I thought what was good for them, could not be bad for us[1]...The Jews are really now so influential in Europe, that there can be no harm in cultivating them.[1]

And from a letter written in Montreal:

> ...I think it of great importance, especially in view of my return to London, and future influence with leading Jews there & in Paris, that you should find the means of giving a district for settlement to these people. It cannot fail to have a good effect.[2]

Galt's correspondence reveals a mixture of humanitarianism and expediency; Macdonald however, displays a complete callousness and at times scorn; the lot of the victims of the Russian pogroms touched him not. The Prime Minister had this to say:

> ...After years of ill-concealed hostility of the Rothschilds against Canada, you have made a great strike by taking up the old clo' cry, and going in for a Jew immigration into the Northwest. By following up this subject, and establishing a Jew colony here, whether ultimately successful or not, a link--a missing link--will be established between Canada and Sidonia. I should prefer you to write another epistle to the Hebrews, rather than a newcomer.[3]

What an expression of opportunism!

A day later, in a letter to Galt, Macdonald showed complete disregard and even contempt for the potential Jewish settlers:

> ...The Old Clo' move is a good one--a sprinkling of Jews in the North West would do good. They would at once go in for peddling & politics and be of much use in the New Country as Cheap Jacks and Chapmen.[4]

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[1]Galt to Macdonald, Feb. 3, 1882, in Sack, op. cit., p. 262

[2]Loc. cit., Galt to Macdonald, July 7, 1882.

[3]Macdonald to Galt, Feb. 26, 1882, in which Macdonald urged Galt to continue as High Commissioner. Item 3, the above quotation, cited in Sir Joseph Pope, Correspondence Of Sir John Macdonald (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 286.

[4]Macdonald to Galt, Feb. 27, 1882, in Sack, op. cit., p. 263.

Such an attitude is unbecoming, to say the least, of a man of Macdonald's position and stature.

Russian Jews attempted to rationalize and theorize the causes of the pogroms. The intelligentsia and socialists reasoned that the roots of the pogroms lay in the nature of Jewish occupations in Russia.[1] They overlooked, however, that the Russian government prohibited Jews from being employed in agriculture, professions, and other pursuits. Now, in England, many took up the challenge and migrated to the United States and some found their way to Canada.[2]

Arrival of Russian Jews in Winnipeg

On May 26, 1882, twenty-four Jewish immigrants reached Winnipeg, and they were followed by an additional two hundred and forty-seven on June 1, 1882.[3] Of these, some proceeded further west to outlying farming districts to start agricultural colonies; others remained in Winnipeg where they were housed in temporary wooden immigration barracks of the federal government, while they looked for employment, or waited for

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[1]Segal, op. cit., p. 90. "Am Olam, which means 'Eternal People', was first established in Odessa in 1881, following pogroms in that city. Its object was to stimulate Jewish colonization in America, but more importantly, to create a Jewish home as an autonomous Jewish state or 'canton' in the United States. Am Olam sought to normalize and productivize Jewish economic life through pursuit of agriculture in order to refute anti-Semitic charges of 'Jewish parasitism'. The first Am Olam groups arrived in America in 1882, but failed to set up a solely Jewish state, which was opposed by American Jews."

[2]For data on growth of Jewish settlements in Canada, refer to Table III, p. 185.

[3]Sack, op. cit., p. 183.

the land on which they were to settle. In the barracks, they lived in filth and squalor. They were engaged in work to which many were not accustomed--unloading lumber boats, railway construction, digging ditches, and laying sewer pipes. A few of the women worked as domestics in Christian homes.[1]

The settlers of the pre-1882 period did not stand idly by, but spoke up on behalf of their fellow-Jews in Russia. Although some felt estranged from them, they did sympathize with them--for blood is thicker than water. But now the older established settlers felt uncomfortable because of the presence of the new arrivals in the immigration barracks. They feared that the immigrants with their East-European ways might cause the destruction of the modified Jewish image (they believed they had created), and might revive the preconceived notions of the "typical" Jew in the minds of their Christian neighbours.[2] Some saw in the newcomers a danger to the status so far attained and a barrier to further assimilation into the Canadian life.

This cleavage between the early settlers and the immigrants has existed in one form or another throughout succeeding generations. It

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[1]A. Osovsky, "Jews In Winnipeg", The Israelite, May 23, 1912.

[2]Editorial in the Winnipeg Daily Times, Aug. 9, 1882. Comments on the life of the Jewish immigrants in the immigration barracks bore a vicious attack against them as idlers and a blight on the community and even demanded that they be deported. It also advised "people of their own faith resident among us should give them a good plain talking to, and point out to them in strong terms their present mode of life must be abandoned with the least possible delay," cited in Chiel, op. cit., p. 36.
The rival Free Press came out in defence of the immigrants.

is true of all times that newly arrived immigrants who managed to advance economically were accepted by the earlier pioneers and their descendents on a level of social equality. It was financial success that bridged the gap between them, but in the main, a division of some sort existed between the two groups of Jewish settlers in Winnipeg.[1]

Intimations of division in the Jewish community often bring forth pious protestations from certain Jewish and non-Jewish quarters. Refutations purport to present a harmonious, idyllic community living in blissful unity. Such is not the case: It could not be so, and it should not be so. Such claims deny existing differences of opinion characteristic of a normal, healthy, vigorous, and active community. The picture of a monolithic community fashioned by a presumably monophyletic group is a phenomenon which is sociologically unacceptable.

Religious Institutions

The Russian Jews, upon their arrival, found a lack of Jewish institutions. The cultural baggage they brought with them from Russia included Zionism,[2] territorialism,[3] socialism, anarchism, and orthodoxy --all these they transferred to the schene in this far-off land. The social, political, and educational ideologies to which they were exposed in Russia found reflections in the Jewish community in Winnipeg. They

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[1]More detailed treatment of this rift will be given later.

[2]A movement for colonization in Palestine and formation of a national Jewish home there.

[3]A movement for colonization with the view of establishing autonomous Jewish states, not necessarily in Palestine.

brought with them deep-rooted Jewish cultural and social values which left their imprints on all aspects of Jewish life, including education.

The moral force they brought with them was orthodox Judaism, steeped deeply in the synagogues of Eastern Europe. Their needs included a synagogue, cemetery, and a place of assembly to meet with friends--institutions they had enjoyed in the lands of their origin. The need for a cemetery and the lack of one in the Winnipeg Jewish community became apparent while they were still being housed in the immigration barracks. Sickness and disease brought death to five infants during the winter of 1883 and there was no place to bring them to a traditional Jewish burial. This emergency was instrumental in the establishment of The Hebrew Cemetery of Winnipeg--the first Jewish cemetery in the city.[1]

Within a year, most of the immigrants left the immigration barracks. Some went to homesteads to start agricultural colonies;[2] those who remained in Winnipeg[3] moved into homes, settled, formed a Jewish community, and began to found the institutions concomitant to such a community.

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[1]A Osovsky, "Jews In Winnipeg", The Israelite, May 23, 1912, gives a vivid account of the consecration of the cemetery. A translation from the Yiddish is given in Chiel, op. cit., p. 72.

[2]Robert England, The Colonization Of Western Canada (London: P. S. King & Son Ltd., 1936), pp. 273-274. "It is not commonly recognized that Jewish settlers were amongst the early settlers of Western Canada and that their settlement predates the German, Ukrainian, Doukhobor, Russian, and Hungarian settlements".

[3]After struggling for several years, many of the homesteaders abandoned their farms and some of these returned to Winnipeg.

A place of worship was a primary requirement; a synagogue was a matter of urgency. Even within the confines of the squalid barracks, regular Sabbath services were conducted.[1] The recent immigrants turned their energies toward establishing a synagogue and their efforts found a respondent chord in the hearts of some of the earlier settlers in whom orthodox feelings were awakened. Thus the immigrants replenished the barren Jewish religious life in Winnipeg.

The first synagogue, Beth El, was a rented hall, but it did not last very long for it was broken in by a quarrel between "old timers" who regarded themselves modern, and the newcomers who were essentially orthodox. Another synagogue, Anshey Sephard Anshey Russia, was started by the orthodox group. Again a split occurred and another house of worship came into being, the Dairy Synagogue (Milchige), so called because the president and most members were milkmen or connected with dairying. A fourth synagogue was founded, and since it was housed near a livery stable, it was dubbed the Stable Synagogue.[2]

In 1883, talks took place between the Orthodox and Reformed to heal the rift and build a synagogue; nothing came of it. Instead, the Orthodox founded the B'nai Israel Congregation[3] and the Reformed, Beth El. The latter had plans for modern-type services, sermons in English, and no separation of men and women within the synagogue--a serious

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[1]H. E. Wilder, The One Hundredth Anniversary Souvenir Of Jewish Emancipation In Canada (Winnipeg: The Israelite Press, 1932), p. 19

[2]A. Osovsky, "Jews In Winnipeg", The Israelite, May 30, 1912.

[3]Near Henry Avenue and Martha Street.

departure from the conventional synagogue. They even considered the installation of an organ--a most radical trend away from traditionalism. In the meantime, Beth El, in 1884, held its services in a rented room.[1]

In 1887, the Beth El, together with some members of the B'nai Israel, united as Beth El of Israel and this amalgamation calmed the state of religious affiliation in the Jewish community. A cornerstone for the synagogue Shaarey Zedek was laid on September 3, 1889, and on March 20, 1890, the dedication took place.[2] Stress was laid on,

> ...conducting religious services in a decorous manner that would appeal to the highest sense of refinement, and with quietness and decorum.[3]

To appeal to whom? Obviously to the gentiles since Jews did not require regulations or sanctions for the manner in which they worshipped. The "decorum" of Jewish worship has been transmitted for centuries from generation to generation and is known and accepted without question or reflection by the worshippers. Jewish synagogues were not constructed to gain approval for their "decorum" from their co-religionists, least of all from non-Jews; Jews cared little whether their manner of worship was accepted or frowned upon by gentiles. It was Reform Judaism, in its desire for Canadianization, modernization, and assimilation that worried about "decorum"; the orthodox Jews had no such worries.

In the union of the two congregations a modus vivendi was

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[1]On the second floor of the Harris Block.

[2]Chiel, op. cit., p. 78. On the corner of King Street and Henry Avenue.

[3]Ibid., p. 79

arranged to smooth the differences that existed between the opposing groups--Sephardic and Ashkenazic.[1] However, it was obvious from the beginning that the Ashkenazic faction was in control. It was not long before a dispute raged over the privileges accorded the Sephardic group and also over the distribution of seats in the synagogue.[2] The untenable position of the Sephardic minority forced them to leave the congregation and they formed one of their own, B'nai Israel, in April, 1890. In 1893, the B'nai Israel united with several smaller synagogues and built the Rosh Pina synagogue.[3] This congregation, traditional and orthodox, appealed to the larger groups of Jews, especially to the new immigrants.

The leaders of the Shaarey Zedek attempted by legal means to gain full authority over Jewish religious affairs in Winnipeg. This bid was rejected by the Manitoba Provincial authorities when they considered the counter-brief submitted by the Rosh Pina.[4] The incident illustrates the deep-rooted differences that existed in the Jewish community, and the judgment handed down was of significance in the future development of Jewish congregations since it prevented control by one congregation over all others, and allowed all of them to develop and

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[1] Ashkenazic--since the 10th century, applied to those Jews living in Germany and northern France. Later, Jews of Poland, Russia, and Scandinavian countries were included. Sephardic--Jews in Spanish and Mediterranean countries. They differed on the rituals to be followed.

[2] A. Osovsky, "Jews In Winnipeg", The Israelite, June 6, 1912.

[3] Loc. cit., On Martha Street and Henry Avenue.

[4] Chiel, op. cit., p. 81.

practice unhindered all religious functions of Judaism.

Jewish congregations, contrary to popular belief, are not monolithic structures. Within the Shaarey Zedek were those who claimed that the services were not modern enough and that too much orthodoxy was still discernible in them. They wanted to extirpate the last vestiges of traditionalism and modernize the services to appeal to the young generation, born and raised in Canada--to make the services meaningful to the young.

This agitation kept up all through the 1890's, and in September, 1904, the Holy Blossom Congregation was formed by the dissident group of the Shaarey Zedek, and it conducted High Holiday services that year in a rented hall.[1] A Sunday-school Bible class--an innovation borrowed from Protestant churches--was inaugurated and enthusiastically received by its members. In time, however, it became evident to the leaders of the Holy Blossom that extreme Reform Judaism was not acceptable to the majority of Jews in Winnipeg, and they decided upon a modern synagogue, not quite as extreme, and renamed it Shaarey Shomayim Congregation[2] to remove the stigma of super-modernism and radical departure from traditionalism associated with its former name.

The Rosh Pina did not experience a period of peace and harmony either. The Jewish population moved northward to the area immediately north of the Canadian Pacific Railway main line which forms the southern

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[1]Wilder, op. cit., p. 30. At the corner of Pacific Avenue and King Street.

[2]In 1907 it erected its own building on Dagmar Street.

limit of North Winnipeg, commonly referred to as the "North-End". The life of a Jew in the new district was divided--his heart was in the synagogue in the south, whereas his occupation and dwelling were in the north. The main point of friction was the control exercised over the synagogue by the more prosperous South-End Jews, and the North-Enders felt uncomfortable in the Rosh Pina under such conditions. The number of Jews in the north increased with a new wave of immigration resulting from persecution in Rumania towards the end of the last century.

While members of the Shaarey Zedek were wrangling over the extent of reform in the synagogue, orthodox Jews built a large synagogue, Beth Jacob, in 1904, in the heart of the ever-growing Jewish community in the north section of the city.[1]

Communal Institutions

When the Russian Jews arrived in Winnipeg in 1882, they found a handful of Jews and no organized Jewish community. The Jewish settlers, nevertheless, through the Jewish Relief Committee, hastily created in May, 1882, undertook the onus of assisting the new arrivals. The task was enormous for such a small group and so it sought and received contributions from many non-Jewish citizens. This was Winnipeg Jewry's first excursion into the field of philanthropy.

Other charitable organizations followed; in 1884, the Montefiore Hebrew Benevolent Society came into being to build the Reform synagogue Beth El and also to engage in charity work. Their efforts, unfortunately,

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[1]On Schultz Street between Dufferin Avenue and Jarvis Avenue.

were resented and mistrusted, for the Russian Jews were apprehensive of the assimilatory tendencies of the Yahudim.[1] At the same time, the Congregation B'nai Israel occupied itself with charity. The two groups united into the Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1886 to consolidate their efforts. Jewish women plunged into this work by way of the agencies of the Shaarey Zedek Ladies' Aid Society and the Rosh Pina Ladies' Aid Society and relieved untold suffering. The Jewish Sick and Relief Society, an auxiliary of the Rosh Pina Congregation, ventured into relief and sickness insurance. An assessment of twenty-five cents monthly was the source of revenue with which it took care of its members in time of sickness and need. The latest charitable society of this period was the Dr. Gaster Rumanian Benevolent Society, established in 1903 by Rumanian Jews.

The economic depression of 1904 struck the Jewish community and left many of the unemployed on the verge of starvation. The fledgling Jewish institutions strained their resources to cope with this emergency. Some who remembered their own lean days of 1882 in the immigration barracks, initiated an immediate and practical relief programme. In the basement of the newly-completed Beth Jacob synagogue a dormitory was set up which provided nightly lodging for sixty persons. On the same premises a kitchen operated and supplied food at the low price of five cents a meal. This work continued throughout the winter of 1904. The same year, the Dr. Gaster Society conducted a community Seder[2] for the

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[1] An unsavory epithet for Reform Jews.

[2] Traditional feast and ceremony held on the first two nights of Passover, which falls in March or April, observed for eight days, to commemorate the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt.

poor and for the eight days of Passover supplied free meals to the needy Jews.[1] Thus the Jewish charity institutions stood the test with which these difficult times confronted them.

These institutions helped needy Jews in Winnipeg and in the agricultural settlements in the West. Overseas relief for the persecuted Jews in Eastern Europe took up a great portion of the work and resources of these agencies. At the same time, the Jewish community rallied behind appeals such as raising funds for the General Hospital, for the Patriotic Fund of 1900 to aid orphans and widows of soldiers killed in the Boer War, and for other worthy causes. Jews met their obligations to their co-religionists and assumed responsibilities as citizens of Winnipeg.

The Jews in Winnipeg, after they became somewhat established, began to expand their activities into other fields. In the 1890's, travelling Jewish theatrical companies performed before Winnipeg audiences. In 1904, a Yiddish theatre, composed of local talent, was organized under the name of Jewish Operatic Society to present plays, musicals, and variety shows.

The first Jewish sports club, the Young Hebrew Social Assembly, dates back to 1895. It was a cultural, social, and athletic organization. It reconstituted itself as the Young Men's Hebrew Association in 1899, with its own club-room.[2]

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[1]A. Osovsky, "Jews In Winnipeg" The Israelite, June 27, 1912. In the Edward Hall of the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue.

[2]Chiel, op. cit., p. 110. In the McIntyre Building.

This was also a period when Zionism was offered as the solution to the "Jewish problem", and Jews the world over favoured the Zionist dream of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In Winnipeg, this found expression in the Zionist Society, in 1898. In 1903, the Young Zionist Athletic Club was started by the Zionist Society to attract, through athletics, young Jews to Zionism. The club was given a reading-room and a gymnasium in the Edward Hall of the Shaarey Zedek.[1]

The early Jewish immigrants valued and appreciated the privileges that democracy accorded them in the new land, for in the countries of their origin democratic practices were non-existent. Politics, however, concerned them little for they were almost wholly absorbed in the struggle for existence. In 1895, for the first time, a Jewish candidate contested an aldermanic seat in Winnipeg.[2] Although he was unsuccessful in his bid, it marked the beginning of Jewish political activity. In 1904, Winnipeg elected its first Jewish alderman.[3] This was a significant event for it demonstrated to both believers and skeptics the efficacy inherent in the democratic system.

In 1896, the Independent Jewish Political Club was organized as a forum where candidates of the two parties could present their views to the Jewish voters. In a very short time, the club fell apart and from it emerged the Jewish Conservative Club and the Jewish Liberal Club. It was clear that Winnipeg Jews were not be counted upon to vote

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[1]Wilder, op. cit., p. 27.

[2]Louis Wertheim.

[3]Moses Finkelstein.

as a block, nor was there to be a "Jewish vote". Jews, like their fellow-citizens, cast their ballots for personalities and issues, and no one person could honestly claim to supply or deliver the "Jewish vote".

In summary, this period can be said to have witnessed the rise of synagogues and institutions[1] which became the foundation for the future growth and development of the Winnipeg Jewish community.

III. THE PERIOD FROM 1905 ONWARD

Religious Institutions

Events in Russia in 1904-1905--Russo-Japanese War, revolution, counter-revolution, and pogroms--set off another wave of mass emigration similar to the one of 1882. There was a difference, however, for now the Jews were acquainted with Canada through private reports from friends and relatives who had established themselves in the new land. Many Jews came to Canada and a number of them found their way to Winnipeg.

Again the orthodox element of the recent arrivals strengthened Jewish religious life. Their spiritual needs they satisfied by founding synagogues,[2] small ones, in the centre of the Jewish population in north Winnipeg. But, in spite of the number of orthodox synagogues in 1907, none had a spiritual leader. The orthodox congregations were aware of the necessity for an ordained rabbi and in 1907, the Beth

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[1] For list of institutions in 1905, refer to Figure 1, p. 179.

[2] B'nai Abraham, 1906, built by Rumanian Jews; B'nai Zion, 1906; Adas Yeshurun, 1907.

Jacob, the largest of the congregations, brought in an orthodox rabbi.[1] It was a fortunate choice for he soon gained the stature of Chief Rabbi, recognized by almost all Jews of Winnipeg and in the widely dispersed settlements in the West. His great erudition, personality, and wisdom induced respect for his authority, and the disjoined community, for the first time, bore some semblance of cohesion.

During this period, the Shaarey Shomayim Congregation laid the corner stone for its building,[2] and the synagogue was dedicated on September 1, 1907. Nevertheless, at a time when orthodox Jewry in north Winnipeg flourished, the Shaarey Zedek and Shaarey Shomayim experienced a falling off in attendance. Essentially, these two congregations were ideologically akin and responsible members saw in union a solution to their common problems. In 1913, after lengthy discussions and negotiations, the two congregations merged under the name of Shaarey Zedek on the premises of the Shaarey Shomayim, to attend to the spiritual requirements of the South-End Jews. It became the bastion of traditional, but at the same time, progressive Judaism in Winnipeg, where services were conducted in English by ordained rabbis, graduates from rabbinical seminaries in the United States.

As the Jewish population grew, a number of smaller congregations sprang up.[3] These had common characteristics; they were located in the

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[1]Rabbi Israel I. Kahanovitch who served as Chief Rabbi till his death in 1945.

[2]On May 7, 1907, on Dagmar Street, in the south end of the city. At present, this area is considered Central Winnipeg.

[3]For List of Synagogues, refer to Figure 2, p. 180.

North-End, they were orthodox, and they catered to the members of their own congregation and generation. The rigidity of orthodoxy allowed no flexibility for adaptation to changing conditions; it was a deliberate, self-contained isolation and detachment from the outside stream of life to which their children were exposed. Orthodoxy wanted to preserve the old by shutting out the new, but the younger generation, born and raised in Canada, did not accept the doctrines which added richness to the lives of their parents. In time, death thinned the ranks of the older generation and many of the synagogues ceased to exist. Of the fifteen orthodox synagogues founded between 1906 and 1932, only seven remain today.[1]

As older synagogues went out of existence, others, in newer sections of the city, came into being. In the North-End, the centre of concentration of the Jewish population moved steadily northward,[2] and with each successive move synagogues were established in the neighbourhoods. In 1952, the last synagogue to be established in North Winnipeg, the Rosh Pina,[3] was dedicated. It took over partial assets of the old Rosh Pina and perpetuated the names of the older congregation.[4] Some of

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[1]B'nai Abraham, Tiferes Israel, Chevra Mishnayos, Ateres Israel, Lubavitcher, Ashkenazi, and Beth-Judah.

[2]The centre of Jewish population shifted as follows: 1891 on Henry Ave.; 1901--Jarvis Ave.; 1911--Stella Ave.; 1921--Selkirk Ave.; 1931--Manitoba Ave.; 1941--Aberdeen Ave.; 1951--Machray Ave.; 1961--West Kildonan. Part of this information from Louis Rosenberg, The Jewish Community Of Winnipeg (Canadian Jewish Population Studies. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1946), pp. 21-27.

[3]On Matheson Avenue.

[4]Winnipeg Rosh Pina Congregation, 1892-1952, Dedication Volume.

its members lived in West Kildonan, a suburb bordering the northern limit of Winnipeg, into which the Jewish population began to spill over.

The Jewish population of West Kildonan grew steadily and it was necessary to supply this area with a synagogue; and the B'nai Abraham congregation moved into a newly built synagogue in 1958.[1] But there was no halt in the growth; the Jewish population continued to increase and one synagogue was not sufficient. In May 1963, the latest synagogue laid its cornerstone for a building for the Chevra Mishnayos congregation in Garden City,[2] a new district situated in the north-west section of West Kildonan.

The Jewish community in the South-End experienced a similar growth pattern. In the 1940's, an increasing number of Jews moved southward across the Assiniboine River into the area of the city known as River Heights. The Shaarey Zedek decided to build a new synagogue closer to the neighbourhood of its membership and in 1950 a magnificent edifice was completed.[3] As in West Kildonan, the population kept on growing and yet another congregation was born, the Adas Yeshurun synagogue.[4]

Communal Institutions

Immigrants of this period were of a different case from their predecessors; they had behind them a Zionist background, socialist

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[1]Enniskillen Avenue.

[2]Jefferson Avenue.

[3]Wellington Crescent and Academy Road.

[4]Corner Brock Avenue and Fleet Street, in 1955.

ideologies, and progressive education, but like the earlier immigrants they left their homelands to escape persecution. The deep-rooted traditions of the Russian Jews brought forth a plethora of organizations and associations because the need for companionship and fellowship was present from the day they arrived in the new country. East European Jews brought with them traditions of community self-help organizations. In the new land they were instrumental in developing landsmanshaften--benevolent societies--whose members were usually from the same towns or districts in Europe. These organizations provided help to individual members and also to their townsfolk in the old country. Only among landsleit--newcomers from the same town or district--would one find kindred, understanding souls and help in time of need. When mass immigration was at its peak, these societies were the most important units of community organization.

Charity work for those in the community and for overseas went on constantly. Many of the immigrants lived in perpetual poverty and suffered much while striking roots in the new land. The Jewish community felt that it should look after the Jewish needy. At the same time, persecution in Eastern Europe touched the hearts of Jews for their co-religionists and relatives in the old country. World War I created additional suffering for Jews in the war-torn countries of Eastern Europe.

As recounted previously, relief and charity work were undertaken by numerous organizations; at times, there were duplications or gross omissions. By 1909, due to the efforts of the Chief Rabbi,

splinter groups involved in philanthropy and relief work combined into the United Hebrew Charities. However, it was not very long before the North-Enders claimed that the leadership was in the hands of the rich South-Enders who administered the funds, the majority of which was raised by the larger Jewish population of the North-End. Why should not they, rather than the rich, patronizing Jews, have the leadership? In 1911, the North-End Relief Society was formed, and Winnipeg Jewry had two charity organizations.

Poverty and destitution were prevalent among many of the Jews in Winnipeg and the landsmanshaften could not cope with the situation. The Hebrew Progressive Immigration Aid Society started a kitchen where the poor, aged, sick, and their families were able to obtain meals at extremely low prices.[1] But, no sooner was it set up, than there were those who suspected and openly protested that the rich, patronizing Jews were behind it. A letter by one of the initiators of the kitchen assured Winnipeg Jewry that this was not the case:

> We have no factory owners, governors, or lords. The kitchen was founded by those who are themselves oppressed...by those who are not afraid of the hungry, but by those who have known hunger.[2]

The kitchen was continued and many were aided.[3]

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[1]The Israelite, Aug. 21, 1914.

[2]S. Roussof, letter to The Israelite, Oct. 20, 1914. The translation of this and all subsequent translations from Yiddish in this thesis by the writer.

[3]The Israelite Press, Nov. 3, 1915. B. Sheps reported that in the last 13 months, 42,000 meals were served.

The desperate state of the poor forced some to seek help from non-Jewish agencies. This evoken a protest and plea in the Jewish press for it was felt that the needs of the Jewish community should not burden the community at large but should be looked after by Jews or Jewish institutions. To quote the editorial:

> Our entire attention must be devoted that not one Christian dollar should enter into Jewish charities and that no Jewish needy should have to turn to Christians or to Christian institutions.[1]

Similar sentiments were echoed in the B'nai Brith's opposition to tag-days for Jewish charitable institutions; it too insisted that the responsibility for charity rested with the Jewish community.[2]

Poor Jews turned to Christians for medical aid. A missionary couple, the Spitzers, operated a free dispensary in the North-End, and poor Jews availed themselves of this opportunity.[3] This aroused demands for a free Jewish dispensary; Rev. Sandheim, of the Shaarey Zedek, appealed for support for such an undertaking to save Jews from the influence of missionaries by having an institution where Jewish doctors and nurses would minister to the sick, free of charge. On May 2, 1915, the Free Jewish Dispensary was established.[4]

Free medical treatment was not something new. There appeared an announcement in the paper in 1912, and it was repeated in many subsequent

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[1] The Israelite, Dec. 24, 1914.

[2] The Israelite Press, Sept. 22, 1915.

[3] The Israelite, April 1, 1915. In one year, 440 Jews made visits to the missionary dispensary and 53 had doctors sent to their homes.

[4] In an eight-room house at 326 Selkirk Avenue.

issues:

> Dr. Herbert M. Rosenberg asked to announce that he is willing to treat the poor free of charge if they present to him a note from Rabbi Kahanovitch or from the Hebrew United Charities that they are not in a position to pay. Free treatments on Mondays and Fridays, 9-11 A.M.[1]

This points out the prestige of the Rabbi as well as the poverty that was chronic amongst the newcomers who were striving to establish themselves in the new land.

World War I created additional needs to be looked after by charity. Many Jews in Russia were undergoing persecution in spite of the fact that of the ten million Jews in the world, 600,000 were on the battlefields;[2] yet, Russia, Canada's ally, oppressed its Jewish citizens. Winnipeg Jews had mixed feelings about an allied victory; while they were praying for allied successes they were, at the same time, hoping for Russian defeat as retribution for the inhuman treatment of Jews.

Winnipeg Jews participated in, and contributed to, the Patriotic Fund which was used to look after the relatives left behind by servicemen. In addition, Jews assumed the obligations of helping the oppressed, needy Jews in Europe who were uprooted by the war. Shortly after the outbreak of war, the North-End Relief Society advocated relief for the suffering European Jews.[3] A meeting, to which all Jewish

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[1]The Israelite, Sept. 6, 1912.

[2]The Israelite Press, Oct. 7, 1915. Rev. Sandheim spoke in the Central Congregational Church on Oct 6, 1915, to acquaint non-Jews with Russian oppression.

[3]The Israelite, Sept. 14, 1914. Announcement of the meeting.

organizations were asked to send their representatives, was called for October 5, 1914, in the hall of the Talmud Torah. It was hoped that the South-End Jews, the wealthier Jewish element, would be present to contribute to this work as they had done to the general Patriotic Fund. A report of the meeting is hereby given:

> ...and hands moved into the poor empty pockets and dollars, quarters, dimes, one with tears her four cents donated and from 1000 people about 500 dollars collected....Ah, not all are here! They, the Big Ones, with the thick pocket books are missing. To those who have, the cry did not reach. They have assembled in their comfortable, beautiful homes, and hear not, or pretend not to hear what is happening...and unwilling, anger began to burn! Can money so blind and deafen? These people also have hearts! They also know what blood is, what pain is. Yet, not so long ago they too were 'ours', that is, poor! Therefore, more bitter is the feeling towards them.[1]

The writer of this report appealed to the rich to open their hearts to Jewish suffering in Europe.

What a breach in the Jewish community! Another meeting was called for November 1, 1914; again the South-Enders stayed away. An editorial appealed to those "who suffered and through hard years worked themselves up to the level they are now" to help in this work.[2] A committee of prominent Jews, including the Chief Rabbi, was organized to solicit donations from the Jews in the South-End.[3] At another meeting, pledges were made for regular monthly contributions and teams were set up for house-to-house collections in Jewish homes on Sundays. It should

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[1]I. Hestrin, "Passing By" ("Dedicated to those with thick pocketbooks and narrow hearts"), The Israelite, Oct. 29, 1914.

[2]The Israelite, Nov. 10, 1914.

[3]Ibid., Nov. 9, 1914

be mentioned that the B'nai Brith also instituted a campaign for donations from its members.

The North-End Relief Society carried on this work of mercy and charity and from time to time the Jewish paper urged the South-Enders to enter this work. As late as October 12, 1915, this item appeared:

> ...Jews from the south side of the subway, you must open your hearts and your pocketbooks for your unfortunate brothers and sisters if you do not want your names to remain blackened with shame.[1]

Concerted efforts by leading citizens were put forth to draw the wealthier Jews into the Relief Committee. Success was finally attained early in 1916, when the whole Winnipeg Jewish community shouldered the burden of relief for the European Jews.

The year 1915 was a time of consolidation of Jewish organizations. It became obvious that disunion, duplications, and lack of coordination plagued the community. Communal workers realized that in order to act as a community, differences had to be resolved and compromises made.

The rift that existed within the religious community over the control of kosher meat was healed. Hitherto, the rabbis claimed prerogative in this sphere, and many Jews objected; the butchers resented rabbinical control, the consumers grumbled about the high cost of kosher meat, and others were dissatisfied with the inadequacy of the supervision. Recriminations and accusations led to price wars and to the bringing in of a rival rabbi in 1912. There were short periods of

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[1]The Israelite Press, Oct. 12, 1915.

peace, but for all intents and purposes only an uneasy truce existed. On September 17, 1915, an agreement was reached which satisfied the religious community. However, sporadic quarrels broke out in later years. In the course of events, a group of butchers brought in its own rabbi and formed the congregation Beth Jehuda in 1932. It was not till 1946 that this problem was solved when the Jewish Welfare Fund took over the supervision of kosher meat.

The United Relief of Winnipeg resulted from the union[1] of the two rival charity institutions--the North End Relief and the United Hebrew Charities. It was in existence till 1937, when it was absorbed by the all-embracing Jewish Welfare Fund, an organization that introduced fund-raising on a federated basis, and allocated money for various institutions and causes on the basis of a carefully prepared budget.[2] The Jewish Welfare Fund was established to eliminate a multiplicity of campaigns, duplications and waste, and to co-ordinate many institutions and organizations.

It was in 1915 that Winnipeg Jewry vigorously pursued the creation of a Jewish Congress that had been suggested to represent all Canadian Jews. A meeting was held on September 19, 1915, at which two thousand were present.[3] This was the beginning of the democratically

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[1]The Israelite Press, Oct. 4, 1915. The union took place on Oct. 3, 1915.

[2]For data on growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Welfare Fund, refer to Table V, p. 187.

[3]The Israelite Press, Sept. 19, 1915. Speakers represented all shades of opinions: Rev. Sandheim of the Shaarey Zedek was chairman: Rabbis Kahanovitch and Gorodski--the religious; M. Abramson, the school-trustee--the socialists; I. Pearlman--the National Labour Committee, a Zionist-socialist group; Marcus Hyman, who spoke in English--labour groups.

elected Jewish Congress that came into being in March 1919, at a convention in Montreal.[1] The Winnipeg Jewish community was, to a great extent, instrumental in the creation of the Congress that has been in existence ever since.

Another important union took place in 1916 when two Jewish orphan homes became the Jewish Orphanage and Children's Aid of Western Canada.[2] As early as 1912, the Hebrew Ladies' Orphans' Home Association was organized for the purpose of building a home for orphans. In 1913, two rival institutions existed--the Esther Robinson Orphans' Home[3] and the Canadian Jewish Orphans' Home,[4]--the latter founded jointly by the Ladies' Association and the B'nai Brith. In 1920, a permanent home was built[5] with Funds raised in Jewish communities in Western Canada. It operated here until it was disbanded in 1948.

Another welfare concern of the community was the care of the aged. In 1912, a small group of men and women undertook the task of opening an Old Folks' Home and almost immediately started such an establishment in a rented home[6] where five elderly men and women were

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[1] The Israelite Press, March 4, 1918. Delegates to the Congress from Winnipeg: General Zionists--8, national societies--7, Mizrachi--1, social-democrats--1, and independents--3.

[2] In a rented home at 1280 Main Street.

[3] In a home on Robinson Street.

[4] In a rented home on Selkirk Avenue.

[5] Building on Matheson Avenue was dedicated on Feb. 29, 1920.

[6] At 143 Euclid Avenue.

housed and cared for. The premises were too small for the number of applicants who desired to spend the rest of their days in such an institution. By 1919, sufficient money was raised to install the home in larger quarters in November of the same year.[1] In later years, even these large accommodations proved inadequate for the number of old people who sought admittance. A vigorous building-fund was conducted throughout the Jewish communities in Western Canada and the present modern building was constructed in 1940,[2] and was enlarged in subsequent years.

Medical care for poor Jews was a paramount necessity. As early as 1912, Dr. Rosenberg advertised free treatment for destitute Jews.[3] In 1913-1914, the Jewish community seriously considered the establishmentof a Jewish clinic or hospital, however, it was an enormous undertaking and nothing came of it. The nearest to such an establishment was the Free Jewish Dispensary that operated for several years.[4] It was not till 1926 that a free clinic, on a modest scale, was started by the Hebrew Sick Benefit Society;[5] the physical facilities were so inadequate that the clinic drew criticism from its own doctors. But the need for a free clinic and dispensary was so great that funds were raised and a building was constructed in 1929; this marked the beginning

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[1] At 424 Manitoba Avenue.

[2] On Magnus Avenue, east.

[3] See page 28.

[4] See page 27.

[5] On Pritchard Avenue.

of the Mount Carmel Clinic.[1] Although it never reached the dimensions of a hospital, the clinic has provided through the years free medical care and some prescriptions for needy Jews and non-Jews. Jewish doctors volunteered their services and the clinic has had its doors open to all needy, regardless of race, nationality, or religion.

Cultural and political ferment in the Jewish community characterized this period. With the stream of new immigrants flowed also all the ideas that were present in Eastern Europe in those days. Politics captured the imagination of the Jewish community and all political opinions found expression in the community. The newspapers of the period carried announcements of meetings, discussions, lectures, debates, and forums of all these groups. There were socialists of all varieties, from the extreme radical left to the right where they were indistinguishable from liberals (with a small "l"); Zionists of all cuts--socialists, radicals, moderates, and reactionaries; Hebraists who belittled Yiddish as the language of the ghetto and Yiddishists who frowned on Hebrew as the "dead" language of the Scriptures and the past; Liberals and Conservaties who plunged into the political arena; nationalists and internationalists; a sprinkling of anarchists. A unique club appeared on July 18, 1914, the Jewish Political League[2]--independent, tied to no political party--which expelled any member who worked for a political party. Its raison d'etre was to work for the election of Jewish candidates whom the League considered worthy, and to eliminate

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[1]On Selkirk Avenue East.

[2]The Israelite, July 21, 1914.

unethical election campaigns in the Jewish community!

In later years, especially in the 1930's, Zionist youth organizations flourished. There were groups that spanned the complete spectrum of political orientation--from the extreme left socialist to the equally extreme right nationalist. Each group had its own organization and carried on serious and fruitful work, political and cultural, for the cause of Zionism. However, most of these went out of existence in the 1940's. The Zionist movement enjoyed continuous growth and received increased impetus with the creation of the State of Israel--but Zionism had to adjust its tasks.

The women's branch of the Zionist movement, Hadassah, started its first Chapter in Winnipeg in 1920. The women of Hadassah had been channelling their efforts to practical aid to Palestine and avoided, or did not stress, the political aspect of Zionism. Hadassah established and supported hospitals, children's homes, agricultural and trade schools, and educational institutions in Palestine. Since the birth of the State of Israel, Hadassah has contributed generously to aid Jewish immigrants to Israel from European displaced persons camps, from slums and ghettoes of North Africa, and from Mohammedan countries in the Middle East. Its humanitarian work alleviated untold suffering.

On the local scene, Hadassah has been active in Zionist cultural activities as well as in charity work in the general community. Although at its beginning, Hadassah had difficulty in attracting the women of the South-End to its work,[1] this condition did not last very

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[1]Wilder, op. cit., p. 40.

long. It can be stated with a considerable degree of certainty, although it will be vehemently disputed in certain quarters, that Hadassah failed to attract the masses of the Jewish working people in Winnipeg. To many of the poorer classes, the women of Hadassah were "do-gooders", and the term "Hadassah ladies" for years was used by the poorer Jews to describe rich, bored, patronizing Jewish women. But this is the characteristic attitude of the "have-nots" towards the "haves", and such views must be regarded as natural though not necessarily entirely true. Many Jewish women, who in the past had found membership in Hadassah out of their economic reach, lately have been able to join. It cannot be denied, however, that the leadership of Hadassah has been generally confined to the wealthier Jewish women of the community.

It would be a grave error to minimize the work of Hadassah. While other organizations confined their activities to speeches and lofty phrases, the Hadassah constructed essential institutions in Israel and contributed to their upkeep. It is a great pride to a Canadian Jew visiting Israel to see the fruits of the efforts of the Hadassah.[1] In the local community, Hadassah has contributed generously to many causes, Jewish and non-Jewish.

Paralleling the work of Hadassah, were the women of the Labour Zionists through their Pioneer Women's Organization. It too, since 1925, has assisted in the building and support of institutions in Israel. The Mizrachi Women--the religious Zionists--channeled their efforts towards orthodox establishments in Israel.

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[1]In 1949, the writer visited Israel.

The socialist camp was torn by ideological differences and serious splits occurred within its ranks. The major break took place as a result of the Russian revolution when a small Jewish Communist Party was formed in Winnipeg; it attracted the more radical socialist elements. In future years, many of the remaining socialists drifted into the moderate Labour Party--later the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and now the New Democratic Party. World War II, the decimation of European Jews by Nazi Germany, and the creation of the State of Israel greatly influenced the thinking of Jewish international-socialists; many entered the ranks of the Zionist groups. The small Jewish Communist Party also experienced fragmentation. Doctrinal differences between Troskyites and Stalinists, the ever-wavering and changing "party-line", the attitude of the Soviet Union towards its Jews, and the existence of the State of Israel--all contributed to the diminution of its membership to an extent that its activities had very little, if any, response in the Jewish community. In fact, some of the earlier members drifted into Zionist organizations. Winnipeg Jews were extremely interested in politics and increasing numbers of Jewish candidates contested elections for all political parties on local, provincial, and national levels.[1]

The calendar of events of the period, as published in the newspaper, demonstrates the enormous amount of cultural activity, expecially in the second decade of the century, that was carried on in the

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[1]For a list of Jewish elected officials, refer to Figure 4, p.183.

Jewish community. The Literary Club reported a debate, "Resolved That Religion Had Beneficial Contributions In The Past".[1] The Young Hebrew Progressive Club devoted itself to Jewish literature and classical music. There was the Jewish Students' Association, and an organization of Jewish university students. A group called the Yiddishe Yugend, which embraced the socialist elements in the community, was formed in November 1911--a literary and cultural organization which pledged itself to found a modern Yiddish school; it was not satisfied with the Hebrew education in the existing Talmud Torah. Its activities were intense and it conducted meetings, debates, discussions, and brought in outside speakers who were well-known and respected in the Jewish world. It is noteworthy to mention the topic of one discussion which took place:

> ...The duties of the mother; of the teacher; and the Talmud Torah as it is now and how it should be.[2]

In 1915, a Forum, a general meeting of Jewish literary and cultural organizations, was initiated and organized by the Talmud Torah. At its inaugural meeting the programme consisted of the following: Rabbi Kahanovitch spoke in Yiddish on the "Duties of Parents to Children"; I. Pearlman, a nationalist-socialist, spoke in Yiddish on "The Jews and the War"; a twelve year old girl of the Radical School recited "Rabbi Akhiba" in Yiddish; singing and orchestral numbers were also presented. Chairman of the meeting was M. Steinkopf who made his opening remarks

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[1] The Israelite, March 20, 1914.

[2] The Canadian Israelite, March 12, 1912.

in English. It was indeed a wide programme, not restricted to any one field or group; Winnipeg Jews had reached a stage of maturity where they discussed many and varied issues. The Forum carried on and at subsequent meetings presented speakers in Yiddish and English, music, recitations, and other cultural activities.[1]

The radical groups were not to be outdone and they started their own Jewish Radical Forum that met every two weeks for discussions and presentations of socialist programmes. There were branches of the Arbeiter Ring--a benevolent and cultural organization of working-class members with a socialistic bent. There was the Agudath B'nai Zion, a Zionist group. The Social Democratic Farein and a small anarchist group were also active. All these, besides espousing their own brand of panaceas for world and Jewish problems, also conducted widespread cultural work.

The B'nai Brith organized a lodge in 1911 and carried on varied cultural work for its membership. In 1917, it opened and supported a fresh air camp for underprivileged Jewish children on Lake Winnipeg, and in 1954 it purchased an island in the Lake of the Woods district near Kenora, Ontario and has operated its camp there. The B'nai Brith helped in the formation of the Menorah Society for Jewish university students which was very active in dramatic and other cultural pursuits. In 1944, the Menorah Society was replaced by the Hillel Foundation, also supported by the B'nai Brith.

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[1]The Israelite Press, October 31, 1915.

Yiddish theatre from its earliest beginning in 1904 met with instantaneous success. In 1907, the Hebrew Sick Benevolent Society together with a group interested in Yiddish theatre, purchased a building and converted it into a theatre, known as the Queen's Theatre.[1] It became a very popular institution that supplied entertainment for all tastes--vaudeville, variety concerts, and serious plays. Touring theatrical companies as well as local talent used these premises for the presentation of their performances. The Yiddish Dramatic Club was organized to produce stage plays utilizing local talent, and this group drew large audiences. The theatre, apparently was a necessary and salutary addition to the Winnipeg Jewish community and it was patronized for a long time; only the depression of the 1930's brought it to an end.

In 1910, the Winnipeg Folk Choir was started and provided musical enjoyment to the community. Later, it changed its name to the Jewish Community Choir and when in 1945 the Jewish Community Orchestra was formed, joint concerts were given by the two musical groups. In the same year, the Jewish Musical Club came into being to aid the Choir and Orchestra as well as to help and encourage young musicians, Jewish and non-Jewish, to further their musical careers. Jewish life in Winnipeg had found new enrichment in music.

In the field of athletics and sports, the Young Men's Hebrew Association carried on its limited activities and in 1919 obtained a

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[1]The old St. Giles Church on Selkirk Avenue, in the heart of the Jewish community.

charter. Until 1936, when it acquired its own home,[1] it operated in rented premises. The Y.M.H.A. offered a widespread programme and it attracted many young people. The facilities proved inadequate for the athletic and social programmes conducted and funds were being solicited for a new and larger home. In 1952, a new building was completed[2] with ample space and equipment to look after the needs of the youth and adults of the Jewish community.

A growing community required an organ through which it could be informed of Jewish happenings in the community and in the world. This brought about the birth of the Jewish press. After several attempts to found a Jewish newspaper,[3] an association of individuals was successful in starting a Yiddish paper. On September 23, 1910, the first issue of The Canadian Israelite (Der Kanader Yid), a weekly publication, rolled off the presses. A group of Liberal Party supporters backed this venture but withdrew its support when the management refused to turn the paper into a partisan publication. Thus, from the very beginning, The Canadian Israelite became a non-partisan paper, free of political ties. It is a tribute to the founders that they continued

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[1] At 91 Albert Street.

[2] Corner Hargrave Street and Qu'appelle Avenue.

[3] Echo (Wiederklang) in March 1906, in Yiddish, lasted for several months; Winnipeg Courier, 1910, a Yiddish socialist pamphlet; Free Voice (Die Freie Shtimme), 1910, a Yiddish pamphlet in support of the Jewish Liberal candidates for the Manitoba Legislature. The latter two publications ceased to exist after the election campaign of 1910. The Jewish People (Dos Volk), 1912; The Jewish Voice (Kanader Yiddishe Shtimme), 1921. None of these survived.

to publish an excellent newspaper which stressed high journalistic, literary, and cultural standards. It was neutral in politics, but this did not prevent it from taking definite stands on issues. It provided space for all points of view and political opinions; it opened its columns for Hebraists and Yiddishists, the religious and anti-religious socialists to air their differences and disagreements; it consistently backed cultural and educational institutions and supported both Yiddish schools and the Talmud Torah; it drew criticism from certain quarters for its support of the formation of the Jewish Radical School; it expressed unequivocally the rights of Jews as citizens of Canada when such rights seemed to be ignored, overlooked, or challenged; it urged Jews to exercise their rights as citizens to utilize and participate in the privileges of democracy--the franchise; it reminded Jews of the benefits they enjoyed as citizens of a free country; it published the best of Jewish and world literature and made these treasures available to many who would otherwise be unaware of them. When Henry Ford became involved in anti-Semitic propaganda, The Israelite Press, in spite of possible financial losses, refused advertisements of the Ford Company; the publishing of such advertisements would be inconsistent with the aims of a responsible Jewish newspaper.[1]

The Canadian Israelite, the "First and Only Weekly In The Entire Dominion Of Canada".[2] over the years changed its name,[3] and appeared as

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[1]The Israelite Press, March 21, 1921.

[2]It proudly bore this inscription underneath the heading on the front page of the paper.

[3]See page 1.

a weekly, daily, and semi-weekly,[1] and changed its format to suit the needs of the times.[2]

It may have erred in many instances, but its bold editorials never shrank from criticising Jewish life and institutions whenever necessary. In the beginning, The Canadian Israelite served as a mentor and a medium for the stimulation and precipitation of public opinion. It is unfortunate that this tradition did not continue and in time too much stress was laid on advertising and news of local clubs and organizations; the paper did not maintain the high standards and controversial editorial policy that characterized it in its formative years. At the same time, it should be stated that this paper is still the thread that links the Jewish communities in Western Canada and keeps them informed about events of interest to Jews.

The Anglo-Jewish press--Jewish newspapers published in the English language--also established itself in Winnipeg. The Guardian, first published in 1920 by The Israelite Press, lasted only a half a year. In 1925, The Jewish Post and The Western Jewish News in 1927 started as weeklies and they are still in existence today. These, however, never reached (perhaps they never aspired to) the journalistic or literary

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[1]It started as a weekly and became a daily in February 1914, it reverted to a weekly in January 1916, from August 1918 till September, 1928 it published as a semi-weekly, as a daily till January, 1933, again as a semi-weekly till February 1951, when, as an economy measure, it became a weekly.

[2]In 1916, an English page was included. In 1931, a literary page appeared once monthly. Since 1949, the English section has occupied approximately half the paper. In 1959, a Hebrew page was started.

level of The Israelite Press. They do, however, enter many Jewish homes in Western Canada, and they too keep Jews informed about events of interest to Jews.

This sketchy description of the evolution and development of the Winnipeg Jewish community, its synagogues, and institutions will serve as a base upon which the thesis on Jewish education will be constructed.

CHAPTER III

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

It is advisable at this point, in order to avoid possible confusion, to define several of the terms that will be referred to in the discussion of Jewish education.

I. JEWISH

This is a designation of a member of the Jewish people, or an adherent of the Jewish faith. Over the years, this term assumed generic significance. In this thesis, however, the term "Jewish" is used to describe all schools that devote their teaching to Jewish subjects.

II. HEBREW

It is the language of the Jewish people since ancient times. After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A.D. by Titus, Hebrew remained the language of the liturgy and the literature. In the diaspora,[1] Jews developed vernacular languages or dialects, such as Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Spanish (Ladino), and Judeo-German (Yiddish). All these languages are written and printed in Hebrew characters.

Throughout history, the knowledge of Hebrew has always been an essential requirement of Jewish education--the study of the Bible in the original and a reading knowledge of the Hebrew prayers. For many

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[1]Refers to the dispersion of the twelve tribes of Israel abroad.

centuries it was mainly used for literary purposes and as the language of worship. Hebrew was the link that held Jewish people together for the many centuries of their existence in the diaspora. The Haskala (the Enlightenment movement that began in the middle of the eighteenth century in Germany and spread to Austria, Poland, and Russia) and the Zionist movements strove for a revival of Hebrew as a living and spoken language. Hebrew now is the language of the State of Israel.

III. YIDDISH

Yiddish is believed to date back to the tenth or eleventh century. It was the language of Jews in the German provinces of the Rhineland who spoke a local German dialect intermingled with Hebrew expressions. When Jews settled in Poland, the Ukraine, and other eastern European countries, many Slavic words were adopted and included in the language. This mixture of languages, printed and written in Hebrew characters, became the vernacular of Jews of the Western World.[1]

IV. HEBREW RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

These are Jewish schools in which the language of instruction is Hebrew, or in which stress is laid on Hebrew. Religious studies form the basis for the curriculum of these schools.

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[1]Rosenberg, Language & Mother Tongue, Tables 1 and 2, p.18. In 1938, the year before the outbreak of World War II, 6,800,000 Jews, 40.7% of the world Jewish population, used Yiddish as their main language of communication.

V. YIDDISH PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

These are Jewish schools in which the language of instruction is Yiddish. These schools are generally secular, national, and right-wing socialist.

VI. YIDDISH SOCIALIST SCHOOLS

These are Jewish schools in which the language of instruction is Yiddish. These schools are secular and socialist. The socialist orientation is two-fold: left-wing socialist, sympathetic to revolutionary socialism as advocated by the Communist Party, and democratic socialist that seeks implementation of socialist reforms through democratic parliamentary means.

VII. CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOLS

These are Jewish schools, similar to the Hebrew Religious Schools, but are conducted by synagogue congregations, primarily for the children of their members. However, they do accept children of non-members.

CHAPTER IV

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE WINNIPEG JEWISH SCHOOLS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the aims and objectives of the Winnipeg Jewish schools as they have been expressed in statements issued by the schools. The inclusion of this information at this juncture will clarify the material to be presented in subsequent chapters.

I. TALMUD TORAH[1]

The following objectives of the Talmud Torah were presented in the spring of 1960:

> The goal of the Talmud Torah is to keep unbroken the golden chain of our ancient Jewish tradition; to keep alive in the hearts and minds of our young people the ideals and aspirations of Judaism, imbue our youth with a positive attitude to Jewish values, and make them feel justly proud of their noble origin and heritage. We believe that this can be achieved by providing our students with a thorough education in the history of our people (a history which tells the story of our unrelenting struggle for a better and finer world); providing them with a thorough background of the Hebrew language, and giving them a fine grounding in Chumash and Tanach. Jewish history, language and Bible have been and will continue to be the three vital foundation stones of a sound Hebrew education.
>
> Our aim, however, is not solely confined to turning out students well-versed in Jewish lore. By creating the proper atmosphere and environment within the walls of our school, it is our hope that our students will leave that school with a spirit of devotion-dedicated to God, to our people and to the higher and nobler goals in life.

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[1] A Hebrew Religious School.

It is with this hope constantly before our minds that we approach and teach the religious precepts and practices of our forefathers with their tradition of worship and prayer.

It is also for this reason that, in conjunction with the Hebrew program in the day schools, we provide our students with an English curriculum laid down by the Manitoba Department of Education and supervised by the Inspector of Education. This program mmets and often surpasses the standards required by the Department. Our students spend the entire day with us, exposed to our ideals and challenged by our ambitions. It is an enriching experience for them and they are quick to take up the challenge.[1]

II. PERETZ FOLK SCHOOL[2]

The Peretz Folk School has had from its beginning, the motto "The Jewish Child for the Jewish People", and the programme of the school has been an attempt at the realization of this motto. The curriculum of the school is designed for fourteen years of study: two years of kindergarten, seven years of elementary schooling, three years of Mittle Shule, and two years of Higher Courses. The programme of studies was outlined in the Jewish newspaper and was also submitted to the Survey Committee on Jewish Education of the Jewish Welfare Fund of Winnipeg. The programme, which reflects the aims of the school, includes the following:

Yiddish- language and literature

Hebrew- language and literature

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[1]Survey Committee on Jewish Education, A Study of Jewish Education in Winnipeg (Winnipeg: Jewish Welfare Fund of Winnipeg, (1963), pp. 22-23. From a brief submitted by the Talmud Torah.

[2]A Yiddish Progressive School.

Bible-	in the original Hebrew and in Yiddish translation
Jewish history-	from the beginning, starting with Abraham, to the present time
Israel-	the growth and development of Israel and the love for the Jewish homeland
Jewish music-	Yiddish and Hebrew songs
Prayers-	taught to read and understand important sections of the Prayer Book. This includes the preparation for bar-mitzvah--if so desired by parents
Current events-	problems of Jewish life in all parts of the world are discussed.
Jewish holidays-	are celebrated through various projects. The rituals, customs, and significance are explained
Canada-	the significance of the Canadian scene is taught as well as to understand and love their country and appreciate the privileges that Jews enjoy, with other ethnic groups, of the democratic freedom here.[1]

III. SHOLEM ALEICHEM SCHOOL[2]

This is a Yiddish working-class school that stressed socialism and the class-struggle. The aim of the school was ably outlined by the National Director of the Workers' International Orden, the fraternal organization that supports left-wing Yiddish socialist schools:

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[1]Educational Committee of the Peretz Folk School, "Peretz School Curriculum Memorandum," The Israelite Press, Sept. 2, 1960.
Also in A Study of Jewish Education, pp. 23-25.

[2]A Yiddish Left-Wing Socialist School.

Yiddish is the language of instruction...for us is sufficient the objective historical fact that millions of Jews all over the world live in this language...they created in this language their folk history, folk songs, literature...newspapers...Jewish proletarian and progressive literature...cultural life.

The object of the school is to educate a generation which will represent everything heroic, free, and progressive in the life of our people; a generation which will bear with pride its national affiliation and which will at the same time be conscious of the struggle for democracy and freedom together with other nations...a generation which will be linked with the working class with respect and love for its achievements...a generation which will be linked to the Jewish culture.

The past of the Jewish nation is dear to us; the history of the Jewish masses is our history. We and our struggle embody everything that is heroic in the traditional strivings in the history of the Jewish masses. The Jewish gourgeoisie bases its reactionary nationalism on the principle of isolationism--the idea of separation...of the Jewish nation. It [the bourgeoisie] uses Jewish history to justify this principle....We must acquaint the child with the Jewish nation that always lived among other nations...We must, through history, implant in the child the feeling for international brotherhood and solidarity, together with the awareness of its national importance and self-respect.

In the study of history we are not striving to give the child an idealization of the Jewish past, nor do we seek to bring the child back to the "happy olden days". We wish to acquaint the child with the past of its nation and from the past bring out the positive worth-while moments and give them to the child as its historical legacy.

The content of the school programme is based on the following: (a) society and its [social] classes, (b) Jews--their life and customs, (c) North America--the country and its multi-national character, and (d) Fascism, reaction, antisemitism, and war. All these points form the sociological content of our school programme. These are the ideological theories in our education...as a ready product to be imparted to the child.[1]

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[1]A. Goldberg, "The Orden Schools and their Programmes," Sholem Aleichem School Twenty-Five Years Jubilee-Book (Winnipeg: The Israelite Press, 1946), pp. 13-15.

IV. SHAAREY ZEDEK RELIGIOUS SCHOOL[1]

In March, 1960, the Shaarey Zedek Religious School submitted the objectives of the school to the Survey Committee on Jewish Education:[2]

(1) To develop and enhance the child's spiritual and ethical sensitivity, so that in act and attitude he may be governed by the religious, ethical and cultural traditions of Judaism.

(2) To equip the child with knowledge of the Hebrew language, which is indispensible to a full appreciation of the spirit and content of the Jewish heritage and its renaissance in modern Israel.

(3) To impart a knowledge of Jewish history, literature and culture, necessary for rich, meaningful and intelligent Jewish living and for an understanding of the contribution of the Jew and Judaism to world civilization.

(4) To develop in the child the ability and the desire to practice the traditional Jewish observances in the synagogue and the home.

(5) To provide for the child, during his school career, a wide range of group activities and observances, through which he may experience the satisfaction and the inspiration of Jewish living.

(6) To instil in the child the desire to continue his studies beyond the elementary school level, and to encourage the graduates of the secondary schools to pursue their studies in higher schools of Jewish learning, in order to prepare for positions of leadership in Jewish life.

(7) To develop in the child an interest and a desire to participate in local, national and world Jewish affairs and to contribute toward the fulfillment of the prophetic vision of a just society and a united mankind.

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[1] A Congregational School.

[2] The Rosh Pina Hebrew School also submitted its objectives. Since both the Shaarey Zedek and the Rosh Pina follow the United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education programme, the objectives of both these schools are similar. Because of this, the submission of the Rosh Pina Hebrew School is not included in this chapter.

(8) To give the child an awareness of the essential harmony between the ideals and traditions of Canadian democracy and the ideals and traditions of Judaism, to the end that he may be happily adjusted as a Jew, a citizen and an heir to the great Canadian and Jewish traditions.[1]

Now that the groundwork has been cleared, it is possible to proceed with the body of the thesis--the evolution of Jewish educational institutions in Winnipeg.

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[1] A Study of Jewish Education, pp. 25-26.

CHAPTER V

HEBREW RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

I. TALMUD TORAH

On the North American continent, during the 1870's and 1880's the Jewish ghetto, as it existed in Eastern Europe, was practically eliminated. In the pre-institutional period, education of the young was in the home by parents or private tutors when they were available, or if the parents had the means to pay for the private instruction. The private, itinerant instructor--melamed--taught the children (usually the boys) in the afternoon or evening, after school. Many of these teachers were incompetent, at the best; the little instruction they gave was as educationally unprofitable to the child as it was financially ungainful to the melamed. At times, it could have been conceivable that the instructor's knowledge was only a little more than the pupil's. Thus the term melamed was associated with ineptitude, poverty, and ignorance.

The inconvenience of teaching in the home was a factor that contributed to the rise of the private school--cheder--fashioned after its European prototype with a curriculum transplanted from Eastern Europe to the American scene. These schools can be compared to the Dame Schools of England in the early nineteenth century in their scope, facilities, and inadequacy. The instruction in the cheder was no better than that of the melamed, but the former did have the status of a "school" where one or more teachers taught and maintained some sort of discipline. Jewish parents who wanted and could afford to give their

children a traditional education had to turn to these two disseminators of Jewish learning.

Similar conditions existed in Winnipeg. The Jewish settlers of the pre-1882 era were either too busy establishing themselves in the new land or else they were assimilationists, not interested in a Jewish education for their children. They sent them to public school and the children learned no Jewish. These parents were satisfied that their children had the opportunity of secular education provided by the public school system--a privilege that was almost totally denied Jews in Eastern Europe. However, there were those who were religiously oriented and they gave their children (mainly the boys) a Jewish education through a melamed[1] or cheder,[2] and the children learned reading, prayers, blessings, the preparation for bar-mitzvah[3] and kaddish.[4]

The Russian Jews who arrived after 1882 were deeply interested in Jewish education for their children to supplement the secular studies they received in the public schools. From the immigration huts emanated a cry for Jewish education and complaints against the indifference to

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[1]Chiel, op. cit., p. 93. Rev. Abraham Benjamin in 1881 was the first melamed in Winnipeg.

[2]Ibid., p. 94. Rev. J. Freedman established the first cheder in 1884 with twelve students. The curriculum consisted of prayers and Bible studies. The language of instruction was Yiddish.

[3]The most universally celebrated event in Jewish life. A Jewish boy reaching his thirteenth birthday assumes the religious responsibilities of an adult Jew.

[4]A mourner's prayer in the synagogue for the first eleven months following the death of a parent or relative.

Jewish education displayed by the earlier settlers. From the squalor, filth, and poverty of the immigration barracks they wrote to Jewish journals:

> ...One is grieved, however, with things educational and spiritual, which are growing worse daily. Our children wander recklessly about the streets and humiliate us in the eyes of our neighbours. None of us is concerned with engaging teachers for them to give them a religious education or otherwise to establish some schools for them.[1]

In 1883, the Beth-El congregation established a Sabbath School, run by volunteer teachers. Instruction was in English and the curriculum was confined to the study of the Bible and Jewish History. The enrolment was fifty students and a system of supervised oral examinations was instituted.[2]

With Jewish education in the hands of the melamed, cheder, and Sabbath School, very little was expected from such education, and indeed, very little was gained from it. Economic conditions prevented many orthodox parents from giving their children instruction, as inadequate as it was, by a melamed or in a cheder; as for the Sabbath School, the Orthodox shied away from it. Thus, great numbers of Jewish children received no Jewish education whatsoever.

Some of the leaders in the community were aware of the void that existed in Jewish education and in 1891 established the Shaarey Zedek Hebrew School in the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue. A full-time teacher was

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[1] Hamelitz (St. Petersburg, Russia), No. 43, 1882. A letter from an immigrant in Winnipeg, in Sack, op. cit., p. 47. Chiel, op. cit., p. 93, identifies the writer as S. F. Rodin.

[2] Wilder, op. cit., p. 24. Also, in Chiel, op. cit. p. 94.

employed and the school started with thirty-nine children who received instruction daily. It was a more systematic education than what predated it, and the school continued successfully for several years before it began to decline. The decline was brought about by several factors. Firstly, it was difficult to maintain teachers since salaries were low and many of the teachers drifted into more lucrative professional fields; the turnover of teachers contributed to a feeling of instability and indifference. Secondly, the financial position; fees were low and there was a lack of financial support for the school. Thirdly, the physical facilities were poor and not conducive to good learning. Lastly, the school failed to attract the mass of the Jewish children. It is possible that their parents could not afford even the very low fees,[1] but at the same time, the synagogue did not consider it advisable to subsidize education out of synagogue funds. Perhaps the parents were not too concerned about Jewish education for their children. It may be that many did not consider the type of education offered, satisfactory. It could be that the Shaarey Zedek was out of touch with the new immigrants. It is quite possible that mutual distrust existed and the immigrants may have sensed a patronizing attitude towards them and their children. Whatever the reason may have been, Jewish education served only a small portion of the Jewish children in Winnipeg.

It was precisely for the education of the poor that the synagogues in America established, within their confines or in related institutions,

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[1]Chiel, op. cit., p. 95. Fees were 75 cents a month.

facilities to make available educational opportunities to the poor. The synagogue, the most universal Jewish institution, for centuries had the prerogative in education. The vehicle for the transmission of Jewish learning and teaching, as a guide and direction of Jewish life in America, was the Talmud Torah.[1] This type of Hebrew Free Schools was primarily for the children of the poor and its creation marked an excursion of philanthropy into education.

Such schools, organized in grades and classes, used better methods, employed better qualified teachers, and had a wider religious curriculum than the private schools that ante-dated them. Many parents considered the Talmud Torah as a "Charity School" and did not send their children there. Such parents, if they were financially able, engaged reputable private teachers for their children. A class of capable, respected, and well-paid "Hebrew Teachers" (not melamed) appeared in the American Jewish community, and these transmitted religious education for several decades.[2] Competent teachers opened private schools which were patronized by the children of wealthier parents. Some of these schools gained good reputations because of their curriculum and instruction.[3] Most of these disappeared in the 1930's, victims of the

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[1]In America, "Talmud Torah" generally referred to a school which met in the afternoon after secular school sessions were over. Originally, Talmud Torahs were religious schools maintained and administered by the community as public institutions to provide for orphans or children of parents who could not afford private teaching.

[2]See page 151.

[3]See page 159.

economic depression.

The influx of immigrants from Rumania in the late 1890's, increased the Winnipeg Jewish population and added additional children who received no Jewish education. Responsible leaders set themselves the task of establishing a Talmud Torah; it was not to be a stop-gap effort, but rather a school with ample room, capable staff, and a more extensive curriculum. It was to be a communal institution adequate enough to attend to the educational needs of all Jewish children--rich and poor alike; no one was to be barred because of inability to pay tuition fees.

The initial step was the hiring of a competent principal and a school was started in 1901 with an enrolment of forty students. In the meantime, an organization, whose main purpose was to establish an educational institution, was formed by the members of all the synagogues. The Zionist Society associated itself with this task with the hope that such a school would introduce Zionist orientation into Jewish studies.

Committees were set up to collect funds for a building. The Shaarey Zedek offered a lot adjoining its synagogue as a site for the school. Members of the Rosh Pina were categorically against it--a slight bitterness still existed between the two congregations.[1] After much bickering, the offer of the Shaarey Zedek was accepted and the school building was completed in November, 1902, and it was named the King Edward School, in honour of the reigning British monarch, Edward VII.

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[1]See pages 15, 16.

The building contained two floors, with four classrooms, office, and committee room on the first floor and an assembly hall upstairs. The hall was to be rented to organizations for social and cultural functions and the revenue was to help finance the cost of the building and the operation of the school.

In July, 1903, the school appointed a principal, "a great Hebraic scholar, pedagogue, and highly educated man".[1] He instituted a comprehensive curriculum and conducted all studies in Ivrit B'Anglit--Hebrew through English. The content was extremely orthodox as evident from the outline of the programme of studies:

> ...The School was divided as follows: beginners--reading and writing translations, the Bible, and grammar...the second grade learned chanting of the Psalms, communal prayers (one pupil read a sentence and the others answered in chorus), and also all blessings. In the third grade they learned to read the portions of the Torah and mafter [additional reading of the Torah].[2]

During the first few years, the divergent groups within the school organization set aside their differences and the school experienced considerable progress. In time, however, dormant stresses cracked the self-imposed truce that was maintained by the disparate factions. As a result, the school suffered, foundered in dissension and neglect, and finally ceased to function.

An important contributing factor to the decline of the school

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[1]A. Osovsky, "Jews In Winnipeg," The Israelite, June 13, 1912. Rabbi S. Rubin who served as principal till 1907.

[2]Loc. cit.

was the shift of the Jewish population to the North-End[1] and the location of the school proved to be inconvenient. It was a considerable distance for young children to travel to school. Also, the children had to cross a series of railroad tracks of the Canadian Pacific Railway; this worried parents. Furthermore, many Jews in the North-End felt that the school should be in the heart of the Jewish community and not in the outer periphery of the Jewish quarters. Parents kept their children from the King Edward School, and in time, it seemed to serve the needs of the children of the South-End. Eventually, the school was abandoned.

To some extent, the decline of the school can be attributed indirectly to the successful operation of the upstairs hall. As the demands for the hall increased, classrooms on the first floor were requisitioned; at first, one room was used for a checking-room; later, two more rooms were taken over and served as a dining room. In time, the school was confined to one room and later, it shut down completely.[2] It is a sad commentary on the fate of an educational institution that the school administration was more interested in the financial operation of the hall than in the school.

The "marriage of convenience" of the Zionists with the Orthodox within the King Edward School could not withstand the strains of such

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[1]See pages 16, 17.

[2]A. Osovsky, "Jews In Winnipeg," The Israelite, June 13, 1912. The room was used as a private cheder by Rev. Elias Kashdan, cantor of the Shaarey Zedek, till 1910.

a union. From the outset, some of the Zionist members were not satisfied with either the orthodox curriculum or the methods of instruction. The school taught sufficient fluency in Hebrew for the mechanical reading of the Prayer Book and the Bible, often without understanding the language. Zionists wanted to restore Hebrew as a living, spoken language, to apply modern methods of pedagogy, and to stress Zionism as a way of life. To them, the King Edward School was a glorified cheder and they were impatient with the antiquated methods and content of studies. They did not seek to supplant the secular education of the public school, indispensible for a career in life, but they wished to supplement and enrich it, and thus inculcate life-long devotion to Jewish learning and to perpetuate Jewish life and culture.

In 1906, the Zionists left the King Edward School and started a congregation of their own, the B'nai Zion Synagogue with a Hebrew school.[1] Hebrew was taught Ivrit B'Ivrit--Hebrew through Hebrew--by four teachers. The school attracted many students, and by 1907, the building was too small to accommodate the many children who wished to attend. The school was successful because it was located in the Jewish district and its Zionist orientation appealed to many of the parents, recent immigrants, who had a tradition of Zionism behind them.

It is a credit to the school administration that when it realized that the B'nai Zion Hebrew School was financially unable to look after the educational needs of the ever-growing Jewish school population, in

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[1]Corner Dufferin Avenue and Charles Street.

1907, it offered to share Hebrew education with the whole Jewish community. It was very fortunate that Rabbi Kahanovitch was on the scene at the time for he saw in this an opportunity to create a Hebrew educational institution. He called for support for this proposal, and through his indefatigable efforts, the Winnipeg Hebrew Free School--Talmud Torah--was formed. A Board of Directors was elected which soon purchased a building[1] to house the new school with its 150 students and the four teachers of the B'nai Zion Hebrew School.[2]

The school carried on a programme of religious Hebrew education. A brief report of a general meeting of November 5, 1911, attests to the extent of orthodox leanings of the school:

> ...It was proposed...that the principal should arrange that the students should attend the services at Beth Jacob synagogue every Sabbath-day.[3]

But the school was not free of problems, disagreements, or difficulties. On the occasion when the school decided to change from a six-day to a five-day week, some parents objected. An editorial comment at the time offered the following view:

> ...The new principal of the Talmud Torah has inaugurated a five-day week instead of the previous six-day. We have received a number of letters from parents whose children learn at the Talmud Torah and they complain that five days are not enough, especially when the teaching time is so limited...We believe that neither the principal nor the administration has given this matter careful consideration. It seems to us that one free day for the children

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[1]Corner Dufferin Avenue and Aikins Street.

[2]Chiel, op. cit., p. 98.

[3]The Canadian Israelite, Nov. 10, 1911.

is sufficient; two days is too much.[1]

The school was progressing and an increasing number of students attended. It was a memorable day when the first examinations were held. A brief description of the nature of the examination was given:

> ...Sunday and Monday, December 24 and 25, the first examinations in the Talmud Torah took place. In the examination committee participated the members of the Board of Education.
>
> Each student was examined individually in reading and writing of Hebrew...and other subjects. Most explained the meaning of Chanukah and other subjects....A certain number of students obtained a mark of '100', which is the best mark, and indicates how all the students know their subjects.[2]

It was not long before the premises became inadequate and the community seriously began to consider the building of a spacious structure with ample facilities to provide Hebrew education for an increasing number of children attending the Talmud Torah. Rabbi Kahanovitch was the driving force and he was able to enlist almost all factions of the community to support this project. At a public meeting on April 9, 1911,[3] it was decided to build a school immediately, with funds to be raised in the Jewish community.

However, the response was slow and the construction of the building had to be postponed. The Jewish newspaper urged the community to support the building fund:

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[1] The Canadian Israelite, Sept. 22, 1911.

[2] Ibid., December 28, 1911. Chanukah, "The Feast of Lights", which lasts for eight days--commemorates the Maccabean victory over the Syrians in 165 B.C. and the rededication of the Temple which had been defiled by the tyrant Antiochus, King of Syria.

[3] Wilder, op-cit., p. 31

> ...A Talmud Torah in Winnipeg is necessary, not only now, but of long ago. If this has been hitherto neglected, it is a holy duty of every Jew to see that the Talmud Torah should now be brought to completion. If there should arise any delay in the building, it will be a blight and shame on local Jews....Good intentions alone are not enough; Winnipeg Jews must come forth with concrete financial help![1]

The cornerstone for the building was laid at a ceremony on July 28, 1912,[2] but lack of funds delayed the construction. It was not till the spring of 1913 that the building was completed.

It was a spacious two-storey building with classrooms, two meeting halls, a boardroom, and library on the first floor. On the second floor was a large auditorium which was used as a place of worship on the Sabbath and holidays; at other times, it was a meeting place for many Jewish activities--lectures, meetings, festivities, weddings, conferences, concerts, and fund-raising campaigns. The Talmud Torah became the heart of the Winnipeg Jewish community.

Soon after the building was completed, differences of opinion on several issues arose. The most serious was the criticism of the administration of the school. As early as August 1912, the Jewish newspaper expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which the Board of Directors exercised its authority over the curriculum of the school. The editorial crystallized the collective grievances and questioned the wisdom of entrusting the control of the curriculum to one person, appointed by the Board of Directors, and it demanded the appointment of an Educational Committee whose function would be to decide the curriculum and choose the teaching staff. To quote the editorial:

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[1] The Israelite, July 11, 1912.

[2] At the corner of Flora Avenue and Charles Street.

> ...Therefore, we reiterate that the question of an educational committee must be answered immediately with a resounding 'yes' and under no circumstances with a few elderly Jews, but with people who understand pedagogy, learned men who have the time to devote themselves...most important, they must be impartial and have only the good of the Talmud Torah at heart.[1]

This firm stand gained support in the community and the Talmud Torah deemed it advisable to create a Board of Education to look after the educational programme of the school.

Several other issues arose and their resolution set a pattern that the Talmud Torah has followed ever since. The question of the Hebrew dialect to be used in the school was solved in favour of the Lithuanian pronunciation. The problem of Zionism or traditional Judaism was settled; Mizrachi Zionism[2] which predominated in the Talmud Torah has prevailed since. Another area of disagreement was the demand for Ivrit B'Yiddish--Hebrew through Yiddish.[3] This issue arose from time to time, but the Talmud Torah did not swerve from Ivrit B'Ivrit in spite of the increasing number of Yiddishists in the community.

The school constantly had to cope with financial difficulties. In its first annual report of March 5, 1913, the Talmud Torah reported a deficit of $5,651.79.[4] The second annual report for 1914-1915,

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[1] The Israelite, Aug. 29, 1912.

[2] The orthodox religious element within the Zionist camp.

[3] The controversy between Yiddishists and Hebraists will be discussed in Chapter VI.

[4] First Annual Report for April 24, 1911-March 5, 1913. In the archives of the Talmud Torah.

pointed out that parents of only one-sixth of the children paid tuition fees. It also added:

> A false impression has been created in the minds of the members of our community that the Talmud Torah is rich, that it needs no money, and that it can go on forever without anyone giving a care for it. This is wrong![1]

The latter report also discussed school activities and from it one can deduce the aims of the school administration. It is evident that there was an attempt to put the school on a firm foundation. It reported that attendance in the higher grades was raised from 46% to 90% and later to 95%; in the lower grades, the attendance was 80%. To accomplish this was not easy:

> ...Through persistent efforts, we have succeeded in training the pupils as well as the parents to consider the regular attendance at the Talmud Torah just as important as at the Public School.[2]

It should be borne in mind that attendance in public school was compulsory; in the Talmud Torah, it was voluntary. Also, many parents regarded the Jewish school as a supplement to the more utilitarian education of the public school. It seems that the parents were not strict with their children about regular attendance in the Talmud Torah.

The school administration aimed to attract the children to the Talmud Torah, not as captives for a few hours a week but as students who regard the school as an important part of their lives. The school endeavoured to provide an atmosphere that would appeal to children "by

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[1] Second Annual Report, from Board of Education for 1914-1915.

[2] Loc. cit.

surrounding the Jewish holidays with...much ceremony and appropriate decorations",[1] and acquaint them with age-long customs and ceremonies. Imparting of learning was not enough; the Talmud Torah aimed to make the Jewish school a part of the child's life; attendance for a few hours a week was not enough!

The curriculum was designed for a six-year elementary course to make the child aware of his historic past and to transmit to the pupil a sense of close identification with historic Judaism. Stress was laid on reading and writing Hebrew, the ancient tongue that for centuries was confined to the reading of prayers, selected passages from the Pentateuch, early Prophets, Bible studies and commentaries, history, and Hebrew grammar. It was a religious education to bind the threads of the past with the Jewish life of the present in a Christian-dominated environment.

The Talmud Torah inaugurated Sabbath services for its pupils in the large hall; these were well attended. In the classrooms the child was impressed with the past of its nation, with the stories of the sages, with the lofty ideals of the Prophets, with the martyrology of the Jewish nation in the Diaspora, and with the glories and rich past in the ancient homeland of the Jews. The content had to appeal to the romantic nature of the young and thus instil within the child a desire to know the Hebrew language, the traditions, and the history of its Jewish heritage. This was to be accomplished through education that

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[1]Second Annual Report, from the Board of Education for 1914-1915.

stressed the literature, the culture, the Torah, and the Hebrew language that was to be the bridge between the past and present.

If education was to be the vehicle for the transmission of Judaism, then modern educational methods had to be employed; the ways of the cheder were obsolete. The Talmud Torah instituted more progressive pedagogy, selected suitable textbooks, set official examinations, and insisted on regular attendance--measures to impress the child that the Talmud Torah was a living school, aware of the present, and, at the same time, not oblivious to the past. Emphasis was on a religious curriculum; religion that sustained Jews through centuries of oppression and persecution was to be the link between the past, present, and future. Theoretical speculations as to whether Judaism was a race, nation, or religion did not worry the school administration; the basic philosophy of the Talmud Torah accepted religion as an integral part of being a Jew.

The Talmud Torah was a communal institution--an appropriate monument to the energies and activities of the Winnipeg Jewish population--that gained an enviable reputation in Canada and in the United States.[1] But the school experienced difficult years; less brave souls

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[1]The Israelite Press, April 14, 1916, compared the Winnipeg Talmud Torah with the largest Talmud Torah in New York City where the Jewish population was many times that of the small Jewish community in Winnipeg. For the school year 1915-1916:

	Winnipeg	New York
Number of pupils	600	881
Number of teachers	10	11
Income from tuition fees-dollars	4,200	3,470
Tuition fees--per cent of total income	34	28

might have faltered and abandoned the school, but the stubborn and determined leaders displayed resolution and faith in their efforts to provide education for Jewish children. In 1913, a branch of the school was started in the Adas Yeshurun Synagogue[1] for those who lived north of the central school.

The school continued to operate at a deficit because the financial structure was such that tuition fees accounted for only a portion of the total income; additional funds had to be raised in the Jewish community, that is, the community had to subsidize Jewish education. In times of emergency, as occurred in 1917 when taxes were overdue, the Talmud Torah turned to the community for support. This notice appeared:

> The directors of the Talmud Torah arranged a special $1200 campaign to pay the taxes. In pairs they will canvass in the city. All Jews who are interested in Jewish education will do their duty.[2]

The house-to-house collection took place on Sunday, December 9, and $1359 was donated by the Jewish community. In July, 1918, the Talmud Torah appealed for $3000 to repair the roof that was torn off the building during a violent storm. Again the money was raised in the community.

The support came forth because the Jewish community assumed the responsibility for education. The Talmud Torah, on its part, followed the tradition of the founders of the King Edward School--no one was to

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[1] Corner Magnus Avenue and McGregor Street.

[2] The Israelite Press. Dec. 7, 1917.

be barred because of inability to pay tuition fees. This is borne out in Table I.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF TUITION FEES OF THE TALMUD TORAH

JAN. 15 - FEB. 15, 1919[1]

Students		Monthly Tuition (dollars)
Number	Percent	
4	.6	4.00
19	3.0	3.00
15	2.4	2.50
112	17.7	2.00
180	28.4	1.50
35	5.5	1.33
129	20.4	1.00
7	1.1	.75
28	4.4	.65
4	.6	.50
101	15.9	-

That is, 16% of the students attending paid no fees and 6% paid less than one dollar a month. It is obvious that Jewish education was not "a paying proposition".

This did not prevent the school's expansion. Branches were opened in several districts of the city: in June, 1918, in the Shaarey Zedek Synagogue on Dagmar Street for the South-End children; in 1920, in a three-storey house at 166 McIntosh Street for the Elmwood district; in 1921, in the Gladstone School, for the Fort Rouge section. The

[1] From minutes of meeting of Board of Education, Feb. 15, 1919.

main school and its branches reached the whole Jewish community of Greater Winnipeg and provided Jewish education for all who wanted it.

In April, 1919,[1] the school had an enrolment of 675, employed twelve teachers, and had six grades divided into twenty classes. The first three grades concentrated on translation and interpretation of the Bible text, Hebrew language, and grammar. In the fourth grade, many of the children spoke Hebrew quite freely. They studied the Early Prophets, the Bible, history up to the end of the Second Temple, Hebrew grammar, and composition. The fifth grade proceeded to the Later Prophets, grammar on a higher level, history on a more intensive scope, modern Hebrew literature and poetry, and a more organized study of the Bible. The sixth grade continued with the Later Prophets--Jeremiah and a part of Isaiah, the theory and practice of grammar, Jewish history including the Enlightenment Movement of the nineteenth century, the Bible and commentaries on it, Hebrew literature and poetry on a modest scale, and composition. Extra-curricular activities included Sabbath services for the children conducted by the children with their own cantor and reader of the Torah, bar-mitzvah preparation classes, and various social and educational clubs. The school programme and activities were designed to inculcate in the children a national spirit and pride in their religion.

The Talmud Torah began evening courses in Hebrew for adults, to

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[1]The Israelite Press, April 11, 1919, in a report from the Board of Directors.

teach them to write and speak Hebrew. Classes were conducted in the McGregor branch in 1918.[1] In 1920,[2] a Hebrew Institute was proposed for higher studies in Hebrew literature, history, Bible, and Talmud. It was for students who had completed the elementary Hebrew school and who wished to proceed to higher Hebrew studies that would qualify them as Hebrew teachers. Adult education was also carried on by the Hebrew Teachers' Society; it offered evening classes in literature and history.[3]

The Hebrew Teachers' Society was organized by the teachers of the Talmud Torah, in 1920, "for the improvement of Jewish education and to raise and improve the status of the Hebrew teachers".[4] A senior teacher, who was also an active member of the Teachers' Society, in a lengthy article, outlined the role of the teacher in education. To quote an excerpt from the article:

> ...The main reason for the unsatisfactory condition of the school is the administration which does not understand the responsibilities it undertook...it is the duty of teachers to take education in their hands and fight with all their might those who hinder the development of modern education...teachers realize the ranaissance of the Jewish nation, of the Jewish homeland, and the revival of the Jewish national language and culture....On the Jewish teachers has fallen the responsibility for the education of the younger generation.[5]

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[1] The Israelite Press, Feb. 8, 1918.

[2] Ibid., Nov. 5, 1920.

[3] Ibid., Oct. 20, 1920.

[4] Ibid., Oct. 26, 1920.

[5] M. Averbach, "The Teachers' Society and its Aims," The Israelite Press, Nov. 12, 1920.

The writer of the article maintained that the teachers' economic conditions had to be improved and he demanded professional status for teachers. This was expressed as follows:

> ...the obligation of the Jewish teacher is not the same as that of an ordinary worker to his boss; it is a national obligation. Therefore, it should never be allowed to descend to the level of the obligation of the ordinary factory worker; it is the duty of the teacher to let his influence be felt in the affairs of the Talmud Torah...because the teacher is responsible for the child to the parents of the child more than any of the leaders of the Talmud Torah.[1]

It is understandable that such a declaration would not be too favourably received by a school administration.

It was not too long before the Teachers' Society had an opportunity to test its strength. A dispute arose between the teachers and the administration over an incident that occurred on January 6, 1921, between a woman teacher and the principal of the school. The principal ruled that the teacher was unjustifiably absent from school and he ordered that a day's pay be deducted from her salary. Her fellow-teachers objected to the arbitrary decision of the principal and demanded that the affair be investigated. Claims and counter-claims aggravated the situation and the school closed. The Board of Directors of the Talmud Torah maintained that the teachers were on strike, while the teachers insisted that they were locked out of their classrooms. The teachers also accused the Board of using the incident to break the Teachers' Society. It soon became apparent that the main issue revolved

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[1]M. Averbach, "The Teachers' Society and its Aims," The Israelite Press, Nov. 12, 1920.

about the status of the teachers.

The school stayed closed for twelve days, and on January 20, 1921, the dispute was temporarily settled. The terms of the settlement were not too clearly defined and the quarrel flared up again when the Talmud Torah delayed paying the teachers' salaries and announced that it would not pay the teachers for the twelve days the school was closed. The Israelite Press denounced this action and demanded the Board's resignation. On February 20, at a meeting of the parents, whose children attended the Talmud Torah, a "Provincial Government" for the school was proposed, to proceed with regular classes, collect fees, and pay the teachers; that is, it was to be independent of the Board of Directors of the Talmud Torah. Rabbi Kahanovitch entered the dispute to bring peace between the teachers and the administration; a settlement was reached but the teachers never did get paid for the twelve days.

For the opening school year of 1921-1922, the teachers were given a fifteen to twenty per cent cut in salary; the administration blamed "hard times" for this action. Many viewed this as a reprisal against the teachers for their dispute earlier in the year. The Israelite Press accused the Board of turning the Talmud Torah into a "business" and demanded its resignation.[1]

Who was to blame for the conflict was not important; it caused unfavourable repercussions. Several experienced teachers resigned; relations were strained between employer and employee; the dispute split

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[1]The Israelite Press, Sept. 16, 1921.

the ranks of the Talmud Torah supporters.

During the 1920's, the Talmud Torah experienced a series of crises; no sooner it had recovered from one emergency that it plunged into a new one. The City Health Department ruled that the classroom facilities of the McGregor Branch School in the Adas Yeshurun Synagogue did not meet hygienic requirements. A campaign was started in May 1922, for a new structure in North Winnipeg for the students of the McGregor Branch. An appeal was made by the Board of Directors and the rabbis to the Jewish community for support. The building was opened on January 7, 1923;[1] it helped to relieve overcrowding in the central school.

It was not the last time that the Talmud Torah turned to the Jewish community for financial aid. In December 1923, it was necessary to raise $1200; house-to-house canvassing was resorted to. In May 1924, to renovate the central Talmud Torah, the Jewish community was called upon again for help. It became increasingly evident that something had to be done to raise sufficient funds to put the school on a firm footing. In July 1924, a conference was held with representatives of twenty-five Jewish organizations who were asked to undertake the task of supporting the Talmud Torah. Other means were used; in August, a carnival brought in $11,000; in December, three thousand copies of a Monthly Bulletin were mailed to Jewish homes to acquaint Jews with the work and needs of the Talmud Torah.

In January, 1925, a "Committee Of One Hundred" was organized to

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[1]Corner Magnus Avenue and Andrews Street.

spearhead a budget drive for $12,000. A special issue of The Israelite Press, on March 15, publicized the Budget Campaign; synagogues and fraternal organizations were recruited. The funds were required to offset the deficit incurred by non-paying parents.[1] Considering the effort that was put forth, the response was poor; by the end of May, only $8,412.50 was raised.[2]

The most ambitious financial undertaking was initiated in April, 1927, to free the Talmud Torah from its debt of $41,000, brought about mainly by the mortgage on the central building. It was a long and arduous campaign that terminated with the burning of the mortgage on January 8, 1929.[3] No sooner was this accomplished than plans were made to pay off the mortgage on the Magnus Branch.

The Board of Education was under attack by both teachers and the press. It was said of the Board that it discouraged teachers' initiative through its tight control of their work, and that it was a clique that through its actions estranged the Talmud Torah from the Jewish masses. Dr. Z. Rudniansky, the principal, after his resignation, wrote:

> ...The Board of Education is accustomed to look at the teacher through old glasses--as a melamed or, at best, as an employee. This is unfortunate and brings bad results. The teacher feels as

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[1]The Israelite Press, March 30, 1923. A report from the Talmud Torah; from March 1922 to March 1923, one-third of the students paid no tuition fees.

[2]Ibid., May 22, 1925. Yearly report of the Talmud Torah.

[3]Ibid., January 8, 1929.

if he were in a jail...every initiative is suppressed or ignored.[1] When teachers were not paid for over three months, an editorial in the Jewish paper inquired who was at fault and insinuated it was the Board of Education.[2]

In spite of the difficulties, the Talmud Torah continued to progress. It opened new branches to serve the educational needs of Jewish children in newer districts: in 1923, in the Champlain School; in 1925, the St. John's Branch, at corner St. John's Avenue and Main Street. In May 1923, after discussions with the teachers, the Board of Education enunciated a new policy--Yiddish, as a subject, would be taught once a week.[3] This was a concession to the many parents who expressed their wish to have their children taught Yiddish. Two years later, a new trend was discernible in the Talmud Torah's approach to Yiddish studies --it abandoned the long-held view that Yiddish, the language of the ghetto, had no place in the Talmud Torah curriculum. To quote the Educational Committee:

> At the last meeting of the Educational Committee it was brought forth and worked out in a special committee of teachers, a programme for Yiddish studies. With the new programme, the attitude towards Yiddish is changed. According to the programme, Yiddish is regarded as an important part of our national culture. It is the aim of the Educational Committee and the teachers to acquaint our students with the noble and enlightened works that are being created in the Yiddish language...the parents may be assured that their children...will receive great knowledge as well as the

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[1] The Israelite Press, April 13, 1923.

[2] Ibid., June 1, 1923.

[3] From minutes of meeting of Board of Education, May 27, 1923.

Yiddish language and literature.[1]

It was a significant departure. The new attitude may be attributed to the impact of the Yiddish progressive schools. Be that as it may, the Educational Committee, through its action, demonstrated that it lived with an eye to the future, deploring any outmoded ways that might have stood in the path of progress.

Several innovations were introduced in the 1924-1925 school year: a higher post-elementary class was started to accommodate graduates of the elementary school; a kindergarten was opened where instruction "will be done in the latest method of the Froebel system";[2] the Ladies' Auxiliary became the Mutter Farein; the school closed two weeks in July for summer vacations. The 1925-1926 school year showed further changes: two grades of English day school were inaugurated--the beginning of day school in the Talmud Torah--and these were extended to four grades in 1927; a music teacher was hired to teach singing--an activity that was long neglected in the curriculum.

A report of the Board of Education in 1928,[3] revealed an extensive curriculum that emphasized Hebrew and religion. All classes of the six-year elementary school studied Hebrew language, grammar, and composition as well as religious studies--customs and practices of the Jewish religion, Torah and Prophets from grade three onward, and

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[1] The Israelite Press, June 26, 1925.

[2] Ibid., Oct. 10, 1924. An advertisement by the Board of Education.

[3] Ibid., Feb. 9, 1928.

commentaries on the Bible in the last two grades. The study of Jewish history was confined to narrative in the first two grades and then proceeded to a systematic treatment. Yiddish as a language was introduced in grade three and it was followed with selections from Yiddish literature in the higher grades. Singing was taught in all classes. The Mittle Shule continued with more advanced work in Hebrew, composition, history of Jews in Europe, Torah, Prophets, and higher religious studies. The programme of studies was enriched by numerous children's clubs within the school.

Relations between the teachers and the administration became more friendly, but other fundamental difficulties that had existed in the 1920's carried over into the following decade. At a conference on March 30, 1930, to seek solutions to the problems of the school, dissatisfaction was expressed with the Board of Directors. The lack of growth of the school was discussed and it was generally agreed that it resulted from the indifference of parents to Jewish education. The Board informed the meeting that parents wanted more Yiddish instruction even at the expense of religious studies; perhaps a revision of the curriculum in this direction would check the apathy of the parents. This evoked protest from those who lived with an eye to the past--often deploring its passing--who warned that Yiddish would supplant Hebrew and thus change not only the outer form but also the whole foundation of the Talmud Torah. One derisively remarked:

> ...Yiddish culture...a culture that is now in the formative stages --a culture that we learned on the streets and in the kitchen--

and now, this they want us to teach our children in a school.[1]

There were others who admitted that there was room for Yiddish, but they criticized the school programme that taught Hebrew so inadequately that many children could read but not understand it. Also, they wanted Zionism to be at the centre of the programme and Hebrew the core of the whole curriculum. This was expressed by a former principal of the Talmud Torah, who said in defense of this view:

> ...Let our child master a little measure of Hebrew and he will know how to say his prayers...let him just taste a little of the honey of our language and he will be filled with love for the land that is the mother of the tongue...let the child (after he has an adequate knowledge of the language) delve into our Torah, into our Prophets--he will thus be more religious because our religion is not a 'catechism' of dessicated laws and regulations, but life itself![2]

It was important to give the child the key to all these--the Hebrew language; therefore, it was necessary to continue with the teaching of Hebrew Ivrit B'Ivrit and apportion only a little time for Yiddish because the latter was spoken in many homes whereas the child was exposed to Hebrew only a few hours a day. Such an approach required individuals who were close to the Hebrew language and who regarded it as the key to national religious education. Many doubted that the Board, composed mainly of wealthy "elder statesmen" ignorant of Hebrew and even less knowledgeable in educational matters, could be entrusted with piloting the school through the dangerous shoals of curriculum changes.

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[1] N. Kushnir, "The Talmud Torah", The Israelite Press, April 4, 1930.

[2] I. L. Levitt, in a letter to the editor, loc. cit.

A more widely representative Board was demanded. An election was held on April 27, but it was cancelled on the grounds of a constitutional technicality. Eventually, a Board was elected--again composed of "elder statesmen".

The school's precarious financial position of the 1920's worsened in the 1930's. It was announced on December 26, 1930, that the teachers' salaries had not been paid for three months. An emergency meeting was held to deal with the desperate situation, to pay the teachers, and to reduce the accumulated debts of $44,970. Something had to be done immediately or else the school would be forced to close. There was talk of even selling the building to pay the debts. This was averted on February 22, 1931, when temporary arrangements were made to keep the school from closing.

It was not too long before a new crisis arose and again there was the fear of having to close the school. At a meeting on May 6, 1931, a "Redemption Committee" was set up whose task it was to raise a minimum of $12,000. As an economy measure, the school was closed for two months for the summer holidays. But with the passing of this emergency, the financial troubles did not cease; similar ones arose and they were met in a similar manner. The resolution, determination, and stubborness of a few prevented the demise of the Talmud Torah. The devotion and patience of the teachers is to be admired; throughout all crises they stayed at their posts.

The Talmud Torah realized that it could not exist in a state of constant uncertainty; some permanent solution was necessary to place

the institution on stable financial grounds. It was common knowledge that most of the troubles stemmed from the failure of parents to pay tuition fees. This aspect of the problem was discussed in a lengthy article in the Jewish newspaper.[1] For example, during the school year 1932-1933, 633 children attended; tuition fees amounted to $5,211.70--69 cents a month per child; total expenses were $17,521.70--$2.31 a month per child! Yet, there were parents who did not even pay the sixty-nine cents! The writer of the article allowed for those who had been affected by the economic depression, but he insisted that Jewish education required sacrifices and even the poorest should feel some obligation, however little. But he berated those parents who could afford to pay and did not--these parents who would shudder at the thought of receiving charity, and yet were not concerned when their children received the charity of a Jewish education. He demanded the Talmud Torah take necessary steps to have those able to pay contribute their share of tuition fees; this would somewhat relieve the financial pressure.

The Board of Directors sought other means to solve the financial problem. In 1934, when the Y. M. H. A. was contemplating the purchase of its own building, the Board of Directors of the Talmud Torah offered them space in the central school--a move that would help the Talmud Torah and at the same time save the community the expense of a building. Nothing came of this. In January 1935, a five-year plan was devised to

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[1] A. Osovsky, "The Problem of the Talmud Torah", The Israelite Press, March 16, 1934.

rid the Talmud Torah, once and for all, of all its debts and pay the teachers, whose salaries were four months overdue. It was a long-range plan, filled with high aspirations, that were never completely fulfilled. However, the fund raising went on unceasingly, and the meeting of October 1937, was a happy occasion--the Board announced that the debts were reduced from $40,000 to $17,500, and that the Talmud had clear titles to both school buildings.[1]

Why did the Talmud Torah experience more difficulty in raising funds than did the Yiddish schools that had a much smaller following, although at times, one of the Yiddish schools[2] had a larger enrolment? The latter did not appeal to the community as a whole nor did it contemplate having to close its school. The Yiddish schools, supported by the Jewish working masses, grew, had their own buildings, and functioned with fewer crises. When funds were urgently needed, they turned to the members of their own organizations. It was not till the 1930's that the Peretz School made a budget appeal to the Jewish community, but even then most of the contributions came from their own members.

There are several reasons that may explain the Talmud Torah's situation. Many parents considered the education of their children a communal responsibility--was not the Talmud Torah a Hebrew Free School? Over the years, the policy was to provide education to all, regardless

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[1] The Israelite Press, Oct. 18, 1937.

[2] The Peretz School. For data on enrolment for the Talmud Torah and the Peretz School, refer to Table VI, p. 188, and Table VIII, p. 192 respectively.

of ability to pay. But this was also true of the Yiddish schools.[1] In the Talmud Torah there were those who could pay but did not, and when they were pressed, they resented the arbitrary decision as to their ability to pay, and threatened to withdraw their children from the school. In the Yiddish schools, a more responsible attitude existed since the parents realized that the school depended on their support. The wealthier "old timers" whose leadership of the Talmud Torah was often removed and even estranged from the rank and file, contrasted with the Yiddish schools, where, generally, leadership was more accessible to willing workers. Many parents of the Talmud Torah children adopted the attitude that since the school was run by the rich who gained honour and edification for their efforts, then let "them" pay for it! The Talmud Torah, for a long time, lacked the school organizations,[2] such as the Mutter Farein which did so much for the Yiddish schools from their inception. Of course, the economic depression of the 1930's aggravated the financial situation of the Talmud Torah as it did all Jewish schools.

Since 1937, a period of comparative peace has been observed in the Talmud Torah. Recriminations, frictions, and dissensions that dissipated the energies of the members of the Talmud Torah in the past, seemed to have faded away; the members applied themselves to the task of putting the school on a firm footing. In 1938, the Talmud Torah

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[1]Refer to Table II, p. 116.

[2]See page 79.

affiliated itself with the Jewish Welfare Fund and it has since received financial support for its educational programme.[1] Further attempts were made to establish a day school[2] to meet the demands of parents for more comprehensive education for their children. By 1944, the development of the day school progressed to such an extent that a four-grade Hebrew-English day school was established. Over the years, it has grown into a seven-grade school which is the mainstay of the Talmud Torah. While the enrolment in this school has increased from year to year, there has been a tendency to a decrease in the enrolment of the evening school.[3]

The Talmud Torah was sensitive and alert to the further shift of the Jewish population: northward and into the suburb of West Kildonan; southward into River Heights. The school moved with the moving population. In 1940, a branch was opened in the Jewish Orphanage building in the North-End; the Magnus branch closed in 1947 when Jews left this area; a branch was opened in the South-End. With succeeding years it became apparent that the location of the central Talmud Torah had become more and more removed from the concentration of the Jewish population further north. Serious thought was given to the erection of a

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[1]For data on income and expenditure, refer to Table VII, p. 190.

[2]In June 1939, one-grade day school was started; in Sept. 1941, a special class for girls was inaugurated; in Aug. 1942, this special class expanded to three grades.

[3]For data on distribution of enrolment, refer to Table VI, p. 188.

modern building in the north section of the city to serve Jewish children in that area and in West Kildonan.

It was at that time, in 1949, that Rabbi Dr. Abraham S. Kravetz arrived in Winnipeg to assume his position as Chief Rabbi, principal of the Talmud Torah, and spiritual leader of its synagogue. He played a decisive role in the physical expansion of the Talmud Torah and in the extension of Hebrew education to high school and university levels. It was he who attracted a group of devoted workers who put forth great efforts for the Talmud Torah. It was they who injected into the Talmud Torah a vitality that had been lacking for many years. They plunged themselves not only into fund raising but also into the educational and cultural tasks of the school. They were instrumental in instituting improved methods of instruction, in elevating Hebrew to a position of a spoken language, and in placing the Hebrew language at the heart of the school curriculum. This was a period of great enthusiasm and progress. The Parent-Teachers' Association was active in raising funds for a new building that was completed in 1952;[1] the two old buildings were sold, and all the branches of the school in the North-End moved into the new building; an addition was erected in 1954[2] to take care of the ever-growing enrolment.

What is a most encouraging phenomenon is the acceptance of

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[1]At Matheson Avenue and Powers Street. It contained nine classrooms and a synagogue auditorium.

[2]Four classrooms and a large auditorium, the Kravetz Auditorium, named after the Chief Rabbi.

responsibility and leadership by the Parent-Teachers' Association. As in the case of the Peretz School,[1] administrative and cultural tasks have been handed over gradually to the younger generation, many of whom are former students or graduates of the Talmud Torah. They have added a youthful vigour and enthusiasm to this long-established educational institution, yet have not detracted from its basic philosophy. The existence of the State of Israel heightened the emphasis on the Hebrew language so much, that Yiddishists complained that the amplification of Hebrew had crowded the limited amount of Yiddish in the Talmud Torah curriculum into an even more circumscribed space:

> Why Yiddish only in the fourth grade? If the problem is exclusively one of a language subject, like French, why is French taught for several years and Yiddish just one? Our relationship to Yiddish is much closer than to French.[2]

It is undeniable that Hebrew has captured the imagination of the Talmud Torah members; the Talmud Torah curriculum is moored to the Hebrew language. The aim of the Talmud Torah, fundamentally, has not changed. The new generation is perpetuating the goals set by the founders; a thorough grounding in the Bible, the teaching of the Hebrew language, and the identification of the child with his traditions and heritage. It has always been the hope of the leaders of the Talmud Torah that its graduates would be educated, intelligent, and informed Jews--indispensible for good Canadian citizenship.

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[1] See pages 121, 122.

[2] Editorial, The Israelite Press, June 22, 1962. During the school year 1963-1964, Yiddish was taught, twice weekly, in grades four to seven.

II. HERZLIA ACADEMY

The growth of the Jewish population in River Heights was primarily due to the North-Enders who moved there.[1] These newcomers into the district, many of whom had attended Jewish schools, had a need for such schools for their children. Sixty-five[2] children attended a branch of the Talmud Torah opened in River Heights. Parents who favoured progressive Yiddish education, started in 1953 a branch of the Peretz School--the River Heights School for Jewish Children. It obtained permission of the Winnipeg School Board to carry on two classes in the Brock-Corydon public school.

Under pressure of the larger Talmud Torah group in the district, a merger of the two schools took place in 1954, and the Herzlia Academy was established. Soon the Peretz School oriented curriculum was replaced with a programme of the Talmud Torah, and Yiddish was relegated to the position it occupied in the Talmud Torah.[3] The school, in the meantime, carried on in the Brock-Corydon School but plans were laid for its own building.

The Shaarey Zedek believed it was qualified to provide every form of educational need for the South-End Jews. It invited the

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[1]See pages 23, 24. For data on distribution of the Jewish population of Greater Winnipeg, refer to Table IV, p.

[2]The Israelite Press, May 17, 1949.

[3]Many members of the Peretz School claimed that it was not a "merger" but a "take-over"; financial and numerical strength pushed the possible progressive Yiddish school out of existence in the South-End.

Herzlia to take advantage of the Shaarey Zedek facilities. The Welfare Fund backed the Shaarey Zedek's plan because it feared that the burden of a new building would be too much for the Jewish community. Members of the Herzlia, however, indicated that these fears were groundless; also, the Shaarey Zedek's programme did not suit Herzlia members who wanted a more comprehensive orthodox religious curriculum; the Herzlia did not want to be under the control of the Shaarey Zedek.

The Herzlia declared[1] that education, predicated on the religious national character, was to be by the community and for the benefit of the community. Its programme was to have a religious, national character; the curriculum was to be a standard Hebrew one but would also include the Yiddish language, the evening school was to be a five-day-a-week one, the day school--the beginning of parochial school--was to be started with only grade one but ultimately to be extended to seven grades. The religious character would be enhanced by the synagogue that was to be built in the same building with a hall for religious, educational, and cultural activities. It was obvious that members of the Herzlia were not satisfied with what the Shaarey Zedek offered; the inclusion of the synagogue in its plans, indicated that the Herzlia members were establishing a congregation of their own in the South-End.[2] They, therefore, proceeded with the plans for a building which would contain a synagogue and hall.[3]

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[1]The Israelite Press, March 18, 1955.

[2]The Adas Yeshurun Congregation.

[3]It opened in September 1955, at Brock Avenue and Fleet Street.

The Herzlia announced that it was not a Congregational School and it outlined the structure and curriculum of the school:

Kindergarten - two grades, a nursery school for children of aged four and a half; a kindergarten for children aged five.

Grade 1 - Elementary Hebrew language and grammar, Prayers, and customs.

Grade 2 - Elementary Hebrew language and grammar, Prayers and customs, history, and Yiddish.

Grade 3 - Hebrew, Yiddish, early history up to the Prophets, Prayers, and customs.

Grade 4 - Hebrew--more advanced, Yiddish--more advanced, history, Bible studies, Prayers, and customs.

Day school - First grade public school programme

Bar-mitzvah preparation classes and a junior congregation.[1]

As an educational institution, the Herzlia applied for financial support from the Jewish Welfare Fund. This was not granted till 1959.[2] In the meantime, in 1957, the Herzlia affiliated itself with the Talmud Torah as a branch school. The Welfare Fund attempted to institute a joint control of the Herzlia by the Shaarey Zedek and the Talmud Torah; negotiations followed and the plan collapsed over the control of the curriculum.

The Herzlia Academy has grown and now has a day school of six grades, a nursery school and kindergarten, and a six-grade evening

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[1] The Israelite Press, Sept. 9, 1955.

[2] For data on income and expenditures, refer to Table XII, p. 199.

school.[1] The school became the focal point of the Adas Yeshurun Congregation, and many activities are centred around it. Members of the Herzlia had demonstrated that the South-End needed another school, not as a rival and competitor of the Shaarey Zedek Religious School, but as an educational institution for those who had a background of Hebrew education in the North-End Talmud Torah. Now that the school has amalgamated with the Shaarey Zedek Religious School,[2] its future is assured, but whether the union will endure, only the future can tell.

III. JOSEPH WOLINSKY COLLEGIATE

In 1959, another building was added to the Talmud Torah.[3] This has been the home of the Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate which may be considered as the high school section of the Talmud Torah or as the day school for a future Maimonides College of university stature.[4] Its English section carries on regular public school for grades eight to eleven inclusive; the Jewish studies, all in Hebrew, are on an intensive

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[1] For data on distribution of enrolment, refer to Table XI, p.198.

[2] A Study of Jewish Education, p. 19. The Welfare Fund favoured the promotion of a Community-Programmed School; financial savings could be made in the shared-services and programme that would be instituted. In September 1963, the Herzlia Academy and the Shaarey Zedek Religious School entered into a merger of this type and formed the Ramah Hebrew School. The results and benefits of this are being anxiously awaited by the Welfare Fund and by Jews who are interested in Jewish education.

[3] This structure contains ten classrooms, a library, a science room, a home-economics room, and an office.

[4] See page 94. At present, the Maimonides College is on a high-school level.

post-elementary level.[1] Yiddish has been offered but there was no demand for it; the school is ready to teach Yiddish whenever such a demand arises.[2] The curriculum includes Jewish history, Hebrew literature, the Bible in the original, commentaries on the Bible, the Prophets, Jewish laws and customs, and Talmudic studies. Suitable texts have been selected from those published in Israel and the United States. Graduates of this school can enter Jewish theological seminaries in the United States.

The Collegiate is a self-sustaining institution, but it does share some facilities of the Talmud Torah. It is not affiliated with the Jewish Welfare Fund but is supported partly by the Joseph Wolinsky Foundation, by other contributors, and by modest tuition fees. Any student who meets the admission requirements--the ability to handle a combination of regular high school and Jewish post-elementary studies--is not turned away because of inability to pay.

The teacher-pupil ratio in the two highest grades is almost on a tutorial level;[3] such a luxury in education can be afforded only by an endowed institution. But this has one limitation--a lack in the variety of courses that can be offered to such a small student body. This school is not characteristic of the Jewish educational system in

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[1]The Peretz-School Mittle Shule and Maimonides College carry on their post-elementary classes three periods a week. The Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate devotes approximately thirteen hours a week to Jewish studies.

[2]This view was expressed to the writer by Rabbi I. E. Witty, the principal, in an interview on May 12, 1964.

[3]For data on distribution of enrolment, refer to Table XIII, p. 200.

Winnipeg in either scope or level. It is included in this treatise as an example of a unique educational institution in the Winnipeg Jewish community.

IV. MAIMONIDES COLLEGE

Maimonides College, an institution for advanced Jewish studies, was established in 1950. The late Rabbi Dr. Abraham S. Kravetz was largely responsible for its creation. In a tribute to him, this was stated:

> The advancement of Jewish Education was his overriding aim in life. He dreamed of creating in Winnipeg a Hebrew, religious, and scholarly centre to replace at least one of those destroyed in Europe.[1]

The College was to be one of those centres. He visualized this institution evolving into a sectarian affiliate of the University of Manitoba.

At the present time it is a four-year course, on a high school level, in Hebrew language and literature, Jewish history, and religious studies. The College accepts graduates of all Jewish elementary schools, but naturally most come from the Talmud Torah. Upon completion of the course, students can enter either the teaching profession or theological seminaries.

Aside from the small staff of appointed lecturers the College invites visiting professors from the University of Manitoba. Its first

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[1] A Study of Jewish Education, p. 7.

convocation was held in May, 1953, and since then the College has graduated sixty-seven students.[1]

This institution, a modest attempt at higher Jewish studies, is supported by the Joseph Wolinsky Foundation and holds classes in the Talmud Torah building. Yet the College gives financial support to the Department of Judaic Studies at the University of Manitoba. Maimonides College has brought Jewish education to an advanced level.

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[1] A Study of Jewish Education, p. 20.

CHAPTER VI

YIDDISH PROGRESSIVE SCHOOLS

I. I. L. PERETZ FOLK-SCHOOL[1]

The cheder and Talmud Torah were attacked from two opposite directions. From one side, the established, wealthy, assimilated Yahudim whose children learned no Jewish, called upon the newcomers to become Americanized by forgetting their Eastern European heritage. From the other side, the socialists and anarchists expounded universalism which had assimilatory tendencies. They contended that the general progress of mankind would bring about an end to all suffering and will also solve the "Jewish problem". Therefore, they argued, it was necessary for Jews to participate in this work to bring about the socialist millenium. Since Yiddish was the language of the masses, Yiddish was to be used to spread the socialist message.

The pogroms in Russia shook those who held firm beliefs in the progress of internationalism. Socialists rationalized the reasons for the pogroms against Jews, but they found it increasingly difficult to reconcile their explanations with their socialist ideologies. Many came to the conclusion that progress in the direction of internationalism was very slow; others had second thoughts about, what had been

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[1]For the sake of continuity, the Folk School will not be treated separately; it will be incorporated in the Peretz Folk-School. The Folk School broke away from the Peretz School in 1930, and rejoined the latter in 1944. See pp. 112-115.

considered, the evils of separate nationalities; they modified their interpretations of internationalism to mean not a melting pot of all components to make them indistinguishable, but rather, as in ham and eggs each contributing its flavour to the overall enjoyment, and not a homogeneous mixture or solution of ham in eggs. To these, socialism was not incompatible with Jewishness but complementary to it.

The Jewish National Workers Alliance, "Farband," a fraternal organization of the Zionist workers' movement, was the antidote to the two assimilational streams. In 1910, at Rochester, New York, at its inaugural conference, the Farband adopted a resolution to found Yiddish schools where the Yiddish language, Yiddish literature, Jewish history, Hebrew literature, and Hebrew would be studied. They were not to be religious schools as were the Talmud Torahs because the Farband catered to the Jewish working masses who were worldly, a-religious or anti-religious; they were nationalist Zionists, and to some extent socialistic. Their schools were called Jewish National Radical Schools, and in 1911, the first school of this kind in Canada was founded in Montreal.

The influx of Jewish immigrants to Winnipeg between 1905 and 1910, brought youths who were intellectual and cultural; they were Territorialists, and socialists with a revolutionary outlook on world and Jewish problems. In Winnipeg, at that time, they found Jewish religious institutions, but none that suited their needs. They began to organize clubs and organizations of their own, and in November 1911, they founded the Yiddisher Yugend Farein, a literary, cultural club

that became the most active organization of its kind in the Jewish comunity. It set itself a main objective--to establish a Yiddish school.[1]

An editorial, entitled "Yiddishe Yugend and Education", expressed the views of the Yugend Farein about the existing Talmud Torah and the need for a Yiddish school:

> ...that something must be done, that something is rotten, that the present curriculum together with the Talmud Torah school itself are not able to accomplish the aims that had been undertaken--this everyone admits.
>
> ...especially angry is the Orthodoxy because the Yugend Farein desires to place the school outside religion; however, there are others who think that when children will learn Jewish history, will be familiar with the Jewish nation and its strivings, they will be more nationally minded than the children of the chederim who upon leaving the school forget not only the religious ceremonies but also know absolutely nothing of what happened to the Jews and whether Jews are a nation or a religious sect.
>
> ...It is now too early for the Orthodoxy to be opponents on religious grounds. Not they, but the teachers will organize the school, and a true pedagogue, using modern methods, rather than a pious melamed will satisfy the orthodox parents.[2]

The Yugend Farein undertook many tasks and not all members were in full agreement as to the paths the organization should pursue. All, however, agreed that a school had to be founded. Many deprecated the idea that the Yugend Farein should devote itself to national problems in the diaspora; it was too broad a task and it should be left to trade unions, political parties, and social institutions. As one expressed himself:

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[1]The Canadian Israelite, Dec. 21, 1911.

[2]I. Gurevitch, "Yiddishe Yugend and Education", The Israelite, July 25, 1912.

> ...Cultural work consists of two main problems which are interdependent on each other. These are: the upbringing of the future generation and the work of enlightenment of the adults...The Yiddisher Yugend Farein should be such an organization; only pure culture and no other should be the object of this organization.[1]

The school did not open till 1914; in the meantime, funds were collected and plans laid for it. The intervening period served to sift out the many suggestions and ideas. It is deemed most profitable to bring out some of the ideas and objections that were voiced. Perhaps the most clearly defined raison d'etre for a Yiddish school was expressed by a Hebraist, an active member of the Talmud Torah. He had this to say:

> ...It is especially fitting to congratulate the initiators of the organization Yiddishe Yugend for establishing a National Radical School. National, in that the first and foremost task is to teach the child Yiddish grammar, that is, to write and read Yiddish correctly--a thing that is now a rarity. Then will the child be able to learn Jewish history, the meaning of all Jewish holidays, the main principles of Jewish law (Jewish religion); it will become acquainted with Yiddish writers, poets; it will get to know Yiddish literature. Radical, in that the whole curriculum will be modernized as pedagogues will find necessary.
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> ...All nations have a religion and a curriculum for education; but with them religion goes its way and education its own way. When we teach a child reading it is not necessary to do so from a Prayer Book...when we teach a child history, it is not necessary to do so from Genesis. A child should be able to read the prayers, but it must know how to read. It may know a chapter of the Chumash (Pentateuch), but it must know Jewish history and Jewish literature. It should know that one says a prayer over an apple, but also that Jewish laws are full of human love and justice.[2]

The question of Hebrew in the school raised controversy; some

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[1] The Canadian Israelite, Jan. 11, 1912.

[2] A Osovsky, "National Radical or New Folk School", Ibid., Jan. 11, 18, 26, 1912.

believed that Hebrew was an essential subject, others did not consider it very important. Those who advocated the study of the Hebrew language, did so for the following reason:

> ...If possible, teach Hebrew, more or less, since Yiddish is closely knit with Hebrew. Every ordinary Jew who knows no Hebrew uses many Hebrew words willingly or unwillingly.[1]

The orthodox and religious Jews opposed the school because no religion was to be taught and also because the new school emphasized Yiddish, the language of instruction. They claimed that Yiddish was a jargon, a melange of many languages and not really the national language of Jews. These critics were rebuked by the supporters of the National Radical School. A characteristic rebuttal to this criticism is given below:

> ...What remains that will unite us as a nation--we who are dispersed over the whole world; we who are divided in different groups?...Will our religion, whose influence loses from day to day its minutest meaning, keep us together?...Is it perhaps Hebrew literature from which we have been separated so long; the literature which our grandfathers regarded with very little love and trust; which our fathers know very slightly and our mothers know not at all?...The Yiddish language and literature with the 'jargon' of nine million Jews in all corners of the earth are our claws and fangs in our desperate struggle against the surrounding waves of assimilation.[2]

As the Yiddish school came closer to realization, criticism and derision of it became more virulent from the orthodox groups in the community who could not forgive "godless" Jews who would have a school where no religion would be taught. The struggle between religious and

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[1] I. Gurevitch, "About a Radical National School," The Canadian Israelite, Feb. 1, 1912.

[2] J. A. Cherniack, "On the Occasion of the Visit of A. Glantz," The Israelite, Feb. 13, 1914.

secular education resembled similar struggles in other countries; the advocates of religion claimed prerogatives in education and those who refused to submit were "godless corruptors of the youth". The religious faction wanted schools over which it could exercise control and it feared that with the growth of secular schools, their educational privileges would fade away. The arguments of the proponents of the new school became more pugnacious in the face of the concerted criticisms from the religious groups. An example of the Yiddishist position is given herewith:

> ...These are not opponents on principle; these are the ones who would cut off their noses so they would not resemble a Jew. These would extirpate the Yiddish language just because this is the language used by the poorer classes of Jewry; simply out of contempt for the language which these highly placed...have evicted from their salons and homes...these do not yearn for the nebulous future of the Jewish nation when, perhaps, Hebrew will be spoken. Within them does not dwell the majestic language of the Prophets nor a longing for it. They have no ideals for which they are prepared to sacrifice.[1]

As late as 1931, a similar evaluation, under different circumstances, of those who belittled Yiddish, was given by an individual who himself was not an ardent Yiddishist:

> ...Yiddish traces its ancestry back over five hundred years...poems have been written in Yiddish as far back as 1410, let alone stories and prayers....As someone said, if Hebrew is the national language of the Jews, Yiddish is his international language. For just as the Jewish people are the most widely scattered, so Yiddish is the world over. Only the upstart and the snob, the ignorant and the vain, dare speak with contempt of Yiddish, for only such would deny their ancestry or be ashamed of the language of their parents and grandparents.[2]

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[1] An editorial in The Israelite, Feb. 24, 1914.

[2] H. E. Wilder, in a radio address on December 20, 1931, as reported in The Israelite Press, Dec. 25, 1931.

It is interesting to present an unusual socialist evaluation of the Talmud Torah in those days. It was no secret that socialists considered the religious, orthodox nature of the Talmud Torah out of touch with the progressive social, political, and educational trends. Nevertheless, a socialist authority contended that attendance of Jewish children who received an education at the Talmud Torah,

> ...forces us that we should be interested in the Talmud Torah. We are obligated to do this since a large portion of the children attending the Talmud Torah are children of workingmen and of the poor. It seems that agitation among the workingmen against Jewishness was not crowned with the success anticipated. Even the radical Jewish workingman has the desire that his children should know something of Jewishness and understand something of the Jewish writings.[1]

The National Radical School (that was not opened yet) was attacked by both the Orthodox and the more radical socialists. The Orthodox attempted to convince parents not to send their children to the Yiddish school by publicly declaring that the school was a "mission house" where Jewish children would be torn away from their religion. There were also veiled threats by the rabbis of excommunication. The more radical socialists, members of the Yugend Farein, termed the national Yiddish character of the school reactionary and chauvinistic; they wanted a more international socialist approach to Yiddish education.

In a criticism of the cosmopolitanism of the radical socialists and of their objection to a specific Jewish socialism, the philosophy of the National Radical School was expressed:

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[1]S. Shirer, "Strife in the Radical School", The Israelite, May 26, 1914, citing M. Zivion, Literatur Un Leben, No. 5, 1914, p. 445.

> ...A truly free man can be only he who is a good, proud, and conscious Jew....Is the German socialist not a German and a proud conscious German? And the French socialist? And the English one?... The National Radical Schools...are not modernized Talmud Torahs, not Jewish chederim. The children are taught not only Jewishness, their human dignity and pride are developed; they are taught to love all mankind, all nations; they are taught to feel with all sufferers and to want to help all the oppressed. Everything that is noble, good, and just is aroused in them--without difference, whether it is Jewish or not...these are free schools with widest humanitarian content, but the form is Yiddish; worldly content in Yiddish form is our motto.[1]

These birth-pangs and complications threatened the founding of the school.

The Winnipeg School Board gave permission to use two rooms of the Aberdeen School and the National Radical School opened on May 18, 1914. It was not an easy start. Most of the members of the Yugend Farein were either single or young married couples without children. It was difficult to find parents who were willing to send their children to the Radical School, openly condemned and threatened with excommunication. There were, however, eleven brave parents who consented to send seventeen children to a modern Yiddish school. This was the beginning but the founders realized that the future of the school hinged upon immediate success to convince parents of the merits of a Yiddish education.

Within two weeks of the opening of the school, additional children enrolled and the teaching staff was increased from one to two! Another room in the Aberdeen School was obtained. The factional dispute, however, plagued the fledgling institution. At a meeting on June 19,

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[1]A. Glantz, "The National Radical School", The Israelite, Feb. 12, 1914.

1914,[1] a group of radical socialists left the National Radical School over its motto: "The Jewish Child for the Jewish People"--this slogan was not compatible with their ideology of international socialism. The small group that remained was undaunted and determined to carry on.

It soon became apparent that the premises were too small for the broad programme carried on by the school; also the atmosphere of the public school lacked the Jewishness that should surround a Jewish school. A building committee was formed to raise funds for a school building. In the meantime, the school kept on growing, and in November, a music teacher was appointed--an indication of the progressive view on education and of the importance the school administration attached to the enriching the child through a variety of activities. The Talmud Torah was much slower in this respect; it took fourteen years before it employed a music teacher.[2]

The Jewish Radical School[3] was not only an institution for the young but also a cultural and literary centre for adults. The school undertook the responsibility for adult education; evening courses, twice weekly, in the Yiddish language and history were started on November 8, 1914. The school organization also arranged lectures, debates, symposia, study groups, and social functions.

In 1915, the school was renamed the I. L. Peretz School after

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[1]The Israelite, June 23, 1914.

[2]See page 79.

[3]The name was changed from National Radical School.

the classical Jewish writer who died the same year. The school obtained permission from the Winnipeg School Board to use another room of the Aberdeen School.[1] In spite of additional resignations of members who disagreed with the school motto, the school kept on growing. However, agitation against the school by the religious and radical socialist groups affected the attitude of the Winnipeg School Board, and in June, 1915, it advised the Peretz School that the accommodations for the school would not be available for the coming school year. The new school year started with 92 children and three teachers, and on October 10, 1915, it moved into larger quarters in a rented building.[2]

The curriculum of the school was more comprehensive than that of the Talmud Torah. The Peretz School revolved around the Yiddish language. In 1916, a progress report,[3] outlined the curriculum of the school. The core subjects were Yiddish--writing, reading, composition, and literature; Jewish history--a systematic course in the two higher grades. Students were taught Hebrew elements, that is, words frequently used in the Yiddish language that have Hebrew roots. In the same year, the study of Hebrew as a language was introduced. An important part of the curriculum was folk dancing and singing of Yiddish folk songs. The school attempted to inject an idealism perhaps not found in the public school; history and literature were to impart a cultural Jewish back-

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[1] The Israelite, March 12, 1915.

[2] At Pritchard Avenue and McKenzie Street.

[3] The Israelite Press, June 2, 1916.

ground to all studies.

The school carried on classes five days a week (not on Fridays and Saturdays) in four grades. There were 185 children--58 boys and 127 girls. The large number of girls[1] may have resulted from the lack of religious education in the school. Studies in the Peretz School were unrelated to the synagogue--the curriculum was secular; although Jewish holidays were celebrated, the spirit rather than the tradition was stressed. Jewish custom required or assumed the teaching of boys the rudiments of the Jewish religion, and parents who did not hesitate to send their daughters to Yiddish schools often sent their sons to the Talmud Torah to receive a religious education. There was no doubt in the minds of most Jewish parents that their sons had to know how to read the prayers, to perform the bar-mitzvah ceremony, and to say kaddish.[2]

On June 17, 1917, the school moved into its own home--a more spacious building.[3] The following year was a difficult time for the school; the flue epidemic kept it closed till the middle of December. This created financial problems which were aggravated when a group of radical socialists, members of the fraternal organization Arbeiter Ring, left the Peretz School to open one of its own. The burden of continuing

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[1]Figures compiled from school reports indicate that between 1925 and 1944 inclusive, of the graduates from the elementary school, 70% were girls. Also, available attendance figures in all grades, between 1929 and 1933 inclusive, showed that girls comprised 61% of the total attendance.

[2]See page 55.

[3]In a remodelled house at 412 Burrows Avenue.

the school fell on the shoulders of a decreasing number of devoted members. Yet, at such a time, the school administration considered the possibilities of establishing an English-Yiddish day school for children of ages six to ten. Nothing came of this, but it is significant to note the high aspirations and the enthusiasm of the school organization.

The year 1919 was important in the development of the Peretz School and in Jewish education generally. A number of young women who believed that Jewish education should begin with the pre-school child, formed a Women's Organization,--Mutter Farein--which pledged itself to establish and support a kindergarten. It was a bold venture that was looked upon skeptically by many of the male members of the school executive. However, they underestimated the determination of the Mutter Farein--on May 5, the kindergarten started with eleven children and one teacher.

A new road in the education of the young Jewish generation in North America was opened. Modern methods, based on the principles of play and learn and work and learn, were instituted. The language of instruction was Yiddish and the programme included creative work in clay, paper, and cloth. Singing, dancing, recitation, and play filled out the child's time in school in a Jewish cultural atmosphere. This pioneer undertaking became the model for future kindergartens of Jewish schools.

It is fitting to dwell somewhat on the work of the Mutter Farein. It was not just another Ladies' Auxiliary whose usual role was confined to help in the financial upkeep of an organization. True, the Mutter

Farein raised funds for the school, but this was only one aspect of its many activities. The Mutter Farein became the cultural and social home for the women of the Peretz School organization. In later years, it had its representatives on the executive and educational committee where they helped to formulate administrative and pedagogical decisions for the school. It organized social and educational clubs, study groups, and reading circles. It is important to observe that in times when school administrations were considered exclusive domains of masculine endeavours, the Peretz School welcomed women as equals in the educational work of the school.

Within a year, some of the kindergarten children reached school-entering age. Again the Mutter Farein displayed its faith in a complete education of the child within the Jewish school; it did not consider it necessary to divide the child's life between the regular public school and the Yiddish evening school. A class to teach regular grade one subjects was started; half of the day for English studies and the rest of the time for Jewish studies. No one doubted that the children would be able to cover the prescribed English course in half days; small classes and the availability of individual instruction would enable the children to complete the syllabus.

Many, outside the Peretz School organization, deplored this development. They feared that a Jewish day school would tend to ghettoize the children--separate Jewish children from non-Jewish--and create difficulties in adjustment to the gentile world in which the children would eventually work and live. Such fears proved unfounded, since in

future years graduates of the Yiddish day school had no difficulties in public school; they fared as well as did Jewish children who did not attend Jewish day schools or any other type of Jewish school. Graduates from the Peretz School day school distinguished themselves in the public schools, high schools, and university. Many became successful in their chosen professions as well as prominent in the social, political, and cultural life of Winnipeg. This is not attributed to their attendance at the Peretz School day school, but it is presented to support the claim that attendance in a Yiddish day school did not present obstacles in advancement. The same can be said of graduates of other Jewish day schools in Winnipeg.

This marked the beginning of the Jewish day school in Winnipeg, and possibly in North America. From only one grade in 1920, the day school expanded to three in 1924, four in 1925, five in 1929, and seven in 1942. Graduates of the day school now enter public school at grade eight. Those who expressed fears in 1920, in later years founded day schools of their own. The day school became the fulcrum of the Peretz School and of other Jewish schools in Winnipeg.

The expanding activities of the school and the ever-growing school population required a larger building. A three-storey structure was purchased, rooms were converted into classrooms, the yard was outfitted as a playground, and the school moved in on September 5, 1922.[1] The building was large enough to accommodate the school and the many

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[1]In the former home of the "Pilgrim's Institute", 418 Aberdeen Avenue.

attendant organizations. It was purposed to make the school a home for children and adults--a social, educational, and cultural centre; a home for a large Jewish Folk Library;[1] a meeting place for various educational, cultural and social groups.

In 1923, the kindergarten came under the direct supervision of the school administration; the Mutter Farein relinquished its control of it and made it an integral part of the school. By 1924, ten years after its founding, the Peretz School was a firmly established institution. It comprised the following: a kindergarten for children under the age of six; three grades of English day school; six grades of a Yiddish day and evening elementary school. A branch of the school was opened in the King Edward public school and another one in Elmwood[2] to serve the needs of children in sections of the city removed from the central school.

The first graduation of the Yiddish elementary school took place on May 15, 1925; fourteen children graduated. To provide further education for graduates, a post-elementary, Mittle Shule, was started in the coming school year. The Elmwood branch of the school was closed because of the financial strain and general apathy of the parents in that district. It was also decided to keep the school closed for two months

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[1]It started in the Peretz School building on Oct. 29, 1922. The library was open five nights a week and on Sunday afternoons. It started with approximately 1000 books and it provided journals and newspapers in the reading room. Here was its home until 1937, when it moved into a new home at 980 1/2 Main Street.

[2]Both branches were started for the 1924-1925 school year.

during the summer holidays.[1]

The Peretz School gained an enviable reputation in the community; many who disagreed with the basic aims of the Yiddish school were impressed with its progress. A fitting tribute was expressed as follows:

> What strikes one very forcibly is the intense and most passionate interest that the teaching staff as well as the administrative Board take in their work, and the resourcefulness they exhibit in solving the problems that confront them. The directive forces of this school are forever seeking to improve methods, to adapt themselves to the conditions they work under, and exhibit a virility, an ardour and exuberance, which is refreshing and commendable.[2]

At the beginning of the 1927 school year, the King Edward branch was discontinued. This step was taken only after the parents, through a referendum, indicated that they had no objection to their children's attending the main school; the Peretz School was housed under one roof. An auditorium was built adjoining the main school building and the latter was renovated to provide more classroom space. The auditorium became the home of the kindergarten, of the Peretz School organization, and of many Yiddish societies in Winnipeg.

The end of the 1928 school-year noted the first graduation of the Mittle Shule pupils who completed the three years post-elementary studies. Arrangements were made for a two year Higher Course for advanced studies. It is significant that of the nine students who completed the Mittle Shule in 1928, eight continued in the Higher Course and constituted

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[1]It was not till 1925 that the Talmud Torah closed the school for summer holidays, for two weeks in July. In 1931, as an economy measure, summer holidays were extended to two months.

[2]H. E. Wilder, editorial, The Israelite Press, July 3, 1925.

the first Higher Course's graduating class in 1931. Several of these entered the Yiddish teaching profession in the Winnipeg Peretz School and in other schools in Canada and the United States.

During the school year 1929-1930, the evening classes of the Peretz School had the highest enrolment in its history;[1] 394 students attended. This growth was interrupted when a rift occurred within the Peretz School. Two teachers of the school, one a former principal, supported by the Labour Zionists, withdrew and started a school of their own, the Folk School.[2] It was an ideological disagreement. The reason for the dispute was outlined in an article by the former principal.[3] He pointed out that the Jewish nation had two languages: Yiddish--that of the masses, and Hebrew--the revived language of the renewed settlements in Palestine and destined to become the language of Jews in the future. In the Folk School, instruction was to be in Yiddish, but equal time was to be given to Hebrew. It would be taught in a manner that students would know not only the language but will acquaint themselves with the important works of the old and new Hebrew literature as well. The Folk School did not regard Hebrew a rival of Yiddish, but it maintained that at the end of six years of elementary schooling the child should know

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[1] For data on distribution of enrolment, refer to Table VIII, p. 192.

[2] The school came into existence in September 1930, in its own building at 285 St. John's Avenue.

[3] I. Shapiro, "What Does the Yiddishe Folk School Want", The Israelite Press, Aug. 8, 1930.

both languages. The school was to be a progressive Yiddish school, to teach the love of all Jewish cultural treasures--in Yiddish and Hebrew, and the love of Palestine in the spirit, devotion, and ideals of Chalutz (pioneering) Zionism. He brushed aside possible accusations that the Folk School would be a party-school with the assertion that schools are not impartial towards all views because teachers, as thinking beings, had certain views and ideological beliefs. He rejected the contention of the Peretz School that it was politically neutral, and he accused it of being inimical to Zionism. As for the claim that the Peretz School taught Hebrew, he countered that the instruction was perfunctory and that the attitude towards the Hebrew language was negative. Labour Zionists demanded a positive approach towards Hebrew, Palestine, and Zionism.

In a lengthy declaration to the Farband,[1] the organization that supported the Peretz School and also the organization to which many of the defectors belonged, the Peretz School denied the charges. It deprecated that the founding of a new school should take place under conditions of bitterness and vilification; a school is a holiness and its birth should not be surrounded with defilement.

The Farband appointed an investigating committee to look into the charges. It declared the imputations to be unfounded. The committee suggested that methods used in the organization of the Folk School were dangerous to the well-being of all progressive Yiddish schools; the Folk

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[1]The Israelite Press, Aug. 15, 1930.

School was a Labour Zionist political creation. As for the curriculum, the Peretz School had created traditions of a cultural institution not to be changed for the sake of being in style; however, it did not preclude normal evolution. The Farband advised the formation of a committee from both schools to seek means to banish the atmosphere of animosity, and separately or together to work amicably for the benefit of progressive Yiddish schools. The Israelite Press, in an editorial, deplored the scurrilous attack on the Peretz School, but at the same time intimated that there was room in Winnipeg for two progressive Yiddish schools.

The Folk School carried on in its own home with a kindergarten, four grades of Yiddish-English day school, and an elementary Jewish evening school. Its curriculum was similar to that of the Peretz School, with a greater emphasis on the Hebrew language and a stress on Zionism. In 1934, it had 170 students--25 in kindergarten, 45 in the day school, and 100 in the evening school.[1] The Folk School also was the centre of the Labour Zionist organization.

Financial difficulties troubled the school almost from the beginning[2] and it had to seek financial help from Labour Zionist supporters. In 1938, contributions from the Jewish Welfare Fund alleviated the situation somewhat. But there were only 125 students in the school[3] so that

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[1] The Israelite Press, Feb. 9, 1934.

[2] Ibid., May 17, 1933. From a report of a meeting of the School executive.

[3] Ibid., April 29, 1938.

the number in each class was small; it was an uneconomical operation which added to the financial burden. The school carried on till September, 1944, when it reunited with the Peretz School under the name of I. L. Peretz Folk School. Incidentally, the principal of the newly reconstituted school was the same person who led the break-away from the Peretz School in 1930.

To return to the Peretz School; the split did not deter the school from proceeding with its full programme. By the end of 1931, the school had a kindergarten, a five-grade elementary Yiddish-English day school, six grades of elementary evening school, a Mittle Shule, and Higher Courses. The evening elementary school was a six-year course for children attending public school; it met five days a week. Its basic curriculum was Yiddish grammar and literature, Hebrew, cultural history from grade three upwards, Jewish history from the fourth class up, and singing. The three-year Mittle Shule stressed Yiddish literature, Jewish history, political economy, world literature, the study of the Bible in Yiddish, and Hebrew. The two-year Higher Courses included in its syllabus Yiddish literature, Hebrew, history of social struggles, the Prophets, Jewish labour movement, history of literature, and problems of contemporary Jewish life--on a seminar discussion basis. The English five-grade day school followed the programme of the Winnipeg public schools.

Clubs at various levels attracted the students to the school.[1]

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[1]Information in this paragraph from Bulletin (Winnipeg: The I. L. Peretz School, May 1931). (Mimeographed).

They were kept busy on group projects--drama, library, archives, sports, historical research, and the publication of essays, plays, and poetry in mimeographed form. The extra-curricular pursuits were responsible for making the school a "second-home" for the students. The adults, too were busy; 200 attended courses in four English classes, two Yiddish classes, one history class, and one Yiddish literature class. The fees were very small since the teachers donated their services and the Peretz School their classrooms.

The school was progressing but at the same time it could not be maintained by tuition fees alone. Many pupils were unable to pay anything or else paid very little. Table II confirms this state of affairs:

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF TUITION FEES OF THE PERETZ SCHOOL

JUNE 15, 1932 - JUNE 20, 1933[1]

Students		Monthly Tuition (Dollars)
Number	Percent	
5	1.1	$5.00
18	3.8	4.00
96	20.0	3.00
40	8.3	2.50
96	20.0	2.00
29	6.0	1.50
77	16.0	1.00
119	24.8	-

[1]From financial statement in the circular of the "Peretz School Budget Campaign" of September, 1933.

That is, of the 480 students, 25% paid no fees. It was, therefore, necessary to obtain funds elsewhere. In 1931, for the first time, the Peretz School launched a budget campaign; it appealed to all friends of Jewish education for financial help. The Peretz School, like the Talmud Torah, did not bar students because of their inability to pay; Yiddish education too, was not "a paying proposition".

Yet, the Peretz School, unlike the Talmud Torah,[1] never reached the point where it was in danger of losing its school building. During the economic depression of the 1930's, the school lived through difficult times and experienced decreasing enrolments. It may be because the Peretz School did not rely on a few "big givers" as did the Talmud Torah; over the years, the Peretz School developed a broad base of modest contributors, and, becuase of this, found it easier to weather the critical years. The Talmud Torah, in time, through its Mutter Farein, also created a broad base of public support which, to some extent, enabled the school to survive. When the Jewish Welfare Fund began to support Jewish schools, the Peretz School was one of the beneficiaries, and the support it received, at first only a small sum, has steadily increased so that it now accounts for a major portion of the school's income.[2]

The financial worries did not diminish the interest in and the enthusiasm for education. When one examines a proposed adult education programme--The Peretz Folk Courses For Adults--that was to be instituted

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[1]See page 82.

[2]For data on income and expenditures, refer to Table IX, p.

in February 1939, one is impressed with the magnitute of the undertaking. All lectures were to be in the Yiddish language and the courses were divided into two main departments: one for those who were to be auditors; the other, for students who were to submit term papers at the end of the course and who would receive a certificate. Both courses were designed for self-improvement. The studies were in several branches: humanities, natural sciences, and social and political sciences.[1] These had the ingredients of a workingmen's college,[2] or of an adult institute, or even of a university extension department. Considerable preparation was made for this programme, but the number of applicants was small. These courses were at such a high level that they interested only a small select group. This project, that did not materialize, serves to demonstrate the scope of the aspirations of the Peretz School organization.

If the kindergarten is considered the root of the school then the day school is its backbone. Since 1929, the trend has been towards diminishing enrolments in the evening school and increasing numbers in the day school.[3] Parents became convinced that their children could master a combined public school and Jewish education. The day school was also

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[1]The Israelite Press, Jan. 24, 1939. Humanities--Yiddish and Hebrew literature, Jewish history, Jewish sociology; natural sciences--botany, philosophy, biology, psychology; social and political sciences--political and economic geography, political movements, labour movements, history of the British Empire, Canadian history, and civics.

[2]The type advocated in England in the nineteenth century.

[3]Refer to Table VIII, p. 192.

convenient since children would be free at the end of the regular school day; evening school elongated the school day. Jewish educators came to view the structure of the evening school as unhealthy;[1] children considered it a supplement to a full day's public school programme. This supplementary character can be traced to the first Jewish schools that served to supplement the public school with a religious education. When Yiddish schools came into existence, they too, supplemented the public school, but with a progressive Yiddish education. The day school, however, divided the school time equally between English and Jewish studies, and because of this, the child attached, more or less, equal importance to each.

When the Jewish population moved further north, the Peretz School moved into the new district. A new modern building was erected[2] and at the same time classes were continued in the old building.[3] In 1949, when the Peretz School and the Talmud Torah were conducting campaigns for funds for their new buildings, the Welfare Fund suggested a merger of the schools. It argued that since the curricula of the schools were gradually moving closer together, the community should begin to plan a building programme with the idea of future Community Schools in mind. Both schools balked at the suggestion and they continued their campaigns

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[1]A Golomb, "Peretz School in Winnipeg," Thirty Years I. L. Peretz School (Winnipeg: The Israelite Press, 1944), p. 57.

[2]It opened in Oct. 1950, at 601 Aikins Street, This school was enlarged in 1957.

[3]Classes were discontinued and the building sold in 1957.

and constructed their own buildings. When the Jewish population in West Kildonan increased, the Peretz School constructed a branch in this new area.[1] It was a small building, of four classrooms with a kindergarten, two grades of day and evening school. The building could also be used, in the meantime, as the centre for the new Jewish community. This school has grown, and now has a kindergarten and five grades of day and evening school.

The Peretz School was awake to the changing times and needs not only in the relocating the school but also in the adapting of its curriculum.[2] It was essentially a non-religious school that provided weltliche education--secular, universal education. Under pressure of change, it introduced Hebrew and religious elements into its school, even bar-mitzvah preparation classes. To many of the school elders, this step represented a deviation from and an abrogation of the fundamental weltlichkeit--universalism--that characterized the school in its earlier years. Others interpreted this trend not as a contradiction but as a confirmation of weltlichkeit, that is, the school is not a static machine but a living intitution that influences the community and is in turn influenced by the community. To be cognizant of the changes within the community is in itself an expression of weltlichkeit; the prime objective--"The Jewish Child For The Jewish People"--remained unchanged. The programme of the school, broadened to encompass more Hebrew and

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[1]In October 1958, at Jefferson Avenue and Teakwood Street, in the Garden City section of West Kildonan. The school was enlarged in 1962.

[2]Refer to pp. 49-50 The curriculum of the Peretz School in 1960.

aspects of Jewish tradition, testifies to the capacity of the school to grow and change with the times and the needs of the community.

Changing times and needs manifested themselves also in the school administration. The ranks of the pioneers thinned over the years and the few that remained gradually transferred the reins of the school into younger and more energetic hands. In December, 1950, a Parents' Association with its Junior Men's Section was organized under the guidance of the old-timers to attract the younger generation to the school, to take on administrative responsibilities, and to gradually replace the older members. The Parents' Association, many of whom were former students and graduates of the Peretz School whose children were attending the school, injected a youthful note into the social and cultural work. Gradually, the group decreased in size, but those who remained were earnest in their desire to carry on the work of the school. These have taken over the leadership of the school. The Peretz School can justifiably claim that of the generations it educated some have remained close to the school and have undertaken the task of perpetuating it. The leadership is in the hands of those who have received a progressive Yiddish education; they are products of change and they see the need for an even more modified curriculum to meet changing conditions and needs.

Yet the enrolment of the school has steadily dropped.[1] The reason for this may be in the basic fact that in spite of curricular modifications, the Peretz Folk School is essentially a secular, non-religious

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[1]Refer to Table VIII, p.192.

school. The incorporation of the study of Hebrew, so that it is on an almost equal basis with Yiddish, did not later the fundamental character of the school. The Peretz School may have failed to appeal to those who embraced a brand of religiousness[1] that suits present-day needs. These send their children to religious schools.

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[1]See pages 141, 142.

CHAPTER VII

YIDDISH SOCIALIST SCHOOLS

I. ARBEITER RING SCHOOL

The splinter groups that broke away from the Jewish Radical School were members of the Arbeiter Ring Branch 169, started in Winnipeg in 1907, who originally supported the Jewish Radical School. As their differences with the school deepened, they organized the Liberty Temple Association which after a few years in a rented hall, moved into its own home on September 17, 1917.[1] Here it inaugurated the Workers' Forum and arranged debates, discussions, lectures, socials, and established a library in January, 1919. The group was greatly influenced by the Russian revolution and displayed a great sympathy for it. The topics of some of the lectures indicate the tone of the organization: "Nationalism and Liberty"[2], "The Various Paths in Trade Unionism".[3] Around the Liberty Temple Association congregated the Young Yiddish Literary Association, a pro-Communist club; its inaugural lecture was "Development of Russia".[4]

The growth of the organization spurred a drive for $10,000 to enlarge the Liberty Temple. It was described as a busy place:

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[1] The Israelite Press, Sept. 1916. Corner Pritchard Avenue and Salter Street.

[2] Ibid., Oct. 28, 1917.

[3] Ibid., Nov. 2, 1917.

[4] Ibid., Jan. 25, 1918.

> Every day, especially on Sunday, the Liberty Temple hums like a bee-hive; the doors are constantly opening and closing. People are coming to spend their spare time--for surely they will meet a radical acquaintance or friend.
>
> ...It is imperative to organize a school for the radical elements; to enlarge the library, to provide a reading room, to install a billiard table for the youths, and to build a large auditorium where concerts and lectures can be held at popular prices.[1]

That it carried on such wide activities in spite of the limited number of members is astonishing. With pennies contributed by the radical working masses, it managed to raise large sums and build the Liberty Temple, a centre for progressives and radicals.

The existing Jewish educational institutions, the Talmud Torah and the Peretz School, failed to satisfy certain circles of workingmen in Winnipeg. In 1916, a school was opened with twenty children, and after several months of struggles it was forced to close.[2] When the Liberty Temple Association acquired its own home in 1917, the question of a school was raised again. Many members were against a Yiddish school in the belief that socialist education in the English language was more suitable to Canadian conditions; such assimilatory views were prevalent among many revolutionary socialists at that time. After lengthy discussions it was decided to open, on an experimental basis, not a regular school but a Sunday School, to teach socialism with

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[1]Isidor Ish-Hurwitz, "Liberty Temple Association", The Israelite Press, March 26, 1920.

[2]B. Noznitsky, "Reminescences", Sholem Aleichem School Twenty-Five Year Jubilee-Book, p. 17. The school was located at Burrows Avenue and Powers Street.

English as the language of instruction. Within a year the school closed.[1]

The failure of this experiment opened the way for the founding of the Arbeiter Ring School where the principles of the Arbeiter Ring were implanted in the young minds of the children. The school opened on September 19, 1921, with eighteen children and it promised that it would be supported by the Arbeiter Ring members and that there would be no maudlin appeals to the Jewish community, nor would the school stoop to house-to-house collections as were often done by the Talmud Torah. It was to be an institution supported by class-conscious socialist workingmen who pledged themselves to carry on with the work of the school.[2]

The aims of the school were clearly outlined in a release to the press:

> To teach the child to read, write, speak Yiddish, and to acquaint it with the best examples of Yiddish literature.
>
> To make the child aware of the life of the workingmen and the labouring masses in America and in other countries.
>
> To familiarize the child with the history of the Jewish people and with the episodes of the struggle for freedom in history generally.
>
> To develop a feeling for justice, for love for the oppressed, and respect for the fighters of freedom.
>
> To develop in the child a sense for beauty.
>
> To inculcate high idealism and the desire for great deeds, which

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[1]B. Noznitsky, "Reminescences", op. cit., pp. 17-18

[2]Ben Joseph, "To the Opening of the Arbeiter Ring School," The Isrealite Press, Aug. 5, 1921.

> are necessary for every child of the downtrodden class, for a better social order in the future.[1]

It was a cosmopolitan socialist programme that did not stress Jewish national hopes and traditions as did the Peretz School and the Talmud Torah. It is understandable that members of the Liberty Temple Asscia-tion found no place for themselves in the other schools. The Arbeiter Ring School was a socialist school where the language of instruction was Yiddish.

From a modest beginning with eighteen children, the school had forty students in February, 1922,[2] and by June of the same year, the attendance reached 140, in five elementary classes and a kindergarten.[3] It was a phenomenal growth--an indication that there was room in the Jewish community for this type of school. The Liberty Temple became the centre for radical organizations, the headquarters for labour unions, a home for the Liberty Temple library, and the meeting place for cul-tural, social, and fraternal organizations. The achievements of the Liberty Temple and the function it performed in the community, were outlined in the press:

> Alone, but strong, stands the Liberty Temple...many organizations attempt to ameliorate conditions through charity, pity, and tem-porary help...none of these has the courage to look the truth in the eyes...none has undertaken the task of eliminating or helping to better the existing order. Uncompromisingly, the Liberty Temple stands alone in the struggle for a better order...it is the home of

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[1]Ben Joseph, "To the Opening of the Arbeiter Ring School," op.cit.

[2]Joshua Halevi, "Liberty Temple,"The Israelite Press, Feb. 17, 1922.

[3]The Israelite Press, June 30, 1922.

> the Arbeiter Ring...and of other organizations whose aim is to help the freedom movement for a better social order in which all classes will be equal, regardless of nationality or race.[1]

The syllabus of the school, by 1923,[2] included: history, Yiddish language and literature, history of working-class movements, current events pertaining to the labour movement, and singing. The enrolment was 185, in six grades of elementary evening school and a kindergarten. The first graduation of the elementary school took place in 1925.[3] In subsequent years were added a Mittle Shule for post-elementary studies, and a Pro-Seminar for higher studies.[4] There were numerous clubs with projects in anti-war work, workers' movements, socialist movements, literary studies, and the establishing of a children's library.

A Mutter Farein was very active; it raised funds for the school and carried on social and cultural work for the women. The Workers' Cultural Organization started evening courses for adults[5] in Yiddish language and literature, political economy, and cultural history.

While earnest members were exerting efforts in the constant task of raising funds to maintain the school, forces were at work that caused dissension and strife. These resulted from ideological differences between the various socialist groups. The Social Democrats viewed the

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[1]Halevi, op. cit., Feb. 17, 1922.

[2]The Israelite Press, March 2, 1923.

[3]Ibid., Feb. 1, 1923.

[4]Ibid., Oct. 9, 1927.

[5]Ibid., Nov. 27, 1924.

events that unfolded in post-revolutionary Russia and the dictatorship of the proletariat as abnegations of socialism; Communists interpreted the developments as necessary steps to the fulfillment of the proletarian revolution. Then there occurred a split in the Communist ranks on the doctrinal issues of Stalinism and Trotzkyism. But, in order to preserve the school, all factions observed a self-imposed truce--a shaky and uneasy truce that lasted a number of years.[1] Bickering and flare-ups continued, and after lengthy discussions, the name of the school was changed to Arbeiter Ring Liberty Temple School,[2] obviously a move to appease the leftist[3] elements in the Liberty Temple Association. However, within two years accurred the final break and the school split. A declaration by the Arbeiter Ring, Branch 169, succinctly described the events that led to the breach:

> Two years ago the Communists did not succeed in their attempts to capture the Arbeiter Ring; they left the Arbeiter Ring--this was also true in local branches.
>
> Then they wanted to break the school...they declared that they could not work under the control and guidance of the 'renegades' at the national headquarters--they wanted the school to carry on in partnership with the Liberty Temple Association, which they strengthened with Communist organizations...they knew that members of our branch would not readily consent to such a scheme. This is what they were hoping for because then they could use the majority they enjoyed in the school administration to capture the school for the Liberty Temple Association.

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[1] The Israelite Press, Oct. 9, 1927. At the convention of the Arbeiter Ring in Philadelphia, in April, the strife between rightists and leftists in the Arbeiter Ring organization came out in the open.

[2] Ibid., Aug. 22, 1930.

[3] Term used for sympathizers of the Communist Party.

> We understood their plans...we decided to stay with them in order to save the unity of the school--'better bend the honour of the Arbeiter Ring in order not to break the school'--our head-office advised...it must be stated that the lengthy strife with the leftists did not reach the confines of the classrooms....But our 'peace' could not endure too long...in every way they made us uncomfortable in both the Temple and Mutter Farein. It reached a point that we could not work with them and we abandoned the Temple to them. We officially announce, therefore, that we have no more connections with the Liberty Temple School or with the Liberty Temple Mutter Farein.[1]

On a discordant note, friends and co-workers separated, and the ill-feeling generated at that time has, in many instances, lasted to this day.

The members of the Arbeiter Ring moved into a rented hall[2] that served as a school for the remainder of the school year, and for 1932-1933 the school opened in a new home that also became the centre for the Arbeiter Ring Association.[3] A principal was hired and regular elementary classes continued. A seminar class of former students met on Sunday mornings for three hours where they were given lectures by the principal and by guest speakers, experts in their fields, in sociology, Jewish history, Yiddish and general literature, and psychology. The first graduating class of eight students of the newly reconstituted school held its closing exercises on June 25, 1933.

The school had a small group of faithful supporters and it carried on for a number of years. In 1937, however, it was forced to

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[1] The Israelite Press, Feb. 12, 1932.

[2] Steiman Hall, Selkirk Avenue and Andrews Street.

[3] At 240 Manitoba Avenue, former home of the National Hebrew School.

close. Thus came to an end an educational institution that for many years was active and was supported by Jewish workingmen who believed in a Yiddish socialist education.

II. SHOLEM ALEICHEM SCHOOL[1]

When the Arbeiter Ring withdrew from the Arbeiter Ring Liberty Temple School, the leftist majority gained possession of the physical assets of the school. It was ranamed the Liberty Temple School and it modified its programme to suit the members. Upon the occasion of the first graduation of the new school, the principal, in an article in the Jewish paper, outlined the aims of the curriculum of the school:

> ...our motto must be: the child is of the new times, of the new world, therefore, the Liberty Temple School feels that it is its duty to educate the new generation in the spirit of socialism...in such times [of economic crisis] we acquaint the child with this and also attract it, through pedagogic means, into the struggle against the injustice of the capitalist system.[2]

A more explicit declaration was given several years later in an article:

> The difference in the educational ideals of the proletarian school movement and other types of Jewish schools--progressive and religious--is as wide as are the life interests of the two classes in society. Our educational aim is to educate the children of the masses for the interests of their own class. Not only should the children be instructed to understand the state of their parents, and to understand that we are living in a society of robbery and swindle, of rulers and ruled, but should also be so prepared that upon leaving our school they should be active helpers in the destruction of such a society that is built on robbery and exploitation.[3]

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[1]Formerly, Liberty Temple School.

[2]D. Mindess, "The First Graduation of the Liberty Temple School," The Israelite Press, May 13, 1932. Eight students graduated.

[3]D. Boit, "Proletarian Education for the Masses," The Israelite Press, Sept. 16, 1935.

The curriculum of such a school, naturally, injected Marxian interpretations into the studies. The syllabus included Yiddish language and literature, history of the working class movement with stress on the growth of the socialist movement, Jewish history, political economy, singing, and school clubs. In 1935, the school had an elementary section of seven grades, a kindergarten, and Mittle-Shule; 160 children were enrolled.[1] There was also a seminar class of some twenty youths (most of whom were studying at the university), in advanced studies in Yiddish literature, history, political economy, and socialist movements.

The school, evolved during the economic depression, experienced financial difficulties and it had to appeal for help to the Jewish workingmen in the community.[2] When the Jewish Welfare Fund in 1938 undertook to support Jewish educational institutions, it did not include the Liberty Temple School. The latter claimed that deliberate rumours were circulated that the Liberty Temple was advising its members not to support the Welfare Fund. It also demanded that its application for affiliation with the Welfare Fund and for support should be favourably considered since it was an educational institution where 175 children attended.[3] It was not till 1942 that the Welfare Fund included the Sholem Aleichem School (the name was changed in September, 1940) as a

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[1] The Israelite Press, Nov. 12, 1935.

[2] Ibid., Oct. 18, 1935. An appeal for $2000 to pay on the mortgage.

[3] Sholem Aleichem School Executive, "An Open Letter to the Jewish Population in Winnipeg." The Israelite Press, June 7, 1938.

recipient of support from communal funds.[1] In April, 1953, the school was again excluded from the Welfare Fund; this brought forth vehement protest from the Sholem Aleichem School, which claimed that the Welfare Fund was not a political institution and it had no right to discriminate against the school on political grounds.[2] The Welfare Fund's reason for the exclusion was that,

> ...in the opinion of the Board, the objectives of the school were not in consonance with the basic aim of Jewish Education--Jewish survival.[3]

On numerous occasions the school demanded reinstatement, and perhaps the most poignant appeal was made by the principal, in an article in 1957. He stated that the programme of studies in the school included the Hebrew language in the higher elementary grades, the study of Yiddish literature, speeches of the Prophets, and classics of Hebrew literature. He also reported that in spite of the expulsion from the Welfare Fund, the deficit of the school decreased through fund raising projects. Since the Sholem Aleichem School was an educational institution, he demanded that it should receive financial aid from the Welfare Fund:

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[1]For data on enrolment and Jewish Welfare Fund grants to the Sholem Aleichem School, refer to Table X, p. 196.

[2]The Israelite Press, June 29, 1951. In June, 1951, at the Regina convention, the Canadian Jewish Congress ousted the left-wing organizations. A resolution was carried, 18-7 with 3 abstentions, to bar Communist groups and like organizations, on the issue of the Stockholm Peace Appeal which left-wingers supported and the Congress opposed, and on Canadian participation in the Korean War which the Congress supported and left-wingers opposed.

[3]A Study of Jewish Education in Winnipeg, p. 21

> ...Everyone will admit that the expulsion from the Welfare Fund was not because of our programme, but rather a result of a politically strained atmosphere.[1]

He admitted that perhaps, as the principal of a Jewish school, he should not have kept silent when Jewish culture in the Soviet Union was stopped; the school has already paid dearly for the sin of his silence. Now, it was the duty of the Welfare Fund to support the Sholem Aleichem School as it did other educational institutions "in a united, democratic, and social community".

It was a difficult path for the Sholem Aleichem School. The financial strain placed a heavy burden on the remaining members of the school organization. The vicissitudes and fluctuations of politics in the left-wing movement caused some members to abandon their affiliation with the school; only the stalwarts remained. Their lot was not easy. Because of anti-Communist feeling the school had to withstand the onslaught of members of the Jewish community, and the Jewish Welfare Fund, under pressure of anti-Communists, released itself from its obligation to support the Sholem Aleichem School, a Jewish educational institution where children received a Jewish education. The problem that faced the Welfare Fund was similar to that faced by other agencies; is there room within a democratic community for non-conformist political groups. The Welfare Fund ruled that the Sholem Aleichem School did not serve the interests of the Winnipeg Jewish community and, therefore, it refused to support it.

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[1]L. Bassman, "Sholem Aleichem School," The Israelite Press, June 21, 1957.

Financial problems, decreasing membership in the school organization, and falling enrolment brought about the collapse of the school. The leaders of the Sholem Aleichem School would like to place the blame for the closing of the school solely on the Jewish Welfare Fund. They overlook, unknowingly or deliberately, other reasons why the school failed to survive. The revolutionary era in which the school was conceived either passed or paled over the years. General reformism--the welfare state--crept into all political parties; and the progressive slogans were no more the property of the leftist group only. Furthermore, the Shclem Aleichem School did not react to the shift of the Jewish population northward; schools must be located in the midst of the community they serve. Other schools relocated in newer districts; the Sholem Aleichem failed to do it. In September 1963, it ceased to exist as an organized educational institution.

CHAPTER VIII

CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOLS

I. SHAAREY ZEDEK RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

The Shaarey Zedek Congregation was one of the first to devote itself to Jewish education in Winnipeg.[1] However, it relinquished this field when the Talmud Torah came into existence. From 1915, it conducted Sunday morning Bible classes for the children of its members. The success of the Sunday School was undeniable; it developed rapidly--in 1918, closing exercises were held for 150 children. These classes studied the Bible and Jewish history, in English, under ten volunteer women teachers.[2] In subsequent years, the enrolment so increased that the Sunday School could not depend on volunteer teaching which tended to impart instability to the programme. Teachers were paid and the curriculum was broadened to include Confirmation preparation.

Many members perceived the inherent limitations and weeknesses in Sunday School education. When in 1950 the new synagogue was completed,[3] an evening school was established with classes three times a week; the Sunday School was also continued but this was later abandoned with the introduction of a new type of Jewish education. The goals of education

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[1]See pages 56, 57, 59.

[2]The Israelite Press, June 27, 1918.

[3]See page 24.

in the Synagogue schools went beyond the rudimentary instruction of the Sunday School. They embraced: the Hebrew language--the key to Jewish studies and a link with a revived Israel; Jewish culture--the study of history and literature; Jewish religion--the teaching of ceremonies and observances of Jewish customs and holidays as well as their ethical meanings; social and communal responsibilities--the inculcation of a sense of identification with world Jewry and of responsibilities as a citizen of Canada.

The increased enrolment[1] was the compelling reason for the construction of a school building, separate from the synagogue.[2] However, while the building was being erected, questions arose as to the character and the type of programme the school should have. There were divergent opinions. An editorial in the Jewish paper urged a five-day-a-week evening school as well as a day school; the Shaarey Zedek was a wealthy organization and it could afford to support such an institution. It further declared that the Shaarey Zedek was opposed to a day school and was content with a school where children attended only two or three times a week; some members and the spiritual leader of the congregation, however, desired a fuller programme.[3]

There were others who held different views:

...the child loses something by attending a parochial school:

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[1]For data on enrolment refer to Table XIV, p.201.

[2]Completed in 1956, at Lanark Avenue and Grant Street.

[3]The Israelite Press, Feb. 4, 1955.

> children need sufficient play time and [should] not rush off to Jewish school in the evening, after regular public school hours--the child suffers. Music, dancing, sports, scouts, television, and homework give a Jewish child as much or more in life than attendance at Hebrew School three or even five times a week.[1]

This group would have been satisfied with Sunday School only. There were some[2] who did not deny the need for and the importance of these activities, but they thought these should be subordinate to education. Parochial schools, that is, a day school, would provide more free time for the child, but if this was not possible, then a five-day evening school was the next best.

These views as to the nature and extent of Jewish education expressed the general feeling of the Shaarey Zedek membership. The Shaarey Zedek administration clarified its position:

1. It was to be a five-day evening school.
2. If a sufficient number of children were available, a day-school would be considered.
3. Teaching of Yiddish would be available to those who wanted it.
4. Children of non-members [of the Shaarey Zedek Congregation] could also be admitted to the school.
5. Tuition fees for non-members were set at $125 per child with a total of $200 for two or more children from the same family.
6. Representation on the Education Board was granted to non-members whose children attended the school.[3]

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[1]The Israelite Press, Feb. 11, 1955. A letter to the editor, in the English section, in reply to the editorial of Feb. 4, 1955.

[2]Ibid., Feb. 18, 1955. A letter to the editor, an answer to the reply of Feb. 11, 1955.

[3]Ibid., March 11, 1955.

Only adherents of the Sunday School type of education could possibly take exception to this declaration.

In 1959, the day school operated two grades and children of non-members were accepted on an equal basis. The Ivrit B'Ivrit method was used, patterned after the model school of the Hebrew University at Beth Karen in Jerusalem.[1] Within a year, the day school had three grades and Israeli teachers were employed to afford the opportunity for conversational Hebrew. This was in line with the suggestion of the Institute of "Hanhalat Halashan" (Supervisor of the Language) that only Israeli teachers who had fluency in the Hebrew language should be engaged.[2]

The Shaarey Zedek Religious School has shown rapid growth since its beginning in 1949. It now operates a nursery school, kindergarten, an evening school, and six grades of day school. Although tuition fees alone have not covered expenses,[3] the congregation was convinced that benefits derived from the educational programme warranted subsidization to offset the deficit.

II. ROSH PINA HEBREW SCHOOL

The Rosh Pina Congregation with its synagogue was established in

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[1] The Israelite Press, Aug. 7, 1959.

[2] Ibid., Apr. 22, 1959. At its convention in Rockaway Park, New York, the Institute advised that Israeli teachers pass through a preliminary training period which would enable them to relate more significantly to the American child and American habits.

[3] For data on income and expenditures, refer to Table XIV, p.201.

1952 to serve the needs of Jews in North Winnipeg.[1] To provide education for the children of its members, the Rosh Pina Hebrew School was started immediately. At the outset, it comprised a nursery school, a kindergarten and an evening school.

The aims of the school are the same as those of the Shaarey Zedek Religious School; both follow the basic programme suggested by the United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education.[2] The studies have been in Ivrit B'Ivrit with emphasis on conversational Hebrew, the Bible, Prayer Book, bar-mitzvah and bat-mitzvah[3] preparations, Jewish history, Jewish music, observances and celebrations of Jewish holidays, and Sabbath junior congregation services. In 1962, a one grade day school was started and in the following year another was added. At present the school consists of the following: a nursery school for children of age four, a kindergarten for five year olds, a seven-year evening school that meets three times a week;[4] graduates of these are admitted to Maimonides College for high-school Hebrew studies.

Students of the school come from North Winnipeg and West Kildonan,

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[1]See pages 23, 24.

[2]Both congregations are affiliated with Conservative Judaism, which opposes the concepts of Reform Judaism, supports the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City, which is the reservoir of rabbis for Conservative Synagogues. In 1913, United Synagogues of America was organized for the "promotion of traditional Judaism in America". Segal, op. cit., p. 129.

[3]Confirmation ceremony for thirteen year old girls, similar to the bar-mitzvah for boys. This is a new development in North America.

[4]For data on distribution of enrolment, refer to Table XV, p. 202.

often a considerable distance. To facilitate the attendance and to relieve anxiety of the parents, the school found it necessary to purchase its own bus to transport the children to and from school.

The Rosh Pina Hebrew School, like the Shaarey Zedek Religious School, is not affiliated with the Jewish Welfare Fund. Tuition fees[1] are its main source of income and deficits are offset by the congregation; it considers the educational institution worthy of support.

III. SUMMARY

In summary, the synagogue, in recent years, has sought to recapture some of its former activities. The Hebrew language has three words for a "synagogue"; each denotes an important function the synagogue performs. It is primarily a Beth Tefila--a house of worship--and it has continued to be one, although modified through changing times and needs. It is also a Beth Haknesseth--a communal centre--the centre of Jewish life. This was true in the villages and smaller communities in all parts of the world. In North America, in pioneer days of Jewish settlement, the immigrants attempted to incorporate this function in their synagogue. But it was not long before societies, clubs, and landsmanshaften replaced the synagogue as the social centre. It is this lost position that modern synagogues have attempted to restore. They have become centres of Jewish identification through the brotherhoods and sisterhoods who concern themselves with all matters pertaining

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[1]For data on income and expenditures refer to Table XV, p. 202.

to the synagogue. The success of the synagogue centre depends to a great degree on the rabbi, whose functions over the years have changed. At one time, the rabbi interpreted the laws, studied, did research, and ministered to the needs of the people. The modern rabbi also ministers to the needs of his congregation, but these are mostly social needs. He is involved in all activities around the synagogue: he is a director of the synagogue, he is a social organizer, he is the preacher, and at times he may also be the teacher in the school. However, a successful rabbi must display adaptability and diplomacy; rhetorical ability is most imperative for sermons and services for the part-time religion that has been developing in North America--a few short hours on Friday evening and Saturday morning. Poor speakers--even if they are rabbis--are not too well received. The synagogue is also a Beth Hamidrash--a house of study--where the cheder had its home and also where adults studied the Holy writings under the guidance of the rabbi. This function of the synagogue lapsed early in the century. Congregational schools, a development since the end of World War II, are a reaffirmation that the synagogue is a house of study. Not only are children instructed in Judaic studies, but also adults, in increasing numbers, have been using the synagogue for education in evening classes in Hebrew and related Jewish studies. The synagogue has entered the field of education to win the youth to Judaism, through a modern religious curriculum. Many responsible leaders fear that,

> ...with the rapid spread of religiousness among American Jews in the form of religious identification and synagogue membership, the very meaning of religion in its authentic sense may be lost for

increasing numbers.[1]

To prevent this, a rabbi cautioned:

> ...against the trend of transforming synagogues into country clubs. We must offer a brand of Judaism rooted in knowledge of Jewish sources, relevant to the social needs of our day, and presented in very simple terms.[2]

It is the function of the Congregational Schools to impart the "deep rooted knowledge" in order not to lose the "authentic sense" of religion.

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[1]The Israelite Press, June 14, 1957. This was part of an address delivered by Will Herberg, Professor of Judaic Studies and Social Philosophy at Drew University, Madison, New York, at the General Assembly convoked by the Synagogue Council of America.

[2]Loc. cit., From an address delivered by Dr. Bernard J. Bamberger, Rabbi of West End Synagogue, New York City, at the General Assembly convoked by the Synagogue Council of America.

CHAPTER IX

PRIVATE EDUCATION

I. THE MELAMED--THE PRIVATE ITINERANT TEACHER

The melamed in Winnipeg in the earlier days played an important part in the religious education of young Jewish children.[1] However, he did not disappear with the formation of the cheder, Talmud Torah, and Yiddish schools; the itinerant teacher existed for decades.

This part of the thesis will utilize advertisements in the Jewish paper[2] inserted by the private teachers; not all such items will appear, only those that have a specific character illustrating the type of instruction private teachers offered. The translation of these advertisements from the Yiddish is deliberately literal to convey their unique appeal.

October 6, 1911:

> A. M. Mandelbaum,
> Principal of the Winnipeg Hebrew School,
> gives lessons in Hebrew in the very best
> methods that are available in this language.

Within a few months, this teacher changed the advertisement and on February 6, 1912, it appeared in the changed form:

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[1] See page 55.

[2] The Canadian Israelite, later, The Israelite and The Israelite Press. See page 1.

A. M. Mandelbaum,
Principal of the Winnipeg Hebrew School, gives lessons in Hebrew, Jewish history, and composition.

August 29, 1912:

Shochet and cantor
Knows Hebrew well; can teach children and give them good instruction. Rev. Nathan Maziwecki, from Palestine, from the colony Petakh Tikva.

March 17, 1914:

Whoever requires a teacher in Hebrew, first class, I can fulfill their wish. I teach Hebrew through Hebrew, Hebrew through Yiddish, Hebrew through English: also bookkeeping.

November 11, 1914:

If you want your child to know Hebrew and Yiddish, then turn to Mr. Appel. Success guaranteed. It will cost you cheaper than you think.

February 9, 1923:

A Hebrew teacher--well known pedagogue, gives lessons in Ivrit B'Ivrit or in Yiddish. Satisfaction guaranteed.

October 26, 1923:

Experienced lady teacher. Gives private lessons in Yiddish and beginning Hebrew. Success guaranteed. Reasonable charges.

July 1, 1924:

Experienced teacher. Taught for three years in a Jewish gymnasium in Rumania. Gives private lessons in Yiddish and Hebrew.

September 16, 1924:

Hebrew teacher with wide experience; seeks private lessons in Hebrew or Yiddish. Has best recommendation from schools and teacher seminaries in Rumania.

November 11, 1924, a request for a teacher:

Wanted a Hebrew teacher who can teach Ivrit B'Ivrit with one child, one hour a day. Salary, $25 a month, board and room included.

It did not state whether the teacher had to perform other duties around the house.

November 25, 1924:

Hebrew studies--Ivrit B'Ivrit. The son of Rabbi Hurwitz, a teacher from Palestine, seeks students.

April 24, 1925:

An experienced teacher (student) gives private Hebrew lessons according to the latest methods.

June 9, 1925:

A. Weisrub,
A teacher with wide experience in a Talmud Torah and in a Hebrew gymnasium, accepts private students.

March 26, 1926:

A former well-known Talmud Torah lady teacher undertakes to teach children Ivrit B'Ivrit, Ivrit B'Yiddish, and Ivrit B'English. Best satisfaction guaranteed. All my students and their parents are highly satisfied with my teaching. Reasonable rates.

October 4, 1927:

An experienced Hebrew teacher, university graduate, gives lessons in the Hebrew language, Bible studies, literature, and Talmud in Ivrit B'Ivrit.

September 28, 1928:

A Hebrew teacher with pedagogic abilities, not long from Poland, is looking for private students.

October 9, 1928:

Hebrew teacher and musician, recently from Warsaw, is willing to give private lessons.

It is not clear whether he was looking for Hebrew or music students or for both.

January 25, 1929:

An experienced Yiddish lady teacher, not long from the old country, gives private lessons. Reasonable rates.

November 18, 1929:

A lady teacher from the Leningrad school, teaches children Ivrit B'Ivrit.

June 1, 1931:

A Hebrew teacher, experienced pedagogue, gives lessons in Hebrew, Bible studies, literature; also in Yiddish language and literature.

July 28, 1931:

Experienced lady teacher, university graduate, gives Hebrew and Yiddish lessons. Also English lessons. Very cheap.

February 5, 1932:

M. Blustein
Is ready to teach privately children Yiddish, literature, history, social sciences. Children who already attend progressive Yiddish schools I will not accept.[1]

September 1, 1936:

Private lessons in Hebrew and Yiddish by an experienced lady teacher.

September 12, 1939:

Modern Hebrew-Yiddish teacher, is willing to accept a child from the country for board, room, and teaching. Good attention: respectable home.

December 22, 1939:

Experienced Yiddish teacher gives lessons to beginners and older children in your home. Write me and I will come to you to talk it over with you.

September 20, 1946:

Teacher--148 Inkster Blvd.
Announces that he accepts children to teach all grades. Also preparation for bar-mitzvah. Satisfaction guaranteed.

This advertisement appeared many times. Apparently the technique was to associate the teacher with the address: the teacher--148 Inkster Blvd.

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[1]He was the principal of the Arbeiter Ring Liberty Temple School. When the members of the Arbeiter Ring abandoned the school to the leftists and they established a school of their own, Mr. Blustein resigned and refused to take sides. He was out of work since he did not teach in either school.

May 17, 1948:

Mordechai Hoffman,
Is opening a class to teach children reading and writing Yiddish and also preparation for bar-mitzvah.

August 26, 1949:

Hebrew teacher seeks private lessons with instruction in Bible studies, modern Hebrew, Yiddish, history, prayers, and bar-mitzvah.

October 21, 1949:

N. Kushnir,
I accept private lessons in my home in Yiddish and Hebrew, also bar-mitzvah.

September 7, 1951:

Teacher Akhiba Steinberg,
Accepts bar-mitzvah preparation and also teaching to conduct services before a congregation. Satisfaction guaranteed.

This unusual advertisement was aimed at a select few; very few Jewish children receive training in conducting services before a congregation.

November 9, 1951:

Teacher of 144 Luxton,
Announces that he accepts young and older children to teach all classes; also bar-mitzvah. Satisfaction guaranteed.

December 18, 1953:

Hebrew teacher, highly educated with rich experience, presently unemployed, seeks students. Specialist in bar-mitzvah.

September 3, 1954:

> Jewish Parents In Winnipeg, Attention! If you wish to give your child a thorough Jewish education, or if you want your bar-mitzvah to be a success, call on the well-known pedagogue and cantor
> Akhiba Steinberg, 160 Glenwood Cresc. who accepts students at his own home or in the home of the student.

This is the same individual who inserted the unusual advertisement on September 7, 1951. Apparently, the bar-mitzvah field offered wider opportunities.

September 3, 1954, in the English section:

> Young, qualified Hebrew teacher available for coming school term. Beginners and advanced students taught. Also bar-mitzvah preparation.

September 17, 1954:

> Good News For Winnipeg Jewish Parents! The well-known teacher, formerly of the B'nai Zion Cheder, H. Finkelstein, announces that he remains in Winnipeg and accepts children and older students to teach all grades, also bar-mitzvah. Satisfaction guaranteed.

For over a year this advertisement appeared, and later, "announces that he remains in Winnipeg" was deleted. The altered announcement appeared periodically until the summer of 1959.

October 14, 1955:

> An experienced teacher gives lessons in Yiddish and Hebrew (B'Sephardic, as they teach in Israel), history, Bible studies, and Jewish studies.

In the 1960's, only a few advertisements appeared:

September 2, 1960:

Well-known teacher, with wide experience in preparation for bar-mitzvah,
Cantor Akhiba Steinberg
accepts students in every part of the city. Highest satisfaction guaranteed. Cost of tuition very reasonable.

October 13, 1961:

A teacher accepts children to teach Yiddish, Hebrew, prayers, and bar-mitzvah. Very reasonable.

December 22, 1961:

Hebrew teacher accepts private bar-mitzvah students.

April 27, 1962

Private teacher, with many years of experience, is willing to teach Yiddish and Hebrew to beginners and higher classes. Bar-mitzvahs and bat-mitzvahs.

The above advertisement, which appeared in the English section of the newspaper, mentioned bat-mitzvah[1] preparation--a new field for private teachers.

A careful analysis of the above advertisements will reveal certain trends, changes of attitudes towards Jewish education, and the qualifications of the private teachers. Aside from teachers of Jewish schools who supplemented their earnings through private tutoring, there

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[1]See page 139.

were others who claimed their qualifications on different grounds; they knew Hebrew, sufficient to teach children; they were a shochet or cantor, that is, they had associations with Jewish religious life which implied teaching qualifications. They all, however, promised "satisfaction guaranteed". But, with the rise of modern schools, these qualifications became increasingly obsolete; teachers then began to state they were from the old country--the reservoir of Jewish teachers in America--"from Rumania", "not long from Poland", "not long from the old country", "from Leningrad school". It is not the intention of this work to imply that all used these catchwords to insinuate that they were qualified teachers. Many did have experience in the teaching profession in these places and these became the reputable, well-paid, and respected "Hebrew Teachers".[1]

The subjects taught underwent a metamorphosis; private teaching, at first confined to religious studies, soon included Yiddish subjects and the Hebrew teacher became a Hebrew-Yiddish teacher. It was not till 1946, that teachers began to advertise "preparation for bar-mitzvah", and in time, this aspect became the principal area of operation for the private teacher. The bar-mitzvah ceremony became the most important moment in the life of a Jewish boy, and also an expensive social function for the parents. Jewish teachers adjusted themselves to this development and they became "specialists" in the art of bar-mitzvah preparation. Eventually, all Jewish schools introduced bar-

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[1]See page 58.

mitzvah preparation classes[1] and deprived most of the private teachers of their livelihood.

Thus came to an end the work of the private Jewish teacher who for several decades had performed an educational function in the Winnipeg Jewish community.

II. PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The rise of the cheder in North America, and the early ones in Winnipeg were touched upon previously.[2] This section will deal with private schools, as they functioned.

The first announcement of a private school, not necessarily the first one in Winnipeg, was on December 7, 1911:

> The Talmud Torah Adas Yeshurun of the North-End is now under new management. We engaged two new teachers. We ask every Jew to send his children to learn, free of charge. Whoever can pay, we will be grateful. Respectfully, The Committee.
> Time for the Cheder, 4:00 P.M. to 7:30 P.M.

It was a cheder where rudimentary religious education was taught.

It was not till 1914 that a modern private school opened. In The Canadian Israelite of March 14, 1914, the nature and scope of the school was clearly outlined:

> Very important news for Winnipeg Jews:
> Since I realized that many Jewish children are poorly educated in

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[1]See page 72. The Talmud Torah conducted bar-mitzvah preparation classes as early as 1919.

[2]See page 55.

> Jewish moral feeling, since there is no school to do it, and from the fifteen minutes that the private teacher offers them it is impossible for a child to learn anything, it is needless to say that they do not know how to read the Prayer Book or to write a Yiddish word. Therefore, I found it necessary to open a school for the Jewish population where the following subjects will be taught: reading, writing, Bible studies, commentaries on the Bible, grammar, links with Israel, singing, Jewish law and jurisprudence. I am sure that every father will send me many letters of thanks.
>
> Respectfully yours,
> N. Kushnir.
>
> 61 Robinson Street.

It expressed the realization that there was a lack of a modern type of educational institution. The programme offered was much fuller than that of the cheder or even the Talmud Torah.

In the same month, a similar school was contemplated, as advertised on March 19, 1914:

> Teach your children systematically.
> I announce...that I, the well-known Hebrew teacher of the Talmud Torah, I. Karpin, am opening a Hebrew school where will be taught according to the most modern natural methods, Ivrit B'Ivrit. To start with, there will be only two classes with twenty four children (maximum) in each class, so that each class will have the opportunity to learn three hours every day, that is, two hours for teaching and one hour for writing...on Saturdays, special time will be given for the children to amuse themselves with songs, exercise, recitation, stories of Jewish life, customs, etc., as the best means to enrich Hebrew as a speaking language.
>
> I. Karpin.
>
> 475 1/2 Stella Avenue (private home).

On March 26, a notice appeared that the school was to open shortly. From the announcement it can be seen that the purpose of the school was to emphasize Hebrew as a living and spoken language. The extra-curricular activities, designed to further the Hebrew language, were an innovation in Hebrew schools.

On October 19, 1917, there was an announcement about the opening of a private school:

> The new school of the teacher
> S. Denenburg
> 282 Manitoba Ave.
> is opening on Sunday, October 22. The parents who wish to enroll their children, are asked to apply as soon as possible because an influx of new students after classes start is not convenient and hinders the regular course of studies.

As late as April 21, 1922, this school notified the Jewish public about the yearly examinations it was conducting for its students.

Another Hebrew school, the Achiever Hebrew School, opened in the autumn of 1921. On April 11, 1922, it reported a new policy:

1. A small number of students in each class.
2. A full course in the Hebrew language and in the old and new literature.
3. a full course in Yiddish--if desired by parents.

The school will reopen on April 23, 1922. Corner Charles Street and Burrows Avenue.

M. Schiller.

The initiators of this school realized that there might be a demand for Yiddish and they were willing to go along with the times and institute Yiddish courses if "desired by parents". The effect of the spread of Yiddish progressive schools filtered into the private schools.

On March 30, 1923, this notice appeared in Hebrew:

> Hebrew school opening in Lubavicher Synagogue on Magnus Avenue; teaching of the Hebrew language. S. Freedman. All subjects will be taught in the natural (Yiddish) language, except in higher classes--in all [sic!] languages.

By the tone of the above, it can be concluded that it was another cheder.

In the same synagogue, another school was started, as reported on November 4, 1924:

> The well-known Jewish teacher, Moishe Abraham Sumberg, from Propoisk, opened a private school in the Lubavicher Synagogue. My best personal attention will be given to the children.

In 1925, the Ashkenazi Synagogue experimented with a Sunday schod for children ages six to sixteen. Lectures were to be held in Yiddish or Hebrew as would be desired by those who would attend the first lecture on Sunday, January 18, 1925. The Israelite Press of January 16, 1925, carried the announcement in which it was also stated:

> ...it is better that our children attend the school than skate, and perhaps break a leg, or perhaps fall into the river (this has happened before, and we pray that it should not happen).

The lectures were to be on various phases of Jewish religious life, but the reasons for attending, as stated above, were novel indeed! The Sunday school carried on for a little while, but was abandoned when the response was small.

Two women ventured into the field of private schools. This appeared on September 30, 1929:

> After five years pedagogic work in the Winnipeg Talmud Torah, we have the honour of announcing the opening of a Hebrew school at 456 Flora Avenue. We also give private lessons.
>
> T. Meyerovich and C. Kubleson.

Yet another private school appeared on the scene as reported in 1930:

> I make it known to the public that I have already opened my school at 181 St. Cross Street, east of Main Street, between Atlantic and Polson Avenues. I ask you to send your children to my school. You will be satisfied with my teaching.
>
> H. Segelman.

It is not clear what type of school was meant.

The last announcement of the formation of a private school took place on September 8, 1944:

> Registration in B'nai Zion Cheder, 562 Manitoba Avenue, for all classes. Also for bar-mitzvah. The teacher, Finkelstein of 333 Bannerman Avenue.

It was a cheder which stressed bar-mitzvah preparation; obviously the teacher[1] was attuned to the times.

Only one other private school will be dealt with, the National Hebrew School which opened in September, 1921.[2] It was started by a former teacher of the Talmud Torah who was involved in the teachers' "strike"[3] earlier in the year and who resigned from the teaching staff of the Talmud Torah. It was a different private school, unlike all the others discussed, as can be gathered from the following:

> Opening of the National Hebrew School, where the best and most modern methods will be used...experienced teachers...it is not a competitor of the Talmud Torah...Winnipeg is large enough for several such schools...the Talmud Torah will always have enough pupils because it is a free school and every poor child can receive an education...on the other hand, we want to show what we can accomplish in a private school...we must...in our own educational

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[1] See page 149.

[2] Corner Burrows Avenue and Charles Street.

[3] See pages 74, 75.

> institution create a healthy, proud, national Jew for the rebuilding and reviving of our homeland. We must awake in the young generation a yearning for a...homeland. We must apply the best means to halt assimilatory trends in our young generation. The only weapon against assimilation is the school and the teacher.[1]

The school started with two teachers and within two months, a third one joined the staff to teach the six classes. Products of the Hebrew schools in Winnipeg comprised the higher grades. The school moved into its own home,[2] larger quarters, to look after the increased enrolment,[3] club activities, lectures, and social affairs for children and parents.

It was different from other private schools in its organization, curriculum, and activities. The school prided itself that it maintained itself by tuition fees only, and never resorted to appeals for donations; it was independent and this prevented domination by boards of education that might hinder the educational process. It claimed that only a private school could afford small classes in which students could obtain individual attention. It was a school that stressed national culture in a social and moral Jewish atmosphere, "under no circumstances the cheap teacher-peddling that has spread in the city".[4]

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[1] The Israelite Press, Sept. 29, 1921. An announcement by the director of the school, M. Averbach.

[2] On Jan. 15, 1922, to 240 Manitoba Avenue.

[3] The Israelite Press, June 23, 1923, reported that the school had 200 children and employed 5 teachers.

[4] M. Averbach, in a report on the school, Ibid., Oct. 10, 1924.

The curriculum reflected a wide range of Jewish education. Yiddish was taught from grade two upwards; Hebrew and Jewish history in Yiddish were the core subjects. In the higher classes, grades seven and eight that were in existence in 1924, Bible studies, history, literature, Hebrew and Yiddish grammar, and pedagogy--theory and practice. The highest class, many of whom attended the university, met three times a week--once during the week, on Saturday evenings and Sundays--so as not to interfere with their university studies. The school was proud that its graduates had a good knowledge of the Bible, of the Prophets, Hebrew language and literature, Jewish history and the history of Zionism since its inception, and Yiddish language and literature.

The school organization catered to both the children and their parents. Clubs were organized and a children's library was started with the aid of the parents.[1] To keep them interested in the school and from regarding it merely as a repository for their children, lectures, cultural and social affairs were planned, Jewish holidays were duly observed by the children through concerts, plays, musical programmes, and recitations. These usually drew the parents, if only to see their children perform. The school demanded regular attendance and scolded parents who allowed dancing or piano lessons or scouts to interfere with it. Poor attendance was bound to reflect poor results.[2]

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[1] The Israelite Press, Feb. 17, 1922.

[2] M. Averbach, "News in the National Hebrew School," Ibid., Dec. 5, 1924.

The year 1930 was a difficult one for the school. The enrolment dropped. Three main reasons accounted for this: firstly, the Jewish population moved northward away from the school; secondly, private teachers catered to these at much lower prices; thirdly, the economic depression made it difficult for parents to keep their children in the school. By 1932, the school closed. Thus ended a Jewish private school that was different from others; it carried on a full curriculum of Hebrew and Yiddish studies, it set a high standard and it expected the children to meet it, it attracted parents to the school and made them feel that they too had a responsibility in their children's education, it lasted for over ten years on tuition fees only and never became a charity institution, and it insisted on regular attendance and did not fear to castigate parents if they failed to comply. Because of its firm stand on educational matters, the school gained a high reputation.

In summary, the transformation of Jewish private schools from the cheder to the modern Hebrew-Yiddish school was an evolutionary process that followed Jewish educational trends in North America. Schools that did not heed the changing times went out of existence. Those that remained, succumbed to the depression and to the widespread extension of Jewish education in the Hebrew, Yiddish, and Congregational schools. None has been in existence since 1946.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY

The early immigrants to Winnipeg made the greatest effort, in the face of difficulties, to build Jewish religious, organizational, and cultural institutions. They realized that none of the institutions they built would endure unless the younger generation were educated in and made aware of the Jewish heritage and traditions. To educate their children they turned to the melamed, inept and often untutored, and to the cheder, synonymous with the most inadequate Jewish education, a comparison with a cheder was considered an insult to a Jewish educational institution. In spite of their shortcomings, these performed important functions; they were part of Jewish life and they instructed generations of Jewish youth.

It was due to the vision and inspiration of the immigrant generation that the King Edward Hebrew School, superior to the cheder, was built. But this school was primarily interested in preserving the old; the curriculum and methods were antiquated and did not suit the Zionist group. The latter started its own school--a more modern Hebrew religious school, but it did not last too long. It was handed over to the Jewish community and became the Talmud Torah which was an amalgam of the ingredients of the King Edward Hebrew School and the Zionist ideologies--religious Mizrachi Zionism.

The orthodox, religious education in the Talmud Torah did not satisfy progressive immigrant youths who had caught the breath of

socialism in the countries of their origin; they set up a Yiddish secular school, the Jewish Radical School--the forerunner of the Peretz School. It was evident that this school reflected a particular philosophy of Jewish life--the development of the student's personality so that he would feel at ease in the Jewish and non-Jewish world. Its slogan "The Jewish Child For The Jewish People" did not mean isolation but rather, in the light of his Jewish heritage, participation as a good citizen of his country and of the world.

Jews did not live unto themselves; they were affected by the changes around them. Revolutionary socialism had its impact on Jewish immigrant youths and these found the Peretz School too nationalistic, even chauvinistic, and they left the school to establish the Arbeiter Ring School. But here they found no peace; the aftermath of the Russian revolution split their ranks. The rightists started their own school which lasted only a few years; they drifted back to the Peretz School. The leftists, in possession of the school, in turn were torn by dissension--the question of Stalinism and Trotzkyism, the shifting "party line", and the unfolding events in the Soviet Union led to fragmentation of the leftist camp. The school was weakened, lost membership, and finally closed.

Aside from the splinter groups of the left, the Peretz School lost the Labour Zionists who established the Folk School; it lasted a number of years and eventually rejoined the Peretz School. The Talmud Torah was spared the problem of fragmentation, but it was not free of troubles. Internal dissatisfaction, financial difficulties, and the

question of curriculum caused friction for several decades, but none of these led to the breaking away of groups from the parent school. The Congregational schools, a recent development of the Jewish educational system, have been relatively free from these problems.

What can be deduced from these dissensions and fragmentations? They were manifestations of growth, development, and evolution of the idea that schools should reflect definite ideologies and philosophies. None of the schools considered it of paramount importance to impart only knowledge to the child. What was equally essential was to inculcate an attitude, a mood, a cultural atmosphere--religious, Conservative Judaic, Zionist, socialist, or Yiddishist. The sum total of the body of knowledge was not as important as the indoctrination of principles that would remain long after the mundane informative knowledge would be forgotten.

The Talmud Torah and the Congregational schools saw in religion that force that would link the heritage of past ages with the present and the future and identify Jews with Jewry in other parts of the world and in the emerging State of Israel. The Peretz School did not regard ritualistic religion in itself as the binding force. Whether the child would take the Prophets literally as in the Bible was not important. The teaching of the Prophets is compatible with humanitarianism, social justice, socialism, nationalism, and democracy--all leading to a better world for mankind. The socialist schools based their teaching on internationalism, socialism, and the class-struggle. Identification with Jewry was to be accomplished through identification with the working

masses of all nations. The belief in the class-struggle obscured that intangible thread that binds nationalities; their idealistic views of society denied that blood is thicker than water.

Jewish education was characterized by change; the times and needs of the Jewish community affected the curricula of the schools. The religious schools were ultra-orthodox and based their studies on the Hebrew language to the exclusion of Yiddish. The Yiddish schools revolved around Yiddish to the exclusion of Hebrew. The socialist schools shied away from Jewish traditions and all traces of nationalism. They all changed. Yiddish was no longer the ghetto language and it was included in the curriculum of the religious schools. Hebrew was no more anathema in the Yiddish schools; Hebrew and Yiddish, both had centuries of creativeness and both are recognized as important elements of Jewish life. They also introduced religious studies in their programme. The socialist schools taught some Hebrew, the Prophets, and Hebrew literature, but were adamant in their stand on religion.[1]

The views on Zionism changed. The Talmud Torah and the Congregational schools were either Zionist or Mizrachi; the attitude of the Peretz School, at first non-Zionist, caused the departure of Labour Zionists from the school. The socialist schools were non-Zionist and anti-Zionist; they gave different interpretations to Zionism in consonance with the expedient views of the Soviet Union towards it; it ran

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[1]L. Bassman, "On the Opening of the Sholem Aleichem School", The Israelite Press, Oct. 31, 1958. "it [the school] is secular without any excuses or compromises with ritual and religion".

the gamut from self-determination of nations--a good quality--to being the tools of British and American imperialism--a bad quality.

The creation of the State of Israel affected the outlook on Zionism. The religious schools remained Zionist and put greater emphasis on spoken and conversational Hebrew, the language of Israel and the future language of Jews everywhere. The Yiddish school's identification with Zionism is the acceptance of Israel as the national home for Jews. The leftist school does not deny the existence of Israel but identifies itself with the radical socialist movement there. Unfortunately, leftists are caught in the dilemma of Soviet policy in the Middle-East which is incongruous with Jewish aspirations there. It is difficult for leftists to reconcile both views and becuase of this they have been subject to condemnation by the Jewish community in Winnipeg. It cannot be denied, however, that generally, the existence of the State of Israel strikes a respondent note in leftist circles, however tenuous the strings of attachment; leftists have found that blood is thicker than water.

Each of the schools made its contribution to Jewish education in Winnipeg. The Talmud Torah was one of the first institutions of learning in the community. Some of its graduates became spiritual leaders in Jewish communities in Canada and the United States; others assumed positions in the Winnipeg Jewish community as teachers and communal leaders. Most important, the Talmud Torah offered free education to the children of the poor. This aspect of its work should not be overlooked --it was a Hebrew Free School; no child was turned away because of

inability to pay.

The Peretz School was the innovator of many reforms in Jewish education. The emphasis on Yiddish in this school prompted all Hebrew religious schools to include it in their curriculum. Through its stress on Yiddish it gave the community a cast which is so different that the Winnipeg Jewish community has been referred to as the "Yiddish Jerusalem of North America". It pioneered in kindergarten education; it was the first to institute a day school, a development copied by all other Jewish schools in Winnipeg, Canada, and the United States; its Mutter Farein was the model for women's organizations in other schools. The Peretz School gave impetus to other schools--the Arbeiter Ring School was its offspring.

The socialist schools served the needs of the radical groups. It is heartening to think that the Jewish community reached such maturity that it had room in its midst for these schools which added colour to the cultural and political spectrum of the community--a sign of a vigorous and active community.

The Congregational schools freed the synagogue from the inadequacy of the Sunday School. Its educational programme instilled a regard for Jewish education that at times was lacking in these congregations. Through the schools, the synagogue was restored as a Beth Hamidrash--a House of Study.

It should not be assumed that the Jewish educational system in Winnipeg reached perfection. There are shortcomings, weaknesses, and problems. The Nazi decimation of European Jewry aroused within world

Jewry the age-long sub-conscious will to survive. Jewish education is looked upon as the key to Jewish survival. If this is the object, then the stress on elementary education could be the greatest weakness in the Jewish school system. It has been tacitly accepted by children and some parents that bar-mitzvah, coinciding with the elementary leaving age, is the terminal point of Jewish education:[1] that is, it is assumed that at the age of thirteen the child has mastered all it needs to know of Jewish education. For those who equate numbers[2] with quality, the increasing school population is a sign of the unqualified success of Jewish schools; others have expressed caution and reservations:

> ...the American Survey of the American Association of Jewish Education describes Jewish education in the U. S. as a 'shallow river, a mile long and an inch deep'. A Canadian Survey would find Jewish education in Canada two miles long and two inches deep, but a shallow river just the same. We take justifiable pride in that a larger percentage of our child population is enrolled in our Jewish schools for longer periods of instruction, but let us not be overly boastful of the end-results...the river is still only two inches deep, and by the time our children have reached the stage of adolescence when the stream of Jewish education could be deepened they are no longer in our schools, having gone forth to attain the highest possible level of general education.[3]

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[1]Joseph Diamond, The Canadian-Jewish Community, 1984 (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1960), pp. 2-3. From an address delivered at the First National Educational Conference held in conjunction with the Twelfth Plenary Session of the Canadian Jewish Congress in Montreal, Oct. 28, 1959. Of the young Jewish adults in the United States, 62% are in colleges and universities, yet only 7.7% remain in the Jewish school past their bar-mitzvah age. Comparable figures would be true in Canada.

[2]For data on education in the Winnipeg Jewish Community in 1963, refer to Table XVI, p. 203.

[3]The enrolment in the elementary classes of the Jewish schools in Winnipeg in 1963, was approximately 85% of Jewish children of elementary school age. A Study of Jewish Education, p. 44.

This creates among the adults a wide gap between general and Jewish education. That is, children have been exposed to Jewish education on an infantile elementary level, but when more advanced studies could be undertaken, of a more lasting impact, most of the children have terminated their contact with the school. Many parents share this concern and have indicated their preference for grade XI rather than grade VII as the terminal grade for Jewish education.[1] However, there are no criteria for measuring the residuum of education. But it has been the maxim that the longer the period of education, the more profound the knowledge, the more intense the enrichment, the more positive and effective will be the identification with Judaism.

The shortage of teachers is a serious problem. The seminaries of Eastern Europe, the reservoir of Jewish teachers, were obliterated by the Naxi extermination of European Jewry. To some extent, the shortage is being overcome by Israeli teachers. From Jewish schools on this continent, only small numbers enter the Jewish teaching profession and the Canadian Jewish Congress has undertaken the task of recruiting suitable students. This advertisement was directed at prospective teachers:

> United Jewish Teachers Seminary, Montreal--two year day course leading to a teacher's diploma for all types of Jewish schools.
>
> A number of bursaries on a loan basis are available to students.
>
> Admission requirements include a general education equivalent to high school graduation and adequate background in Yiddish and Hebrew.[2]

Jewish education, like all education, requires properly trained teachers;

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[1]Refer to Fig. 4, p. 183, (E) of "Community Attitudes to Jewish Education".

[2]The Israelite Press, May 4, 1956.

they are the basis of education--the interaction of the mature mind of the teacher with the immature mind of the pupil.

Through the years cost of education has steadily increased. From a study of the financial data in the Tables[1] of all schools it is evident that tuition fees account for only a portion of their income; it is estimated that parents pay only 42% of the operating cost of the schools.[2] On this alone, Jewish schools could not exist. The Winnipeg Jewish community, from its earliest beginning, realized this and has, therefore, undertaken the obligation of supporting Jewish schools; the Jewish Welfare Fund has only systematized this support. The ever budget-conscious Welfare Fund fears that it has reached the limit of fund raising in the Jewish community.[3] It conducted a survey, outlined in A Study Of Jewish Education in Winnipeg, part of which probed the financial situation and proposed ameliorative measures. It seems that the Welfare Fund is favourably disposed towards mergers into Community Schools which would operate on the basis of shared facilities and services, giving, at certain levels, a more realistic teacher-pupil ratio.

Community Schools are not a new concept; the Welfare Fund has proposed this idea in the past. It suggested a merger of the Shaarey Zedek Religious School with the Herzlia Academy in 1954[4] when the latter

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[1]Refer to Tables VII, IX, XII, XIV, XV in Appendix B.

[2]A Study Of Jewish Education In Winnipeg. p. 54.

[3]For increases in the Welfare Fund budget, refer to Table V, p.187.

[4]See pages 89, 90.

was contemplating a building of its own; it advocated a merger of the Talmud Torah and the Peretz Folk School when both institutions were raising funds for their buildings in 1949.[1] Both suggestions failed. It was, however, successful in bringing about a union of the Shaarey Zedek Religious School and the Herzlia into the Ramah School in 1963.[2] The Welfare Fund is aware that each institution is jealously protecting its own philosophy of Jewish education and it is, therefore, contemplating allowances for "the diverse ideological groupings".[3] It also realizes the difficulties in implementing into Community Schools even the most favourable and least controversial Jewish subjects. The Welfare Fund, justifiably, points out that in the core subjects there has been a convergence in the programme of Jewish studies of all schools. Some have remarked that the prime difference between the Talmud Torah and the Peretz School is the yarmelke--the skull-cap--the students wear in the Talmud Torah classrooms. This is an oversimplification, but it is, nevertheless, an indication of the closeness of the respective curricula. But it cannot be overlooked that over the years each has established its own tradition. In the day school, the English subjects, which follow the uniform public school syllabus, could be more easily merged into a Community School.

A part of the survey of the Welfare Fund was based on a

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[1] See pages 119, 120.

[2] See page 92.

[3] A Study Of Jewish Education In Winnipeg, p. 49

questionnaire[1] to obtain opinion on various phases of Jewish education in Winnipeg. It is not the object of this treatise to delve into the validity of the questions or whether the replies are a true or representative expression of Jewish opinion in Winnipeg. Regardless of the questionnaire, which is only exploratory, the final decisions on Jewish educational policies rest with the Jewish community. The Welfare Fund, as its servant, will be obligated to implement the will of the community.

What could perhaps help Jewish schools is government support for parochial schools as recommended by the Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education of 1959. The Jewish community, almost evenly aplit on this issue, took no stand on aid to parochial schools and did not present a brief to the Commission.[2] This is perhaps an indication, that the Jewish community felt, as in the past, that the burden of Jewish education should be borne by the Jewish community.

This thesis, a modest contribution to the history of the Jewish community and its educational institutions, left many areas untouched. These can serve as fields for future investigation and research. Needful scrutiny is required into the effectiveness of the day school in Jewish education. Another phase of study is the extent of the residuum

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[1]Refer to Fig. 4, p.183.

[2]Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education 1959, Winnipeg, [n.d.] pp. 277-284. In the list of briefs presented at public hearings of the Commission, no brief by the Winnipeg Jewish community or by any of its educational institutions is listed.

of Jewishness in graduates of the elementary school as compared with those of post-elementary. Perhaps a follow-up on graduates of Jewish day and evening schools as to their integration within the general community would constitute a worthwhile project. A most intriguing undertaking would be an analysis of the effect that religious education of children has on their homes. Another study could be an examination of Jewish education in relation to socio-economic conditions. A statistical work--the correlation between the ideologies of the schools and the political affiliations of their graduates--would be most revealing.

There are difficulties in some of the investigations suggested. Certain criteria are not available to measure many aspects of the suggested topics. Because of this, the pursuit of these would be more challenging.

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A P P E N D I X A.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

FIGURE 1

JEWISH INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS
IN WINNIPEG IN 1905[1]

Synagogues

Shaarey Zedek
Rosh Pina
Shaarey Shomayim
Beth Jacob

Charitable Organizations

Hebrew Benevolent Society
Shaarey Zedek Ladies' Aid Society
Rosh Pina Ladies' Aid Society
Dr. Gaster Rumanian Benevolent Society

Social, Athletic, Cultural, and Political Organizations

Winnipeg Zionist Society
Winnipeg Hebrew Literary Society
Young Men's Hebrew Association
Jewish Conservative Club
Jewish Liberal Club
Young Zionist Athletic Club
Jewish Operatic Company

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[1]Compiled from text of this thesis. Some of the information from The Jewish Encyclopedia (London: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1905) Vol. XII, p. 535.

FIGURE 2

SYNAGOGUES ESTABLISHED IN WINNIPEG SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Beth El Anshey Sephard Anshey Russia Dairy Synagogue "Stable Synagogue" B'nai Israel	1883
Beth El	1884
Beth El of Israel	1887
Shaarey Zedek	1890
B'nai Israel	1890
Rosh Pina	1893
Holy Blossom	1904
Beth Jacob	1904
B'nai Abraham	1906
B'nai Zion	1906
Shaarey Shomayim	1907
Adas Yeshurun	1907
Kildonan Synagogue	1912
Shaarey Zedek	1913
Tifferes Israel--Powers Street	1913
Tifferes Israel--Manitoba Avenue	1913
Chevra Mishnayos	1913
Synagogue on Newton Avenue	1915
Ateres Israel	1919
Lubavitcher	1922
Fort Rouge Hebrew Congregation	1922
Ashkenazi Synagogue	1930
Beth Juda	1932
Shaarey Zedek--Wellington Crescent	1950
Rosh Pina--Matheson Avenue	1951
Adas Yeshurun--River Heights	1955
B'nai Abraham--West Kildonan	1958
Chevra Mishnayos--West Kildonan	1963[a]

[a]The corner stone was laid in May 1963. It will be built on Jefferson Avenue, Garden City section of West Kildonan.

FIGURE 3

LIST OF WINNIPEG JEWS ELECTED TO PUBLIC OFFICE[a]

School Trustees

Abramson, Moses	1914-1915
Steinkopf, Max	1916-1917
Alcin, Mrs. Rose	1920-1921
Hyman, Marcus	1924-1929
Gray, Morris A.	1927-1930
Hart-Green, Mrs. A.	1931-1932
Averbach, Meyer	1933-1936 : 1938-1949
Ross, William G.	1937-1940
Zuken, Joseph	1942-1961
Sheps, Mrs. Mindel	1943-1944
Orlikow, David	1945-1950
Cherniack, Saul	1951-1954
Matas, Roy	1958-1961
Wolch, Isidor	1958-1962

Aldermen

Finkelstein, Moses	1905-1907
Skaletar, Alter	1912-1917
Heaps, Abraham, A.	1917-1926
Blumberg, John	1920-1956
Gray, Morris A.	1930-1942
Brotman, Ernest, A.	1943-1950
Orlikow, David	1951-1958
Cherniack, Saul	1959-1960
Danzker, Mark	1960-
Zuken, Joseph	1962-
Wolch, Isidor	1963-

Councillors of Metropolitan Winnipeg

Blumberg, John	1960-1961
Cherniack, Saul	1960-1962
Green, Sidney	1962-

FIGURE 3 (continued)

Members of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba

Hart-Green, S.	1910-1914
Tobias, William V.	1927-1932
Hyman, Marcus	1932-1939
Gray, Morris A.	1941-
Orlikow, David	1958-1962
Cherniack, Saul	1962-
Steinkopf, Maitland	1962-

Members of the Federal Parliament

Heaps, Abraham A.	1926-1940
Orlikow, David	1962-

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[a]This list does not include the names of Jews who have been elected to office in municipalities, suburbs, or cities near Winnipeg.

FIGURE 4

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TO JEWISH EDUCATION[a]

	Number of Interviewees[b]
A. REASONS FOR SELECTION OF SCHOOL	
a. Favour courses of studies offered there.	266
b. The school is operated by the synagogue.	115
c. The teachers are very well qualified.	95
d. The school is conveniently located.	57
e. The hours of attendance are convenient.	16
B. TYPE OF SCHOOL PREFERRED	
a. Day school	268
b. Three-day evening school	129
c. Five-day evening school	45
C. PREFERENCE FOR DAY SCHOOLS	
a. Attendance is during normal public school hours.	200
b. The child receives much more intensive Jewish education	193
D. PREFERENCE FOR EVENING SCHOOLS	
a. The child has opportunity to associate with non-Jewish children while attending public school.	109
b. Jews should participate in and support the public school	77
c. Evening-school Jewish education is sufficient	28
E. TERMINAL GRADE FOR JEWISH EDUCATION	
a. Grade XI	217
b. Grade VII	186
F. IS THE COST OF DAY SCHOOL EDUCATION JUSTIFIED	
a. Yes	317
b. No	69

[a]Compiled from results of survey conducted by the Jewish Welfare Fund of Winnipeg, A Study of Jewish Education, Appendis B_1-B_{10}.

[b]Parents whose children attend Jewish schools.

A P P E N D I X B.

STATISTICAL DATA

TABLE III

THE JEWISH POPULATION IN THE LARGER CENTRES IN CANADA[a]
1861-1951

City	1861	1881	1901	1921	1941	1951[b]
Halifax		16	102	585	756	956
Glace Bay			140	441	395	328
Sidney			22	398	445	407
Saint John		46	292	848	569	521
Quebec	110	47	302	375	376	340
Montreal (Metro.)	403	811	8,074	50,751	63,566	77,949
Hamilton	47	177	484	2,560	2,597	3,158
Kitchener	2		10	298	425	391
London	3	144	206	703	731	871
St. Catherine		24	30	225	380	512
Ottawa	4	20	398	2,799	3,809	4,484
Toronto	153	534	3,090	34,619	49,046	44,950
Windsor		4	138	1,114	2,226	2,330
Winnipeg[c]		21	1,175	14,837	17,453	18,518
Regina				860	944	740
Saskatoon				599	703	687
Calgary			1	1,247	1,794	2,094
Edmonton			16	821	1,449	1,748
Vancouver			205	1,370	2,812	5,015

[a]Louis Rosenberg, The Jewish Population of Canada (Canadian Jewish Population Studies, No. 2. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1947), Table 4, pp. 17-18.

[b]Rosenberg, Language & Mother Tongue, Table 14, p. 28.

[c]From Table IV, p. 186.

TABLE IV

NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION
OF GREATER WINNIPEG: 1881-1961[a]

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951[b]	1961[b]
Winnipeg North		506	1,023			15,283	14,718	12,758	6,693
Winnipeg Central		135	133			828	825	547	395
Winnipeg South		4	-			1,125	1,484	2,654	5,484
City of Winnipeg	21	645	1,156	9,023	14,449	17,236	17,027	15,959	12,582
West Kildonan			(19	(300	(165	114	100	2,141	6,133
Old Kildonan			(	(	(	50	21	10	16
East Kildonan			(	(	25)	29	57	147	184
North Kildonan			(	(	)	12	14	5	9
St. James				10	52	35	22	24	131
St. Boniface				53	95	65	94	93	88
St. Vital				22	1	31	27	64	55
Transcona					46	48	46	37	36
Fort Garry					4	9	14	22	45
Assiniboia						6	4	1	13
Charleswood						6	9	6	4
St. Paul East							5	1	4
St. Paul West								3	1
Tuxedo						8	1	1	65
Greater Winnipeg	21	645	1,175	9,408	14,837	17,672	17,453	18,518	19,376

[a]Rosenberg, The Jewish Community Of Winnipeg, pp. 10, 11, 14.

[b]Louis Rosenberg, A Study of the Growth and Changes in the Distribution of the Jewish Population of Winnipeg, 1961 (Canadian Jewish Population Studies, Canadian Jewish Community series, Vol. 2, No. 1, Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, [n.d.]), p. 7.

TABLE V

THE WINNIPEG JEWISH WELFARE FUND BUDGET AND GRANTS TO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: 1938-1963

Year	Budget	Grants[c]
1938[a]	50,000	.....
1939	100,000	.....
1940	112,000	.....
1941	98,000	.....
1942	101,450	17,600
1943	121,000	20,600
1944	150,000	.....
1945	249,134	.....
1946	280,000	50,400
1947	328,219	49,928
1948	403,106	77,050
1949	408,346	75,222[d]
1950[b]	541,000	61,629[d]
1951	529,000	64,550
1952	511,000	75,954
1953	509.000	98,331[f]
1954	469,000	92,900
1955	463,000	96,000[d]
1956	535,000	95,946[d]
1957	555,000	105,854[d]
1958	515,000	104,356[d]
1959	648,000	107,577[d]
1960	644,000	119,208[d]
1961	644,000	143,271[d]
1962	688,000	162,900[e]
1963	709,000	209,471[f]

[a]Budget figures for 1938-1949 taken from notices in The Israelite Press.

[b]Budget figures for 1950-1963 supplied by the Jewish Welfare Fund.

[c]Figures for grants taken from notices in The Israelite Press, except those indicated by superscripts.

[d]Compiled from data in Tables VII, IX and XII

[e]A Study of Jewish Education, Appendix J.

[f]Ibid., Appendix T_1.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT OF THE TALMUD TORAH: 1914-1963

Year	Total	Kinder-garten	Day-School	Evening School
1914-15[a]	639			
1915-16	657			
1916-17	645			
1917-18	787			
1918-19	634			
1919-20	683			
1920-21	897			
1921-22	678			
1922-23	627			
1923-24[b]	833			
1924-25[c]	800			
.....				
1930-31[d]	550			
.....				
1932-33[e]	633			
.....				
1937-38[f]	500			
.....				
1947-48[g]	380			
1948-49[h]	343			
1949-50	362			
1950-51	351	88[i]	23[i]	240[i]
1951-52[j]	365	50	117	198
1952-53	461	70	209	182
1953-54	503	77	255	171
1954-55	562	85	296	181
1955-56	548	114	261	173
1956-57	522	45	330	147
1957-58	551	110	319	122
1958-59	563	108	347	108
1959-60	577	108	365	104
1960-61	603	125	406	72
1961-62	616	127	438	51
1962-63[k]	600	110	433	56

[a]From 1914 to 1923, "From the Talmud Torah Archives," The Israelite Press, Sept. 1, 1959.

TABLE VI (continued)

[b]From minutes of meeting of Board of Education, May 2, 1924.

[c]Talmud Torah Golden Jubilee Journal, 1907-1957, [n.d.], p. 34

[d]The Israelite Press, Apr. 5, 1931.

[e]Ibid., March 16, 1934.

[f]Ibid., Apr. 9, 1938.

[g]Ibid., May 7, 1948

[h]Average attendance for 1949 to 1951 as shown on financial statements of the Talmud Torah.

[i]Op. cit., Oct. 13, 1961. Figures calculated from percentages quoted.

[j]A Study of Jewish Education, Appendix Q_2, for 1952-1962.

[k]Ibid., Appendis K.

TABLE VII

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THE TALMUD TORAH: 1911-1961

Year	INCOME					Expenditures	Deficit
	Total	Tuition	Per Cent	Welfare Fund	Per Cent		
1911-13[a]	37,047	309	8			42,698	5,651
.....							
1914-15[b]	11,756	3,978	34			.....	
1915-16[c]	12,368	4,200	34			12,585	217
.....							
1921-22[d]	28,010	17,441	62			29,434	1,424
1922-23[e]	19,669	.....				23,927	4,258
.....							
1939-40[f]	17,247	3,505	20	7,511	44	17,298	51
1940-41	20,097	4,283	21	8,594	43	20,550	453
1941-42	24,365	5,767	24	9,192	38	25,608	1,243
1942-43	27,417	8,518	31	9,467	35	29,702	2,285
1943-44	31,046	10,002	32	10,592	34	30,742	304[g]
1944-45	35,992	11,430	32	14,027	39	36,970	978
1945-46	39,206	15,106	39	13,422	34	44,436	5,230
1946-47	41,562	12,394	30	18,302	44	47,801	6,239
1947-48	49,083	14,102	29	24,016	49	52,657	3,574
1948-49	53,650	16,213	30	26,840	50	56,050	2,400
1949-50	54,255	15,398	28	27,462	51	55,806	1,551
1950-51	61,471	17,956	29	33,165	54	61,117	354[g]
1951-52	63,451	20,631	33	36,046	57	66,057	2,606
1952-53	73,011	30,446	42	39,970	55	79,753	6,742
1953-54	73,010	28,851	40	41,507	57	80,829	7,819
1954-55	79,156	30,510	39	45,335	57	88,536	9,380
1955-56	89,008	36,622	41	48,755	55	97,390	8,382
1956-57	101,826	44,906	44	53,715	53	100,818	1,080[g]
1957-58	104,448	50,349	48	52,334	50	105,687	1,239
1958-59	112,838	54.412	48	56,988	51	115,771	2,933
1959-60	123,046	62,776	51	56.970	46	130,111	7,065
1960-61	136,281	65,657	48	67,324	49	141,965	5,684

[a]First Annual Report for April 24, 1911 to March 5, 1913. Of the total income, $32,857 were donations.

[b]Talmud Torah Report, The Israelite Press, March 29, 1915.

[c]Talmud Torah Report, The Israelite Press, Apr. 14, 1916.

TABLE VII (continued)

[d]The Israelite Press, Feb. 17, 1922.

[e]Ibid., Apr. 13, 1923.

[f]From 1939 to 1961, data compiled from financial statements of the Talmud Torah.

[g]Surplus.

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT OF THE PERETZ FOLK SCHOOL: 1914-1963

Year	Total	Kinder-garten	Day School	Evening School
1914[a]	17			17
1915	90			90
1916	185			185
1916-17[c]	200			200
.....				
1919-20	...	11		...
1920-21	...	8		...
.....				
1923-24	279	38	25	216
1924-25	427	39	33	355
1925-26	443	50	47	346
1926-27	430	54	46	330
1927-28	452	68	57	327
1928-29	511	69	77	365
1929-30	567	68	105	394
1930-31	527	66	84	377
1931-32	509	73	99	337
1932-33	492	76	103	313
1933-34	492	82	110	300
1934-35[b]	454	60	109	285
1935-36	452	62	100	290
1936-37	401	67	82	252
1937-38	410	53	85	272
1938-39	430	63	72	295
1939-40	407	50	89	268
1940-41	440	72	96	272
1941-42	464	96	99	269
1942-43	445	103	117	225
1943-44	453	87	139	227
.....				
1947-48[d]	556	129	184	233
1948-49[e]	514	112	185	217
1949-50[f]	498	...	...	...
1950-51[f]	569	...	...	...
1951-52[g]	624	120	274	230
1952-53	644	100	315	229
1953-54	579	128	285	166
1954-55	599	142	290	167

TABLE VIII (continued)

Year	Total	Kinder-garten	Day School	Evening School
1955-56	605	150	286	169
1956-57	546	96	297	153
1957-58	560	103	302	155
1958-59	596	95	308	193
1959-60	568	96	294	178
1960-61	543	96	293	154
1961-62	477	88	268	121
1962-63[f]	410	52	258	100

[a]Twenty Years I. L. Peretz School (Winnipeg: The Israelite Press, 1934), p. 4. For 1914 to 1934.

[b]Thirty Years I. L. Peretz School (Winnipeg: The Israelite Press, 1944), pp. 55,56, 59, 74. For 1935 to 1944.

[c]I. Hestrin, "Three Years I. L. Peretz School," The Israelite Press, June 15, 1917.

[d]The Israelite Press, May 7, 1948.

[e]Ibid., May 17, 1949.

[f]From financial statements of the I. L. Peretz Folk School.

[g]A Study of Jewish Education, Appendix R_2, for 1952 to 1962.

TABLE IX

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THE PERETZ FOLK SCHOOL: 1914-1963

Year	INCOME					Expenditures	Deficit
	Total	Tuition	Per Cent	Welfare Fund	Per Cent		
1914-15[a]	1,471	507	34			1,691	220
1915-16[a]	1,598	612	38			1,931	333
.....							
1917-18[b]	4,744	...				2,052	2,692[c]
.....							
1924-25[d]	9,291	6,444	69			8,639	652[c]
1925-26	11,600	7,350	63			10,800	800[c]
.....							
1927-28	11,503	9,357	81			13,704	2,201
1928-29	14,351	10,379	72			17,173	2,822
1929-30	13,858	11,765	85			16,751	2,893
1930-31	16,445	10,630	65			17,736	1,291
1931-32	20,273	10,610	52			18,437	1,836[c]
1932-33	11,603	8,006	69			12,052	449
1933-34	11,322	7,151	63			12,517	1,195
.....							
1939-40[e]	13,510	7,098	53	5,257	39	14,227	717
1940-41	14,391	7,691	53	5,551	39	15,241	850
1941-42	16,217	8,800	54	6,350	39	17,048	831
.....							
1946-47	47,577	20,004	42	23,852	50	44,955	2,622[c]
1947-48	56,064	26,424	47	25,362	45	57,516	1,452
1948-49	58,330	24,938	43	27,958	48	59,850	1,520
1949-50	59,102	25,079	42	28,883	49	60,443	1,341
1950-51	68,629	30,707	45	32,361	47	69,715	1,086
1951-52	82,776	32,615	39	43,162	52	84,509	1,733
1952-53	88,483	29,248	33	51,654	58	89,129	646
1953-54	86,385	28,579	33	49,927	58	88,566	2,181
1954-55	87,852	29,919	34	50,107	57	87,815	37[c]
1955-56	86,935	32,797	38	47,191	54	87,738	803
1956-57	95,835	34,450	36	52,139	54	94,972	863[c]
1957-58	98,871	37,505	38	52,018	53	98,873	2
1958-59	106,142	44,330	42	50,589	48	104,374	1,768[c]
1959-60	109,650	47,973	44	51,751	47	115,091	5,441
1960-61	119,418	48,849	41	62,365	52	124,648	5,230
1961-62	126,650	44,373	35	71,795	57	129,859	3,209
1962-63	125,148	43,349	35	75,699	60	124,986	162[c]

TABLE IX (continued)

[a]The Israelite Press, June 16, 1916.

[b]Ibid., Oct. 4, 1918.

[c]Surplus

[d]Twenty Years I. L. Peretz School, p. 10. For 1924 to 1934

[e]From 1940 to 1963, data compiled from financial statements of the Peretz School.

TABLE X

SHOLEM ALEICHEM SCHOOL: ENROLMENT AND JEWISH WELFARE FUND GRANTS 1924-1954

Year	Enrolment	Welfare Fund Grants[1]
1921	18	
1922	140	
1922-23[a]	185	
.....		
1924-25[b]	250	
.....		
1927-28[c]	260	
.....		
1932-33[d]	185	
.....		
1935-36[e]	160	
.....		
1937-38[f]	175	
.....		
1940-41[g]	100	
1941-42[h]	114	
1942-43	...	1,100
1943-44	...	2,000
1944-45[i]	123	3,750
1945-46	...	5,050
1946-47	...	4,965
1947-48[j]	91	4,000[m]
1948-49[k]	94	4,851
1949-50	...	5,284
1950-51	...	5,108
1951-52	...	5,644[n]
1952-53	...	6,609
1953-54	...	4,228

[a] The Israelite Press, March 2, 1923

[b] Sholem Aleichem School Twenty-Five Years, p. 18.

[c] Op. cit., Oct. 9, 1927

[d] Ibid., March 2, 1933.

TABLE X (continued)

[e]The Israelite Press, Nov. 12, 1935.

[f]Ibid., June 7, 1938.

[g]Ibid., Sept. 13, 1940.

[h]Ibid., May 5, 1942.

[i]Ibid., June 22, 1945.

[j]Ibid., May 7, 1948.

[k]Ibid., May 17, 1949.

[l]Figures for Welfare Fund grants were furnished by the Jewish Welfare Fund of Winnipeg.

[m]Op. cit., March 25, 1948.

[n]Ibid., March 14, 1952.

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT AT THE HERZLIA ACADEMY: 1959-1963[a]

Year	Total	Kinder-garten	Day School	Evening School
1959-60	173	30	50	93
1960-61	181	28	74	81
1961-62	188	41	76	71
1962-63	188	43	82	63

[a]A Study of Jewish Education, Appendix S.

TABLE XII

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THE HERZLIA ACADEMY: 1959-1963[a]

Year	INCOME					Expenditures	Deficit
	Total	Tuition	Per Cent	Welfare Fund	Per Cent		
1959-60	30,970	19,883	64	10,487	34	44,378	13,408
1960-61	37,457	23,245	62	13,582	36	51,722	14,265
1961-62	53,627	24,579	46	18,448	34	54,261	634
1962-63	46,431	25,347	55	20,484	44	59,260	12,829

[a]Compiled from financial statements of the Herzlia Academy.

TABLE XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT AT THE
JOSEPH WOLINSKY COLLEGIATE
1959-1964[a]

	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
Grade VII	40	35	36	41	49
Grade VIII	24	34	31	28	26
Grade IX	12	24	23	21	27
Grade X	6	8	10	18	13
Grade XI	-	6	6	6	13
Total	82	107	106	114	128

[a]Supplied by Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate, All figures are based on the enrolment in English classes.

TABLE XIV

ENROLMENT, INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THE SHAAREY ZEDEK RELIGIOUS SCHOOL: 1949-1959[a]

Year	TOTAL ENROLMENT	INCOME AND EXPENDITURES		
		Tuition	Expenditures	Deficit
1949-50	125	15,712	16,561	849
1950-51	250	18,657	20,514	1,857
1951-52	340	25,026	26,519	1,493
1952-53	400	26,519	31,349	4,830
1953-54	440	30,063	35,252	5,189
1954-55	485	32,457	39,062	6,605
1955-56	520	33,065	46,752	13,687
1956-57	587	36,521	53,840	17,319
1957-58	597	39,440	61,237	21,797
1958-59	675	43,522	64,015	20,493

[a] A Study of Jewish Education in Winnipeg, Appendix M.

[b] Figures for distribution of enrolment and data since 1959 were not made available by the school.

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT: INCOME AND EXPENDITURES: ROSH PINA HEBREW SCHOOL: 1954-1959[a]

Year	ENROLMENT			INCOME AND EXPENDITURES		
	Total	Kinder-garten	Evening School	Tuition	Expendi-tures	Deficit
1954-55	...	..	...	17,886	22,094	4,208
1955-56	231	28	203	16,700	22,624	5,924
1956-57	245	37	208	19,213	22,327	3,114
1957-58	248	35	213	18,230	21,809	3,579
1958-59	224	22	202	17,900	20,541	2,641

[a] A Study of Jewish Education in Winnipeg, Appendix P.

Data from 1952 to 1955 and from 1959 to 1964 were not made available by the school.

TABLE XVI

DATA ON EDUCATION IN THE WINNIPEG JEWISH COMMUNITY IN 1963[a]

School	ENROLMENT			NUMBER OF TEACHERS			
	Total	DAY SCHOOL		ENGLISH		JEWISH	
		Number	Per Cent	Full Time	Part Time	Full Time	Part Time
Talmud Torah	600	430	71	6	10	10	6
Pereta School	400	260	65	3	7	8	5
Rosh Pina	225	20	10	1		4	
Shaarey Zedek	800	125	15	3[b]	8	13	17
Herzlia	200	82	41				
Total	2,225	917	41	13	25	35	28

[a]Compiled from A Study Of Jewish Education In Winnipeg, p. 45

[b]For the Ramah School--Sharey Zedek and Herzlia combined.