

The Geography of Interwar Jewish Montreal: A Demographic and Cartographic Survey

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December 2017, revised in January 2018
Guided Research Paper
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Acknowledgements

This Guided Research Paper took many months of research and writing. I would first like to thank my advisor at Concordia University's Department of Religions and Cultures, Prof. Norman Ravvin. He guided me through the writing of the paper, from the proposal to double-checking the paper in its finished form. It is appropriate here, as well, to thank the Department of Religions and Cultures as a whole, including especially Tina Montandon, for making sure that the paper was done within a reasonable amount of time. I would also like to thank Prof. Pierre Anctil of the University of Ottawa, who not only gave me valuable guidance in this paper but was the one who inspired me to enter the Department of Religions and Cultures' Masters program in the first place. Last but not least, I would like to thank my father, Ira Robinson for providing me with much guidance in the paper and for looking it over before it was finished.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This Guided Research Paper examines several geospatial aspects of Jewish Montreal between the two World Wars (roughly the 1920s and 1930s) as well as into the 1940s. More specifically, it examines the distribution of the Montreal Jewish population and of Jewish institutions and certain businesses in Montreal at that time, using Google Maps or similar mapping software in order to present them cartographically.

Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, Jews moved ever further up along “the Main” (i.e. St. Laurent Blvd.) as well as its parallel streets (such as Park Ave.), with some - of better means - moving west into Outremont. At the same time, there was a smaller community of Jews in Montreal, generally wealthier and more assimilated, that lived in Westmount and some adjacent parts of Notre Dame de Grace. Jewish institutional and cultural activity moved uptown at the same time that the Jewish population did.

Questions explored and analyzed in the paper, through the words but also through the maps, include: What was the distribution of the Montreal Jewish population at the time? Where did well-known Montreal Jewish residents live in that era? Where were Montreal Jewish institutions and cultural activities located at the time? Where were Jewish-owned businesses located? Are all of these spatially correlated; if so, how? How does the distribution of the Jewish population, institutions, and businesses change over the course of the interwar period? How well do my sampling results of all these Jewish characteristics correlate with the Census data? In what way can all these facets of Jewish Montreal in the interwar period be mapped?

To answer the above questions, I took advantage of several primary and secondary sources. Since 2013, I have been working on the Montreal Yiddish daily newspaper of that time, the *Keneder Adler*, as part of a team of graduate students within the “Penser l’histoire de la vie culturelle” academic initiative that is focused on the cultural and literary context of Quebec life in

the late 19th and early 20th centuries. I used the information gleaned from the newspaper, particularly the addresses of the Jewish cultural and social events that appear in it, to geospatially track such activity taking place in the mid-1930s. I mapped much of that information prior to starting the actual Guided Research Paper. With respect to the mapping, I was inspired by the website of the Museum of Jewish Montreal, one of whose activities is to create interactive maps of Jewish institutions, landmarks, and people in Montreal, especially from the earlier 20th century, for Internet and mobile devices. Those maps show sites of interest, including old photographs along with a description of the site. This served as a model for my using the mapping software from Google Maps for this paper, though the maps in this paper are static rather than interactive. The most important and helpful tool, however, was the Lovell's directory of Montreal addresses from that era, whether in the area of residences, institutions, or selected businesses.

In the first part of this paper, I briefly describe trends in Jewish demography and distribution in Montreal throughout the interwar period, along with institutions that were integral to Jewish cultural and social life in that era, as well as the *Keneder Adler* and other Yiddish newspapers active in Montreal at that time. In the next part, I discuss what exists already in the literature about Jewish Montreal at that time and what is missing, including understudied neighbourhoods. In the literature review, as well, I contrast authors like Louis Rosenberg who present robust data with other works by authors like Joe King and Israel Medres that present an essentially impressionistic picture of Jewish Montreal. Following the literature review and the methodology, I examine the Jewish population distribution demographically and cartographically throughout the interwar period, search the locations of the Jewish institutions - plus some businesses - at that time, and put them in maps and correlate all these factors. In that same section, I go over the results of the sampling on a year-by-year and quantitative basis. In the section after that, I analyze - on an area-by-area and more or less qualitative basis - how the distributions of the population,

institutions, and businesses change over the course of the interwar period and what the significance of these changes is. Later in that same section, I analyze the compatibility of the sampling results with the Census figures and the correlation of ordinary residential samples with famous residential, institutional, and commercial samples.

Chapter 2: Overview

Montreal Jewish Population and Distribution, 1900-1945

In order to provide context for the mapping analysis of the Jewish population and institutions in interwar Montreal, it is useful to provide some background on Montreal Jewish population figures and where these Jews lived in Montreal from the onset of Eastern European Jewish immigration around 1900 to the time of World War II in the 1940s. In 1891, there were barely 2,500 Jews in Greater Montreal, many of them well-to-do and of British descent, and even that was an increase from less than 1000 Jews in 1881. In the 1890s, Yiddish-speaking Jewish immigrants poured into Montreal among other destinations in North America and beyond; many of them came from the Russian Empire (including Lithuania and Congress Poland), and some were from Galicia and Romania. That immigration helped swell the Jewish population of Greater Montreal to almost 7000 in 1901, to 28,000 in 1911 (a fourfold increase over 1901), to 45,000 or so in 1921, to 58,000 in 1931 (cf. Baker 1990, p. 41; Rosenberg 1939, p. 31), and to over 60,000 in 1941 (Rosenberg 1958, p. 3). The percentage of Jews in the total population of Greater Montreal rose from 1-2% at the turn of the 20th century to over 5% from 1911 to 1931. During that period, the Jews were the largest ethnic group in Montreal after the French-Canadians and the British; correspondingly, Yiddish became the language with the most speakers in Montreal after French and English (Margolis 2011, pp. 22-23).

When the mass migration of Eastern European Jews started, the Jewish quarter of first settlement was located around the corner of Dorchester¹ and Saint Urbain Streets and stretched along either side of St. Laurent Boulevard.² That Jewish quarter also extended “uptown” from Dorchester Street to Ontario Street as well as Duluth Street, well on the other side of Sherbrooke

¹ Now René-Levesque Boulevard; in those days, it was a two-lane residential street.

² That area is located just outside of Old Montreal and includes what are now Chinatown and the Palais des Congrès convention centre.

Street. Wealthier Jews lived on Prince Arthur Street, Ontario Street, and nearby streets, while the most affluent lived along Sherbrooke near University Street and McGill College Avenue (Medres 2000, p. 21-22).

By 1911 and especially by 1921, the area of first settlement shifted somewhat north from where it had been before to the other side of Sherbrooke, up until Mount Royal Avenue (on either side of St. Laurent Blvd.). By 1921, the nucleus of Jewish settlement shifted to either St. Louis Square or the corner of St. Lawrence Blvd. and Duluth Street; by 1931, it shifted yet again, to Mount Royal and Esplanade Avenues, and by 1941, it was along Waverley and Esplanade Avenues, parallel streets even further north (Rome 1978, pp. 14-15; Langlais and Rome 1991, p. 30). As well, an area of second settlement started developing after 1911. That extended from Mount Royal Avenue north roughly to Van Horne Avenue, more to the west of St. Laurent Blvd. than to the east, with the western boundary being the City of Outremont (i.e. Hutchison Street) and the eastern boundary being roughly St. Denis Street (Seidel 1939, pp. 25-26 and 29). This was a large part of the Jewish neighbourhood which came to epitomize the experience of pre-WWII Jewish Montreal and which spawned famous figures such as A.M. Klein and Mordecai Richler. Pierre Anctil (1997, pp. 67-71) considers the interwar Jewish quarter to be somewhat like a *shtetl*, in the image of the small-town communities found in Eastern Europe but also quite distinct in many respects. In two of the wards (municipal districts of the City of Montreal), one in the area of first settlement and the other in the area of second settlement, Jews comprised half or slightly more of the population in 1931 (Seidel 1939, Table XIII A in the Appendix; Rosenberg 1939, p. 33). The main areas of first and second settlement were the domain of the “downtown” Jews, who were mainly working-class and democratic in orientation (cf. Oiwa 1988, pp. 38-45). A few made their way east to the area around Papineau Street (Anctil 1997, p. 69) and to the north and northeast in general (Seidel 1939, pp. 25 and 29).

Outremont, immediately to the west, became an area of third settlement; its Jewish population rapidly increased, from 41 in 1911 to 1,195 in 1921 and to 6,783 (almost 25% of Outremont's population) in 1931. There were indications that some Jews were already moving west of Outremont by 1931, so that the area of third settlement expanded westwards.³ The City of Westmount, to the west of central Montreal, was an area of fourth settlement. Notre Dame de Grace ward, to the west of Westmount, was variously an area of third or fourth settlement, though it was closely associated with Westmount. Westmount, together with the "Golden Mile" between Westmount and McGill University, was where the wealthy Jews established themselves in the late 1800s and early 1900s. It was in Westmount to which the Temple Emanu-El and Congregation Shaar Hashomayim, both serving these Jews, moved (Seidel 1939, pp. 26-27 and 125-128). While the main area of third settlement was a grey area between "downtown" and "uptown" Jews, the main area of fourth settlement was clearly an area of "uptown" Jews. The latter were either old-stock Anglo Jews tracing back their lineage in Montreal to the mid-19th century or assimilated descendants of Eastern European Jews, many of whom became the owners of the clothing factories where the immigrant Jews toiled. In addition to having their own synagogues, they had their own newspaper and social clubs (Lerner 2002, p. 32, after Seidel 1939). Some Jews also lived in satellite towns further west on Montreal Island such as Verdun and Lachine (Seidel 1939, p. 49, footnote 3; Rosenberg 1939, pp. 31 and 33).

Jewish Institutions and Cultural Activities in Montreal, 1900-1945

Before and especially during the interwar period, the main Jewish district of Montreal was home to many Jewish institutions and cultural activities, all of which served to preserve and perpetuate Jewish (including Yiddish-speaking) culture. These institutions and activities included

³ This foreshadowed the mass movement of Jews westward beyond Outremont that was accelerated after World War II. See, for example, Rosenberg 1958 and 1966. This will be discussed later in the paper.

social and mutual aid organizations, political activist groups, libraries, synagogues, schools, literary associations, theatres, and newspapers; the last will be discussed separately in the next section. This institutional completeness was facilitated by the cultural, linguistic, and religious isolation of Montreal Jews from the main British and French ethno-linguistic groups in the city (Margolis 2011, pp. xiii and xv-xvi), in a condition known as the “third solitude” (e.g. Tulchinsky 1984, p. 96). As a matter of fact, the Yiddish-speaking Jews were the only speakers of a non-official language in Montreal to create a literature, with a distinct public and a well-developed institutional autonomy (Anctil 1997, p. 33).

Yiddish cultural and other institutions were formed in the years prior to World War I when Eastern European Jewish immigration to Montreal was at its peak. Montreal’s first Jewish bookstore opened its doors in 1903, soon to be followed by small, ideologically-based lending libraries - specializing in Yiddish materials - many of which ultimately merged in 1914 to form the non-partisan Jewish Public Library; an adult education division was added to the Jewish Public Library two years later. An amateur dramatic society operating in Yiddish was founded in 1914 to complement a commercial theatre already in existence (Margolis 2011, pp. 25-26). Also by 1914, two leftist, Zionist supplementary schools were established: Peretz School (also known as the National Radical School), which emphasized Yiddish more than Hebrew in its curriculum, and Jewish People’s School, which emphasized Hebrew and Yiddish on an equal basis in its curriculum. The first Talmud Torah supplementary school, offering a religious but modern education with emphasis on Hebrew, was initially established in 1896, with the United Talmud Torahs being formed as a school system - the first one in Montreal - in 1917 (King 2000, p. 141; Margolis 2011, p. 25). Of all these institutions, the Yiddishist schools and the Jewish Public Library were the most important pillars of Yiddish-speaking Montreal (Ringuet 2011, p. 156).

For its part, the Protestant School Board established Baron Byng High School in 1921 on St. Urbain Street; of the 1000 students, more than 90% were Jewish (King 2000, p. 105; id. 2006, p. 47; and id. 2009, p. 60). Baron Byng was not the only Protestant school in Montreal that had a Jewish majority, though it was the most famous; a number of other Protestant schools were also heavily Jewish in and around the interwar period (Rosenberg 1959, pp. 3-4).⁴

The Montreal Jewish community had a number of social benefit organizations. These included the Russian Polish Hebrew Sick Benefit Association, the Hebrew Free Loan Association, and the Baron de Hirsch Institute (formerly the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society of Montreal). Also included was the Young Men's Hebrew Association, founded in 1909 which constituted the Jewish equivalent of the YMCA (King 2000, pp. 78-79 and 93-94; id. 2006, pp. 20-21).

The Montreal Jewish community was dotted with many delicatessens that prepared iconic smoked meat - these included Ben's, founded in 1908; Schwartz's, founded in 1927 and still in existence; Wilensky's, founded in 1932; and Moishe's, founded in 1938 and still in existence. The bagel bakeries, the first one founded in 1900, were - and still are - a part of the Montreal Jewish landscape (King 2000, pp. 127-133; id. 2006, pp. 42-46; id. 2009, pp. 52-53 and 59-60).

In terms of medical institutions, the Herzl Dispensary and Hospital - later to merge with the Jewish General Hospital, itself founded in 1934 away from the main Jewish district at that time - was officially established in 1912 (King 2000, p. 93; id. 2006, pp. 20-21; id. 2009, p. 117). Two years later, a clinic was founded by the Rabinovitch brothers, and a Jewish maternal hospital was formed in 1916. All of these were established with the goal of accepting Jewish doctors and nurses and catering to the medical needs of the Jewish community, in an era when Jewish medical workers were not accepted at other hospitals and clinics.⁵ Moreover, the Hebrew Old People's

⁴ For more, see Fraser 2015.

⁵ For more, see Robinson 2015.

Home, which later became Maimonides Geriatric Centre, was founded in 1910 (King 2009, pp. 118-121).

Efforts to consolidate the various organizations led to the creation of umbrella organizations - the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal in 1916, the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1919 (revived in 1934), and the Vaad Ha-Ir (Jewish Community Council) in 1924. The last two functioned mainly in Yiddish (cf. Margolis 2011, p. 25) while the Federation functioned mainly in English. Of these, the Federation included many social organizations, such as the Mount Sinai Sanitarium (for tuberculosis patients; located outside Montreal), the Montreal Hebrew Sheltering Home, and the Herzl Dispensary (King 2000, p. 146; id. 2009, p. 81).⁶ The Vaad Ha-Ir was set up in order to coordinate the kosher meat supply system as well as to provide both communal self-government and a Jewish court (*beit din*) for intra-communal disputes.⁷ In addition, Montreal was the national headquarters of a number of Canada-wide Jewish organizations (Tulchinsky 1984, p. 106).

Yiddish culture was at its peak between the World Wars, as the institutions established before World War I became more rooted and better established. For example, in the 1930s, a stable group of Yiddish writers “explored new genres, organized literary gatherings and groups, and supported a variety of cultural institutions” (Margolis 2011, p. 86). The Jewish Public Library hosted lectures and other cultural activities related to books and writing, including by renowned Yiddish authors; there was also other organized, as well as informal, Yiddish literary activity by the fledgling Yiddish intelligentsia. Even though the Yiddish-speaking immigrants who came to Montreal before World War I now adopted English, Yiddish in Montreal was constantly being replenished by those coming afterwards. The mostly Labour Zionist activists and others responsible for these institutions, including Yehuda Kaufman (co-founder of the Jewish Public

⁶ For more on the foundation story of the Federation, see Robinson 2016.

⁷ For more, see Robinson 1996.

Library),⁸ ensured the continuity of Yiddish culture in Montreal as a means of combatting assimilation. This was somewhat in contrast to the mainstream American Yiddish press, because conditions were different in Montreal, where public schools were run along denominational lines, than in New York, where public schools were equipped to acculturate all immigrants regardless of origin. While many institutions bridged the varying political ideologies of the community, the existence of separate school systems served to perpetuate rivalries based on ideology. Regardless of ideology, these institutions paved the way for a later cadre of famous Montreal Jewish figures, such as the actress Dora Wasserman and the author A.M. Klein (Margolis 2011, pp. 32-38). Furthermore, there were 40 synagogues - out of 50 in Montreal - in the area north of Pine Street and east of Park Avenue in 1940, six of them on St. Urbain Street alone (King 2000, p. 104).

As massive an impact as these institutions had on Montreal and beyond, Yiddish culture in Montreal (in the areas of the press, literature, and theatre) remained dependent upon New York, as the latter was a much larger Yiddish centre. Montreal was a mere outpost compared to New York as well as Warsaw, Vilna, and Moscow. For example, before at least the 1940s, it failed to attract the best-known Yiddish writers except as part of international tours, and it imported talent - particularly from New York - for its Yiddish theatres, including at the Monument National.⁹ In fact, Yiddish theatre in Montreal, beyond small amateur productions, began to be developed in earnest only during and especially after World War II.¹⁰ A major exception to this dependence on bigger centres was in the realm of education, in which Montreal became a major world centre with its strong secular Yiddish day-school presence (Margolis 2011, pp. 34-37 and 123).

⁸ For more, see Robinson 2007 and Robinson 2011.

⁹ Even though the Monument National was mainly a French-Canadian venue, it also came to serve - de facto - as the main Yiddish theatre in Montreal for a number of decades (Tulchinsky 2008, p. 541 n. 58).

¹⁰ Right before World War II, a rather short-lived attempt was made, through Chayele Grober's Yiddish Theatre Group, to form a locally-produced Yiddish theatre (Margolis 2011, p. 173).

The *Keneder Adler* and Other Yiddish Newspapers in Montreal, 1900-1945

The first Jewish newspaper to be founded in Montreal was the *Jewish Times*¹¹ in 1897, and there were attempts around the same time at establishing Yiddish newspapers. However, the first lasting Yiddish-language newspaper was the *Keneder Adler* (Canadian Jewish Eagle; hereafter, the *Adler*). Founded by Hirsh Wolofsky in 1907, the *Adler* expanded into a daily reaching a Canada-wide mass readership, functioned as a forum for many local Yiddish writers and provided information about cultural events. The *Adler* served “to acclimatize the local Eastern European immigrant community to its adopted home in Canada and to maintain and foster a distinctive cultural life” (Margolis 2011, p. 39), and it thus gave a voice, along with guidance, to the immigrant masses of Yiddish-speaking “downtown” Jews (King 2000, p. 97; *ibid.* 2009, p. 55). Furthermore, its classifieds helped its readers find a job or apartment, and it spawned myriad Jewish community ventures in Montreal and beyond. For all these reasons, the *Adler* was quite central to, and influential in, Montreal Yiddish cultural life (Margolis 2011, pp. 39-40). As Tulchinsky (1984, p. 107) expresses it, the *Adler* “was the university for the Jewish common man” and “was more than just a newspaper in the usual sense.” That newspaper’s pages contained news, op-eds, intellectual essays, critical book reviews, cultural life, and humour, along with health, women’s, and children’s columns. The *Adler* became a weekly in 1968 and folded altogether in 1988.

The various editors of the *Adler* attracted and brought over many local Jewish writers to contribute to its pages. Such writers included B.Y. Goldstein, Y.L. Malamut, Leyzer Meltzer, L.M. Benjamin, Simon Belkin, H.M. Caiserman, J.I. Segal (a towering Canadian Yiddish poet), and Israel Medres (who chronicled Jewish life in Montreal before 1945), as well as two from

¹¹ The *Jewish Times* was an English-language newspaper representing the voice of the small assimilated, English-speaking “uptown” Jewish population (King 2000, p. 97). Hirsh Wolofsky purchased the *Jewish Times* in 1914 and renamed it the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, making it the sister newspaper of the *Adler*. Moreover, Wolofsky included an English Page in the *Adler* from 1925 to 1936 to appeal to a readership becoming more proficient in English (Margolis 2011, p. 73).

Warsaw who lived briefly in Montreal - A. Almi¹² and Yehuda Zlotnik. In fact, the *Adler* acted as more than a gathering place for these writers; it allowed them to hone their craft and to refine their style, as well as to provide them with enough income to pursue their careers as writers. On a further note, the *Adler* published books and other works in Yiddish, authored by the *Adler*'s contributors.

The *Adler* had a string of editors from its founding until 1924, when Israel Rabinovitch assumed that title and kept it until 1964. Some of the editors of the *Adler* before Rabinovitch were quite prominent in the world of Montreal Yiddish culture in the early to mid-20th century. Among them were Reuben Brainin, a major figure in modern Hebrew literature and a co-founder of the Jewish Public Library, and Moshe Shmuelson, who initiated the city's first Yiddish literary association and who mentored J.I. Segal. During Rabinovitch's tenure as editor, since he was strongly interested in culture and he had a strong musical background, he expanded the *Adler*'s coverage of theatre, music, literature, and other aspects of cultural life.

There were other Yiddish-language periodicals in Montreal, but none was as long-lasting nor as ideologically broad as the *Adler*, with which those publications often shared the same pool of writers. There were too many of these short-lived Montreal Yiddish newspapers plagued with financial problems to mention all of them individually, but I will mention a few. On one end of the ideological spectrum was *Di Yidishe Velt* (the Jewish World), an Orthodox newspaper founded by Rabbi Simon Glazer in 1911-12, while strongly left-wing, socialist groups founded *Di Folkstsaytung* (the People's Newspaper) in 1912 amidst labour unrest. In another example, upon leaving the *Adler* in 1915, Brainin planned to establish a Hebrew newspaper but the audience was too small, so he established *Der Veg* instead. Furthermore, various Yiddish literary journals were published in Montreal; most of these were short-lived, but one - *Montreol: Literarisher Khoydesh*

¹² For more, see Robinson 2014.

Dzhurnal (Montreal: A Literary Monthly Journal), edited by the prominent author and poet N.I. Gotlib and others - lasted from 1932 to 1935 (Margolis 2011, pp. 46-62).

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Many books and articles have portrayed the history of Jewish Montreal before and during the interwar period from a variety of different angles. What follows in this review of the literature about the distribution of the Jewish population and of Jewish institutions in early 20th-century Montreal (up to World War II) is a discussion about what is present and what is missing, including in the areas of maps and of Jewish population and institutional distribution. The contrasts between rigorous, scholarly research about this topic - as in socio-demographic studies and archival/historical/scholarly works - and the more popularized works - as in journalistic/memoiristic works - are also noted.

What is Present? - Maps and Population Charts

As a chief objective of this paper is to cartographically analyze the interwar Jewish community of Montreal, it is imperative to address what kinds of maps are present in the existing literature. Louis Rosenberg (1939, p. 32), in his demographic analysis of Canadian Jewry, and Judith Seidel (1939, between pp. 31-32), in her social/demographic analysis of Montreal Jewry, provide maps of Jewish population densities of most of the wards and municipalities in the Montreal area in 1931. Similarly, Pierre Anctil (1988, pp. 36-37) provides a map of Jewish population densities for wards in the City of Montreal, though not for independent municipalities such as Outremont and Westmount, for 1938.¹³ Seidel (1939, between pp. 29-30) also provides a general map showing the wards and municipalities where most of the Jews were settled at that time - not dissimilar to what the non-Jewish journalist MacKay Smith (1997, p. 33) does in his popularized book on Montreal Jews - along with a map of what percentage of Montreal Jews lived in which ward or

¹³ That map, however, is flawed on account of an editorial error, as the legend of Jewish population densities is the reverse of what it ought to be. A related chart on p. 38 mentions Jewish densities of each ward (along with the densities of those of French and of British origin), though not the total Jewish population of each ward. According to Anctil (personal correspondence, Nov. 2017), the data is almost exactly the same as for 1931, most probably meaning that the material used to depict the demographic situation in 1938 comes from the 1931 Census results.

municipality in 1931. Yet another map that Seidel provides is of the four areas of successive settlements that existed in 1931 in Montreal. This last map is not dissimilar to a general map, provided by Sara Tauben (2004, p. 14; 2011, pp. 19-20) in her Master's thesis and in her book on old synagogues along the St. Lawrence-Park corridor, that distinguishes the first area of settlement below Sherbrooke St. from the second area of settlement above Sherbrooke. A map of the lower and middle "Main," where the Yiddish-speaking Jews in Montreal were initially concentrated, is given in at least the English translation (from 2000) of *Montreal fun Nekhtn* ("Montreal of Yesterday"), an examination of Jewish immigrant life in Montreal between roughly 1900 and 1920 by Israel Medres (2000, p. 20).¹⁴

Mental maps also come into play for interwar Montreal Jewry, as shown in Keinosuke Oiwa's 1988 doctoral dissertation that depicts the interpretations and perceptions of the immigrant Jews and their offspring who lived in and around "the Main." Firstly, he displays a number of mental maps that show the people's varied perceptions of where "downtown" and "uptown" are located with respect to the Jewish community along "the Main," given that they are fluid concepts subject to change, as well as mental maps that do not distinguish the two (pp. 39 and 42). Secondly, within the conclusion (p. 255), he provides mental maps which include all of the St. Lawrence corridor as "downtown" and Outremont, Westmount, etc. as "uptown" areas, even as the "downtown" area above Sherbrooke Street is a definite step up from the pre-World War I immigrant quarter below Sherbrooke.

A substantial number of maps in the literature emphasize the Jewish institutions that existed in "the Main" and elsewhere in Montreal at the time. One of them is of the old Jewish corridor plus

¹⁴ A writer and felletonist (someone writing short personal and satirical essays on public issues; not to be confused with a feuilletonist) as well as a journalist, Medres had been a staff writer at the *Keneder Adler* for 25 years before *Montreal fun Nekhtn* was first published in Yiddish in 1947. Just prior to publication, over a period of more than 6 months, it appeared in bi-weekly installments in the *Keneder Adler*. Medres wrote the collection of vignettes in Yiddish for regular Eastern European Jewish readers; these vignettes, which became the 55 chapters, each discuss a different facet of Jewish immigrant life in Montreal, including the various institutions which evolved over the course of the years.

Outremont in Rosenberg's 1958 study of changes to the Jewish population in that area in the 1950s (p. 10); it shows the Jewish institutions that had existed there. Tauben, in her 2004 MA thesis (pp. 15, 43, 103, and 141), shows maps of the various areas of settlement in "the Main" - and of "the Main" as a whole - with the synagogue locations indicated.¹⁵ On a related note, in her 2011 book (p. 148), there is a map that pinpoints many synagogues in "the Main" as part of a walking tour guide. Rebecca Margolis (2011, p. xxii) has a map of "the Main" showing Jewish institutions other than synagogues that were instrumental in Yiddish culture that is the focus of her book. Chantal Ringuet (2011, pp. 276, 279, 284, and 289), in her book on Yiddish Montreal that is replete with illustrations and insets, displays a series of maps of different parts of "the Main" that highlight synagogues, other institutions, businesses, and the homes of some prominent Montreal Jews, as part of a guide for walking tours.¹⁶ Furthermore, Pierre Anctil and Gary Caldwell (1984, p. 362), in their book on the Jews in Quebec, display a map of the Jewish institutions in Montreal that were contemporary to the time of the publication of that book, in the older Jewish area as well as in more recent areas of Jewish settlement. Many, though not all, of the institutions along "the Main" are marked as historical. To give an example of a specific institution, one that was not Jewish but which many Jews attended, Roderick MacLeod and Mary Anne Poutanen (2012, p. 24), in their study on the Aberdeen School strike of 1913, provide maps of Aberdeen School, on St. Denis Street just north of Sherbrooke, as does Medres (2000, p. 136).

In his 2000 book, Joe King (a radio and television journalist and a Jewish community professional) provides only one map, even as that - along with his books from 2006 and 2009 - is laden with illustrations and vignettes. That map is a not-to-scale map that Sydney Berne, known as the "Artist of the Laurentians," made of the old Jewish neighbourhood above Sherbrooke Street

¹⁵ In addition, p. 31 of Tauben's thesis shows a map from 1838 of the area where the Spanish & Portuguese synagogue was located at that time, and p. 32 shows a similar map from 1859 of the Shaar Hashomayim synagogue.

¹⁶ There is, additionally, a map (p. 293) and guide of similar sites in Snowdon, but that is beyond the scope of this paper as Snowdon is in the area of newer, mainly postwar Jewish settlement.

that shows key Jewish landmarks, tramcars, other vehicles, and people as well as the bigger streets in the area. It also mentions the locations of the more prominent people and businesses, often also with their street numbers (pp. 114-115).

One of the only computer-generated maps on Jewish life in interwar Montreal that is presently extant is provided by the Museum of Jewish Montreal, which aims to exhibit the history of Montreal Jews online and through mobile devices. An interactive map - based on Google Maps - shows the sites of interest, along with biographies and the names of organizations or clubs; each site of interest shows old photographs along with a description of that site. These sites are linked with exhibits and virtual tours. The maps show that the sites of interest are concentrated in the old Jewish neighbourhoods clustered all along “the Main” (MJM 2015-17). MacLeod and Poutanen (2012, p. 25) also have kind of a computer-generated map, in which red dots - superimposed over a 1912 atlas - indicate where students of that school lived within a sample area.

In any proper discussion of population figures over the years, it is helpful to display such figures on charts or tables. Within the literature on early-to-mid 20th century Jewish Montreal with regard to the Jewish population, many charts and tables are furnished by Louis Rosenberg in his various studies, as well as by Judith Seidel (1939), but only some of these are directly relevant to this paper. In Rosenberg’s 1958 study (pp. 8-9) on the old Jewish area plus Outremont, as in the area within a 1-mile radius of the Davis YMHA community centre on Jeanne Mance and Villeneuve Streets, there are detailed figures for relatively small areas from the 1951 Census and from 1957 estimates. In that same study (pp. 3 and 11), Rosenberg provides the total Jewish figures for that whole area, plus those figures as a proportion of the total Montreal Jewish population, from 1931 to 1958. More generally, Arthur Daniel Hart (1926, p. 496),¹⁷ Rosenberg

¹⁷ Of interest to genealogists as well as historians, Hart’s 1926 book discusses the history of Canadian Jews right up until the publication date, as well as the histories of numerous synagogues, schools, charitable institutions, women’s groups, and social organizations from all across Canada. These histories, plus the descriptions that he makes of Jewish contributions to Canadian commercial, political, legal, medical, and cultural life, are accompanied by biographies of

(1939, pp. 31, 33, 308, and 321; 1947, p. 17; 1966, pp. 5-6), Seidel (1939, pp. 25-26 and 30-44, plus Table XIII in the Appendix), Robert Choinière (1980, pp. 87, 90, and 93), Anctil (1988, p. 34), Smith (1997, p. 32), and King (2000, p. 278; 2009, p. 64), all provide either charts, discussions, or both with regard to the Jewish populations by wards/districts of the City of Montreal and/or by municipalities at any time from 1921 to 1971.¹⁸ The 1951 figures are most relevant to this paper. In addition, Rosenberg - in his 1959 study on Jewish children in Protestant schools - provides many charts on the various aspects of that phenomenon, including in which schools Jews were the majority at some point in time, not necessarily at the time of the study (pp. 9-13).¹⁹

What is Present? - Jewish Population Distribution

Many sources discuss, in varying detail, the distribution of Montreal Jewry in and before the interwar period. Seidel (1939, various pp.) studies the distribution pattern of Montreal Jews with respect to birthplace, occupation, area of residence, date of immigration, age, and gender; she notes how the Jews of each ward or municipality are different from each other with respect to these characteristics. She also goes into extensive detail about the various parts of “the Main” corridor, from the port to the Outremont border, as well as the other areas of Jewish settlement as they were in 1931. This is done in good part out of the results of a questionnaire, a means of measuring how Montreal Jews were adjusting and assimilating to Canadian life by way of daily and informal habits and practices (as opposed to formal affiliations). Gerald Tulchinsky, in his 1984 article -

prominent personalities connected to each of these aspects of general or Jewish Canadian life, along with photographs and illustrations.

¹⁸ Of all these sources, Choinière additionally provides charts complete with Census tracts numbers in the appendix of his 1980 Master’s thesis on the demographics of Quebec Jewry (pp. 140-149) for the 1951, 1961, and 1971 Census results with regard to the percentage of Jews in each Census tract, accompanied by maps with each of the Census tract numbers. Jacques Légaré (1965, pp. 315, 317-320, and 325) and Louis Rosenberg (1966, pp. 5-7) also provide maps and charts of the Jewish population of Montreal through to 1961. For his part, Pierre Drouilly (1996, pp. 124-125) provides maps, though not charts, of the Jewish population of Montreal from 1951 to 1981.

¹⁹ For his part, Anctil (1988, pp. 174, 175, 203, and 205; after Neamtan 1940) also provides some charts related to the number of Jewish students in Protestant schools in Montreal, and in the chart on p. 205 also the number of students attending private Jewish schools.

“A.M. Klein’s Jewish Montreal” (p. 97) - goes into some detail about the Jewish densities within each ward, taking his cue from various Louis Rosenberg studies; Pierre Anctil (1988, pp. 34-35), Rebecca Margolis (2011; p. 23), and Chantal Ringuet (2011, p. 90) all do the same thing. Eve Lerner (2002, p. 30), in her Master’s thesis on the intersection between Jewish bakeries in Montreal and trade unionism among bakers, also briefly discusses the distribution of Montreal Jewry at that time.

Anctil’s 1997 book explores the many facets of Yiddish-speaking Jewish life in Montreal in and around the interwar era and how, in many ways, it was a world of its own. It does this through the medium of Yiddish as the cultural language of these Jews. The third chapter of that book (pp. 55-73) is an in-depth exploration of the “downtown” Jewish neighbourhood along “the Main” as a partial reincarnation of the Eastern European *shtetl*, even as “the Main” differed in important ways from the classic *shtetl* on the road to eventual full integration into Canadian life. That concept, with its consequent geographic concentration of Yiddish-speaking Jews, is relevant to the remainder of this paper. In furtherance of this theme, Seidel (1939, e.g. p. 25 and 107-108), as well as Rosenberg (1956, p. 1; 1958, p. 2; 1966, p. 1), Choinière (1980, p. 86), Oiwa (1988, e.g. pp. 29 and 252), J. Barney Grosser (1996, p. 37), Anctil (1997, p. 67), and Ringuet (2011, pp. 88-89) all define the main Jewish area along “the Main” according to which streets border the main area in which direction (e.g. St. Denis Street to the east).²⁰

Books written just after World War II by two *Keneder Adler* journalists depict the streets around St. Lawrence Blvd. below Sherbrooke where immigrant Jews lived at the turn of the 20th century. These books are Hirsh Wolofsky’s *Mayn Lebens Rayze* (“Journey of My Life”)²¹

²⁰ In his 1958 study, Rosenberg geographically defines not just “the Main” but also at least parts of Outremont.

²¹ Unlike Medres, Wolofsky wrote *Mayn Lebens Rayze* more purely from an autobiographical perspective, though he also derived the material from his *Keneder Adler* articles. In fact, as mentioned earlier in this paper, the *Keneder Adler*’s presence stimulated Yiddish literature in Montreal. It also took place at a time that Yiddish was becoming the language of Jewish leftist activists, even though the *Keneder Adler* was written in the mould of a traditional (rather than leftist) newspaper. Wolofsky’s memoir is influenced by the traditional Jewish life he knew growing up in a

originally from 1946 (esp. pp. 106-107; translated in 2000) and Israel Medres' *Montreal fun Nekhtn* ("Montreal of Yesterday") originally from 1947 (esp. pp. 21-23; translated in 2000), with Medres providing even more detail. Zachary Baker, in his chapter of a 1990 book on Yiddish culture in Montreal edited by Ira Robinson, Pierre Anctil, and Mervin Butovsky, reviews and analyzes Medres' work. In the first few paragraphs (pp. 39-40), before he goes ahead with the examination of Medres' journalistic book, he discusses how most Montrealers think that the "old Jewish quarter" is as expressed by Duddy Kravitz in Mordecai Richler's books - along St. Urbain, Park, and similar streets between Mount Royal and Van Horne. One remark that Baker makes is that unlike the Jewish neighbourhood of the 1920s to 1940s, the older one has left very few traces to this day. Another author who describes the lower "Main" is Oiwa (1988, pp. 1-3, 6-8, 10-11, 20-37); he goes into a very considerable depth describing it as a ghetto, and - just like Baker - draws substantially from Medres' book. Ringuet (2011, pp. 79-88) also discusses the development of the older Jewish immigrant neighbourhood below Sherbrooke, along with its institutions, at considerable length.

King (2000, p. xxi) discusses the situation of "the Main" (along St. Lawrence and nearby parallel streets) in terms of being "a ghetto...without walls" and in terms of being a crucible for immigrant Jews to make it to the mainstream, plus being a breeding ground for a lot of famous Canadian Jews. The second part of his 2000 book (the section on the early 20th century) discusses the Jewish "Main" and its population and institutions in much more detail. Of particular relevance for this paper, the development of the first ("the Main" below Sherbrooke), second ("the Main" above Sherbrooke), and some of the third areas of settlement (including - but not limited to - Outremont and Westmount) are covered in part of Chapter 12 (esp. pp. 101-104). In that same

Polish *shtetl*; in fact, he recounts his life in Poland before moving on to his descriptions of Montreal and its Jewish community, interspersed with descriptions of his later visits to Poland, to elsewhere in Europe, and to Palestine. As mentioned earlier, he served as a mediator between the different groups of Jews in Montreal - e.g. religious vs. secular, or "uptowners" vs. "downtowners" (Anctil, introduction to Wolofsky 2000, pp. 15-38).

part, he notes that St. Urbain Street was almost totally Jewish, and its neighbouring parallel streets were self-contained, from what Mordecai Richler (the famous author) was remarking. King devotes one page to “the Main” in his 2006 book (p. 22) and one chapter in his 2009 book (pp. 47-64), but there is much less coverage of its spatial and Jewish demographic development in both of these books than in the 2000 book. Ringuet, in her book that could be kind of a French-language version of King’s books in terms of the illustrations and the user-friendliness, also devotes much detail to the interwar Yiddish-speaking district of Montreal, along with its institutions (pp. 88-108).

There are some sources that distinguish “the Main,” with its Yiddish-speaking Jews, from the more “uptown” Jewish areas of Outremont and Westmount/Notre Dame de Grace. Among them are Betty Sigler (1950, pp. 352-353),²² Tulchinsky (1984, p. 97), Anctil (1988, pp. 183 and 214-216), Oiwa (1988, pp. 38-45), Ringuet (2011, p. 104-105), and MacLeod and Poutanen (2012, pp. 7-8). Oiwa, furthermore, introduces various other distinctions between “downtown” and “uptown” that pre-date the Jews’ migration north of Sherbrooke; Lerner (2002, pp. 31-33) reinforces that.

Some sources also describe the movement of Jewish settlement northwards along “the Main” that took place up until the 1940s or early 1950s. Seidel (1939, pp. 23-29), for example, not only traces that migration but also mentions which wards were heavily populated by Jews in which Census year (1901, 1911, 1921, and 1931). Rosenberg (1958, p. 1; 1966, p. 1) discusses the migration of Jews not only further up the St. Lawrence-Park corridor but also into Outremont and ultimately, after World War II, into the newer areas.²³ Oiwa (1988, pp. 33-35) provides even more details as to the subtle changes in Jewish concentration taking place in the old Jewish immigrant

²² Her *Commentary* magazine article from 1950 does much the same as Medres and Wolofsky, except that it is much more concise because it is much shorter than book length.

²³ His 1966 work adds, on p. 3, that there was an increase in the Jewish population in the far northern parts of “the Main” even as the rest of that corridor’s Jewish population declined drastically.

quarter from 1900 to 1910 (e.g. Craig Street - now St. Antoine Street - taking on less importance as a Jewish commercial street). He also narrates, on pp. 252-255, the incessant movement of the Jewish centre of gravity not just northward along St. Lawrence Boulevard, but also - in the 1930s and 1940s - heading westward toward Park Avenue and ultimately to Outremont and beyond as the community was becoming ever wealthier. Other sources mentioning this phenomenon, to 1941 and even beyond, include David Rome in his 1978 book on the predominantly-Jewish clothing industry (pp. 14-15), Tulchinsky (1984, p. 98), Jacques Langlais and Rome in their 1991 book on the shared history of Jews and French-Canadians in Quebec (p. 30), King (2000, pp. 101-104), Lerner (2002, p. 30), and Ringuet (2011, e.g. pp. 101-102). Moreover, Choinière (1980, p. 86) - along with Anctil and Caldwell (1984, p. 110) - notes the contrast between where most of the Jews lived in Montreal in the 1930s and 1940s and where they lived in the 1960s and 1970s, as a result of the mass migration of Jews away from the old “Main” corridor.

What is Present? - Jewish Institutional and Commercial Distribution

Just like the Jewish population in early-mid 20th-century Montreal had a certain distribution, so too did Jewish institutions in Montreal. Seidel (1939, pp. 131-178) writes a whole chapter on Jewish institutions along “the Main,” including a detailed and comprehensive discussion of various kinds of institutions and their significance. She discusses, as well, the migration of Jewish institutions of all kinds as the Jews move further up that corridor and, ultimately, beyond it, as well as where many institutions were located at the time. MacLeod and Poutanen (2012, pp. 9-11) refer to cultural activities and activities of daily living taking place along “the Main,” as well as the proximity to the central business district of Montreal as facilitating integration with general society. Rosenberg devotes his entire 1956 study to synagogues, schools, and other Jewish institutions as they changed distribution from the old quarters along “the Main” to the newer areas, from 1941 to 1951 and especially from 1951 to 1956. In 1941, according to Rosenberg (pp. 3-4),

the vast majority of institutions was located within the old Jewish districts plus adjacent parts of Outremont. Summaries of the institutions in the St. Lawrence-Park corridor are also provided in Rosenberg's 1958 (p. 2) and 1966 (p. 1) studies. King (2000, p. 104) briefly summarizes the plethora of institutions (synagogues, schools, a library, and the Davis YMHA) that existed in the heart of the older Jewish district as well as following the movement of population. Ringuet, in the walking tour section of her 2011 book (pp. 276-292), provides addresses for the various institutions mentioned elsewhere in the book, whether or not these addresses are mentioned in the rest of the book.

Oiwa (1988, pp. 45-50) writes about institutions below Sherbrooke and mentions the street name for the Baron de Hirsch Institute (which he describes the most), but he does not give any precise geographical reference for the other institutions that he discusses, whether about the press or schools. Tulchinsky (1984, pp. 105-109) takes it farther and not only describes the Baron de Hirsch Institute and other institutions, but locates many of these institutions as well; Hart (1926, various pp.) does this with much richer descriptions of those institutions but not of their locations. In his 2008 book on the story of Baron de Hirsch Cemetery and of some of the Jews buried there, Kucharsky locates the Baron de Hirsch Institute (p. 28), the Russian Polish Hebrew Sick Benefit Association (pp. 42-43), Paperman's Funeral Home (p. 156), and the Fairmount and St. Viateur bagel bakeries (p. 175).

Grosser's 1996 article discusses the development of synagogues, Jewish schools, mutual-benefit societies, newspapers, and other institutions of the Jewish community in the city (pp. 30-37). In the appendix (p. 40), he makes note of the movement of synagogues up "the Main" in the 1920s. Grosser mentions street names or other geographical indicators, though - with one exception - not precise street addresses, in locating most (though not all) of the institutions he enumerates. As an interesting aside, he briefly talks about a synagogue, Tifereth Jerusalem, that

was located well to the north and east of the immigrant ghetto, in what was known as the “Papineau area,” near Papineau Street (pp. 32-33).

Wolofsky (2000; pp. 107-122) discusses more or less similarly to Grosser, except that the scope of Wolofsky’s descriptions is largely limited to the old immigrant quarter nearer to the port. Besides synagogues (including the “uptown” Shaar Hashomayim as well as various “downtown” synagogues), he addresses social institutions (including the Baron de Hirsch Institute, the orphans’ home, and the old age home), the Jewish Public Library, and the merger of the Talmud Torah schools.

The distribution specifically of synagogues - complete with geographic indicators - is covered by Seidel (1939, various pp.), Rosenberg (1956, p. 6), Grosser (1996, pp. 30-33), Wolofsky (2000, pp. 107-111), Medres (2000, p. 22) and thus Baker (1990, p. 44), Ringuet (2011, pp. 113-133), and Tauben (2004, esp. pp. 44-45; 2011, esp. pp. 42-44). Tauben traces the mobility and development of the Montreal Jewish community through the distribution of synagogues; in her thesis and book, she discusses the synagogues in full detail and gives addresses for these synagogues. In fact, in her 2004 thesis (pp. 149-152), there is a comprehensive list of the synagogues complete with their various addresses as they shifted locations, very often more than once, along with the dates of their existence and what synagogues (if any) they have merged into since then. Ringuet does somewhat the same thing, but it is a shorter and more limited discussion, and she focuses on just a few of the synagogues. In addition, Kucharsky (2008, pp. 47-51) goes over a number of synagogues and how they changed their locations in the old “Main” corridor, Outremont, or - in the case of Tifereth Jerusalem - the Papineau area, and ultimately beyond. Finally, Hart (1926) provides richly detailed descriptions of the three leading “uptown” synagogues - the Spanish & Portuguese (pp. 83-85), Shaar Hashomayim (pp. 93-95), and Temple Emanu-El (pp. 121-122) - including their geographic movements as the Jewish community changed its distribution over the years and

decades. All the major “downtown” synagogues, plus one in the satellite town of Lachine, appear merely in a supplemental list of synagogues across the country (pp. 166 and 168). Unlike with Toronto synagogues that also appear on the list, addresses do not appear alongside the Montreal synagogues.

Schools and recreational facilities (such as the YMHA) are covered by Rosenberg (1956, p. 9). Medres (2000, p. 165) talks about a number of Jewish schools which moved into specific areas north of Sherbrooke around 1917; that source, Medres (2003, p. 38), and Wolofsky (2000, pp. 227-231) all mention the move of the United Talmud Torahs school to a new building on St. Joseph Boulevard in 1931. Hart (1926, pp. 187-188) discusses the history of the Talmud Torah schools - including the locations of the earlier facilities - and presents a list of the addresses of the constituent schools of the United Talmud Torahs, which had coalesced in 1924. He also lists the addresses of the Jewish People’s Schools as that system kept on changing locations (pp. 189-192). King (2000, p. 141) discusses Jewish schools briefly, but does not mention geographic location except for the initial address of the Jewish People’s School, which was Montreal’s first Jewish day school when it opened in 1928. Finally, Ringuet (2011, pp. 146-157) recounts the history of Montreal’s Yiddish schools.

With regard to Protestant schools that Jews attended, such as Baron Byng, Rosenberg (1959, pp. 3-4) mentions the number of schools in the St. Lawrence-Park corridor - and eventually in Outremont and elsewhere as well - that either had Jewish majorities or pluralities over the years. Anctil (1988, pp. 173-179 and 202-205) similarly discusses the Jewish demographic growth in the Protestant schools in that period, with some discussion right afterwards (pp. 205-207) on the demographic situation in the Jewish elementary day schools. MacLeod and Poutanen (2012, pp. 16-17) recount the areas covered in the district of the Aberdeen School, a Protestant school attended by many Jews, as well as where Jewish students of that school lived.

As for recreational facilities, Hart (1926, pp. 442-445) discusses the separate developments of the YMHA and YWHA, with their respective addresses and geographic relocations. A number of different authors, including Ringuet (2011, pp. 158-162) as well as the ones mentioned above, discuss the Jewish Public Library and its locations over the years. Unlike most of these other authors, though, Ringuet (2011, pp. 134-144) also discusses the Monument National, a francophone theatre that also served as the main Yiddish theatre, in some depth.

Margolis (2011, p. xiii) depicts the Yiddish-speaking press (in particular, the *Keneder Adler*), literary activity, secular Jewish schools, and theatre, as being located in the immigrant corridor along “the Main.” As well, King’s 2000 book mentions the newer location of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, on Bleury Street (p. 79), along with the older and newer addresses of the Herzl Dispensary and of the Jewish Public Library, plus the initial location of the YMHA (pp. 93-94 and 96). The latter three institutions’ addresses or locations are also mentioned in King’s 2006 book (pp. 21 and 24), as is the initial address of the Baron de Hirsch Institute (p. 18). In addition, King’s 2009 book mentions addresses for the Jewish Public Library (pp. 53-54) and Paperman’s Funeral Home (p. 63), as well as the streets on which the Herzl Dispensary (p. 117) and the Old People’s Home (p. 58) were located.

According to Lerner (2002, p. 52), most of the Jewish bakeries in Montreal were concentrated on and right around St. Lawrence Boulevard, the main commercial corridor of the “downtown” Jewish community.²⁴ The addresses of two of these bakeries are mentioned only as part of advertisements in the *Keneder Adler* that are a part of the appendix (pp. 127-128). Also, King (2000, pp. 131-133; 2006, pp. 42-43; and 2009, p. 52) does not mention more than street names (Fairmount and St. Viateur) when it comes to the bagel places; his books mention the delicatessens much more, as seen below.

²⁴ Such bakeries included the largest, Richstones’ Bakery, whose ads appeared in the *Keneder Adler* at various points in the 1930s.

Lara Rabinovitch, in 2009 as part of her doctoral research, conducted an interview with Eiran Harris (the archivist emeritus of the Jewish Public Library) about the history of smoked meat establishments in “the Main” as well as other areas of Montreal. Many addresses for the delicatessens serving smoked meat are provided in Harris’ answers to Rabinovitch’s questions (unpaginated; various paragraphs). King (2000, pp. 127-131), as well, discusses smoked meat and the geographic locations of many delicatessens in “the Main,” though without precise street addresses (except from an advertisement for Montreal Hebrew Delicatessen, also known as Schwartz’s). In his 2006 book (pp. 44-46), he discusses the development of smoked meat establishments on “the Main” and connects it with the development of “the Main” as a Jewish ghetto and “third solitude” and how foods such as smoked meat helped bridge the gap between the two main solitudes (English and French). There, he provides a list of various establishments located on the so-called “Smoked Meat Mile” along St. Lawrence Boulevard as of ca. 1939 - some of them are smoked meat places and the rest are other stores or Jewish communal offices/institutions (p. 45). In his 2009 book (pp. 52-53 and 59-60), he presents two lists of addresses for delicatessens from the Lovell’s Directory - one from 1921 and one from 1933, in addition to the mention of the address of an earlier delicatessen (both in the text and in an advertisement), the British American Delicatessen Store.

Baker (1990, p. 44), after Medres (2000; originally 1947), briefly talks about St. Lawrence Boulevard being the main shopping street even back when Jews mostly lived below, rather than above, Sherbrooke. Certainly when the Jews were clustered on and around St. Lawrence above Sherbrooke, there were plenty of Jewish-owned stores. A few examples, with their addresses given, include the small grocery store owned by the Steinbergs (King 2000, p. 157; id. 2009, pp. 54-55) and Reitman’s clothing shop (King 2009, pp. 60-61), both of which went on to become major local chains, plus Moses Vineberg’s fur company (King 2009, pp. 76-77).

What is Missing?

While an impressive number of maps are present in much of the literature, most of them were either hand-made, or printed via typewriters, or incorporated into atlases from the early- or mid-20th century. With one or two exceptions, most notably with the online Museum of Jewish Montreal, maps produced via modern computers and other current technologies are missing from the literature; I am here referring to Google Maps, Open Street Maps, GIS-generated maps, etc. Moreover, in the literature, there are no maps of any kind that show as high a level of detail as the Jewish densities of individual streets or blocks; this would be a much more accurate level of detail than the Jewish densities according to the ward, district, or even census tract.²⁵ Even with respect to Jewish densities, maps are not present for all of the Census years - 1931 seems to be the only year in which such maps exist. As for maps of institutional distribution, there is no one source that tracks the locations of Jewish institutions on a decade-by-decade basis. There are some maps that highlight Jewish institutions, but they are not necessarily comprehensive in what they show and they can be spotty at times.

The fact that the Jewish community of Montreal is not studied in depth from Census results from before 1931, and that the results from before 1931 thus tend not to get mapped, can be illustrated by the difficulties Seidel encountered in her 1939 study. One such difficulty is that she is not able to perform a major analysis of the changing structure of the Montreal Jewish population, because the cross-classification of population data by ethnic and religious groups was seldom, if ever, made by the Canadian Census before 1931. Therefore, she - along with Rosenberg in his 1939 analysis - describes the situation in 1931 in greater detail than for the years beforehand. A further complication is that ward boundaries changed from one census year to another, such that

²⁵ According to Rosenberg (1966, p. 2), even the census tract was not used as a spatial category before the 1951 Census.

it makes the determination of where exactly and in what year Jews lived in Montreal tricky (e.g. the change in ward population figures between 1911 and 1931).

Yet another thing that is lacking in the literature on Jewish Montreal is any in-depth study using data from the 1936 and/or 1941 Census along the lines of Rosenberg (1939), Seidel (1939), and Oiwa (1988). In the literature on interwar Jewish Montreal, there is also a lack of dedicated studies on Jewish restaurants as a whole and on bagel shops, unlike bakeries as covered by Lerner (2002) and delicatessens/butcher shops as covered by Rabinovitch (2009). Dedicated studies in the context of pre-World War II Jewish Montreal also do not exist on Jewish schools (unlike synagogues as covered by Tauben (2004; 2011) and - in part - Grosser (1996)) and on Baron Byng School and various other Protestant schools in the older Jewish areas (unlike Aberdeen School as covered by MacLeod and Poutanen (2012)).

For the most part in the literature, the peripheral areas (i.e. Park Extension, Papineau, Verdun, Lachine, etc.) - in short, anywhere beyond “the Main,” Outremont, and Westmount (and possibly Notre Dame de Grace) that had Jews in the interwar period - are not covered. Exceptions include mentions of the Papineau area by Medres (2000, pp. 162-163), Grosser (1996, pp. 32-33), Anctil (1997, p. 69), Kucharsky (2008, pp. 49-50), Rome (2001, pp. 157-158 and 166-172)²⁶ and - in passing - Lerner (2002, p. 30), and of Lachine by Smith (1997, pp. 34-35)²⁷ and - in passing - Hart (1926, p. 168).²⁸ Unlike the St. Lawrence-Park corridor where the masses of Montreal Jews lived during the interwar era, there are no stand-alone studies of any of these peripheral areas. Even Outremont and Westmount are covered only together with “the Main” and do not have studies

²⁶ The only truly geographically-focused articles from the *Keneder Adler*, from the *Adler*'s founding in 1907 to 1916 that Rome translated for his 2001 book, depict the Papineau area - whether in reference to the synagogues or to that then-semi-rural neighbourhood as a whole. The introduction to that section, similarly, is the only section introduction that is geographically-focused.

²⁷ Interestingly, Smith anecdotally discusses Jewish Lachine (centred around 9th Avenue) at some length, but does not discuss the St. Lawrence-Park corridor (where most Montreal Jews lived) at any great length.

²⁸ Lachine, as well as Verdun and other satellite towns of Montreal, is mentioned in a number of charts, such as those by Hart (1926, p. 496), Rosenberg (1939, p. 31 and 321; 1947, p. 17), Anctil (1988, p. 34), and Smith (1997, p. 32). The Papineau area, located in what had been Montcalm Ward, is also mentioned in a few charts, such as those by Rosenberg (1939, p. 321) and Seidel (1939, Table XIII), and indirectly by Anctil (1988, p. 38).

exclusive to them, possibly because as Jewish communities, they were newer and smaller than “the Main.”

In short, what is missing is a quantitative and/or cartographic study that traces, in a single volume, the development of Jewish Montreal from the immigrant quarter along the lower “Main” ca. 1900 to when the Jews moved away from “the Main” corridor altogether after World War II. While different books and articles in the literature on Jewish Montreal as it was up to ca. 1950 cover different geographical and demographic aspects of Montreal Jews, there is no single volume that covers all aspects of that remarkable history from a geographic standpoint.

Different Approaches to the Study of Interwar Jewish Montreal

The portrayals of Jewish Montreal in the interwar period fall into the socio-demographic, archival/historical (for scholarly or popular purposes), and journalistic/memoirist, categories. One way to study the distribution of Jews and their institutions in Montreal between the two World Wars is from a socio-demographic approach, which is largely - though not entirely - quantitative. This is what is used in Louis Rosenberg’s Jewish demographic analyses from various years, in Judith Seidel’s Master’s thesis on interwar Montreal Jews from 1939, and in Robert Choinière’s Master’s thesis on Jewish demography from 1980. Conducting historical research using materials from archives and published sources is another excellent way of studying the spatial distribution of Montreal Jews in the interwar period. This is the methodology, in all its variations, of scholars such as Sara Tauben, Roderick MacLeod and Mary Anne Poutanen, Rebecca Margolis, Keinosuke Oiwa, and Pierre Anctil. There is archival research aimed at a popular, rather than scholarly, audience; such works tend to be more superficial than both the more rigorous archival research and the quantitative/sociological works. This is the purview of authors such as Joe King with his three books filled with pictures and vignettes targeted at a popular readership that is more likely to be un(der)aware of Montreal Jewish history. The journalistic side is, just like the more

popularly-aimed archival research along the lines of King, of a superficial nature; that includes the works on Jewish Montreal and Canada by Israel Medres and Hirsh Wolofsky, as well as Betty Sigler's article.

While there are some methodological weaknesses in socio-demographic analyses by Rosenberg, Seidel, and others, such as defining Jews, defining wards/districts, and a relative paucity of data from many Census years other than 1931,²⁹ there are even more important methodological strengths. One strength of Rosenberg's socio-demographic report on Canadian Jews is that he pulls data from a wide variety of sources. Another strength is that he insists on a comparative approach, comparing Canadian Jews both with other ethnic groups in Canada and with Jews outside Canada; the second kind of comparison has been missing in the literature on Canadian ethnic demography. Furthermore, Rosenberg's work transcends disciplinary boundaries and avoids jargon, thereby making it accessible to educated lay readers as well as scholars (Weinfeld, introduction to Rosenberg 1939; 1993, pp. xviii-xix). Finally, Rosenberg constructs a more or less comprehensive social history of Canadian Jewry of the era by amassing information about not just numbers but also gender, age, occupation, place of birth, and other socio-demographic categories (cf. *ibid.*, p. xi). Seidel shares many of these same strengths as Rosenberg, in that she pulled data from a variety of sources and not just the Census, and her work is interdisciplinary and constitutes a robust social history. She does for Montreal much of what Rosenberg does for Canada as a whole; as such, Seidel's work can be the basis for historical demographic evaluations of Jewish Montreal by present-day and future scholars in the same way that Rosenberg's work can be for Canadian Jewry at large.

Archives offer an unparalleled look at materials that formed part of everyday life in historical Jewish communities such as in interwar Montreal, from a different perspective than the

²⁹ In effect, both Rosenberg and Seidel discuss trends in the 1920s, given that they use data from up until 1931 (Tulchinsky 2008).

quantitative data that are at the heart of Rosenberg's or Seidel's work. Materials like newspapers, letters, synagogue or school documents, and street directories dating from that era can give many clues as to where Jews lived as well as where Jewish institutions like synagogues were located. When one looks at a series of such archives over a long enough period of time, one can tell where the Jewish community has moved spatially from one unit of time to another. Archival work, or the equivalent thereof, can also be achieved by consulting a) works involving statistics, such as those of both Rosenberg and Seidel, b) journalistic/autobiographical works such as those of both Medres and Wolofsky, which will be described later, and c) published scholarly sources. The latter kind of source is one from which scholars like Gerald Tulchinsky, Pierre Anctil, Barney Grosser, and Eve Lerner draw for their works, and they strive to be as accurate and detail-oriented as the quantitative studies, notwithstanding inconsistencies in accuracy on the part of archival documents. Additionally, archival work can be supplemented by conducting interviews with people who lived through those days (or at least their children) and with experts, such as both Tauben and Oiwa do.

While archival work has methodological advantages in determining the historical distribution of the Jewish population, there are also some disadvantages. For example, not all materials might be available; even if they are, they may not necessarily be of good enough quality for study. Also, many archives do not give an idea of the spatial distribution of a population such as pre-1945 Montreal Jews; even directories like Lovell's only provide clues by way of street addresses. When archival research is combined with cutting-edge mapping technologies like Geographic Information Systems (GIS), however, the spatial distribution of these Jewish communities can be discerned. This is what the Museum of Jewish Montreal (MJM) and, to some extent, MacLeod and Poutanen are doing. In particular, the geospatial data collected by the MJM can be considered among many of the building blocks from which to approximate the distribution of Jews and of Jewish institutions in interwar Montreal. The MJM has points on its mapping platform that show

both where noteworthy Jews (such as A.M. Klein or Mordecai Richler) lived and where Jewish institutions were located; such mapping can, therefore, help in my own mapping that will be displayed later in this paper.

Being outside the realm of statistics or academia, journalists like Medres, Wolofsky, and Sigler, as well as popular authors like both King and Smith, are not necessarily concerned with the thoroughness of what they were reporting, though they did relate facts (such as where the synagogues were) that were generally accurate. In their journalistic and/or autobiographical approaches, they are able to effectively chronicle many aspects of Jewish life at that time in Montreal. One major weakness with authors like King and Medres is that while they report on a wide variety of aspects related to Montreal Jewry through the decades, they rely on generalizations and they are superficial in terms of the depth of what it is that they are discussing in their works. In other words, they explore Montreal Jewry much more broadly than deeply as would be the case with socio-demographic or academic sources, and their studies of given areas within Montreal Jewish life tend to be too brief. As an example, the tools of historical scholarship are not found in Medres, so that he did not quite do for Montreal what Irving Howe did for New York and its Eastern European Jewish immigrants on the Lower East Side (Baker 1990). Another main weakness of both Medres and Wolofsky is that they do not make chronicles of Jewish life in the area of “the Main” above Sherbrooke where many Jews lived between the two World Wars similar to what they did in the area below Sherbrooke before World War I. Medres did write a second book, in 1964, based on his *Keneder Adler* articles, one that discusses the interwar period, but he focuses that book on Canadian Jewry more generally and not on Montreal specifically like he does in his first book. However, it is quite remarkable that he wrote a genuine social history well before social history was considered seriously worthy of study in history departments at universities; in those days, the focus by academic historians was on political and military events.

I am not aware of journalists who depict Montreal Jewish life in the 1920s, 1930s, or later, in a similar book, though Sigler does do it in the form of an article. On the other hand, a semblance of that can be found in fictionalized form in works of local authors like A.M. Klein, Irving Layton, or Mordecai Richler. For those studying factual accounts of Jewish life in the densely Jewish neighbourhoods above Sherbrooke in the interwar era, this can be a limiting factor; it is much easier in that regard for those wanting to study factual accounts of the even older Jewish neighborhood.

Chapter 4: Methodology

For the research and analysis phase of this paper, I used information, for both the Jewish population and Jewish institutional/commercial establishments in Montreal, every ten years. This information came from 1921, 1931, and 1941, as those years had Censuses, whereas in years such as 1916, 1926, 1936, and 1946, there were no Censuses the way that there have been in such mid-decade years (e.g. 1956, 1976, 1996, or 2016) since 1956. The purpose behind using the data from the Census years, as opposed to other years in the interwar period and shortly thereafter, was to corroborate with the Census results as well as - in the case of the 1931 Census - the analyses of Louis Rosenberg and Judith Seidel. For the research, I used a mix of the socio-demographic and archival approaches (as discussed at the end of the literature review), even though I used archives available online rather than physically setting foot in the archives.

For the population, I used both the Census results and the Lovell's directory (BANQ 2017), though mainly the latter. Using the latter, I combed through many obviously Jewish surnames, collecting every 5th entry within each of the family names for 1921-22, every 7th entry for 1931-31, and every 8th entry for 1941.³⁰ This difference in the frequency of entries is due to the increase in Jewish population over the years (especially from 1921 to 1931) and to the sharp increase of entries in the Lovell's directory over those same years. There were a total of 44 surname groupings from which I drew samples; within each of these groupings, there are variations in the spelling of each name. These groupings are most often based just on the prefix (e.g. Gold..., Rosen...). The surname groupings are listed in Appendix 1 (pp. 92-94).

³⁰ In the last part of the Lovell's directory for 1931-32, I collected addresses from some people bearing other names as well due to a shortage of entries from the default surname groupings. In the 1921-22 directory and the last part of the 1931-32 directory, I went through every single entry in counting the names, while in most of the 1931-32 directory and in all of the 1941 directory, I skipped over entries having the same addresses as earlier entries. Furthermore, there were some 5-10 entries from outlying areas of Greater Montreal which I encountered in the directories which only had the place name (e.g. Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Chateauguay, Laval Beach) and not an address as well; I am omitting those from this analysis.

As well, I entered the names of famous Jewish Montrealers (e.g. Irving Layton, Mordecai Richler, Hersh Wolofsky, Israel Rabinovitch) in separate lists. I searched Lovell's, using the 1921-22, 1931-32, and 1941 editions, for addresses over many areas of the city, as using just the most Jewish streets (e.g. St. Urbain) would significantly bias the results. In mapping the Jewish residential patterns, I also used a map from the 1931 Census and some accompanying charts (found, for example, in Rosenberg 1939, pp. 32 and 321) as a general guide. For the addresses of the famous Montreal Jews, I also used the interactive map of the Museum of Jewish Montreal's website as a reference, cartographic and otherwise. I have developed separate lists for ordinary Jews and for prominent/famous residents.

As for the institutions and selected commercial establishments, I used the same editions of Lovell's in relation to the addresses of the major companies as well as those of the synagogues, schools, community centres, etc., and I also selected some addresses relevant to cultural life and/or the social event announcements from the *Keneder Adler*. Just like with the Jewish residences, I searched over a wide swath of the city and not just on the obviously Jewish streets so as to be as free of bias as possible. The Museum of Jewish Montreal's website served as a handy reference for the addresses of famous Jewish Montreal residents. I did not, however, include every single institution that Jews attended in Montreal in those decades. In particular, for various reasons, I chose to omit the Protestant schools - such as Baron Byng and Bancroft - that many Jewish schoolchildren attended at that time.³¹

As soon as I gathered all these addresses, I inputted them in various maps on Google My Maps, which is simpler and faster than ArcGIS and similar software but nonetheless makes computer-generated maps that were good enough for what was needed in this case. When the relevant data was downloaded onto Google My Maps, I took maximum advantage of the snipping

³¹ While the Monument National was also not officially a Jewish space, there was typically more Jewish content in that theatre than in those Protestant schools. Hence, I included the Monument National on the lists of institutions.

tool on the computer to take screenshots of these maps and to save them; the saved maps are displayed elsewhere in this paper. As I spotted mistakes in the data, I have had to do the mapping process over again as necessary. In the process of mapping interwar Jewish Montreal, I divided it into 30 districts, six being along “the Main” corridor and the rest outside of it; Appendix 2 (pp. 95-97) enumerates these districts and defines them geographically, according to their limits. In making these maps, I searched for significant geographical patterns, including the correlation between the distribution of the population and that of the institutions, for each year examined. There are separate map series for the residential (ordinary), residential (famous), institutional, and commercial components, and each of these components has one map for 1921, one for 1931, and one for 1941. Some of the maps encompass the entire area that was urbanized in the interwar period, and a number of others cover the central portion of Montreal (from Notre Dame de Grace - or NDG - in the west and Verdun in the southwest to the Papineau Area in the northeast, just to name a few of the districts outside “the Main”). Yet other maps cover just the area in and around “the Main” corridor, and a few maps encompass just the greater part of “the Main” corridor, from Sherbrooke St. in the south to Van Horne Ave./Rosemont Blvd. in the north, but not all of that corridor.

In addition to the maps, I made tables and graphs (pie charts and column charts, both of them based on the tables) on Microsoft Excel, based on the data collected from Lovell’s and other sources. While I was able to obtain much information from the samples, I was unable to obtain the Jewish densities (percentages of the population of given areas being Jewish) for the districts. This is because - except for independent municipalities such as Westmount, Outremont, Verdun, and Lachine - these districts are defined differently than the wards that were subunits of the City of Montreal, and one could only guess the Jewish densities of each of my districts based on the maps by Rosenberg (1939) and others who used the 1931 Census data. Plus, particularly for the

residential samples, I was only drawing samples and not counting all the residents; this by itself is not conducive to calculating the total Jewish proportion in a given district's population.

Another aim is to find out how the patterns of the distributions change from decade to decade in the interwar period. For this purpose, I created line graphs using Excel, based on the data in the tables also created on Excel. Just like with the other graphs, maps, and so forth, there are separate line charts for the residential, famous residential, institutional, and selected commercial samples.

Chapter 5: Results

Residential Population Distribution

According to the 635 non-famous residential samples collected from the 1921-22 Lovell's directory, the Jewish population of Montreal in 1921 was mainly concentrated in the St. Lawrence-Park corridor (also known as "the Main" corridor), stretching from St. Antoine St. next to Old Montreal to as far as beyond the CP rail tracks next to Van Horne Ave./Rosemont Blvd. Almost 75% of the Montreal Jewish population at that time, as represented by the collected samples, was concentrated in that corridor. Within that corridor, 67 - just over 10% of the total sample population - lived in the Far Southern Main (south of Sherbrooke St.), while 82 resided in the Central SW Main (including 4 - less than 1% - being in the East of McGill area).³² The Central SE Main (north of the Far Southern Main and east of the Central SW Main) had the highest concentration of samples of any area in Montreal in 1921, at 214 (almost 35%). Heading north of Mount Royal Ave., the Central NW Main had a further 11-12% of the sample population, at 74, while the Central NE Main and the Far Northern Main each had only 2-4% of the total Jewish population - respectively 22 and 14. Located next to the Central NW Main, Outremont had 16 (only 2.5% of the Jewish residential samples), all in its eastern half. The sprawling East Plateau Mont Royal, lying to the east of the Central SE Main and the Central NE Main, also accounted for less than 5% of the samples, at 21, though that was more than in Outremont.

Besides "the Main" corridor and vicinity, there were other, much smaller secondary Jewish population concentrations in 1921, based on the samples. There were 23, just over 3.5% of the samples, lived in the Papineau Area. That exact same number resided in Western Downtown (west of University St.), while a further 2.5% (or 16) were just to the west, in Westmount, and almost 2% (or 12) were in eastern NDG, right to the west of Westmount. In the southwestern part of

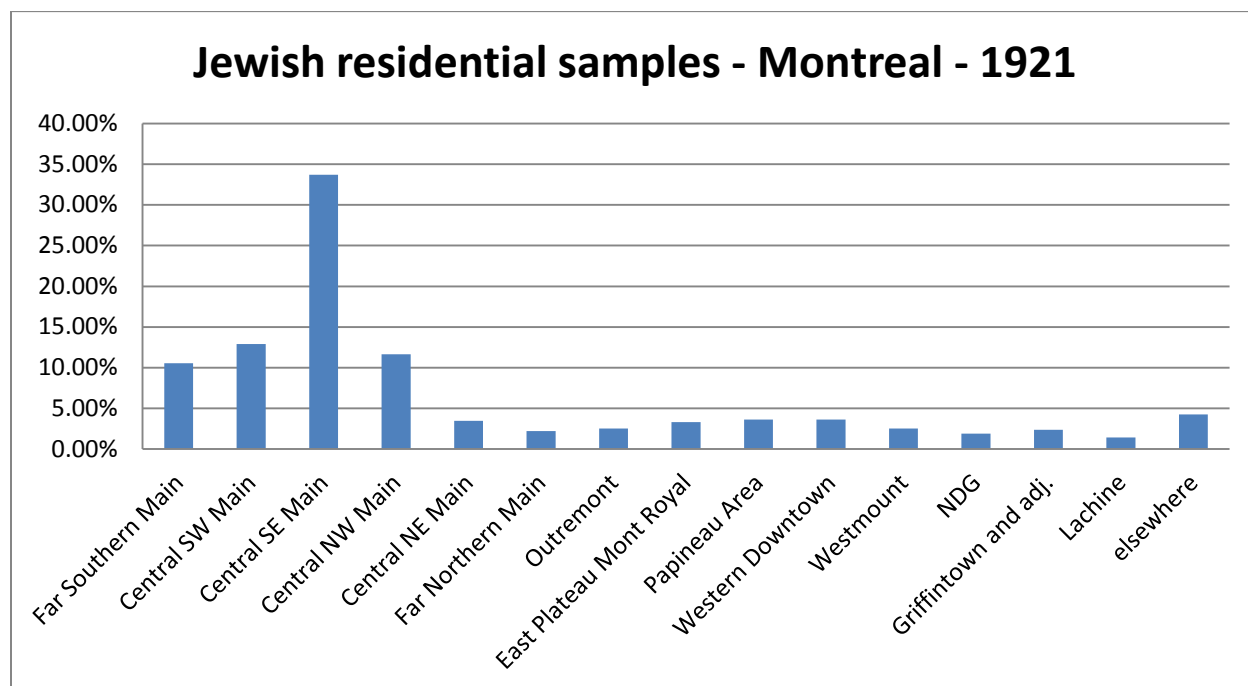
³² The differences between the East of McGill area and the rest of the Central SW Main will be discussed in the next chapter.

Montreal, almost 2.5% (or 15) were in and around Griffintown, just west of Old Montreal, and 2% (or 13) were in the other areas - including St. Henri and Verdun - combined. Lachine, which at that time was little more than a satellite city of Montreal, had almost a further 1.5% of the samples, corresponding to 9 samples. Other areas with a presence in the Jewish population sample, in descending order and however minimal, include the Lower East End (east of St. Denis St. and south of Sherbrooke St. E.), Hochelaga-Maisonneuve plus Tetraultville (both beyond the Lower East End), Longueuil (on the South Shore), Cote des Neiges (west of Outremont), and the Town of Mount Royal (north of Cote des Neiges and Outremont). For more information, see Figure 1 right below and into the next page, and Map Figure 3 in Appendix 3 (p. 100).

Figure 1: Residential Population Distribution in 1921

area	sample population	percentage of total sample population
Far Southern Main	67	10.55%
Central SW Main	82	12.91%
Central SE Main	214	33.70%
Central NW Main	74	11.65%
Central NE Main	22	3.46%
Far Northern Main	14	2.20%
Outremont	16	2.52%
East Plateau Mont Royal	21	3.31%
Papineau Area	23	3.62%
Western Downtown	23	3.62%
Westmount	16	2.52%
NDG	12	1.89%
Griffintown and adj.	15	2.36%
Lachine	9	1.42%
elsewhere	27	4.25%
TOTAL	635	100.00%

note: in Central SW Main: East of McGill - 4 (0.63%); rest of Central SW Main - 78 (12.28%)



The Jewish population of Montreal in 1931 was, once again, mainly concentrated in “the Main” corridor, according to the 636 non-famous residential samples collected from the 1931-32 Lovell’s directory. Almost two-thirds of the Montreal Jewish population at that time, as represented by the collected samples, was concentrated in that corridor. Within that corridor, only 3% of the total sample population (or 19) remained in the Far Southern Main, a decline of just over 70% from 1921. Between 12% and 13% - or 79 - resided in the Central SW Main (including 13 - or 2% - in the East of McGill area, which itself was an increase from 1921), about the same as in 1921. The Central SE Main, in 1931, accounted for 123 (just under 20% of the total samples), declining by over 40% from ten years earlier. Further north along “the Main” corridor, the Central NW Main registered an increase of just over 140% in the sample population from 1921, to 165 (slightly more than 25% of the total samples). For their parts, the Central NE Main and the Far Northern Main each had well less than 5% of the total Jewish population just like in 1921, but the former remained stable at 23 while the latter declined to less than 1% (only 5 samples). On the fringes of “the Main” corridor, the proportion of the Jewish residential samples in 1931 in Outremont skyrocketed to 75

(more than 10% of the samples), spreading itself further west within Outremont. By contrast, less than 2% of the 1931 residential samples - or 11 - lived in the East Plateau Mont Royal, a decrease of almost half from 1921. Also, there was one residential sample in 1931 in Park Extension, next to the Far Northern Main, up from none in 1921.

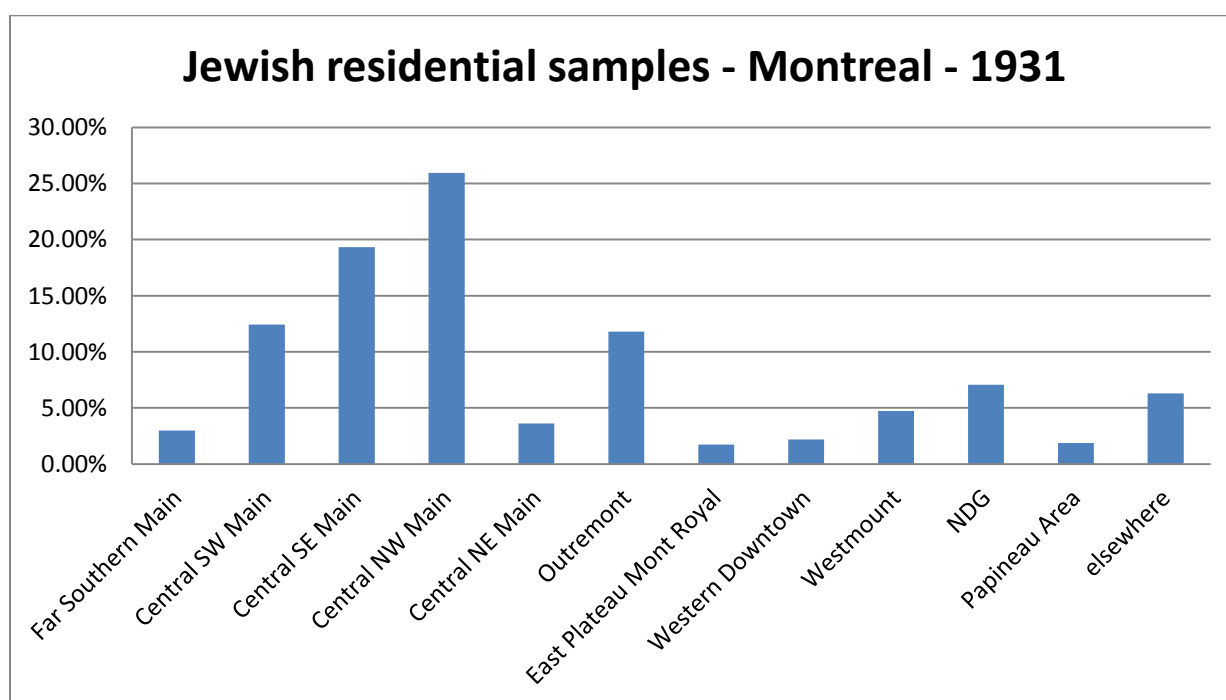
Outside “the Main” corridor and its environs, the samples once again registered much smaller Jewish populations in 1931, though the distribution changed to a significant degree. Even though Western Downtown’s Jewish population samples decreased to 14 (or 2%), there were large increases just to the west, in Westmount (to 30, or almost 5%) and especially eastern NDG (to 45, or 7%).³³ On the other hand, by 1931, the Papineau Area’s Jewish samples were reduced by almost half, to 12 (just under 2% of the total samples). In Griffintown and adj., there were no Jews in the 1931 samples, the sharpest contrast from 1921 anywhere in Montreal, while elsewhere in southwestern Montreal (including Verdun) combined, there were 11 (just under 2% of the total samples). In Lachine, the number of samples declined to well under 1% (3 samples, to be exact). While in 1921 there was only one sample in Cote des Neiges and none in Snowdon, by 1931 the number of samples in those two areas rose to six (with three in each district), amounting to almost 1% of the total samples, presaging a much bigger increase in subsequent decades. According to the 1931 Jewish population sample, there was a presence - however minimal - in Rosemont (east of the Papineau Area and the East Plateau Mont Royal), Longueuil plus St. Lambert (both on the South Shore), the Lower East End, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve (but not Tetraultville), and Montreal West (just west of NDG), in descending order. For more information, see Figure 2 on the next page and Map Figure 4 in Appendix 3 (p. 101).

³³ There was one sample as well in western NDG, close to Montreal West.

Figure 2: Residential Population Distribution in 1931

area	sample population	percentage of total sample population
Far Southern Main	19	2.99%
Central SW Main	79	12.42%
Central SE Main	123	19.34%
Central NW Main	165	25.94%
Central NE Main	23	3.62%
Outremont	75	11.79%
East Plateau Mont Royal	11	1.73%
Western Downtown	14	2.20%
Westmount	30	4.72%
NDG	45	7.08%
Papineau Area	12	1.89%
elsewhere	40	6.29%
TOTAL	636	100.00%

note: in Central SW Main: East of McGill - 13 (2.05%); rest of Central SW Main - 66 (10.37%)



In 1941, according to the 657 residential samples collected from the 1941 Lovell's directory, the Jewish population of Montreal was still mainly concentrated in "the Main" corridor, but this concentration was now only 55-60% of all the samples. At the southern end of that corridor, the Far Southern Main continued its decline, shrinking by almost two-thirds from 1931 to get to just 7 samples by 1941. Just over 10% - or 73 - dwelled in the Central SW Main (including 13 - or 2% - in the East of McGill area, which itself was much the same as in 1931), a slight decline from 1931. There continued to be a significant decline in the Central SE Main in 1941, dwindling to 89 (below 15% of the total samples). North of Mount Royal Ave., the Central NW Main maintained its increase in the sample population, but this time just a 10% increase, to 181 (27.5% of the total samples). The Central NE Main stayed the same relative to 1931, with 23 (3.5% of the sample population), but the Far Northern Main had just one sample left in the dataset by 1941. Just over the border from the Central NW Main, Outremont's sample population continued to grow steadily, albeit just an increase of 25%, reaching 94 (almost 15% by 1941), and it continued its westward march. Also, there were three residential samples in 1941 in Park Extension, up from one in 1921. On the other hand, the East Plateau Mont Royal did not have a single sample by 1941.

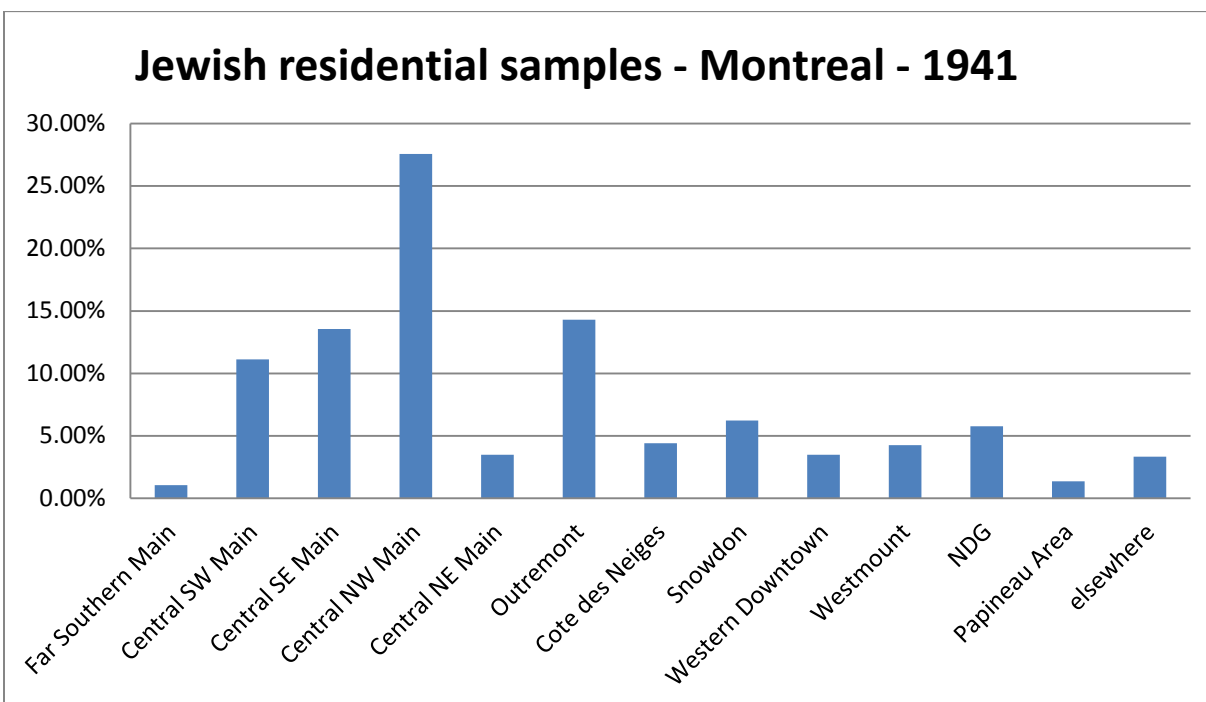
Heading out from the region of "the Main" corridor, the other areas had significantly smaller Jewish populations in 1941. However, not only did the distribution change to a significant extent; there was, on the whole, quite a substantial increase in those other areas. This was especially true in Cote des Neiges and in Snowdon, such that by 1941, the population was 29 and 41, respectively (representing over 10% of the total samples). For their part, Western Downtown, Westmount, and NDG on the whole remained more or less stable in 1941 relative to 1931, for while Western Downtown grew to 3.5% (or 23, just like in 1921), Westmount dropped very slightly (to 28, or just over 4%) and NDG lessened somewhat (to 38, or almost 6%). As for the Papineau Area, it remained in decline as a secondary Jewish nucleus, so that by 1941 it accounted for only 9 (just

under 1.5% of the total samples). In Griffintown and adj., there continued to be no Jews in the 1941 samples, just like in the 1931 samples, and the districts elsewhere in the southwest of Montreal (including Verdun) combined were stable and continued to register at 11 (just under 2% of the total samples). In Lachine, the number of samples in 1941 actually increased slightly (to 4 samples), though still just under 1%. To wrap up the 1941 Jewish population sample, there was only one resident each in Longueuil (but not in St. Lambert), the Lower East End, and Hampstead (just west of Snowdon and north of NDG). Neighbourhoods not having anyone in the sample population in 1941 (but which did in 1931) included Rosemont, Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, and Montreal West, in addition to the East Plateau Mont Royal. For more information, see Figure 3 right below and into the next page, and Map Figure 5 in Appendix 3 (p. 102).

Figure 3: Residential Population Distribution in 1941

area	sample population	percentage of total sample population
Far Southern Main	7	1.07%
Central SW Main	73	11.11%
Central SE Main	89	13.55%
Central NW Main	181	27.55%
Central NE Main	23	3.50%
Outremont	94	14.31%
Cote des Neiges	29	4.41%
Snowdon	41	6.24%
Western Downtown	23	3.50%
Westmount	28	4.26%
NDG	38	5.78%
Papineau Area	9	1.37%
elsewhere	22	3.35%
TOTAL	657	100.00%

note: in Central SW Main: East of McGill - 13 (1.98%); rest of Central SW Main - 60 (9.13%)



For more information about changes in the non-famous residential features in the Montreal area between 1921 and 1941, see Figure 17 in Appendix 3 (pp. 103-104).

Famous Residential Population Distribution

Of the 20 famous Jewish residents in Montreal in 1921 whose addresses I collected for this paper, whether they were active in their endeavours or whether they were growing up at that time, 70% lived somewhere in “the Main” corridor, with an additional one (Lea Roback, a social activist) living in the adjacent East Plateau Mont Royal. This mirrored the trend for ordinary Jewish residents at that time. Of the famous residents along “the Main” corridor, three - Taube Kaplan (a maternity hospital founder) and the authors Irving Layton and Ida Maze³⁴ - were found in the Far Southern Main. A further three - Hirsch Hershman (a bookseller and activist as well as author), A.M. Klein (an author), and Hirsch Wolofsky (founder and editor of the *Keneder Adler*) -

³⁴ Ida Maze lived there at least between 1916 and 1920; it is unclear whether she lived there in 1921 as well (cf. MJM 2015-17; personal correspondence with Pierre Anctil, June 2017).

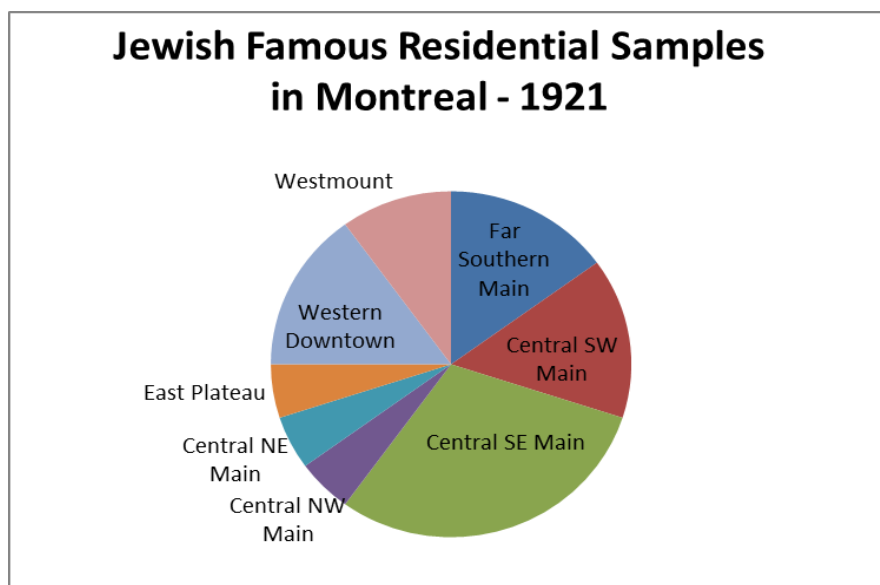
lived in the Central SW Main; of those, Hershman was in East of McGill. As many as six (30% of the famous Jewish residential sample) resided in the Central SE Main in 1921. These consisted of Lavy Becker (a future liberal rabbi), Rabbis Hirsch Cohen and Yudel Rosenberg, Joseph Schubert (a social activist), J.I. Segal (an author),³⁵ and Sydney S. Shulemson (a prominent World War II air veteran). The lone famous resident in the Central NE Main was David Lewis (a politician), while in the Central NW Main it was Lilian Cornfeld (a professional cook who would soon move to Israel). Finally, moving along to wealthy, established districts, Western Downtown had three famous residents - Sir Mortimer Davis (tobacco company chairman), Alton Goldbloom (a prominent doctor), and Maxwell Goldstein (a lawyer and community leader) - while Westmount had two - Herman Abramowitz (rabbi of the Shaar Hashomayim synagogue) and Abraham Bronfman (of the renowned Bronfman family). For more information, see Figure 4 right below and into the next page, and Map Figure 6 in Appendix 3 (p. 105).

Figure 4: Famous Residential Population Distribution in 1921

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	3	15%
Central SW Main	3	15%
Central SE Main	6	30%
Central NW Main	1	5%
Central NE Main	1	5%
East Plateau	1	5%
Western Downtown	3	15%
Westmount	2	10%
TOTAL	20	100%

note: in Central SW Main: East of McGill - 1 (5%); rest of Central SW Main - 2 (10%)

³⁵ J.I. Segal lived there only in Sept. 1919-Nov. 1920 and in Jan. 1921; it is unclear whether he lived there for the remainder of 1921 as well (Ancil 2012; personal correspondence with Pierre Ancil, 2017).



There were 21 famous Jewish residents in Montreal in 1931 that I collected as samples, whether they were growing up or whether they were active in their accomplishments at that time,³⁶ again in strong correlation to where ordinary residents resided. Of these, almost half made their homes somewhere along “the Main” corridor, though no longer in the Far Southern Main. Four (almost 20% of the samples) lived in the Central SW Main, a slight increase over 1921; they were A.M. Klein, David Lewis, Israel Rabinovitch (journalist and editor of the *Keneder Adler*), and Rabbi Yudel Rosenberg. In the Central SE Main in 1931, there were just two famous residents, four fewer than in 1921; these consisted of Rabbi Hirsch Cohen and Joseph Schubert. There were four famous residents in the Central NW Main in 1931, the same number as in the Central SW Main and a tremendous increase from 1921; they were Hirsch Hershman, Ida Maze,³⁷ Mordecai Richler,³⁸ and J.I. Segal.³⁹ In neighbouring Outremont, there were three famous Jewish residents

³⁶ A further three, Lavy Becker, Lea Roback, and Lilian Cornfeld, lived outside Montreal in 1931. Moreover, Sir Mortimer Davis died in 1928 (MJM 2015-17).

³⁷ Ida Maze lived there at least between 1928 and 1930; it is unclear whether she lived there in 1921 as well (MJM 2015-17; personal correspondence with Pierre Ancil, 2017).

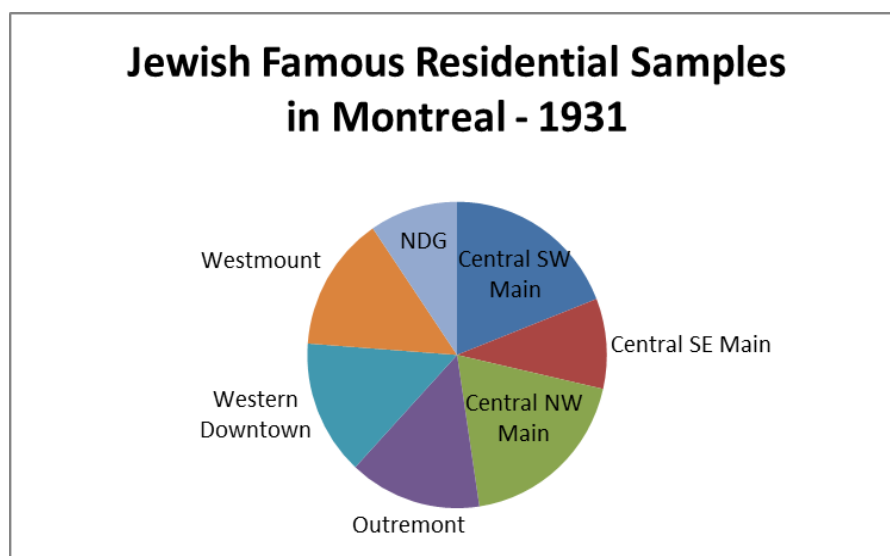
³⁸ Mordecai Richler was born in 1931 (MJM 2015-17).

³⁹ J.I. Segal lived there from May 1931 (Ancil 2012).

in 1931, up from none ten years earlier; they were William Shatner,⁴⁰ Sydney S. Shulemson, and Hirsch Wolofsky. Western Downtown had three famous residents, the same number as ten years earlier - Charles Bender (rabbi of the Spanish & Portuguese synagogue), Dr. Alton Goldbloom, and Maxwell Goldstein - and Westmount had three, one more than in 1921 - Rabbi Herman Abramowitz and Abraham and Sam Bronfman (both of the Bronfman family). Finally, NDG had two famous Jewish residents (where there were none in 1921) - Julius D. Berger (rabbi of the liberal Shaare Zion synagogue) and Irving Layton. For more information, see Figure 5 right below and Map Figure 7 in Appendix 3 (p. 106).

Figure 5: Famous Residential Population Distribution in 1931

area	number	%
Central SW Main	4	19.05%
Central SE Main	2	9.52%
Central NW Main	4	19.05%
Outremont	3	14.29%
Western Downtown	3	14.29%
Westmount	3	14.29%
NDG	2	9.52%
TOTAL	21	100.00%



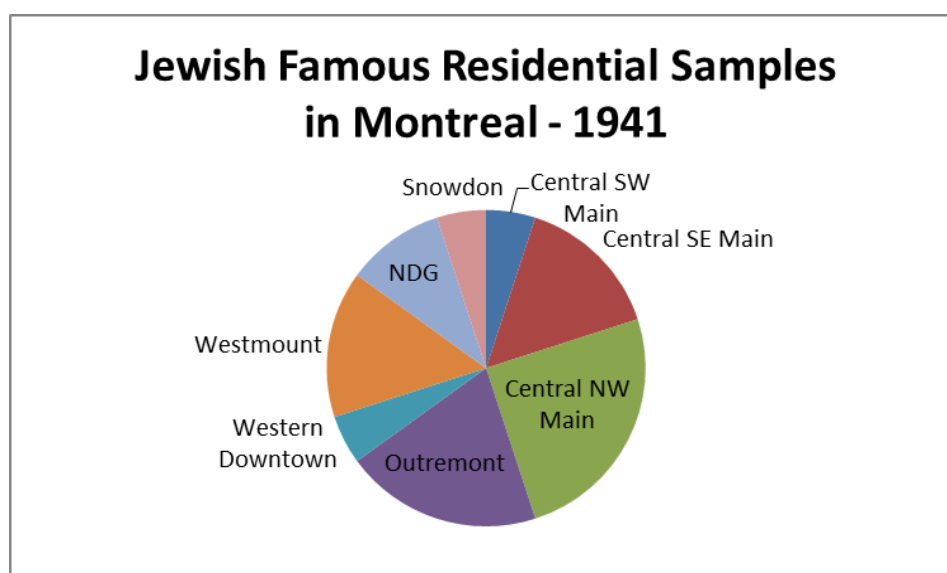
⁴⁰ William Shatner was born in 1931 (Wikipedia 2017).

Of the 20 famous Jewish residents in Montreal in 1941 that I collected as samples,⁴¹ almost half continued to live somewhere along “the Main” corridor (though - just like in 1931 - not in the Far Southern Main), largely in consonance with distribution trends of ordinary Jewish residents. Unlike in 1931, just one - Ida Maze - dwelled in the Central SW Main, and even that was close to the Central NW Main. In the Central SE Main in 1941, there were three famous residents, one more than in 1931 - Rabbi Hirsch Cohen, Irving Layton, and Joseph Schubert. The Central NW Main had five famous residents in 1941, one more than in 1931; they were Hirsch Hershman, A.M. Klein, Israel Medres (a *Keneder Adler* journalist), Mordecai Richler, and J.I. Segal. In next-door Outremont, there were four famous Jewish residents in 1941, one more than ten years earlier; they were Charles Bender (who had by then been transferred to the local Adath Israel synagogue), Israel Rabinovitch, Leah Roback, and Hirsch Wolofsky. Western Downtown had only one famous resident, down from two in 1931 - Dr. Alton Goldbloom - and Westmount had three, the same number as in 1931 and those exact three - Rabbi Herman Abramowitz and Abraham and Sam Bronfman. Finally, NDG had two famous Jewish residents (where there were none in 1921) - Rabbi Julius D. Berger and William Shatner - and Snowdon had one - Sydney S. Shulemson. For more information, see Figure 6 on the next page and Map Figure 8 in Appendix 3 (p. 107).

⁴¹ A further three, Lavy Becker, David Lewis, and Lilian Cornfeld, lived outside Montreal in 1941. Moreover, Rabbi Yudel Rosenberg died in 1935, and Maxwell Goldstein died in 1939 (MJM 2015-17).

Figure 6: Famous Residential Population Distribution in 1941

area	number	%
Central SW Main	1	5%
Central SE Main	3	15%
Central NW Main	5	25%
Outremont	4	20%
Western Downtown	1	5%
Westmount	3	15%
NDG	2	10%
Snowdon	1	5%
TOTAL	20	100%



For more information about changes in the famous residential features in the Montreal area between 1921 and 1941, see Figure 18 in Appendix 3 (pp. 108-109).

Institutional Distribution

Out of the 59 institutions of various kinds that I incorporated as samples for 1921, most of them were located on “the Main” corridor, in correlation to where the residents lived. The Far Southern Main alone had over 25% of these institutions; these included six synagogues, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies (a forerunner of today’s Federation CJA), a few mutual benefit

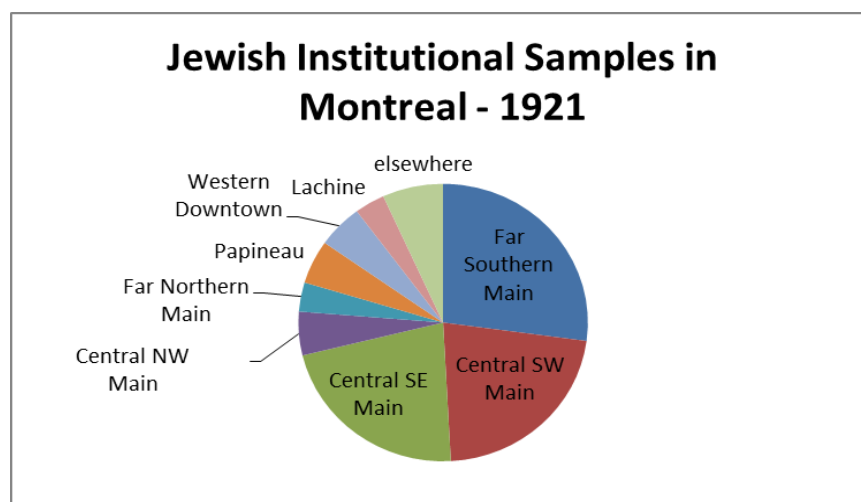
organizations, two afternoon schools, an orphanage, and the Monument National theatre. The Central SW Main had another more than 20% of the institutions; these consisted of eight synagogues (including one in the East of McGill area), two afternoon schools, a hospital (the Herzl Dispensary), a library (the Jewish Public Library), and an athletic building (the YMHA). The Central SE Main had an equal number of institutions, with 10 synagogues (including one that doubled as an afternoon school) plus a maternity hospital, the local branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America trade union, and a mutual benefit organization. While neither the Central NE Main nor the East Plateau Mont Royal nor Outremont had any Jewish institutions at that time, the Central NW Main and the Far Northern Main combined had five (two afternoon schools, two joint synagogues/afternoon schools, and a mutual benefit organization).

Elsewhere in Montreal, the Papineau Area had three (two synagogues and an afternoon school), the Lower East End had an afternoon school, Griffintown had the headquarters for the JIAS immigration organization, Little Burgundy had a joint synagogue/afternoon school, Western Downtown had the exclusive Montefiore Club and two prominent synagogues (Spanish & Portuguese and Shaar Hashomayim), Westmount had a prominent Reform temple (Emanu-El), and Lachine had two synagogues. For more information, see Figure 7 on the next page and Map Figure 9 in Appendix 3 (p. 110).

Figure 7: Institutional Distribution in 1921

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	16	27.12%
Central SW Main	13	22.03%
Central SE Main	13	22.03%
Central NW Main	3	5.08%
Far Northern Main	2	3.39%
Papineau	3	5.08%
Western Downtown	3	5.08%
Lachine	2	3.39%
elsewhere	4	6.78%
TOTAL	59	100.00%

note: in Central SW Main: East of McGill - 1 (1.69%); rest of Central SW Main - 2 (20.34%)



According to my samples for 1931, there were 87 institutions of various kinds, a big jump from 1921. Most of them were once again located on “the Main” corridor, in correlation to where the residents lived. The Far Southern Main still had almost 10% of these institutions, but it was a big decrease from ten years earlier; in that area in 1931 were found two synagogues, the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, one mutual benefit organization, two afternoon schools, a few social/Zionist organizations, and the Monument National theatre. The Central SW Main, at this point, had almost 20% of the institutions (a slightly lower percentage than in 1921 but with slightly

more in absolute numbers). These consisted of six synagogues (none in the East of McGill area), two afternoon schools, one day school, a couple of mutual benefit organizations (including JIAS, recently relocated from Griffintown), a hospital (the Herzl Dispensary), a library (the Jewish Public Library), an old age home, and an athletic building (the YWHA). The Central SE Main, in 1931, had 30% of the sampled institutions, the most of any area in Montreal and a tremendous increase from 1921. These institutions included 16 synagogues (including two that doubled as afternoon schools) and two afternoon schools (Peretz School campuses), plus a maternity hospital, the local branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America trade union, a mutual benefit organization, 1-2 rabbinic organizations, up to 3 media organizations, and a political organization.

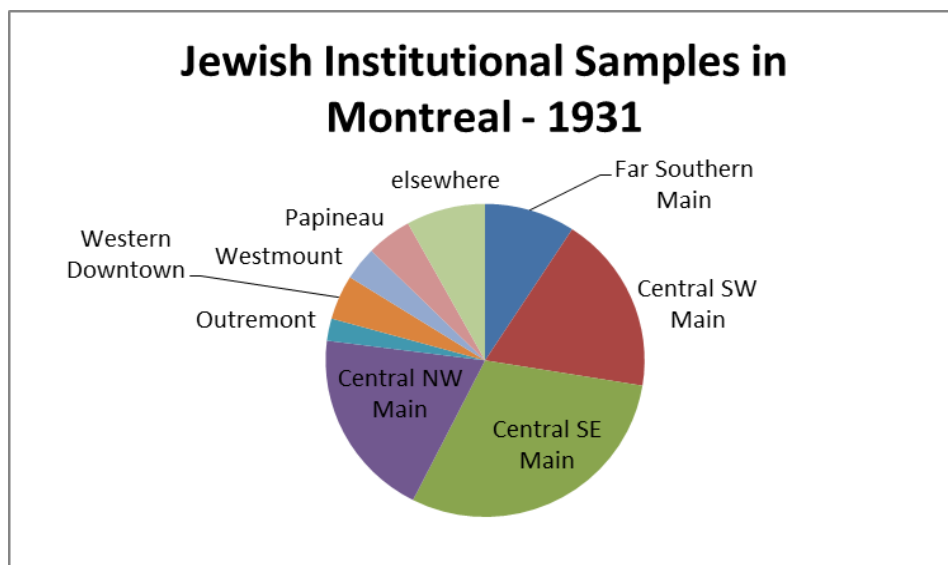
For its part, the Central NW Main boasted 20% of the sampled Jewish institutions in 1931, a sharp increase from 1921 - they included nine synagogues (including a joint synagogue-afternoon school), five afternoon schools, one day school, an orphanage, and an athletic building (the YMHA). To round out “the Main” corridor, the Central NE Main had one mutual benefit organization (up from no institutions in 1921) and the Far Northern Main had one synagogue (but not as well the afternoon school that existed in 1921). Just beyond “the Main” corridor, Outremont had two synagogues in 1931, both in the eastern part adjacent to the Central NW Main, up from no institutions in 1921.

Moving on to other neighbourhoods in Montreal, Western Downtown not only had the Montefiore Club and the Spanish & Portuguese Synagogue like in 1921 but also an English-speaking Jewish newspaper and the headquarters of a campaign committee for a new Jewish hospital. Westmount had not only Temple Emanu-El like in 1921 but also Shaar Hashomayim (recently relocated from Western Downtown) and an orphanage, and the part of NDG immediately adjacent to Westmount had one synagogue. Thus, Western Downtown, Westmount, and NDG had a combined total of almost 10% of the total sampled institutions, up

from almost 7% in 1921 and representing a doubling in absolute numbers from four to eight. Elsewhere, the Papineau Area had four synagogues (almost 5%, about the same proportion as in 1921), Old Montreal had an English-language Jewish periodical, Little Burgundy had a joint synagogue/afternoon school just like in 1921, Verdun had an afternoon school (where none had existed in 1921), and Lachine had one synagogue (down from two just 10 years beforehand). For more information, see Figure 8 right below and Map Figure 10 in Appendix 3 (p. 111).

Figure 8: Institutional Distribution in 1931

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	8	9.20%
Central SW Main	16	18.39%
Central SE Main	26	29.89%
Central NW Main	17	19.54%
Outremont	2	2.30%
Western Downtown	4	4.60%
Westmount	3	3.45%
Papineau	4	4.60%
elsewhere	7	8.05%
TOTAL	87	100.00%



In 1941, there were 97 institutions of various kinds, as seen in the samples I gathered, growing modestly from what was seen in 1931. Just like in the previous years, most of them were located along “the Main” corridor, corresponding to where the residents lived. The number of these institutions in the Far Southern Main continued to plummet, so that in 1941 there were only four left, half the number in 1931. Besides the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies and the Monument National theatre, there was a mutual benefit organization and a Jewish publishing house. The Central SW Main was much more endowed with institutions, accounting for 20% of the total Jewish institutions in 1941. This was slightly higher than in 1931, though more or less the same if one excludes the East of McGill area, with its Zionist organizations at one location on the north side of Sherbrooke St. W. not far from the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. That district’s institutions consisted of nine synagogues, one afternoon school, one day school, a couple of mutual benefit organizations (including JIAS), a library (the Jewish Public Library), a few social/Zionist organizations (recently relocated from the Far Southern Main), an old age home, the local branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America trade union (recently relocated from the Central SE Main), and an athletic building (the YWHA). The Central SE Main, at that time, had 25% of the sampled institutions, a slight decrease from 1931. These institutions included 11 synagogues (including one that doubled as an afternoon school) and two afternoon schools (campuses of the Peretz School), numerous mutual benefit organizations, 1-2 rabbinic organizations, and up to 3 newspapers or publishing houses.

Further north, the proportion of sampled Jewish institutions in 1941 in the Central NW Main continued its growth spurt, reaching almost 30%, the highest in Montreal. In that district, these institutions included 14 synagogues, four afternoon schools, two day schools, a number of mutual benefit and social organizations, an orphanage, a hospital (the Herzl Dispensary), and an athletic building (the YMHA). Finishing off “the Main” corridor, the Far Northern Main had one

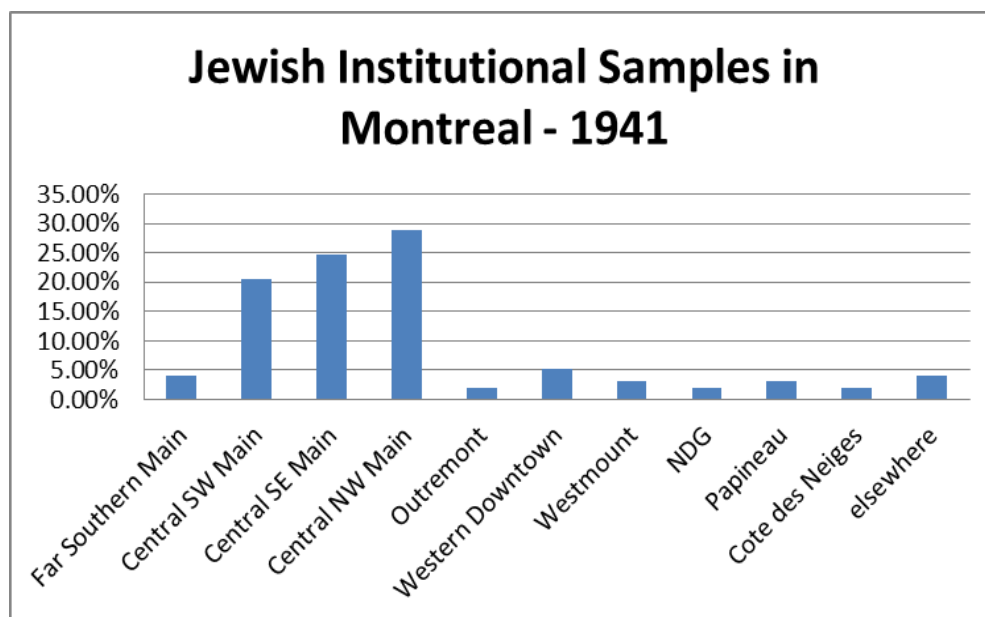
synagogue, but the Central NE Main no longer had the mutual benefit organization it had had in 1931. Going immediately west from the Central NW Main, Outremont once again had two synagogues in 1941, though one of them moved somewhat further west in Outremont as it got its own building.

In other neighbourhoods in Montreal, Western Downtown not only boasted the Montefiore Club and the Spanish & Portuguese Synagogue like in 1921 and 1931 but also two English-language Jewish periodicals and the headquarters of the newly-activated Canadian Jewish Congress. Westmount had the same institutions as in 1931 - Temple Emanu-El, Shaar Hashomayim and an orphanage. The part of NDG immediately next to Westmount had one synagogue, and somewhat further west in NDG there was the Montreal branch of the worldwide Bnai Brith organization (recently relocated from the Far Southern Main). These three contiguous neighbourhoods combined had a total of slightly more than 10% of the total sampled institutions, up very slightly from the figures for 1931. Elsewhere, the Papineau Area had three synagogues (3%, dropping from 1931), Old Montreal had an English-language Jewish newspaper, Little Burgundy had a joint synagogue/afternoon school as in 1931, and Lachine had one synagogue as in 1931. On the other hand, Verdun no longer had the afternoon school that it had had in 1931. Furthermore, Cote des Neiges had just the Jewish General Hospital and its nearby nurses' home in 1941 as far as Jewish institutions are concerned. For more information, see Figure 9 on the next page and Map Figure 11 in Appendix 3 (p. 112).

Figure 9: Institutional Distribution in 1941

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	4	4.12%
Central SW Main	20	20.62%
Central SE Main	24	24.74%
Central NW Main	28	28.87%
Outremont	2	2.06%
Western Downtown	5	5.15%
Westmount	3	3.09%
NDG	2	2.06%
Papineau	3	3.09%
Cote des Neiges	2	2.06%
elsewhere	4	4.12%
TOTAL	97	100.00%

note: in Central SW Main: East of McGill - 3 (3.09%), all in one location; rest of Central SW Main - 17 (17.53%)



For more information about changes in the institutional features in the Montreal area between 1921 and 1941, see Figure 19 in Appendix 3 (pp. 114-115).

Institutions and Cultural Events Mentioned in the *Keneder Adler* - 1932-36

In addition to gathering addresses of institutions (along with the residences and selected businesses) in a systematic fashion from 1921, 1931, and 1941, I gathered addresses from 15 institutions and other places of cultural life⁴² as mentioned in my content analysis project for the *Keneder Adler* from advertisements and social announcements in a few selected issues in 1932, 1934, and 1936 (PHVC 2017). This is a far shorter list of institutions than what appears from the Lovell's directories from any given year, but this provides a good idea of where the readership of the *Keneder Adler* either lived or at least made excursions for cultural events after 1931 but well before 1941.⁴³

Just like the institutions covered in the 1921, 1931, and 1941 Lovell's directories, the vast majority of these culturally significant places were to be found on "the Main" corridor, near the Jewish residents' sites of habitation. Only the Monument National theatre was located in the Far Southern Main. The Central SW Main had two such places (making up almost 15% of these places in total) - a social hall (for celebrations) within a restaurant on St. Lawrence Blvd., and the Jewish Public Library. The Central SE Main and the Central NW Main each had five such places, between them making up two-thirds of the total. The places in the Central SE Main (all along St. Lawrence Blvd.) were either youth or other social organizations, or were restaurants doubling as social halls, while in the Central NW Main, they tended rather to be either a synagogue with a social hall, an athletic facility (the YMHA), an orphanage, or a school, and tended to be away from St. Lawrence Blvd. In Outremont, slightly beyond "the Main" corridor, there was another

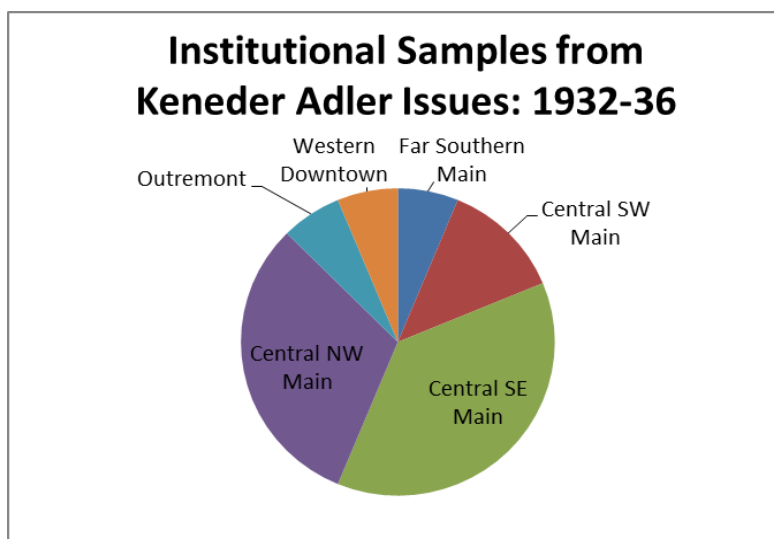
⁴² There are actually 16 entries but 15 institutions, because in 1932 the Poale Zion/Zeire Zion organization was located on the Central SE Main part of St. Lawrence Blvd. but by 1936 it had moved to the Central NW Main part of that street.

⁴³ I do not include address information from earlier or later parts of the interwar period because my content analysis project does not cover those years in nearly as much detail. Also, I did not include institutions for which the *Keneder Adler* gives one name but the Lovell's directory gives a completely different name. For example, the address on St. Lawrence Blvd. in the Central NW Main for which the *Keneder Adler* gives as the Austrian Centre in 1932 is variously called the St. Michael's Civic League or the Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association or even some private businesses.

synagogue with a social hall. Lastly, Western Downtown had the office of a society devoted to investing in the then-British Mandate of Palestine. For more information, see Figure 10 right below and Map Figure 12 in Appendix 3 (p. 113).

Figure 10: Institutional Distribution in 1932-36, from the *Keneder Adler*

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	1	6.25%
Central SW Main	2	12.50%
Central SE Main	6	37.50%
Central NW Main	5	31.25%
Outremont	1	6.25%
Western Downtown	1	6.25%
TOTAL	16	100.00%



Commercial (Selected) Distribution

For 1921, I selected a total of 47 Jewish-owned businesses, of which only six were geared towards Jewish needs. These six were all located near where many Jews lived, and they consisted of the Richstone bakery, Paperman's Funeral Home, and the *Keneder Adler* in the Far Southern Main; and a kosher meat market plus the forerunners of Ben's and of Chenoy's, all in the Central SE Main (along or just off St. Lawrence Blvd.). The other 41 Jewish-owned businesses were

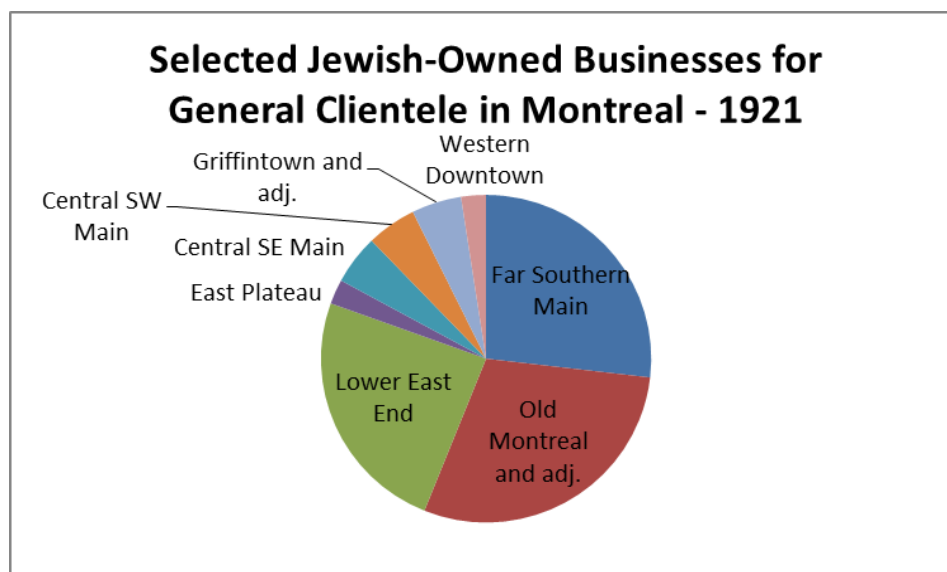
comprised of law firms, groceries, clothing stores, furniture stores, and other kinds of stores aimed at a general (mainly non-Jewish) clientele. Those were located mainly in the Far Southern Main (including a number of clothing stores), Old Montreal and adj. (including a number of law firms), and the Lower East End (mainly clothing and furniture stores); very few Jews actually lived in the latter two districts. In other districts, one such business was in the East Plateau Mont Royal, two each were in the Central SE Main and the Central SW Main, two were in Griffintown and adj., and one was in Western Downtown. For more information, see Figures 11 and 12 right below and into the next page, and Map Figure 13 in Appendix 3 (p. 116).

Figure 11: Distribution of Businesses for Jewish Clientele in 1921

area	number	%
Central SE Main	3	50.00%
Far Southern Main	3	50.00%
TOTAL	6	100.00%

Figure 12: Distribution of Jewish-Owned Businesses for General Clientele in 1921

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	11	26.83%
Old Montreal and adj.	12	29.27%
Lower East End	10	24.39%
East Plateau	1	2.44%
Central SE Main	2	4.88%
Central SW Main	2	4.88%
Griffintown and adj.	2	4.88%
Western Downtown	1	2.44%
TOTAL	41	100.00%



For 1931, I selected a total of 61 Jewish-owned businesses, of which 22 were geared towards Jewish needs, much more than 10 years beforehand, chiefly because of the explosive growth of kosher meat shops over those 10 years. These 22 businesses were located near where many Jews lived, and only one - a kosher restaurant/delicatessen - was still in the Far Southern Main. The rest were located in other areas, particularly further up “the Main” corridor and especially on St. Lawrence Blvd. (the main commercial street in the area), which straddles the border between the Central SW Main and the Central SE Main and that between the Central NW Main and the Central NE Main. Besides the kosher stores and the other delicatessens, the businesses designed for Jewish needs consisted of the chain of Richstone bakeries (with many branches), Paperman’s Funeral Home, a monument manufacturer, and the *Keneder Adler* offices. The four central neighbourhoods along “the Main” corridor each accounted for an average of just under 20% of such businesses, and put together made up over 70% of such businesses in Montreal. In other Montreal neighbourhoods, there was Ben’s delicatessen in Western Downtown, two kosher meat shops in Westmount, two Richstone’s bakeries in NDG, and a kosher meat shop in Little Burgundy.

The other 39 Jewish-owned businesses in 1931 were comprised of law firms, groceries, clothing stores, furniture stores, and other kinds of stores aimed at a general (mainly non-Jewish) clientele, much like their counterparts in 1921. Similar to 1921, those were located mainly in the Far Southern Main, Old Montreal and adj., and the Lower East End (and with similar kinds of stores for each district), with very few Jews actually living in the latter two districts.⁴⁴ While the Far Southern Main and Old Montreal and adj. retained about the same proportions of generally-oriented but Jewish-owned businesses as in 1921 (25-30% each), that of the Lower East End declined to 15% from 25% ten years earlier. In other districts, one such business was in the East Plateau Mont Royal, one was in Outremont,⁴⁵ two were in the Central SE Main and one each in the Central SW Main and in the Central NE Main, one was in Griffintown and adj., one was in St. Henri, and one was in Western Downtown. For more information, see Figure 13 right below and into the next page, Figure 14 on the next page, and Map Figure 14 in Appendix 3 (p. 117).

Figure 13: Distribution of Businesses for Jewish Clientele in 1931

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	1	4.55%
Central SW Main	4	18.18%
Central SE Main	4	18.18%
Central NW Main	3	13.64%
Central NE Main	5	22.73%
Westmount	2	9.09%
elsewhere	3	13.64%
TOTAL	22	100.00%

⁴⁴ One of the Far Southern Main clothing businesses was what had become the Reitman's chain of clothing stores, which exists to this day (Reitmans 2017).

⁴⁵ Outremont was home to the head office of what had become the Steinberg's chain of supermarkets, which lasted until 1992 (MJM 2015-17).

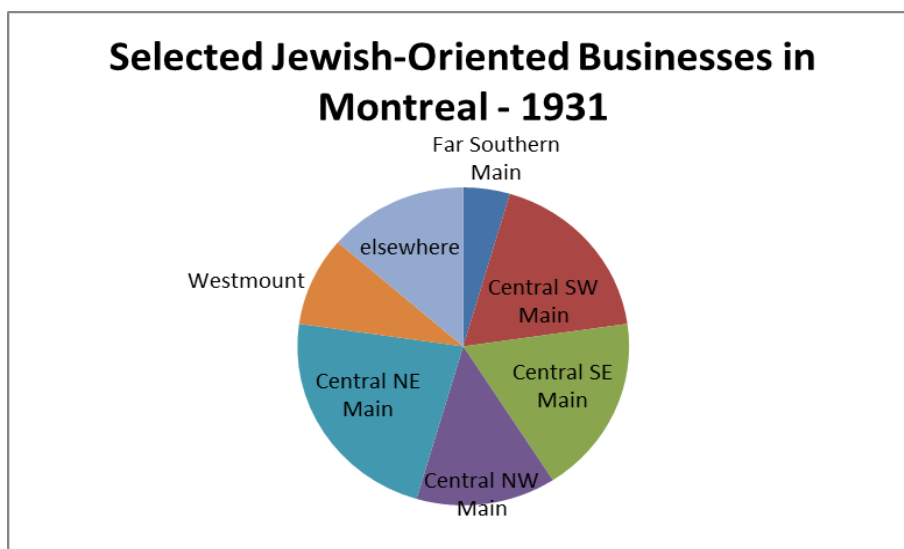
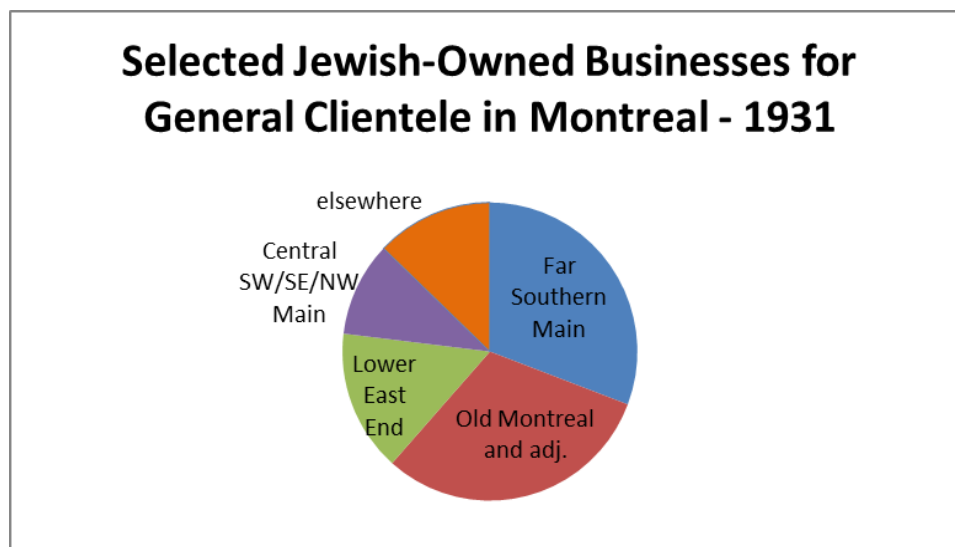


Figure 14: Distribution of Jewish-Owned Businesses for General Clientele in 1931

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	12	30.77%
Old Montreal and adj.	12	30.77%
Lower East End	6	15.38%
Central SW/SE/NW Main	4	10.26%
elsewhere	5	12.82%
TOTAL	39	100.00%



In 1941, there were 67 Jewish-owned businesses in total that I selected; of these, 36 were geared towards Jewish needs, significantly more than in 1931, primarily because of the continued rapid growth of shops selling kosher meat or other food. These 36 businesses were located in the vicinity of where many Jews lived all throughout the Central Main (particularly in the northwest), with only one - a kosher restaurant/delicatessen - still being in the Far Southern Main just like 10 years earlier. The rest were found further up “the Main” corridor and vicinity; while many were still concentrated along St. Lawrence Blvd. like in 1931, many others were located throughout the Central NW Main and, to some degree, Outremont. Other than the kosher stores and the other delicatessens, the businesses designed for Jewish needs consisted of the chain of Richstone bakeries, Paperman’s Funeral Home, a monument manufacturer, and the *Keneder Adler* offices. Of the four central neighbourhoods along “the Main” corridor, the Central NW Main alone had almost 40% of such businesses (a tremendous jump from 1931), and the other three such neighbourhoods combined had barely more than that. Put together, these four neighbourhoods made up 80% of such businesses in Montreal; with Outremont added, itself having a significant increase in the number of such businesses over 1931, that proportion climbs to almost 90%. In other Montreal neighbourhoods, there was Ben’s delicatessen in Western Downtown, and in NDG there was a Richstone’s bakery plus a kosher meat shop.

The other 31 Jewish-owned businesses in 1941, much like their counterparts in 1921 and 1931, were made up of law firms, groceries, clothing stores, furniture stores, and other kinds of stores aimed at a general (mainly non-Jewish) clientele. Just like in the earlier years under investigation, the geographic locations of these businesses - by and large - did not correspond to where most Jews lived. The Far Southern Main and Old Montreal and adj. retained about the same figures of non-Jewish-oriented but Jewish-owned businesses as in those other years (slightly lower numbers but slightly higher percentages), while the Lower East End declined even further over ten years, to

10% of such businesses. In other districts, one such business was in the Central NW Main, two were in Griffintown and adj., one was in St. Henri, and three were in Western Downtown (including the recently-relocated headquarters of the Reitman's and Steinberg's chains). For more information, see Figure 15 right below, Figure 16 on the next page, and Map Figure 15 in Appendix 3 (p. 118).

Figure 15: Distribution of Businesses for Jewish Clientele in 1941

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	1	2.78%
Central SW Main	3	8.33%
Central SE Main	8	22.22%
Central NW Main	14	38.89%
Central NE Main	4	11.11%
Outremont	3	8.33%
Western Downtown	1	2.78%
NDG	2	5.56%
TOTAL	36	100.00%

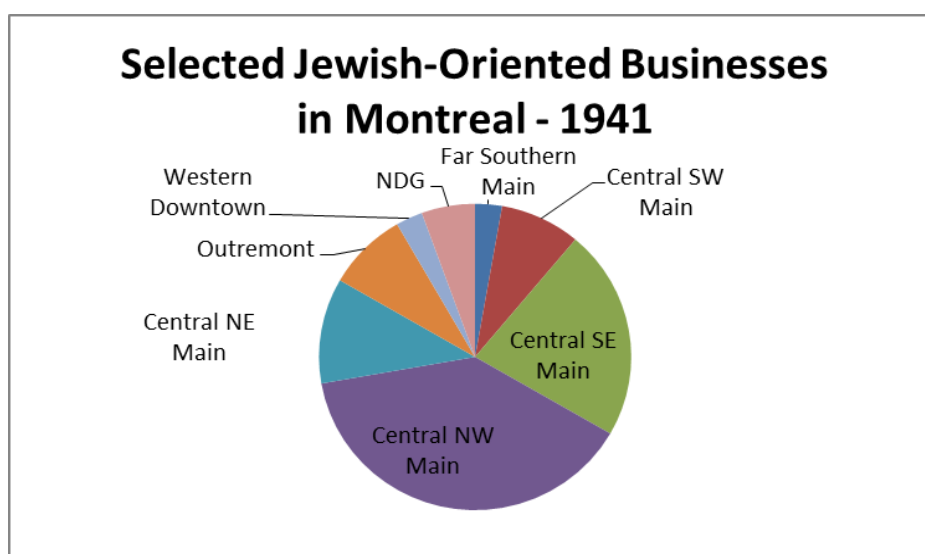
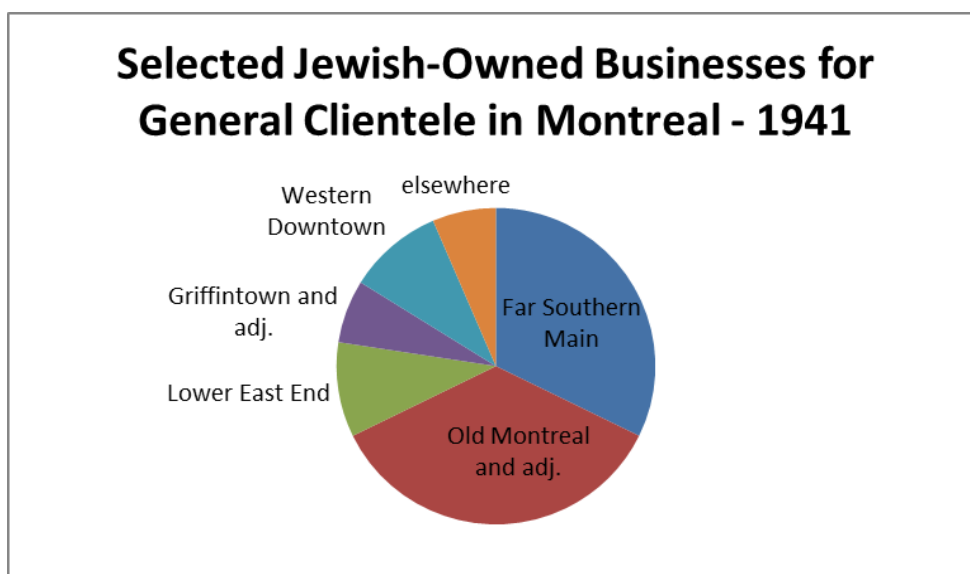


Figure 16: Distribution of Jewish-Owned Businesses for General Clientele in 1941

area	number	%
Far Southern Main	10	32.26%
Old Montreal and adj.	11	35.48%
Lower East End	3	9.68%
Griffintown and adj.	2	6.45%
Western Downtown	3	9.68%
elsewhere	2	6.45%
TOTAL	31	100.00%



For more information about changes in the commercial features in the Montreal area between 1921 and 1941, see Figures 20 and 21 in Appendix 3 (pp. 119-120).

Chapter 6: Discussion and Analysis

“The Main” Corridor and Vicinity

As mentioned elsewhere in this paper and in the literature in general, the corridor centred around St. Lawrence Blvd. and - to some extent - Park Ave. was the heartland of Jewish life in Montreal during the interwar era, with the vast majority of Montreal’s Jewish population (ordinary and famous alike), institutions, and Jewish-oriented businesses located there. Only in the case of the Jewish-owned businesses for general clientele was the big majority located outside that area. This corridor, popularly known as “the Main,” was the epitome of “downtown” Jews, who spoke Yiddish, were mostly of the working class, and were of relatively recent immigrant vintage from Eastern Europe. In general, the further south one went along the corridor and the further back in time one went, the more that its atmosphere resembled that of a Jewish ghetto or *shtetl* in Eastern Europe in at least superficial ways, as exemplified by Oiwa (1988) and Anciau (1997).

The Far Southern Main, where contemporary sites like Chinatown and Place des Arts are located, was the earliest area of settlement for Jews in Montreal and was the most ghetto-like. The results for the Far Southern Main reflect a history of a long-term decline of the Jewish population in the area - both of ordinary Jews and of famous ones - that was evident after ca. 1911, as they were moving further north along “the Main.” After all, the heyday of that area’s Jewish presence, which was mainly within a few blocks of either side of St. Lawrence Blvd., was at the turn of the 20th century. Sources like Baker (1990), Medres (1947/2000), and Oiwa (1988) go into considerable discussion on that presence, which formed when the first large wave of Eastern European Jewish immigration swept onto the shores of the St. Lawrence River. While the Jewish population of this area was in decline already in 1921, it took institutions quite a bit longer to decline in number in the Far Southern Main. In fact, the Baron de Hirsch Institute (in many ways a forerunner of the Federation CJA complex found today in Snowdon) was located at the northwest

edge of the Far Southern Main even through 1941. The number of Jewish-oriented businesses declined along with the number of residents, such that in 1931 and 1941 there was only one left. At the same time, that area continued to have many Jewish-owned clothing stores - and many Jewish employees in these stores as well - such that there was no real corresponding decline at that time.

Heading north of Sherbrooke St., the Central SW Main and the Central SE Main - which Seidel (1939, p. 23) considered as the “area of first settlement” in the 1930s - witnessed growth in the Jewish population during the 1910s as Jews were moving there from the Far Southern Main. After 1921, however, the Jewish population (both ordinary and famous) was steadily declining except in one distinct part of the Central SW Main, which will be discussed very shortly. The proportions of the institutions and Jewish-oriented businesses in the Montreal totals, though, were more or less stable - if not increasing - throughout all that time.

Before going further into those areas, one must be aware that the Central SW Main is really two distinct areas. One area is fully a part of “the Main” corridor, consists of streets like Clark, St. Urbain, and Esplanade, and is right on the other side of St. Lawrence Blvd. from the much bigger Central SE Main. The other area, which in this paper is called East of McGill but is generally known either as Milton Park or the McGill Ghetto, has quite distinct characteristics and is to the west; it abuts Mount Royal and Hotel Dieu Hospital. The only true feature they have in common is that they are both just north of the Far Southern Main. The East of McGill area had a much smaller Jewish population and a much smaller number of institutions than the rest of the Central SW Main, and according to Seidel (1939, p. 23), it was more an area of second settlement. Its number of Jewish population samples grew over the 1920s but remained stable over the 1930s, while its institutional profile was minimal at best - and changing - but still present (except in 1931, with no institutions present in that area).

If one were to exclude the East of McGill, the Central SW Main and Central SE Main could be considered as one area. This is because on many of the maps - especially of Montreal as a whole - they appear to be one indistinguishable mass of population, despite socioeconomic differences between the streets east of St. Urbain St. (generally poorer) and those west of St. Urbain St. (generally richer). That consolidated area was clearly an area of first settlement, with the exception of the area of Esplanade Ave. between Duluth and Mount Royal Aves., which - just like East of McGill - had features more in common with an area of second settlement (Seidel 1939, p. 23). It could be considered the southern, older half of the fabled old Jewish quarter of Montreal lying along "the Main." This area also had a number of *shtetl*-like characteristics, including the Yiddish on the storefront signs, much noise and traffic along main streets like St. Lawrence Blvd., and a generally unkempt appearance (cf. Seidel 1939, pp. 108-9). If the greater part of the Central SW Main and all the Central SE Main put together were one area, it had by far the most Jewish residential samples in 1921, slightly more than the Central NW Main in 1931, and slightly less than the Central NW Main in 1941. If only the Central SE Main were considered, it also had more residential samples than any other district in 1921, but it lost out to the Central NW Main already in 1931 and continued its relative decline afterwards. Much the same was true of the famous residential samples.

With respect to the institutional samples, either in terms of the Central SE Main by itself or that district combined with most of the Central SW Main, the highest numbers of such samples for any Montreal district were found there in both 1921 and 1931, plus - to some extent - in the *Keneder Adler* samples of the mid-1930s. By 1941, however, while the combined areas still had more institutional samples than the Central NW Main, the Central SE Main alone had somewhat fewer

such samples than the Central NW Main.⁴⁶ The number of Jewish-owned but generally-oriented businesses in the combined area was stable from 1921 to 1931, but decreased by 1941, whereas the number of Jewish-oriented businesses continued to rise through 1941, especially in the Central SE Main, but not to the extent of points northwest.

The Central NW Main (also known as the Mile End) had a somewhat small Jewish presence in 1921, by all the measures analyzed in this paper, but it grew exponentially in the 1920s and slightly in the 1930s. According to Seidel (1939, p. 25), it was an “area of second settlement.” Consistent with what the literature (e.g. Oiwa 1988) says about this phenomenon, Jews moved there from further southeast along the St. Lawrence-Park axis as they had more money by then. Just like further south, the area west of St. Urbain St. was generally more prosperous than the area east of St. Urbain St. However, the overall upkeep and tidiness of the streets and the buildings in that district - including its commercial buildings - were substantially better than further south and there was markedly less Yiddish signage, even around St. Lawrence Blvd. but especially around Park Ave. closer in to Outremont (Seidel 1939, pp. 108-9). Socioeconomically, in other words, the Central NW Main served as a stepping stone between the areas further south in “the Main” corridor and places like Outremont, Cote des Neiges, Westmount, or NDG, which will be examined later. It had the largest single concentration of Jews of any district in Montreal by 1931, though it was not until 1941 that it had more Jews than the Central SW Main and the Central SE Main combined. The number of famous Jewish residents also grew tremendously by 1931 and increased just slightly by 1941, also surpassing the number in first the Central SE Main alone and then the Central SE Main and the Central SW Main combined.

The Central NW Main also witnessed a boom in the number of Jewish institutions between 1921 and 1931, and also between 1931 and 1941, though it took longer for that number to surpass

⁴⁶ The only living Jewish presence in all of that area these days is the Bagg St. synagogue (officially, Beth Solomon Synagogue).

that of further south along “the Main.” That district’s Jewish-oriented businesses grew in number from nothing in 1921 to three in 1931, all along the left side of St. Lawrence Blvd. The number of such businesses there grew exponentially by 1941, and they were located on many more streets, including Park Ave., throughout the district. This is the district that, along with the Central SE/SW Main, has epitomized pre-World War II Jewish Montreal in the minds of many. Unlike the areas further south, there is still a significant living Jewish presence to this day (albeit mainly of Hasidic Jews), especially the closer one gets to Outremont, right to the west.

The Central NE Main and the Far Northern Main have been much less important than the rest of “the Main” corridor in terms of Jewish Montreal history, as they both never had large Jewish populations nor significant concentrations of Jewish institutions. In the Central NE Main, which was also an area of second settlement, the proportion of the Jewish population samples remained steady throughout the interwar period, with many of them located up to 1-2 blocks north of Mount Royal Ave, and there was only one famous resident in 1921 and none in the subsequent years. That district only had one institution in 1931 (an organization, not a synagogue or school) which was on St. Lawrence Blvd. just north of Mount Royal Ave., and none in 1921 or 1941. While there were no businesses of any kind in 1921 that I selected, there were several in 1931 and almost as many in 1941; in both of the latter years, these consisted mainly of kosher meat/food shops on St. Lawrence Blvd.

The Far Northern Main corresponds with western La Petite Patrie, including Little Italy and Mile Ex. Unlike the Central NE Main, it declined in the number of ordinary Jewish population samples, being smaller than the figures for the Central NE Main in 1921 to begin with, and there were no famous Jewish residents in any of these years.⁴⁷ The far northern part of “the Main”

⁴⁷ According to Anctil (2012) and the MJM (2015-17), however, J.I. Segal lived at one address in the Far Northern Main in 1917-19 and at two other ones in 1922 and 1928-29.

corridor had a synagogue and an afternoon school in 1921, but only the synagogue remained in 1931 and 1941; there were no samples of businesses of any kind in any of these years.

While not in “the Main” corridor itself, the independent city of Outremont could be considered a northwesterly extension of that corridor, as it abuts the Central NW Main. Outremont saw a large increase in the Jewish population - both ordinary and famous - over the 20 years from 1921 to 1931, particularly in the first decade. In this respect, it was parallel with the growth seen in the Central NW Main. However, the Jewish population in Outremont was always smaller throughout these years than its neighbour to the east despite the fact that Outremont’s Jewish population grew at a faster rate. Throughout these years, Jews moved ever further west in the northern, lower-lying portion of Outremont. Outremont was what Seidel (1939, p. 27) described as an “area of third settlement” - versus the Central Main as a whole being an area of second settlement. It was socioeconomically and aesthetically a serious step up from the St. Lawrence-Park corridor, and there were many more single-family houses and attractive duplexes and apartments than anywhere in “the Main” corridor (Seidel 1939, p. 115). Most of the growth in Outremont Jewry came from people who had previously lived somewhere along “the Main.”

While the number of institutions also grew from 1921 to 1931, the rate of growth did not match that of either the institutions in the Central NW Main or that of the Jewish population in Outremont, as there were only two institutions in Outremont in both 1931 and 1941. This was yet another example of the geographic lag of institutional mobility as against population mobility, though Seidel (1939, pp. 115-118) ascribes that situation to communal apathy, a relative lack of communal unity, and - on a secondary basis - dependence on institutions along “the Main.” The number of selected Jewish-oriented businesses only grew from 1931 to 1941, but not before that - and there were no selected Jewish-owned businesses for general use in Outremont throughout the interwar period. After the period analyzed in this paper, Outremont saw some more growth in the

Jewish presence for about 10 more years, but the Jewish population then decreased (Choinière 1980). Today, Outremont has a much more extensive living Jewish presence than anywhere along “the Main” (even the Central NW Main), although even there it is nowadays largely limited to Hasidic and other ultra-Orthodox Jews.

The East Plateau Mont Royal (hereafter, the East Plateau) is located immediately to the east of both the Central SE Main and the Central NE Main, and is on the fringes of both the Central Main and - as will be discussed later in this chapter - the Papineau Area. Most of the Jews in the East Plateau were concentrated on the streets immediately to the east of the Central SE Main, on streets like Berri St. and Rivard St., as a spillover from that other district when the latter was at or near its peak in terms of Jewish population. Even though there was a small Jewish population in 1921 (no bigger than those of Outremont or the Papineau Area at that time), it inexorably declined in the interwar years until there were none in the samples for 1941. Similarly, while there was one famous resident in 1921, there were none in the subsequent years. The East Plateau had no Jewish institutions of any significance from what was listed in the Lovell’s directories, and there was only one generally-oriented/Jewish-owned business in each of 1921 and 1931 (and none for 1941).

“Uptown” Areas

All the above areas, except Outremont, were the domain of the “downtown” Jews. The Jews dwelling in Western Downtown, Westmount, and NDG, on the other hand, were considered “uptown” Jews - those who were well-to-do, acculturated/assimilated, and descended from earlier Jewish immigrants (whether from Eastern Europe or from England, Germany, etc.). All that area constituted the most significant Jewish corridor in Montreal outside “the Main” corridor, but it was of a totally different nature.

In Western Downtown, which includes the renowned Golden Square Mile as well as the westward extension of Montreal’s central business district, the Jewish population decreased from

1921 to 1931 but increased from 1931 to 1941. However, the number of famous Jewish residents remained stationary from 1921 to 1931 but decreased from 1931 to 1941. That district was home to a number of very prestigious Jewish institutions plus, from 1931, a couple of Jewish periodicals and headquarters for a couple of Jewish advocacy groups and organizations. Western Downtown had only one selected generally-oriented business in 1921 and 1931, but it had two more in 1941.

Just to the west of Western Downtown, Westmount - Montreal's most affluent district - had a significant increase of Jews in the 1920s but a slight decrease in the 1930s. For the most part, it was, in Seidel's words (1939, p. 27), an "area of fourth settlement." As time passed, the samples became more spread out and headed northwards up the hill, whereas in 1921 they were all concentrated in Westmount's southern half (up until just north of Sherbrooke St. W.). With the famous Jewish residents in Westmount it was a similar story with regard to growth figures, except that the number of famous residents remained the same in 1941 as in 1931. Westmount was home to first one prestigious synagogue and then, by 1931, another as well - plus an orphanage next to the border with NDG, to the west. With regard to selected Jewish-owned businesses, there were two kosher meat shops in 1931 (both on Victoria Ave. near Sherbrooke St. W. towards the border with NDG) but nothing in 1921 and 1941.

In many ways, the demographic growth of NDG - even more clearly an area of fourth settlement - paralleled that of Westmount in the interwar years, as seen in the Jewish residential samples, but it was more extreme. In other words, NDG had fewer Jewish samples than Westmount in 1921 but more than Westmount in 1931 and 1941, and it boomed in the 1920s but decreased slightly in the 1930s. Also just as in Westmount, the Jewish samples in NDG became more spread out in 1931 and 1941 and expanding northwards; in addition, the NDG Jewish population expanded westwards, with one sample even being located as far west as close to the border with Montreal West. In 1921, Jews in NDG lived in a much smaller area than in the

subsequent years. The number of famous Jewish residents in NDG grew in a similar manner over that period, and - similarly to Westmount - that number remained the same in 1941 as in 1931. While NDG had no Jewish institutions in 1921, it had a synagogue in 1931 and 1941, and a Bnai Brith lodge in 1941, all of them located towards Westmount. There was at least one Jewish bakery in NDG from 1931, and a kosher meat shop in 1941; all of those were along Sherbrooke St. W., generally close to the border with Westmount. Seidel (1939, p. 125) even goes so far as to refer to the area of Sherbrooke St. for a few blocks on either side of the NDG-Westmount border as “the Park Avenue of the West [End],” complete with at least one kosher meat market and one Jewish bakery, and this is borne out by the data that I found for that area on Lovell’s.

The analysis of the “uptown” areas cannot be complete without a discussion of Cote des Neiges and Snowdon. Those districts, west of Outremont and north of Westmount and eastern NDG, were considered an extension of the area of third settlement whose core was in Outremont, since at that point they were desirable districts in which to live. They were almost considered “an area of fifth settlement” (Seidel 1939, p. 114). As residential areas, they were relatively late in being developed. Even by 1941, large swathes of both Cote des Neiges and Snowdon were still undeveloped, especially in the northern parts, and it would only be after World War II that they were built up. As such, there was only one sample in all of Cote des Neiges and Snowdon combined in 1921, while there were still only six in that same geographic area by 1931. It would only be in 1941 that the number of Jewish residential samples started to skyrocket, so that by then, the Jewish residential samples of Cote des Neiges started to outstrip those of Westmount, and those of Snowdon already surpassed those of NDG. In 1941, many of the Jewish residents in Cote des Neiges were concentrated on or around Maplewood Ave. (now Edouard-Montpetit Blvd.) near the border with Outremont, while those in Snowdon were clustered on or around Queen Mary Road in the south of that district. This rapid growth fulfilled Seidel’s predictions (1939, p. 27) that

Mount Royal would “be completely encircled” and it confirmed her hypothesis (ibid., p. 28) the Jewish as well as non-Jewish population of the area would be substantially increased. All this growth was a harbinger of an even larger increase in the next decade or two after that, as most Jews would move out of “the Main” corridor (plus Outremont) at that point.

As for famous residents, there was only one - in Snowdon in 1941 - and both of the only institutions in the area by 1941 were associated with the new Jewish General Hospital. Cote des Neiges/Snowdon was the area to which many Jewish institutions would move from “the Main” corridor and Outremont in the postwar period, though. Throughout the whole interwar period, there were no selected Jewish-owned businesses of any kind in those districts.

Elsewhere in Montreal

After “the Main” corridor, the Papineau Area had the next largest concentration of working-class, Yiddish-speaking Jews in Montreal, though far smaller and somewhat more prosperous. That district corresponds to eastern La Petite Patrie and western Rosemont. Considered semi-rural in the early 20th century, it was a vibrant Jewish community in the interwar period. Concentrated primarily around the corner of Papineau Ave. and Beaubien St. E., the Jewish population there declined there between 1921 and 1931 just like in the East Plateau, but - unlike in the East Plateau - the population decline stabilized itself through the 1930s and early 1940s. The Papineau Area had no famous residents that were tracked down in the Lovell’s directories or elsewhere. The number of institutions in the Papineau area was more or less stable throughout the interwar era; these were mainly synagogues (of which there were 3-4 over the whole period examined), though in 1921 there was an afternoon school as well. There were no famous residents or selected commercial establishments recorded for the Papineau Area.

The southwestern part of Montreal - consisting of Griffintown and adj., Little Burgundy, St. Henri, Point St. Charles, Cote St. Paul/Ville Emard, and the independent municipality of Verdun -

had a fairly small amount of Jews (mostly petty shopkeepers or members of the working class) in the interwar era. Griffintown and adj., which includes an adjacent part of the central business district as well as Griffintown proper, had a sizeable concentration of Jews in 1921 (though not quite as much as in the Papineau Area), along Notre Dame St. and north towards Western Downtown. However, that totally vanished by 1931 and 1941. It only had one institution in 1921 and none in the later years. There were 1-2 selected generally-oriented Jewish-owned businesses throughout those years in Griffintown and adj., particularly closer in to Old Montreal and adj. or Western Downtown.

In the rest of southwestern Montreal, the number of sampled Jews remained about the same in those years - though in 1931, Cote St. Paul/Ville Emard had no sampled Jewish residents. From 1931 onwards, Jews in Verdun were moving increasingly west within Verdun, after having been mainly in eastern Verdun in 1921. In Verdun, the small Jewish population grew from 1921 to 1941, even though my population sample data show a flattening between 1931 and 1941.⁴⁸ There was one synagogue/afternoon school in Little Burgundy in all these years, and an afternoon school in Verdun in 1931 (though not in 1921 or 1941). As well, there was only one selected Jewish-owned business for general clientele - in St. Henri; that was in 1931 and 1941 but not 1921.

Lachine, during the interwar era, was considered a wholly separate Jewish community from the rest of Montreal, by virtue of being a satellite town far enough removed from the mainstream of Montreal. It had a smaller Jewish community (mainly working-class or else petty shopkeepers) in 1921 than Griffintown and adj., the Papineau Area, etc., at least according to my samples. Its small Jewish population declined by 1931 and continued to do so through 1941, although my population sample data show a very slight increase from 1931 to 1941.⁴⁹ The samples from 1921 and 1941 were all found within its older, eastern part, but two of the three samples from 1921 were

⁴⁸ This discrepancy will be further discussed later in this section.

⁴⁹ This discrepancy will be explained later on in this section.

located next to the border with Dorval, a considerable distance to the west from eastern Lachine. This is most probably a kind of fluke that is sometimes associated with small numbers of samples from a given area, as opposed to a genuine decline in eastern Lachine and a genuine increase in far western Lachine. While there are no famous residents gathered from the Lovell's directories, it is interesting to note that the famous author Saul Bellow, whose family moved to Chicago in the mid-1920s when he was nine, was born in Lachine (Gussow and McGrath 2005). There were two synagogues in 1921, but only one remained in 1931 and 1941. No Jewish-owned businesses of any kind in Lachine were selected for analysis.

There were other districts in Montreal which were much more marginal than the aforementioned ones but which each had at most a handful of sampled Jewish residents at one point or another during the interwar era. These included the Lower East End (known generally as the Centre Sud) in all three years examined here, Longueuil in all these three years (plus St. Lambert in 1931), Hochelaga-Maisonneuve in 1921 and 1931 (plus Tetraultville in 1921), the Town of Mount Royal in 1921, Montreal West in 1931, Rosemont in 1931, and Hampstead in 1941. Even though places like the Town of Mount Royal and Hampstead were (and remain) desirable residential areas, these neighbourhoods did not have more Jews in the residential samples at any point in 1921, 1931, or 1941. This was partly because Jews were barred from living there at that point and partly because of the shortcomings associated with very small sample sizes. Of the places mentioned in this paragraph, the Lower East End had the most activity in addition to Jewish residents; it had an afternoon school in 1921, and there were a number of selected Jewish-owned commercial establishments, which steadily decreased from 1921 to 1941.⁵⁰

Another district worthy of consideration here is Old Montreal and adj., which includes the area west of McGill Ave. (closer in to Griffintown) as well as Old Montreal itself. Even though not a

⁵⁰ While no famous residents were identified as living in the Lower East End in any of the years that were examined, Lilian Cornfeld lived in that district for the first nine years of her life (1901-10), and H.M. Caiserman lived there from 1917 to 1920 (MJM 2015-17).

single Jewish residential sample (whether ordinary or famous) was recorded there, it had a number of selected Jewish-owned law firms and other commercial establishments. Old Montreal and adj. had one Jewish institution each in 1931 and 1941; in both cases, they were media establishments and not synagogues, schools, and the like.

Accordance of the Results with the Existing Literature

The results for 1921, 1931, and 1941 from the samples taken from the Lovell's directories and other sources, and which appear in maps and graphs in this paper, are consistent with what has been discussed elsewhere. The figures and trends from the samples correlate quite well, on the whole, with what sources such as Rosenberg (1939, 1958, and 1966) and Seidel (1939) have to say with regard to Jewish population figures and trends in the 1920s and 1930s. For example, all these sources discuss the decline of the Jewish population along "the Main" south of Sherbrooke St. that was already ongoing since at least the 1920s and probably before, as well as the growth of the Jewish population along "the Main" above Sherbrooke St. at that same time. On a related note, the sources and my population samples are in agreement about the population moving northwest towards Park Ave., in the Central NW Main, and ever deeper west in Outremont; the same is true regarding the shift in the nucleus of Jewish settlement ever northwest-ward along "the Main" axis. All this also includes the mention by Rosenberg (1958, p. 2) about the incipient movement to apartment buildings and duplexes in Cote des Neiges and Snowdon that would become a torrent after World War II. Agreement also exists between the existing literature and the fact that the majority of Jews into the 1940s lived in the area east of Outremont and north of Pine Ave., even if that majority was somewhat lessened through the interwar years. Similarly, Rosenberg's assertion (1966, p. 1) that the vast majority of synagogues in 1941 were in that area of older Jewish

settlement is borne out by the fact that over 75% of the institutions in 1941⁵¹ were somewhere in “the Main” corridor.

In general, the demographic trends for each city ward and municipality as outlined by Choinière (1980, pp. 87-88), Rosenberg (1939, p. 31; 1947, p. 17; 1966, p. 5), and Seidel (1939, p. 26) are consistent with what is seen in my data, whether for the main Jewish neighbourhoods or for more peripheral areas like St. Lambert or Hampstead. One of the exceptions is NDG showing a growth trend according to Rosenberg (1966) but a slight decline according to my data. In this case, the difference is due to the fact that the border between NDG and Mount Royal Wards (the latter covering Cote des Neiges and much of Snowdon) is different according to Seidel (1939, between pp. 29 and 30) than according to the present-day criteria I use, such that the part of the NDG Ward that was north of Cote St. Luc is classified here as being part of Snowdon.

Another exception is Lachine; while Rosenberg (1939, p. 33; 1947, p. 17) and my data are in agreement that its Jewish population decreased quite significantly from 1921 to 1931, there is disagreement about its population figure changes over the following decade. Whereas the Census data (according to Rosenberg) show a further decline from 1931 to 1941, my data show a slight increase. Similarly, in Verdun, while the Census data cited by Rosenberg (*ibid.*) and my data are in agreement for the period 1921-31, they disagree for the decade after that. The Census data points to a continued increase, while my data show a flattening of the earlier growth. In both cases, this is most probably due to statistical discrepancies for very small numbers of samples, whereby if very few samples are taken for each district, the results are not as robust as is the case for larger numbers of samples. In other words, the smaller the total sample population is, the more likely there is to be a divergence between the figures and phenomena for that sample population and the total population as a whole.

⁵¹ This is even though I did not distinguish synagogues from other institution types in this analysis.

Yet other exceptions are some other peripheral areas, notably the Town of Mount Royal, Montreal West, and Longueuil - all of these presenting contradictions between Rosenberg (1939 and 1966) and Choinière (1980) on the one hand and my data on the other hand. In those cases, my data only show one sample in the Town of Mount Royal in 1921 despite the incremental growth of the tiny Jewish population there throughout the interwar period, and only one sample in Montreal West in 1931 despite the numerical decline of the almost as tiny Jewish population in Montreal West from 1921 to 1931 and its stabilization from 1931 to 1941. In Longueuil, while the Census data show a halving of the very small Jewish population there from 1921 to 1931, my data show a slight increase in the number of residential samples over that same time period. All of these last three examples can be similarly explained by the fact that, much like in Lachine or Verdun but on an even smaller scale, my data have infinitesimal numbers of samples to work with, and this data is thus more vulnerable to statistical discrepancies than in larger datasets such as for “the Main” corridor. As for peripheral districts in the east end, such as Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, Tetraultville, Rosemont, and the Lower East End, there is not enough data in the literature to make comparisons with the trends based on my data.

Correlations Between Ordinary Residences and Other Indicators

There is a good spatial correlation between the ordinary residents and the famous residents, as the residents who are famous just happen to be famous and have the same general geographic residential preferences as the rest of the Jews. For example, the famous wealthy residents in the samples (e.g. the Bronfmans) reside in Westmount just like the other wealthy Jews do, and the other famous residents in the samples (e.g. A.M. Klein or Rabbi Hirsch Cohen) generally reside in “the Main” just like the other non-wealthy Jews do. There is, however, a difference between the ordinary residential samples and the famous residential samples in that a far higher share of famous residents lived in Western Downtown, Westmount, and NDG (all well-to-do

neighbourhoods) than in “the Main.” In other words, 25% of famous residents were in Western Downtown and Westmount (though not yet NDG) in 1921 as opposed to just under 10% of ordinary residents in 1921; the corresponding figures were just under 40% and just under 15% in 1931, and 30% and just under 15% in 1941. The reason for this difference is that proportionately many more famous residents are wealthy, and they are famous in the first place because of their large, wealth-producing businesses. For maps over the interwar period illustrating such a correlation, see Map Figure 16 in Appendix 3 (p. 121).

The residential population also spatially correlates very strongly with institutions and with Jewish-oriented businesses. This is due to the need of the Jewish residents for institutional services and for Jewish products. On the institutional side, there is an especially acute need for observant Jews to be living near their synagogues, which is why synagogues are located near the houses of the residents who were sampled. This is just as true in interwar Jewish Montreal as in any other Jewish community in any era. Beyond synagogues, though, it is optimal to locate schools, organizations, athletic facilities, and other Jewish institutions near Jews’ homes because those are supposed to be convenient location-wise, especially in an era before automobile ownership became widespread and long-distance streetcar transportation was expensive for many Montreal Jews at the time. Jewish-oriented businesses, especially kosher meat shops and similar establishments, are also located near Jewish residences for similar reasons, so that Jewish residents could have easy access to the food products which are sold and with which they are familiar from their traditions, and so that they could easily access other Jewish-oriented services like funerals done according to Jewish law. With respect to both the institutions and the Jewish-oriented businesses, though, there is a difference with the ordinary residential samples in that a significantly higher percentage of institutions and of Jewish-oriented businesses than of ordinary residents were located somewhere along “the Main.” At minimum, around 80% of institutions and

Jewish-oriented businesses were located along that corridor in the interwar period, while for the ordinary residents it was never more than 75%, steadily dropping to around 55% by 1941 as more Jews were moving to Outremont plus Cote des Neiges, Snowdon, etc. This illustrates how institutions and Jewish-oriented businesses in general have lagged behind ordinary Jewish residences in terms of moving to better neighbourhoods every single time. For maps over the interwar period illustrating such correlations, see Map Figures 17-19 in Appendix 3 (pp. 122-124).

As seen in Map Figure 19 in Appendix 3 (p. 124), there is little to no real spatial correlation between the Jewish residences and the Jewish-owned businesses oriented to a general clientele, as the businesses are generally located where many Jews (just like others) come to work. As an example, not many Jews lived in the Lower East End or Old Montreal (and even, from that point onwards, in the Far Southern Main), but those areas are where clothing or furniture stores or law firms were clustered, and many Jews living in other areas were attracted to jobs in those sectors; thus, it was worth the commute.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusion

The results from this cartographic/demographic study, in the main, confirm what is stated elsewhere: Over the years during the interwar era, from the 1920s to the early 1940s, the Jewish population - including the famous Jews - was concentrated along “the Main” corridor (including around Park Ave. as well as around St. Lawrence Blvd.), and it was moving in a northerly direction and then in a westerly direction. The same thing was largely true of the institutions. Throughout this period, there was a decline in the Jewish population of the original Jewish immigrant ghetto in the Far Southern Main, south of Sherbrooke St., as well as ultimately its number of Jewish institutions as well. A decline in the Jewish population (though not its number of Jewish institutions) also affected the Central SE Main and - to some extent - the Central SW Main, both of them between Sherbrooke St. and Mount Royal Ave., from about 1931. By contrast, in this period, there was tremendous growth in Jewish population figures and in Jewish institutions further north along “the Main,” especially west of St. Lawrence Blvd. in the Central NW Main. The Jewish population grew even faster in Outremont and, by 1941, also in Cote des Neiges and Snowdon, though Jewish institutions were slow in coming to those districts.

The Central SE Main had the most Jews out of any district in Montreal in 1921. Despite losing that lead by 1931, it had the largest Jewish population of any district when combined with that of the contiguous Central SW Main (outside the East of McGill sub-district). In 1931, when considering only one district at a time, the Central NW Main was the one with the largest Jewish population, and it continued in that position in 1941. With respect to the institutions, the Central SE Main indisputably had the biggest number until it was taken over in that regard by the Central NW Main by 1941.

Aside from the St. Lawrence-Park corridor plus Outremont and points west, there were Jews in the corridor stretching from Western Downtown through Westmount to NDG, and in the Papineau

Area. Even smaller Jewish population concentrations appeared in Griffintown (albeit only in the early 1920s, as shown by the 1921 results), Lachine, and in those parts of southwestern Montreal - including Verdun - apart from Griffintown; the latter area's distribution was more diffuse and spread out than in other areas. Most of the above-mentioned areas were home to the Yiddish-speaking, working-class "downtown" Jews, but Western Downtown/Westmount/NDG and also Outremont and Cote des Neiges/Snowdon were neighbourhoods inhabited by more acculturated and prosperous "uptown" Jews.

Generally, there is a tight correlation between the distribution of the ordinary residents and those of the famous residents, the institutions, and the Jewish-oriented businesses. On the other hand, the Jewish-owned businesses with general clientele were generally located instead in certain business districts, notably in the Far Southern Main, Old Montreal, and the Lower East End. In addition, despite the institutions being located in the same areas as the residents, institutional mobility lagged behind residential mobility, which is why - for example - the Central SE Main was still first among districts in 1931 in the number of institutions even as it was no longer so in Jewish population. Moreover, the sampling results for this paper and the Census data for each given year are generally in agreement, with the exception of NDG (with its ward occupying additional area than according to its present-day definition) and of many of the smaller areas, where the very small sample sizes are more vulnerable to statistical discrepancies.

All of the above trends and developments of Montreal Jewry in the 1920s and 1930s are expressed in the many maps that were made via Google Maps for this project, as well as many tables and graphs with related quantitative data. On a systematic basis, this has never been done in the relatively recent vast literature on early 20th-century Montreal Jewish history, certainly not since Louis Rosenberg and Judith Seidel both published their respective works in 1939. It reads sort of like a Jewish Federation demographic study of a Jewish community - for instance, Charles

Shahar's demographic studies on contemporary Montreal Jewry for Federation CJA (e.g. Shahar 2014) - except that this is a retrospective version detailing trends in the era between the World Wars. Through these maps, in conjunction with the tables and graphs, it is hoped that one would gain a greater understanding of the semi-*shtetl* that was "the Main" - and the smaller Jewish areas - during that time period, in particular where in that area Jews lived and where their institutions and Jewish-related businesses were located. This would serve as a complement to the other tools by which the development of old Jewish Montreal is understood and appreciated by people in the present day. For those who grew up in those days, these maps and charts would enrich their understanding of their own roots by spatial and quantitative means.

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Appendix 1: Family Names Used in the Sampling

- 1) A(a)ron... - including Aaronson and Aronoff
- 2) Abra(ha)m... - including Abramovitch, Abrams, and Bramson
- 3) Adel.../Edel... - including Adelstein and Edelson
- 4) Ber... - including Bercovitch, Berman, and Bernstein
- 5) Bloom.../Blum... - including Bloomfield and Blumenthal
- 6) Braunstein/Brownstein (and close variants such as Bronstein)
- 7) Caplan/Kaplan (and close variants such as Kaplansky)
- 8) Cohen/Kahn (and close variants such as Cohn)
- 9) Diamond
- 10) Epstein
- 11) Fain.../Fein.../Fine... - including Fineberg (and variants thereof)
- 12) Feld... - including Feldman and Feldstein
- 13) Fink(el/le)... - including Finkelstein and Finklestein
- 14) Freed.../Fried... - including Freedman and Friedman
- 15) Gold(en)... - including Gold, Goldberg, Goldman, and Goldstein; though not including such names as Golden, Golding, and Goldsmith, because non-Jews often bear such names
- 16) Green.../Grin... - including Greenberg, Greenblatt, Greenspon, and Grinstein; though not including such names as Green, because non-Jews very often bear such names
- 17) Herscovitch/Hersh.../Hirsch... - including Hershon and Hirsch
- 18) Katz (and close variants such as Katzoff)
- 19) Kaufman (and close variants such as Kauffman)
- 20) Klein (and close variants such as Klineberg)
- 21) Lazar... - including Lazare and Lazarus

- 22) Levitt/Levitan (and close variants such as Levitsky) - though not including such names as Leavitt and Levett, because non-Jews very often bear such names
- 23) Leb.../Leib(er)... - including Leboff, Leiber, and Leibovitch
- 24) Levi/Levy (and close variants such as Levikoff)
- 25) Levin(e) - Levin and Levine, plus close variants such as Lewington and Livinson
- 26) Lib(er).../Lieb(er).../Lip... - including Libman and Lieberman but also close variants such as Lipstein and Liverman
- 27) Marcovitch/Markovitch (and close variants such as Marcovitz)
- 28) Marcus/Markus (and close variants such as Marcuson)
- 29) Mendel... - including Mendel and Mendelsohn
- 30) Moscovitch (and close variants such as Muscovitch)
- 31) Rabinovitch (and close variants such as Rabin)
- 32) Ros(en)... - including Rosen, Rosenberg, Rosenbloom, Rosenthal, and Rosner
- 33) Rot(h).../Rut... - including Roth, Rotman, and Ruttenberg
- 34) Rubin... - including Rubin and Rubenstein
- 35) S(c)hac(h)ter/S(c)hec(h)ter - including Schachter, Schacter, Schecter, and Shacter
- 36) Schwartz (and close variants such as Schwartzman)
- 37) Segal (and close variants such as Segall and Siegal)
- 38) Shapiro (and close variants such as Shapira and Spiro)
- 39) Silver... - including Silver, Silverberg, and Silverstone
- 40) Solomon (and close variants such as Salomon and Solomovitch)
- 41) Stein... - including Steinberg and Steinman; though not Stein itself, as a number of non-Jews also bear that name
- 42) Vine... - including Vineberg and Viner

43) Wein.../Wen.../Wine... - including Weiner, Weinstein, Wener, and Winer

44) Weis(s).../Wis(e).../Witten... - including Weisberg, Weiss, Wiseberg, and Wittenberg;

though neither Wise nor Wiseman, with many non-Jews also bearing those names

Appendix 2: Limits of Areas in Interwar Montreal with a Jewish Presence

(Note: The limits of the independent municipalities are not mentioned here.)

Inside “the Main” Corridor

- 1) **Central NE Main** - Mount Royal Ave. E. to the south, St. Lawrence Blvd. to the west, CP rail tracks (next to the Far Northern Main) to the north, and St. Denis St. to the east
- 2) **Central NW Main** - Mount Royal Ave. W. to the south, Outremont to the west, CP rail tracks (next to the Far Northern Main) to the north, and St. Lawrence Blvd. to the east
- 3) **Central SE Main** - Sherbrooke St. E. to the south, St. Lawrence Blvd. to the west, Mount Royal Ave. to the north, and St. Denis St. to the east
- 4) **Central SW Main** - Sherbrooke St. W. to the south, Mount Royal and University St. to the west, Mount Royal Ave. to the north, and St. Lawrence Blvd. to the east
Includes *East of McGill* (also known as Milton Park and the McGill Ghetto) - Sherbrooke St. W. to the south, University St. to the west, just beyond Pine Ave. W. to the north, and just short of St. Urbain St. to the east
- 5) **Far Northern Main** - CP rail tracks (next to Van Horne Ave. and Rosemont Blvd.) to the south, CP rail tracks (next to Park Extension) and Outremont to the west, Cremazie Blvd. (Metropolitan expressway) to the north, and St. Denis St. to the east
- 6) **Far Southern Main** - St. Antoine St. to the south, Robert Bourassa Blvd. (formerly University St.) to the west, Sherbrooke St. to the north, and St. Denis St. to the east

Outside “the Main” Corridor

- 1) **Cote des Neiges** - mainly Westmount and Mount Royal to the south, mainly Victoria Ave. to the west, Town of Mount Royal to the north, and Outremont to the east

- 2) **Cote St. Paul/Ville Emard** - Verdun to the south, LaSalle to the west, the Lachine Canal to the north, and a small part of Atwater Ave. to the east
- 3) **East Plateau Mont Royal** - Sherbrooke St. E. to the south, St. Denis St. to the west, and the CP rail tracks (next to the Papineau Area and Rosemont) to the north and east
- 4) **Griffintown and adj.** - the Lachine Canal to the south, Guy St. to the west, St. Antoine St. to the north, and between Duke and Nazareth Sts. (the Bonaventure expressway) to the east
- 5) **Hampstead**
- 6) **Hochelaga-Maisonneuve/Tetraultville** - the St. Lawrence River to the south, the CP rail tracks (next to the Lower East End) to the west, Sherbrooke St. E. to the north, and Montreal East to the east
- 7) **Lachine**
- 8) **Little Burgundy** - the Lachine Canal to the south, Atwater Ave. to the west, just north of St. Antoine St. to the north, and Guy St. to the east
- 9) **Longueuil/St. Lambert**
- 10) **Lower East End** - the St. Lawrence River to the south, St. Denis St. to the west, Sherbrooke St. E. to the north, and the CP rail tracks (next to Hochelaga-Maisonneuve) to the east
- 11) **Montreal West**
- 12) **NDG (Notre Dame de Grace)** - mainly the Lachine Canal to the south, Montreal West to the west, Cote St. Luc Road (including - but not limited to - Hampstead and the municipality of Cote St. Luc) to the north, Westmount to the east, and small parts of the Decarie and Ville Marie expressways (next to St. Henri) to the southeast
- 13) **Old Montreal and adj.** - the St. Lawrence River to the south, between Duke and Nazareth Sts. (the Bonaventure expressway) to the west, St. Antoine St. to the north, and Bonsecours St. to the east

14) **Outremont**

15) **Papineau Area** - CP rail tracks (next to the East Plateau Mont Royal) to the south, St. Denis St. to the west, Cremazie Blvd. (Metropolitan expressway) to the north, and d'Iberville St. to the east

16) **Park Extension** - CP rail tracks (next to Outremont) to the south, Town of Mount Royal to the west, Cremazie Blvd. (Metropolitan expressway) to the north, and CP rail tracks (next to the Far Northern Main) to the east

17) **Point St. Charles** - the St. Lawrence River to the south, Verdun and a small part of Atwater Ave. (next to Cote St. Paul/Ville Emard) to the west, the Lachine Canal to the north, and the Cité du Havre to the east

18) **Rosemont** - CP rail tracks (next to the East Plateau Mont Royal) to the south, St. Denis St. to the west, Cremazie Blvd. (Metropolitan expressway) to the north, and d'Iberville St. to the east

19) **St. Henri** - the Lachine Canal to the south, small parts of the Decarie and Ville Marie expressways (next to NDG) to the west, Westmount to the north, and Atwater Ave. to the east

20) **Snowdon** - Cote St. Luc Rd. to the south, Hampstead to the west, Town of Mount Royal to the north, mainly Victoria Ave. to the east, and Westmount to the southeast

21) **Town of Mount Royal**

22) **Verdun**

23) **Western Downtown** - mainly St. Antoine St. to the south, Westmount to the west, mainly Mount Royal to the north, and University St. and Robert Bourassa Blvd. to the east

24) **Westmount**

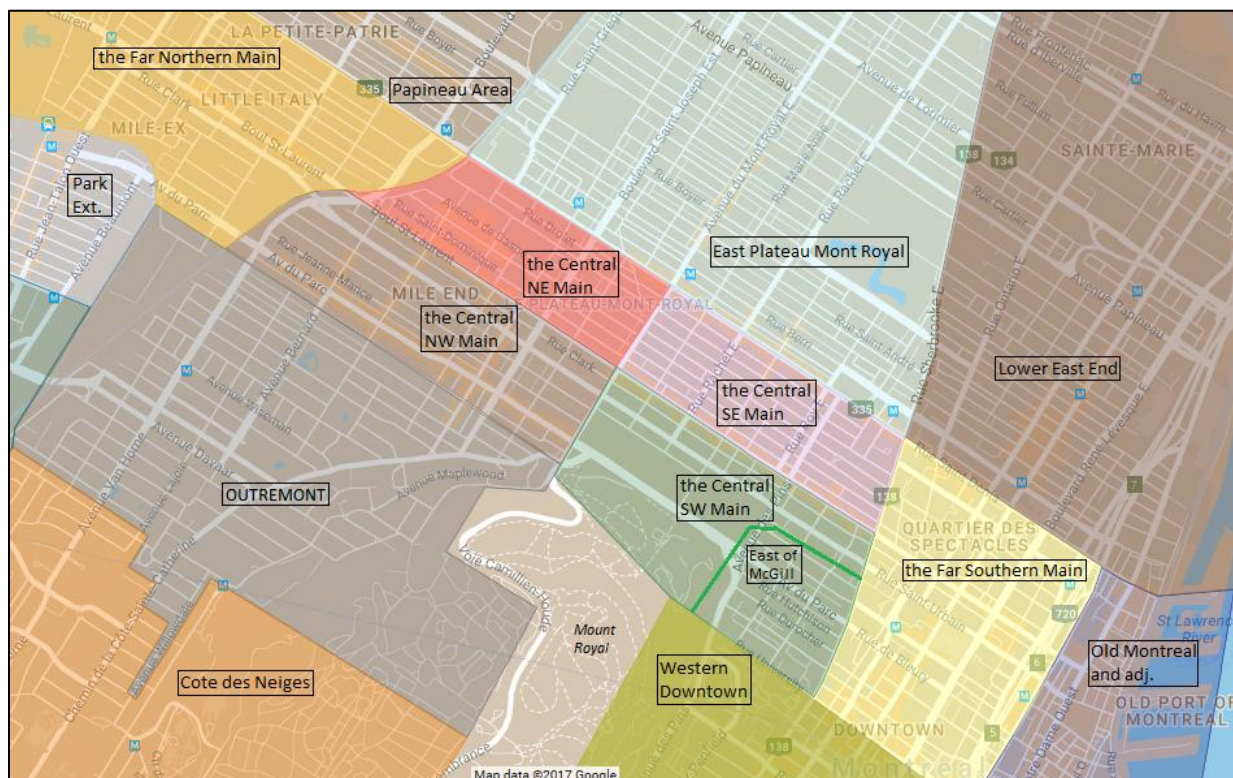
Appendix 3: Maps of Jewish Interwar Montreal - Plus Some More Tables/Graphs

Map Figure 1: Overview Map of Montreal as a Whole

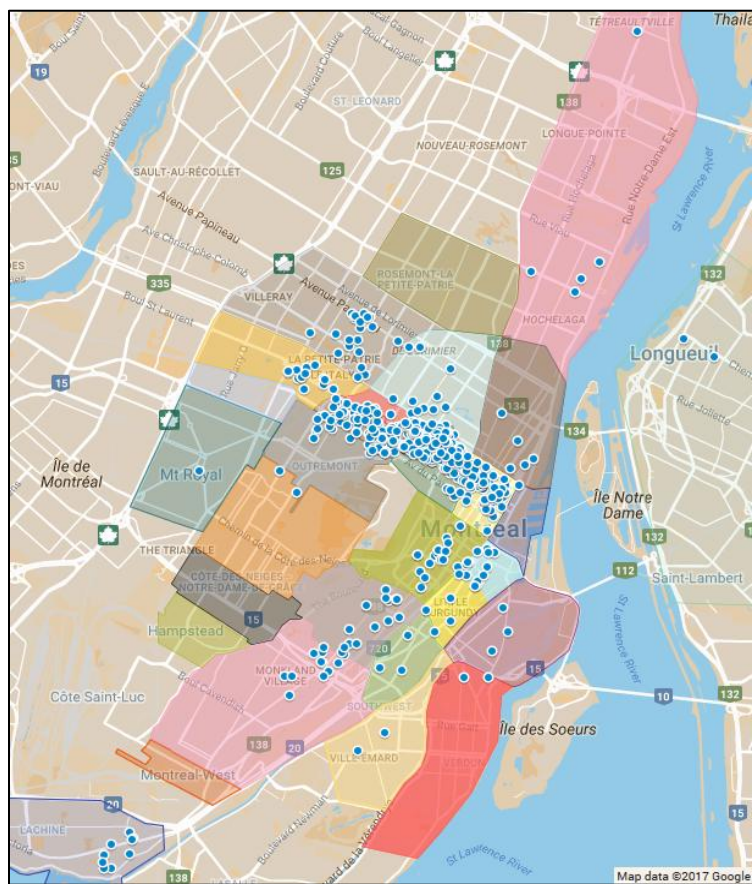


Note: Directions in Montreal go according to the shore of the St. Lawrence River, such that what is “north” is actually west-northwest, “east” is actually north-northeast, and so forth; the maps in Appendix 3 always face the actual north.

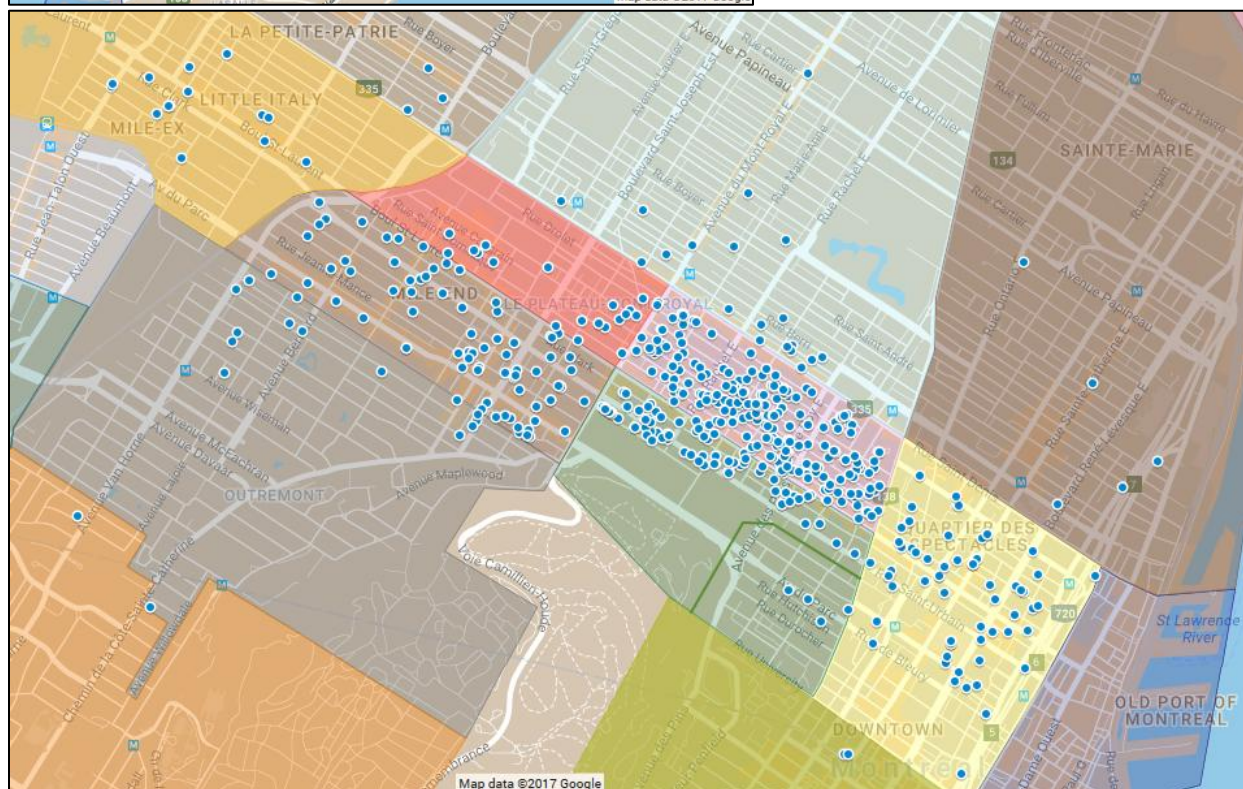
Map Figure 2: Overview Map of “the Main” Corridor and its Surroundings



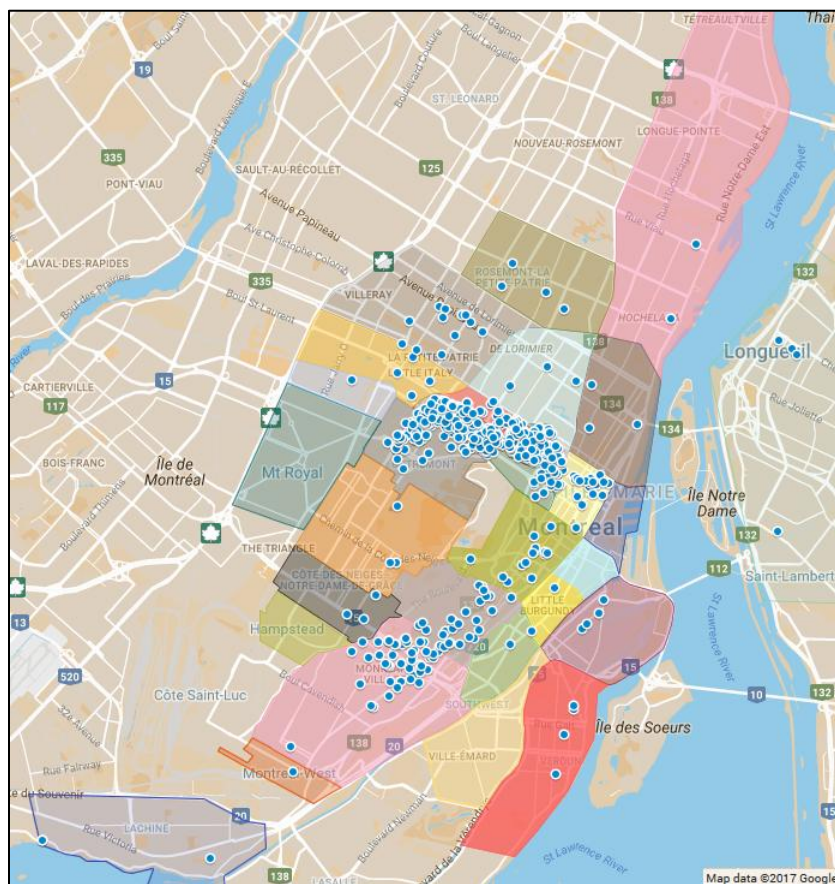
Map Figure 3: Residential Population Distribution Maps - 1921



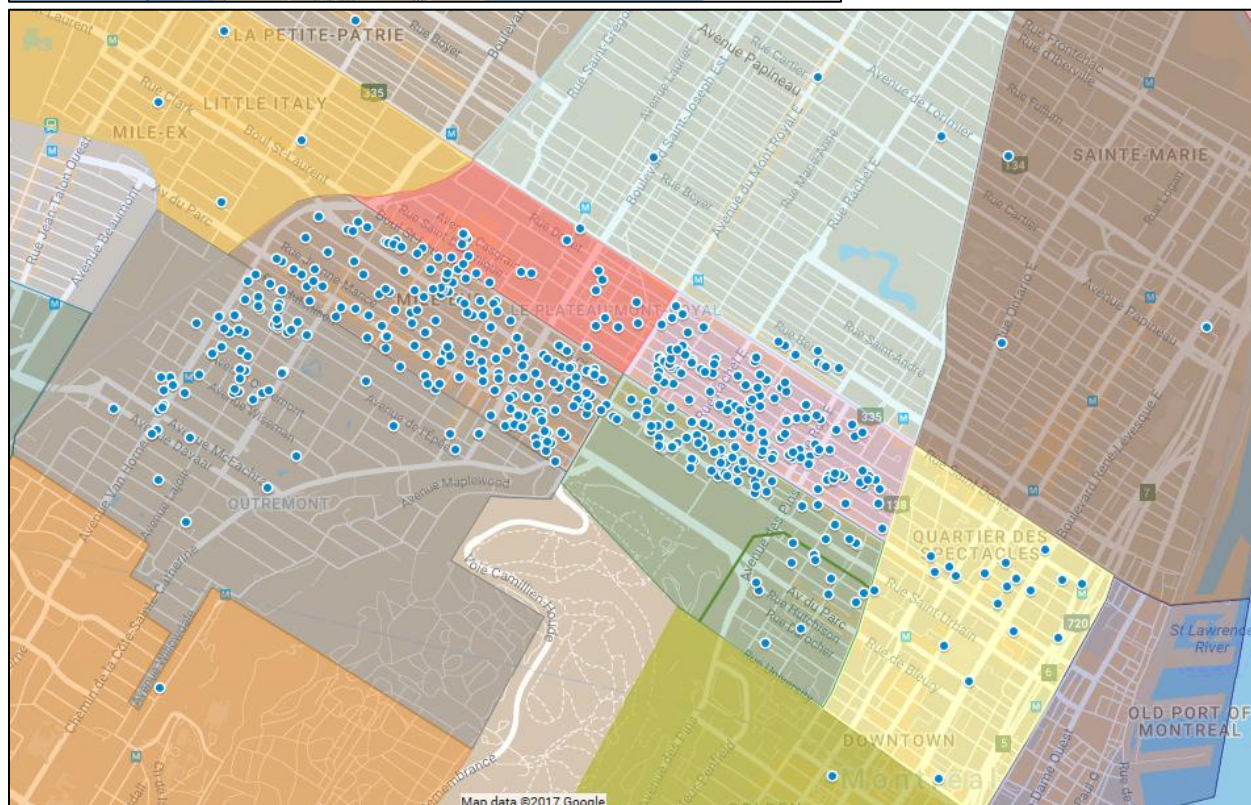
Left: Montreal-wide map of Jewish residents (blue dots) in 1921
 Below: Smaller-scale map of Jewish residents in “the Main” corridor and surroundings in 1921



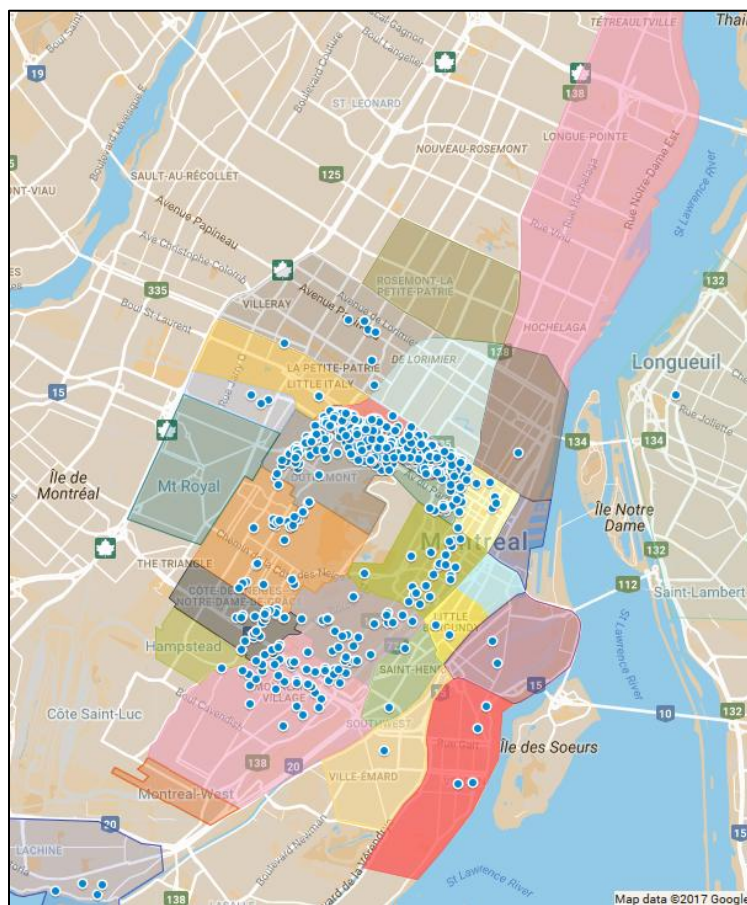
Map Figure 4: Residential Population Distribution Maps - 1931



Left: Montreal-wide map of Jewish residents (blue dots) in 1931
 Below: Smaller-scale map of Jewish residents in “the Main” corridor and surroundings in 1931



Map Figure 5: Residential Population Distribution Maps - 1941



Left: Montreal-wide map of Jewish residents (blue dots) in 1941
 Below: Smaller-scale map of Jewish residents in “the Main” corridor and surroundings in 1941

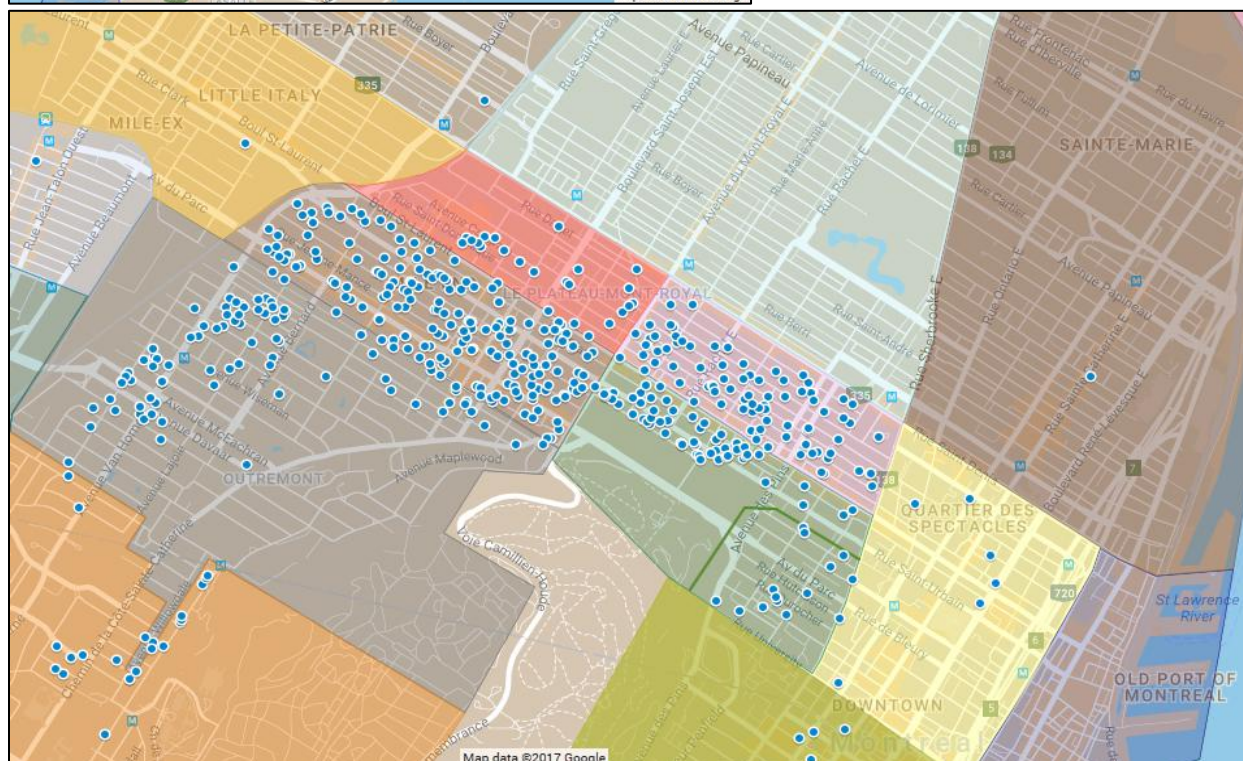


Figure 17: Changes in Residential Population Distribution - 1921-41

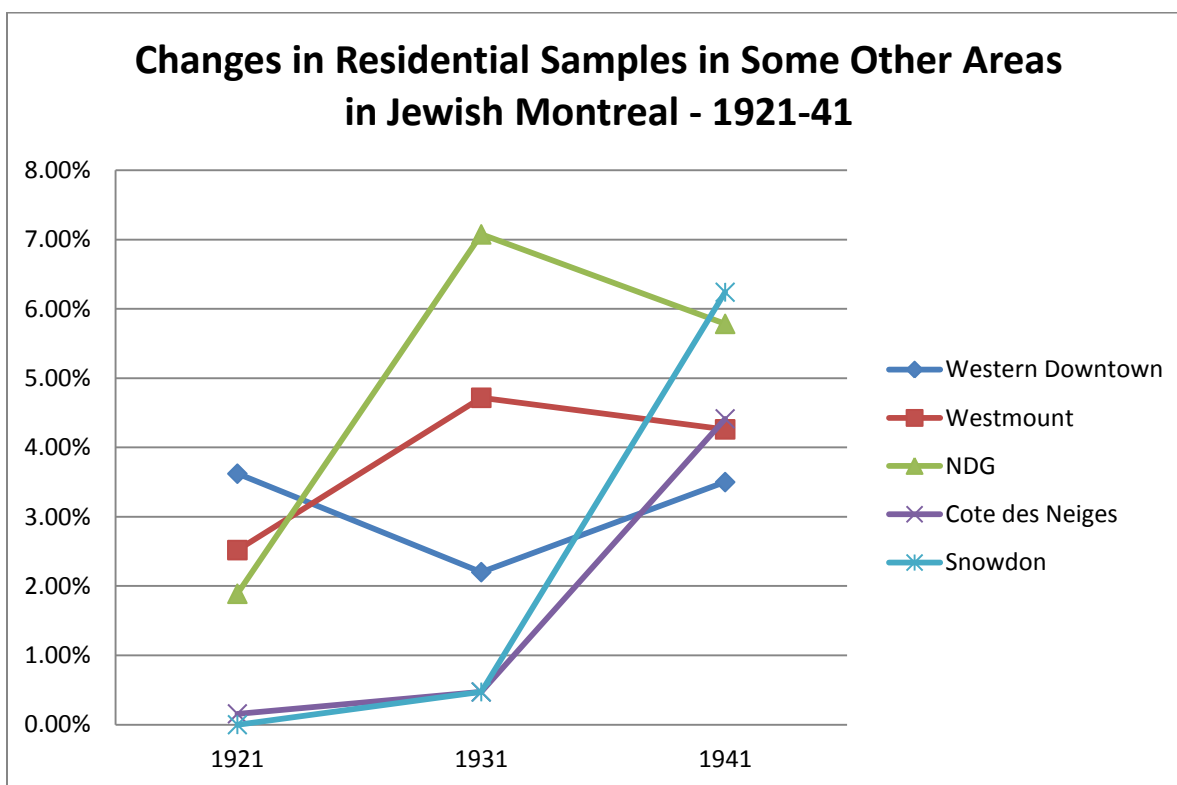
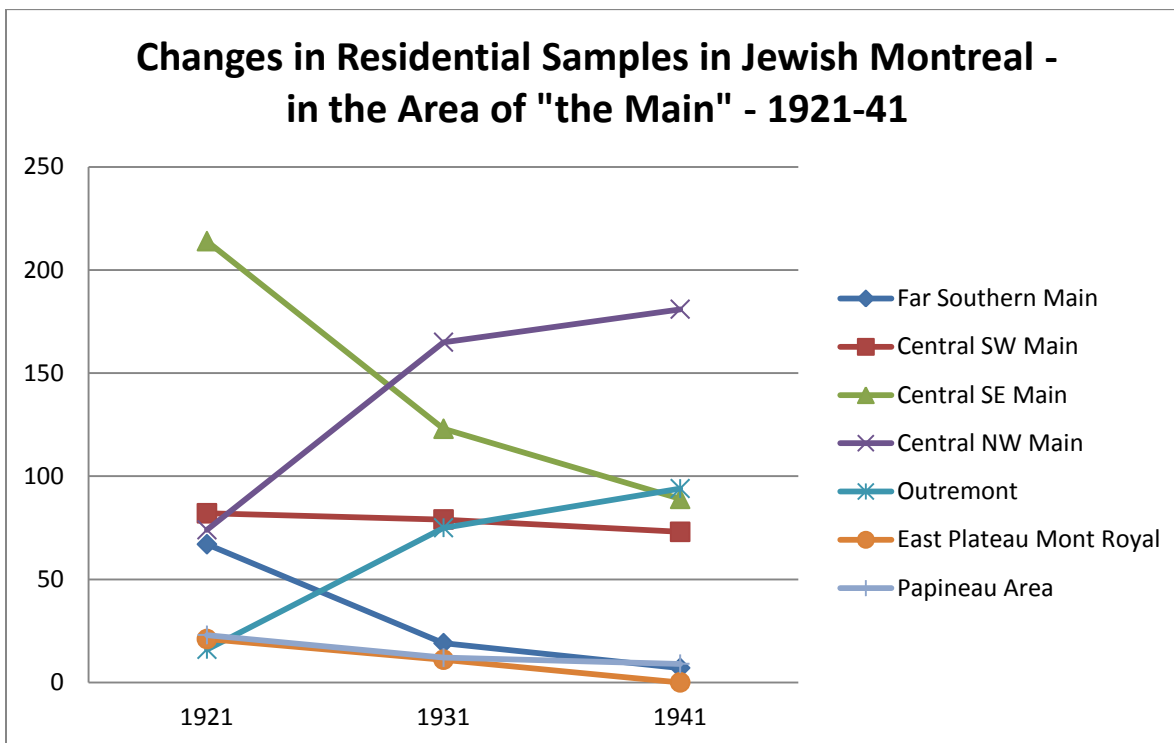
area	1921	1931	1941	change - 1921-31	change - 1931-41
Far Southern Main	67	19	7	-71.64%	-63.16%
Central SW Main*	82	79	73	-3.66%	-7.59%
Central SE Main	214	123	89	-42.52%	-27.64%
Central NW Main	74	165	181	122.97%	9.70%
Central NE Main	22	23	23	4.55%	0.00%
Far Northern Main	14	5	1	-64.29%	-80.00%
Outremont	16	75	94	368.75%	25.33%
East Plateau Mont Royal	21	11	0	-47.62%	N/A
Papineau Area	23	12	9	-47.83%	-25.00%
Western Downtown	23	14	23	-39.13%	64.29%
Westmount	16	30	28	87.50%	-6.67%
NDG	12	45	38	275.00%	-15.56%
Cote des Neiges	1	3	29	200.00%	866.67%
Snowdon	0	3	41	N/A	1266.67%
Griffintown and adj.	15	0	0	N/A	N/A
Southwest (excluding Griffintown and adj.)°	13	11	11	-15.38%	0.00%
Lachine	9	3	4	-66.67%	33.33%
Hampstead	0	0	1	N/A	N/A
Hochelaga-Maisonneuve/Tetraultville	5	2	0	-60.00%	N/A
Longueuil/St. Lambert	2	4	1	100.00%	-75.00%
Lower East End	5	3	1	-40.00%	-66.67%
Montreal West	0	1	0	N/A	N/A
Park Extension	0	1	3	N/A	200.00%
Rosemont	0	4	0	N/A	N/A
Town of Mount Royal	1	0	0	N/A	N/A

* sub-table for different parts of the Central SW Main:

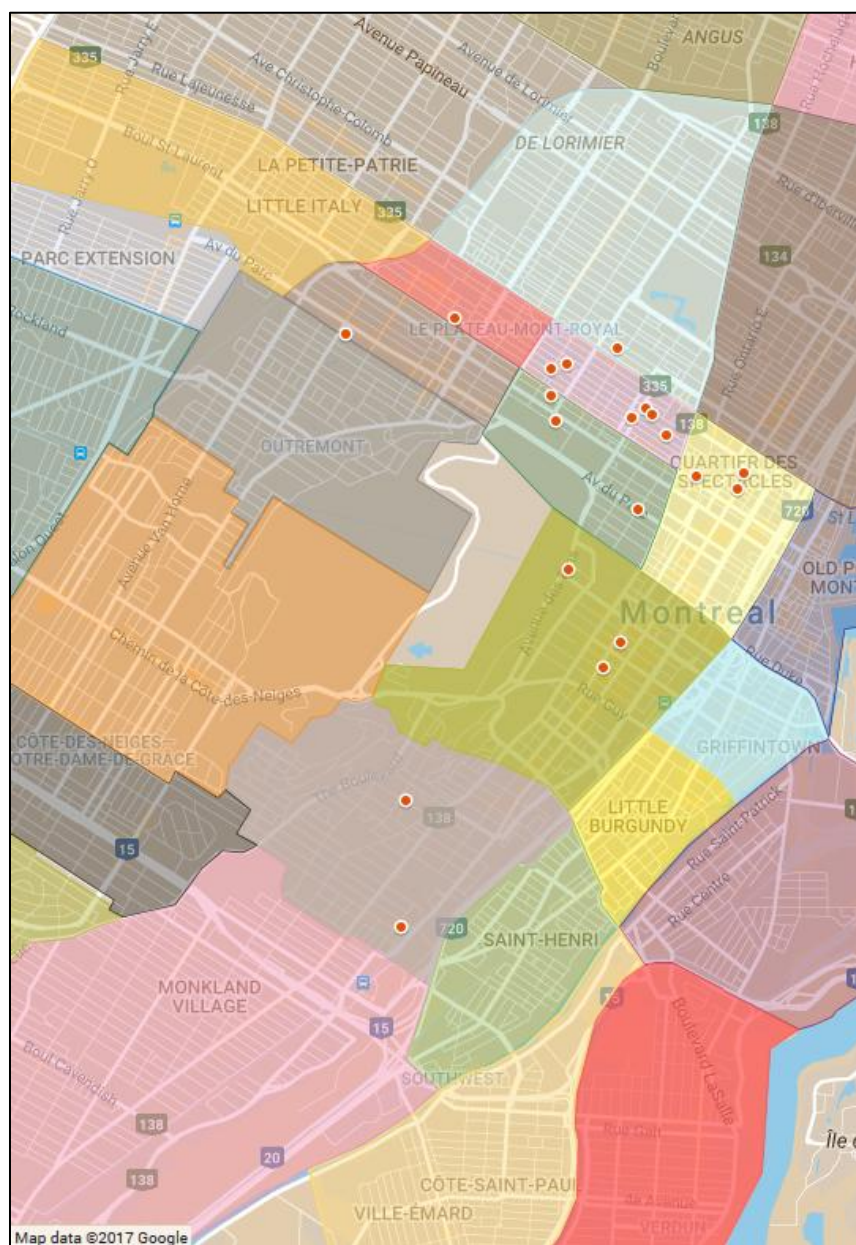
East of McGill	4	13	13	225.00%	0.00%
rest of Central SW Main	78	66	60	-15.38%	-9.09%

° sub-table for the Southwest other than Griffintown and adj.:

Cote St. Paul/Ville Emard	2	0	1	N/A	N/A
Little Burgundy	2	1	2	-50.00%	100.00%
Point St. Charles	3	4	2	33.33%	-50.00%
St. Henri	4	2	2	-50.00%	0.00%
Verdun	2	4	4	100.00%	0.00%

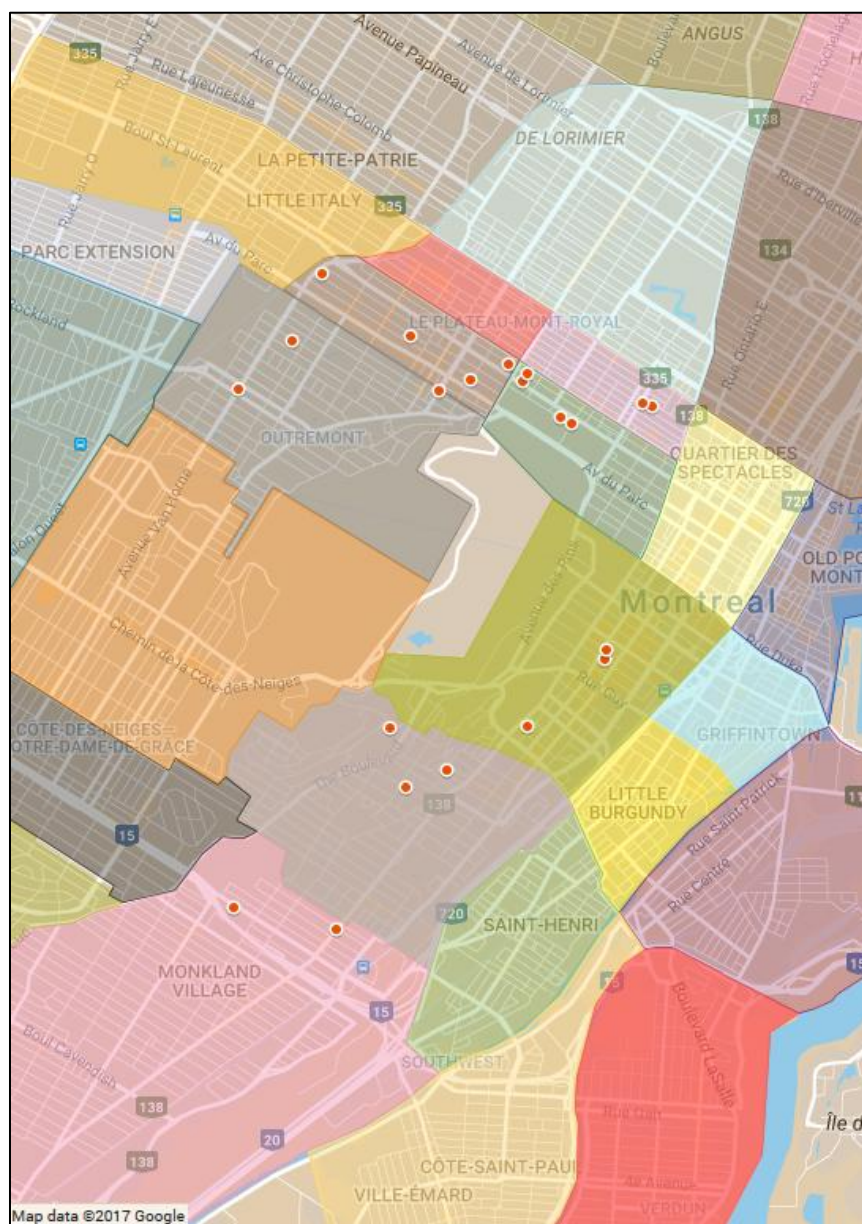


Map Figure 6: Famous Residential Population Distribution Map - 1921



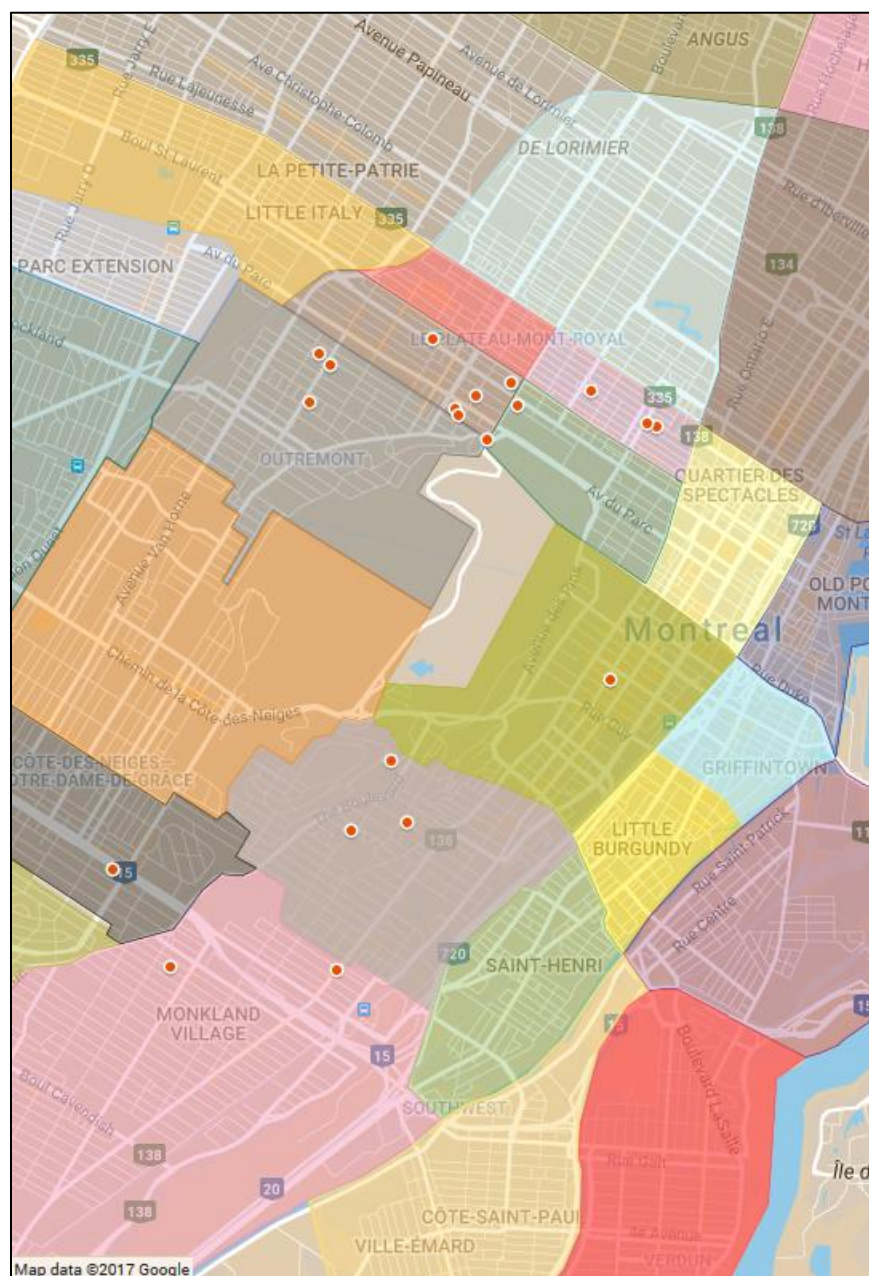
Above: map of famous Jewish residents (red dots) in central Montreal in 1921, including in “the Main” corridor and surroundings (towards the top)

Map Figure 7: Famous Residential Population Distribution Map - 1931



Above: map of famous Jewish residents (red dots) in central Montreal in 1931, including in “the Main” corridor and surroundings (towards the top)

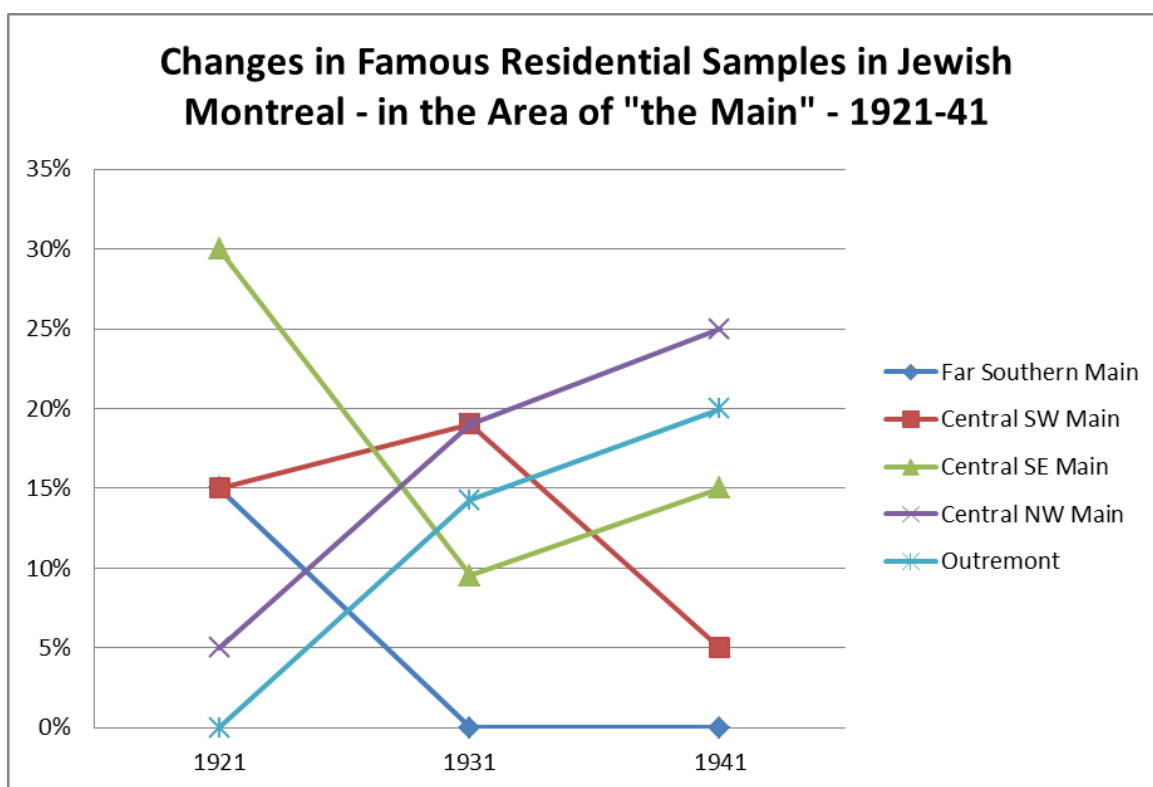
Map Figure 8: Famous Residential Population Distribution Map - 1941

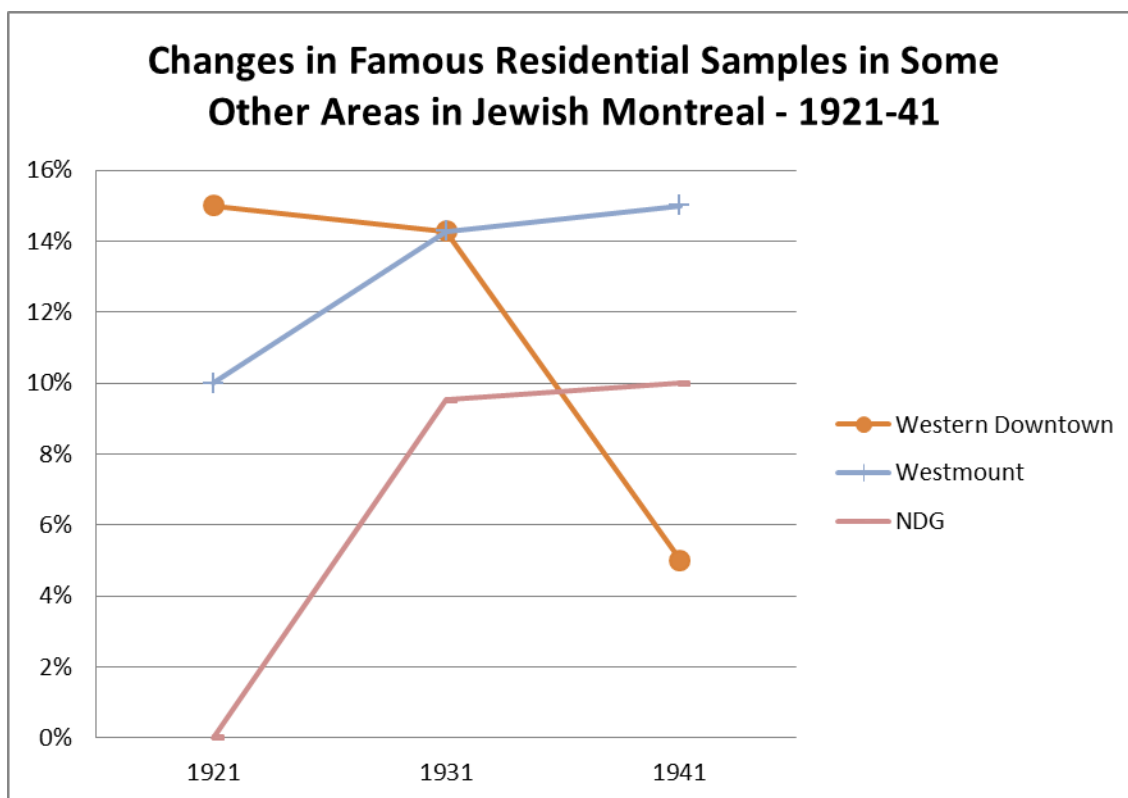


Above: map of famous Jewish residents (red dots) in central Montreal in 1941, including in “the Main” corridor and surroundings (towards the top)

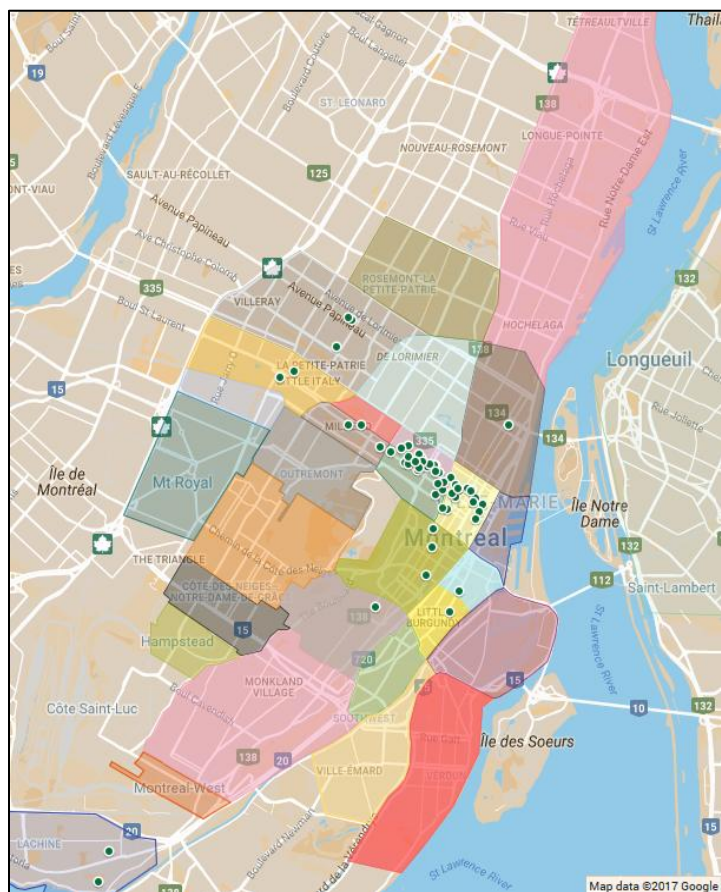
Figure 18: Changes in Famous Residential Population Distribution - 1921-41

area	1921	1931	1941	change - 1921-31	change - 1931-41
Far Southern Main	3	0	0	N/A	N/A
Central SW Main	3	4	1	33.33%	-75.00%
Central SE Main	6	2	3	-66.67%	50.00%
Central NW Main	1	4	5	300.00%	25.00%
Central NE Main	1	0	0	N/A	N/A
Outremont	0	3	4	300.00%	33.33%
East Plateau	1	0	0	N/A	N/A
Western Downtown	3	3	1	0.00%	-66.67%
Westmount	2	3	3	50.00%	0.00%
NDG	0	2	2	N/A	0.00%
Snowdon	0	0	1	N/A	N/A

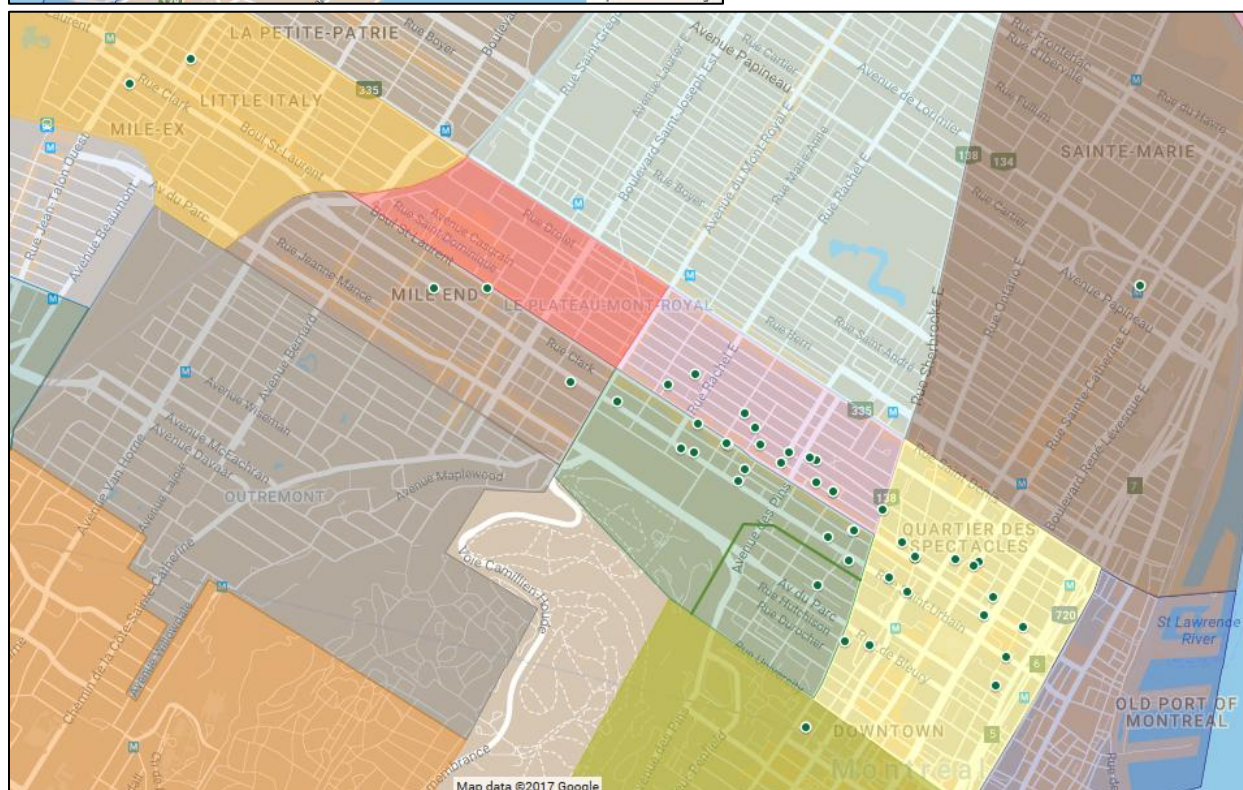




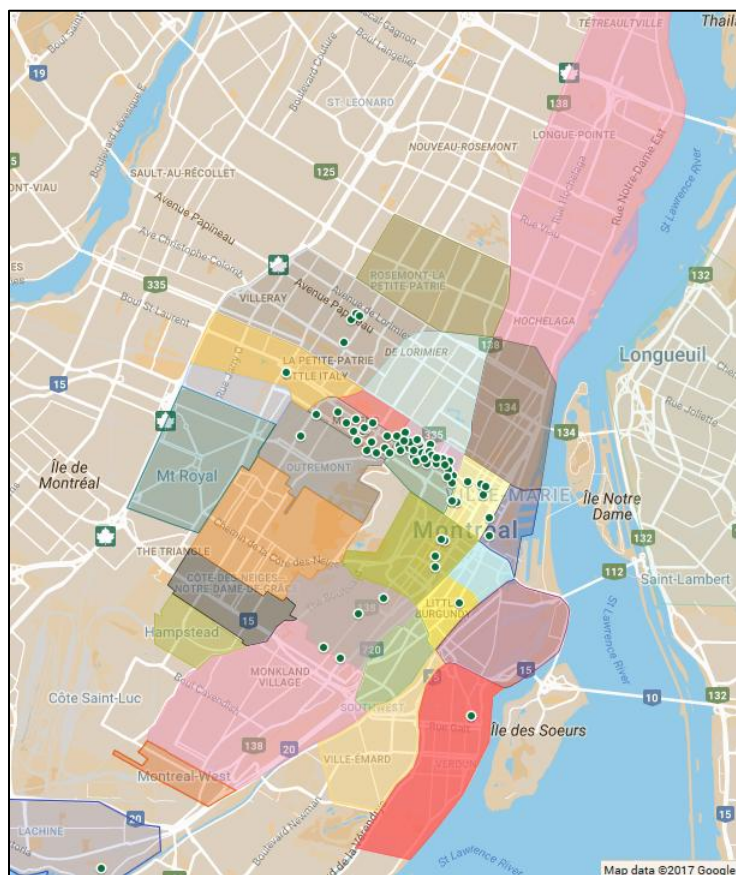
Map Figure 9: Institutional Distribution Maps - 1921



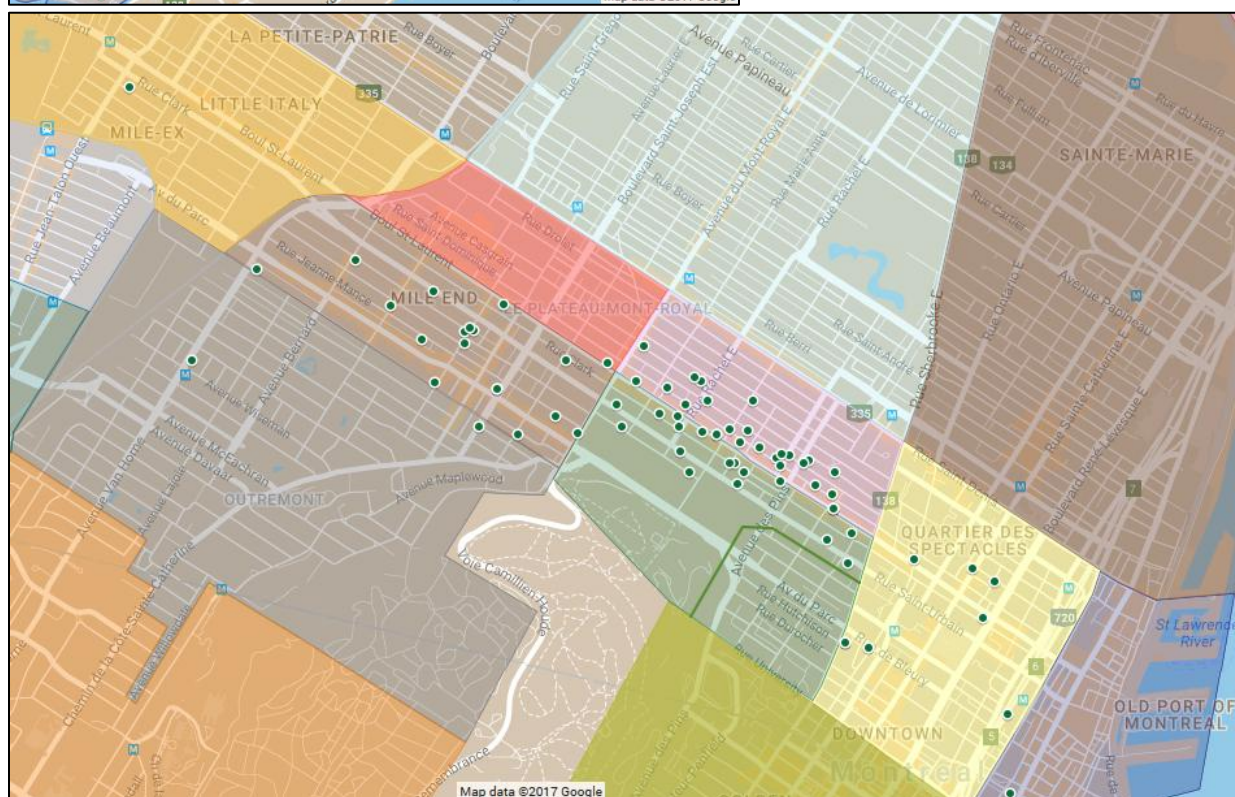
Left: Montreal-wide map of Jewish institutions (green dots) in 1921
 Below: Smaller-scale map of Jewish institutions in “the Main” corridor and surroundings in 1921



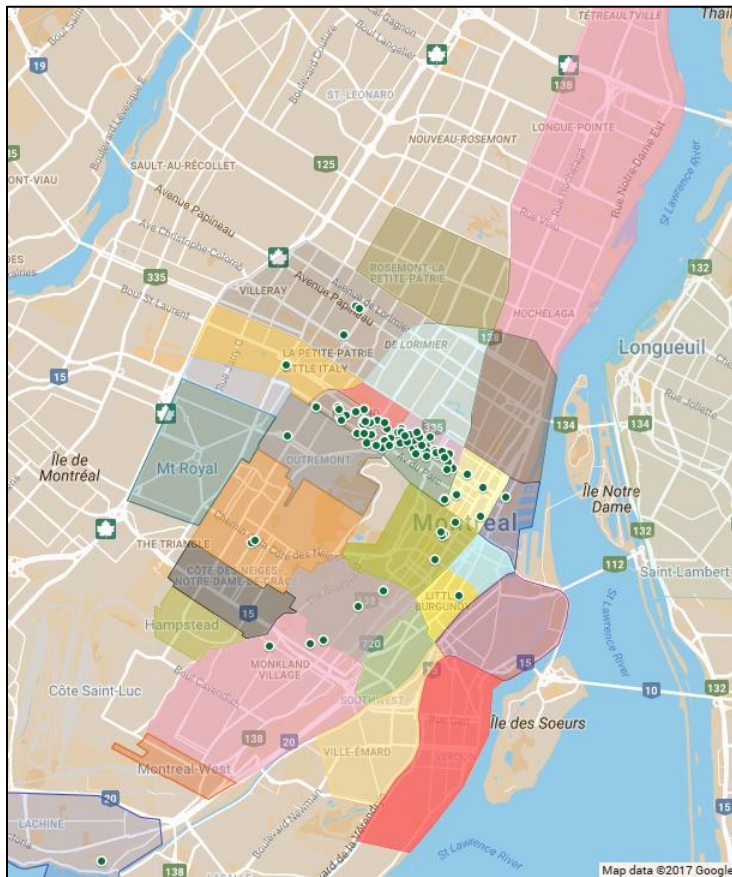
Map Figure 10: Institutional Distribution Maps - 1931



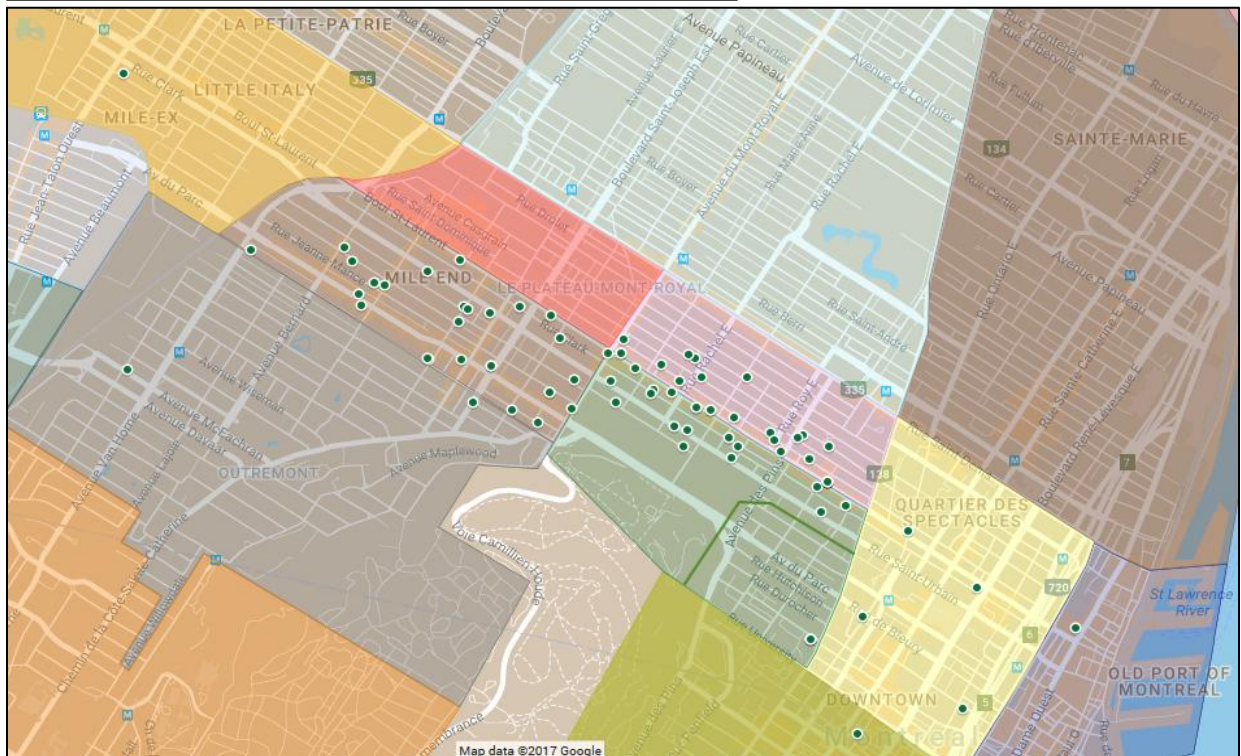
Left: Montreal-wide map of Jewish institutions (green dots) in 1931
 Below: Smaller-scale map of Jewish institutions in “the Main” corridor and surroundings in 1931



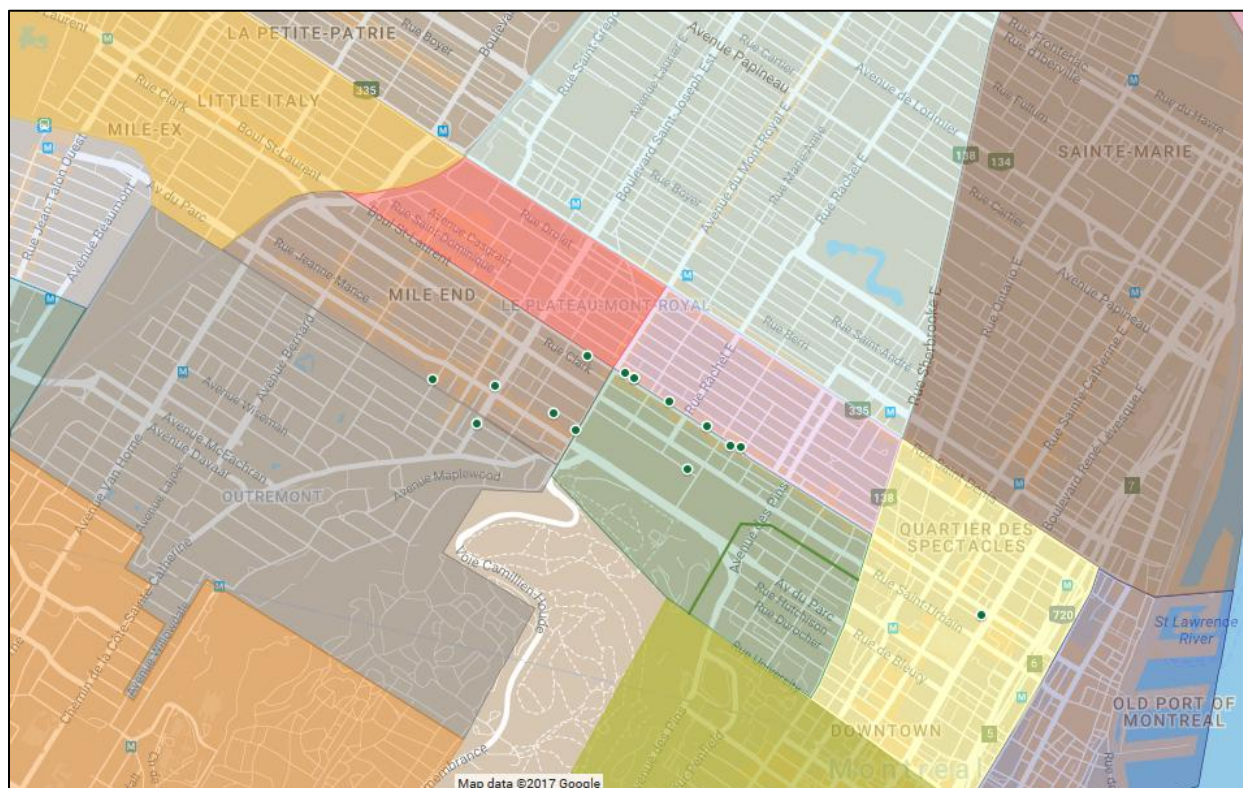
Map Figure 11: Institutional Distribution Maps - 1941



Left: Montreal-wide map of Jewish institutions (green dots) in 1941
 Below: Smaller-scale map of Jewish institutions in “the Main” corridor and surroundings in 1941



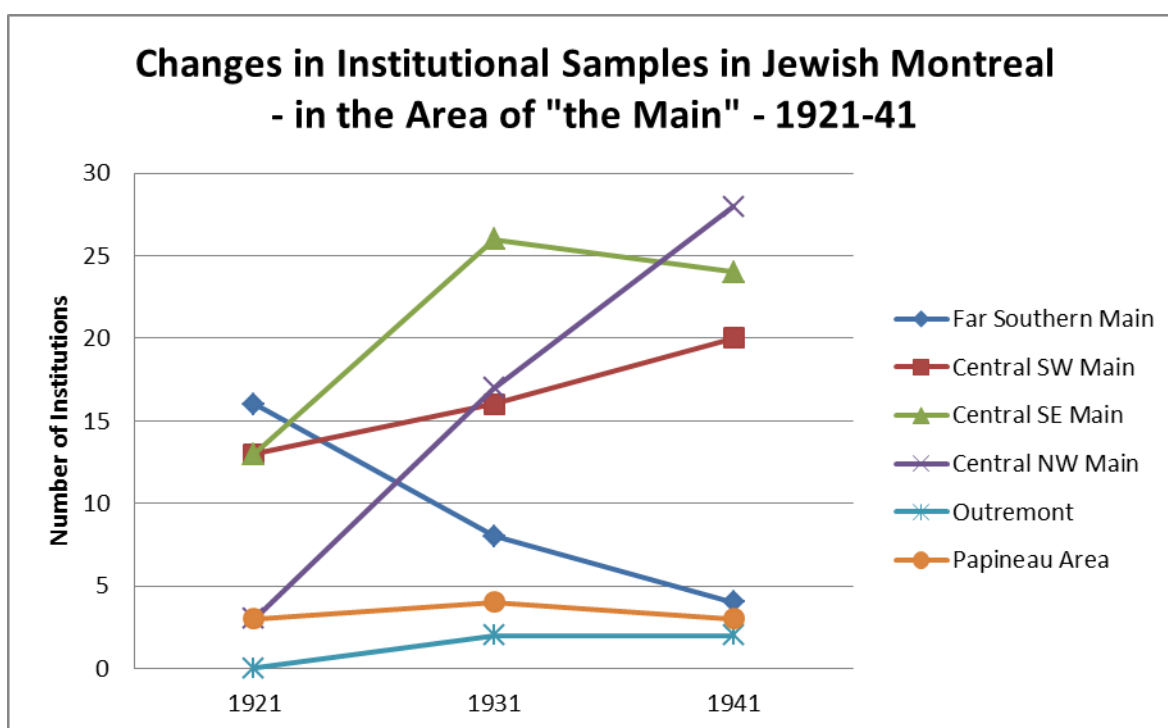
Map Figure 12: Institutional Map of Places Seen in the *Keneder Adler* - 1932-36

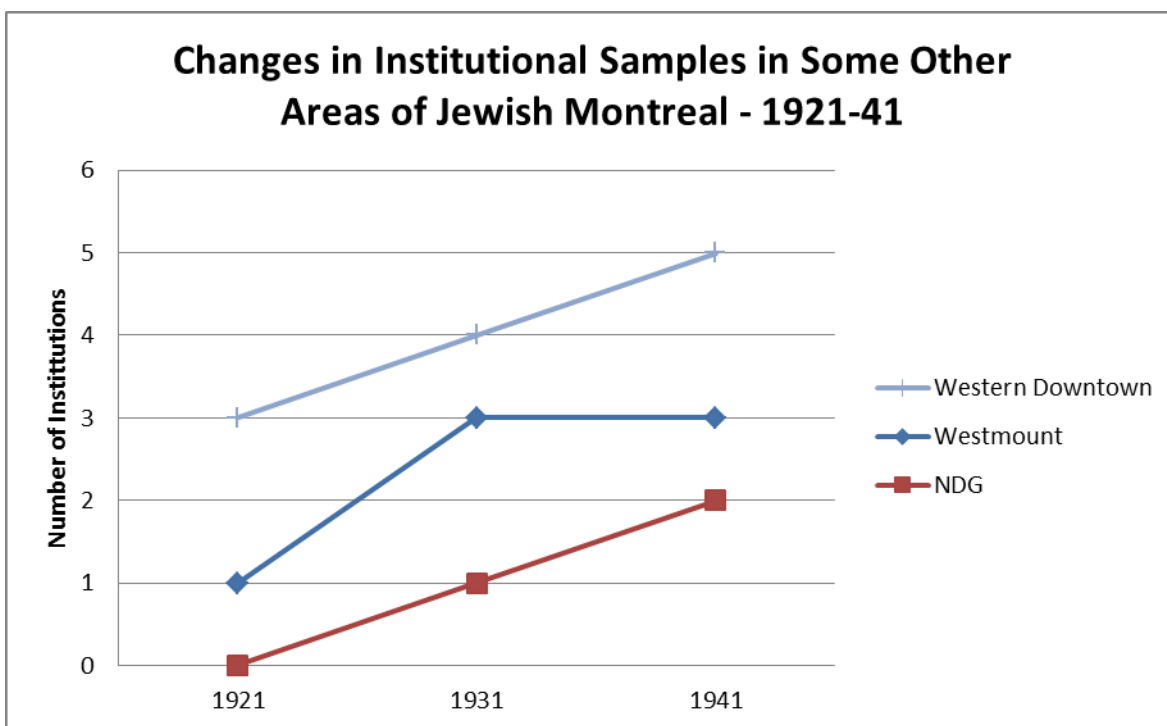


Above: Map of Jewish institutions (green dots) in “the Main” corridor and surroundings in 1932-36 as seen in *Keneder Adler*

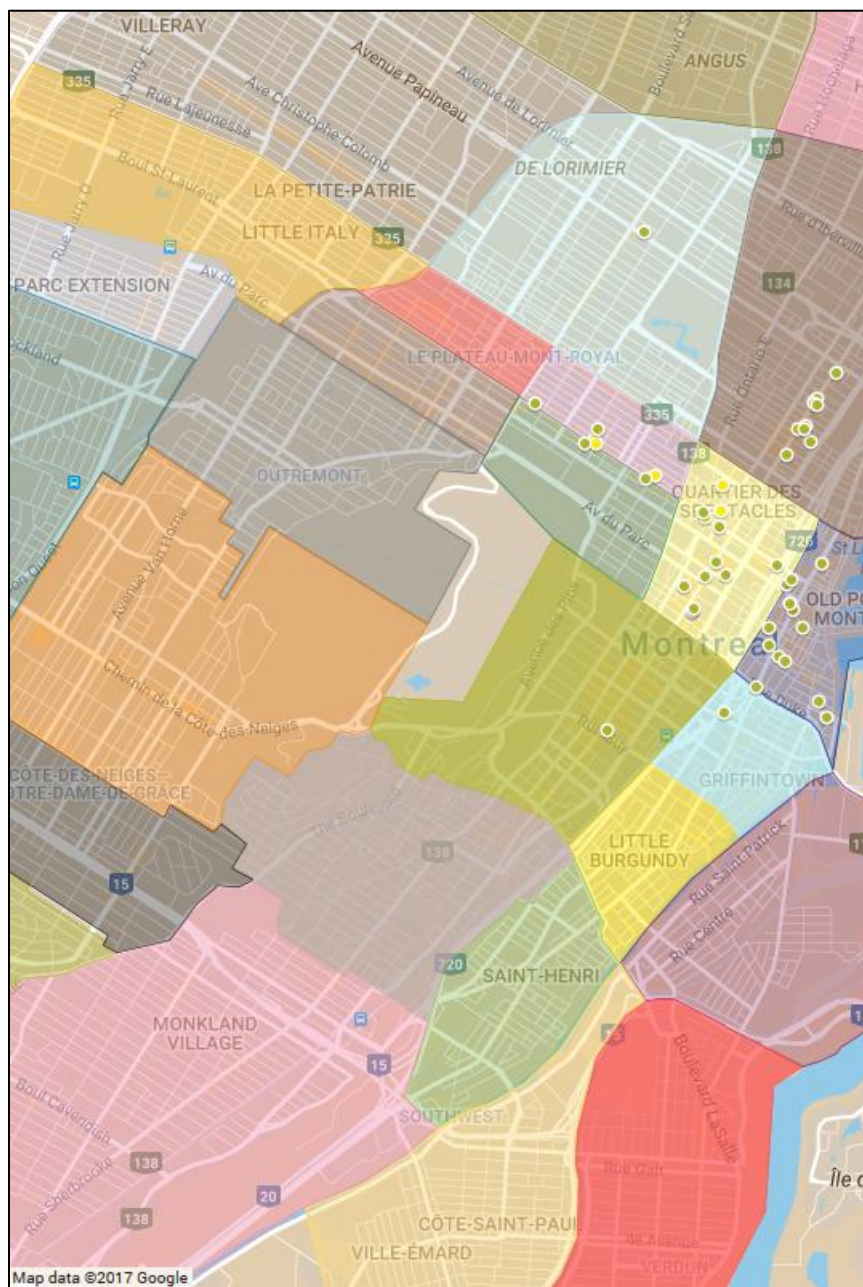
Figure 19: Changes in Institutional Distribution - 1921-41

area	1921	1931	1941	change - 1921-31	change - 1931-41
Far Southern Main	16	8	4	-50.00%	-50.00%
Central SW Main	13	16	20	23.08%	25.00%
Central SE Main	13	26	24	100.00%	-7.69%
Central NW Main	3	17	28	466.67%	64.71%
Central NE Main	0	1	0	N/A	N/A
Outremont	0	2	2	N/A	0.00%
Papineau Area	3	4	3	33.33%	-25.00%
Western Downtown	3	4	5	33.33%	25.00%
Westmount	1	3	3	200.00%	0.00%
NDG	0	1	2	N/A	100.00%
Cote des Neiges	0	0	2	N/A	N/A
Southwest	2	2	1	0.00%	-50.00%
Lower East End	1	0	0	N/A	N/A
Lachine	2	1	1	-50.00%	0.00%



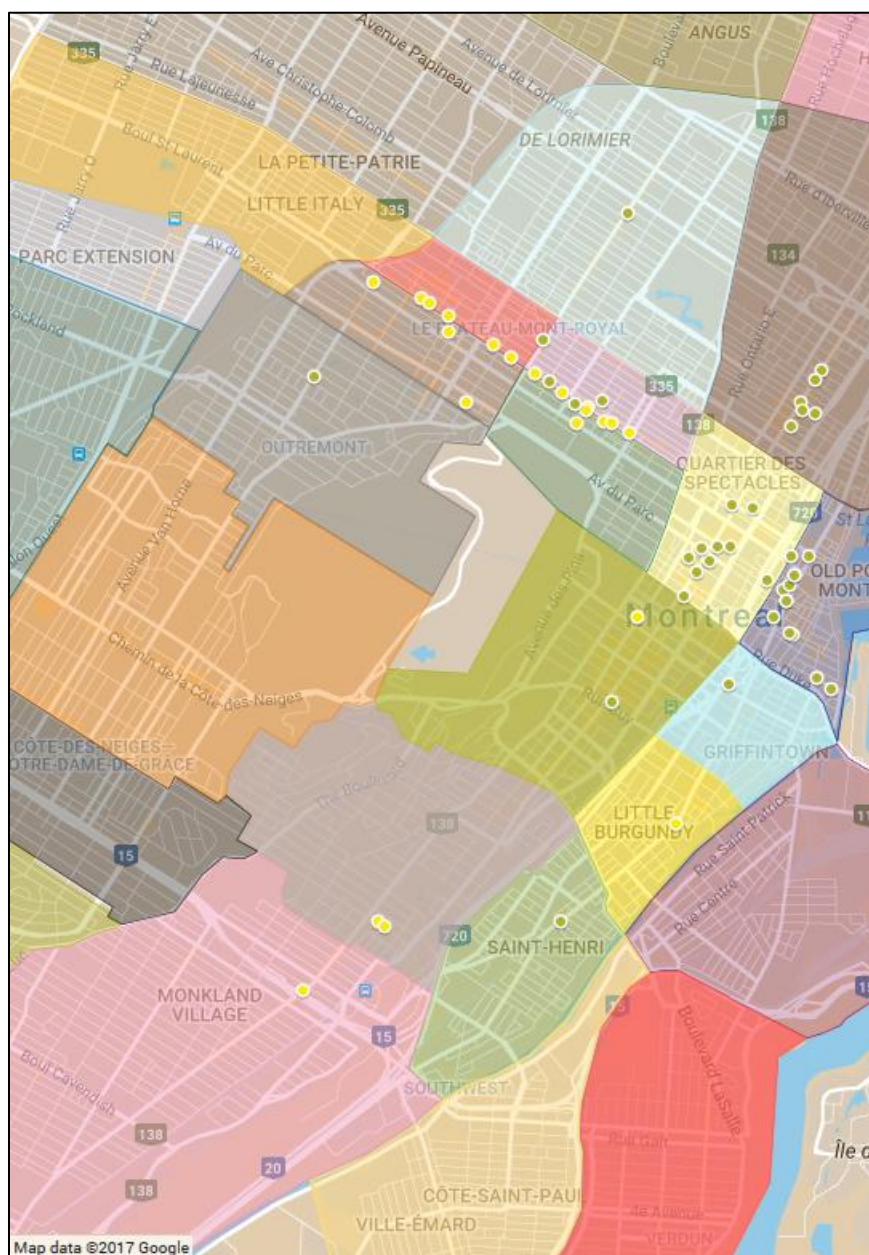


Map Figure 13: Commercial (Selected) Distribution Map - 1921



Above: map of selected Jewish-owned commercial establishments in central Montreal in 1921, including in “the Main” corridor and surroundings (towards the top): for Jewish needs/clientele (yellow dots) and for general clientele (olive dots)

Map Figure 14: Commercial (Selected) Distribution Map - 1931



Above: map of selected Jewish-owned commercial establishments in central Montreal in 1931, including in “the Main” corridor and surroundings (towards the top): for Jewish needs/clientele (yellow dots) and for general clientele (olive dots)

Figure 20: Changes in Commercial Distribution - 1921-41 - Jewish Clientele

area	1921	1931	1941	change - 1921-31	change - 1931-41
Far Southern Main	3	1	1	-66.67%	0.00%
Central SW Main	0	4	3	N/A	-25.00%
Central SE Main	3	4	8	33.33%	100.00%
Central NW Main	0	3	14	N/A	366.67%
Central NE Main	0	5	4	N/A	-20.00%
Outremont	0	0	3	N/A	N/A
Western Downtown	0	1	1	N/A	0.00%
Westmount	0	2	0	N/A	N/A
NDG	0	1	2	N/A	100.00%
Little Burgundy	0	1	0	N/A	N/A

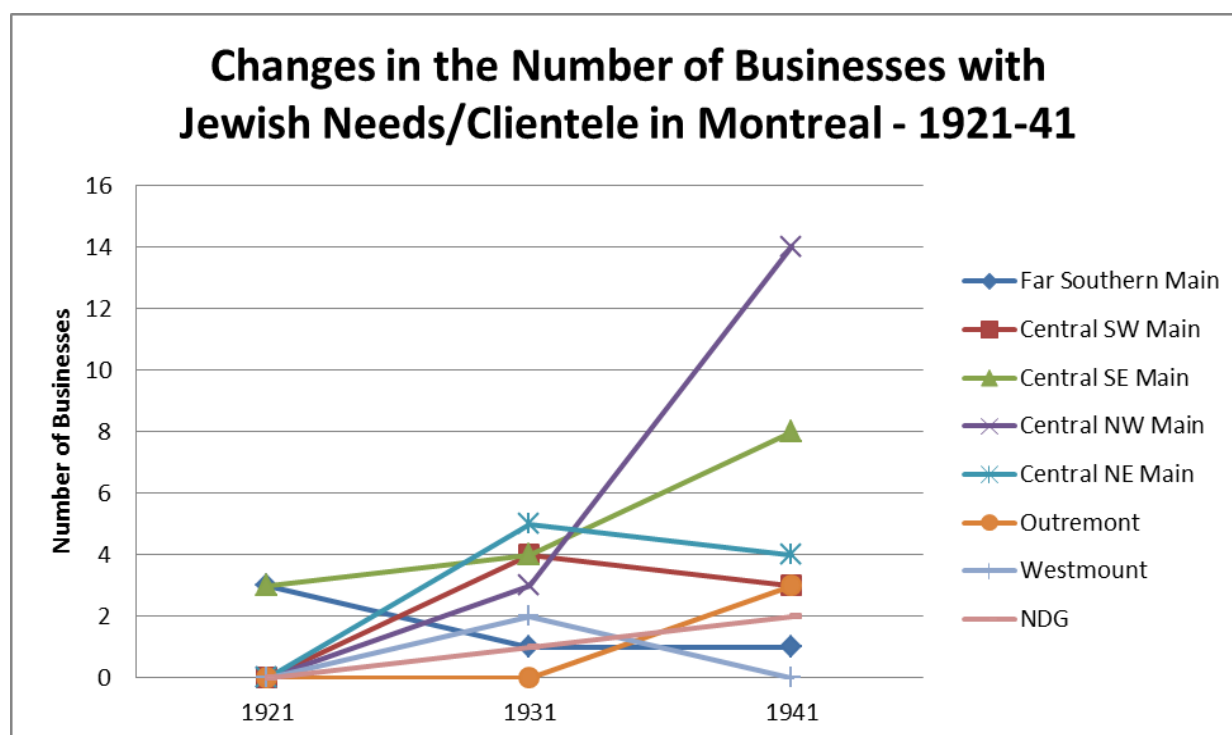
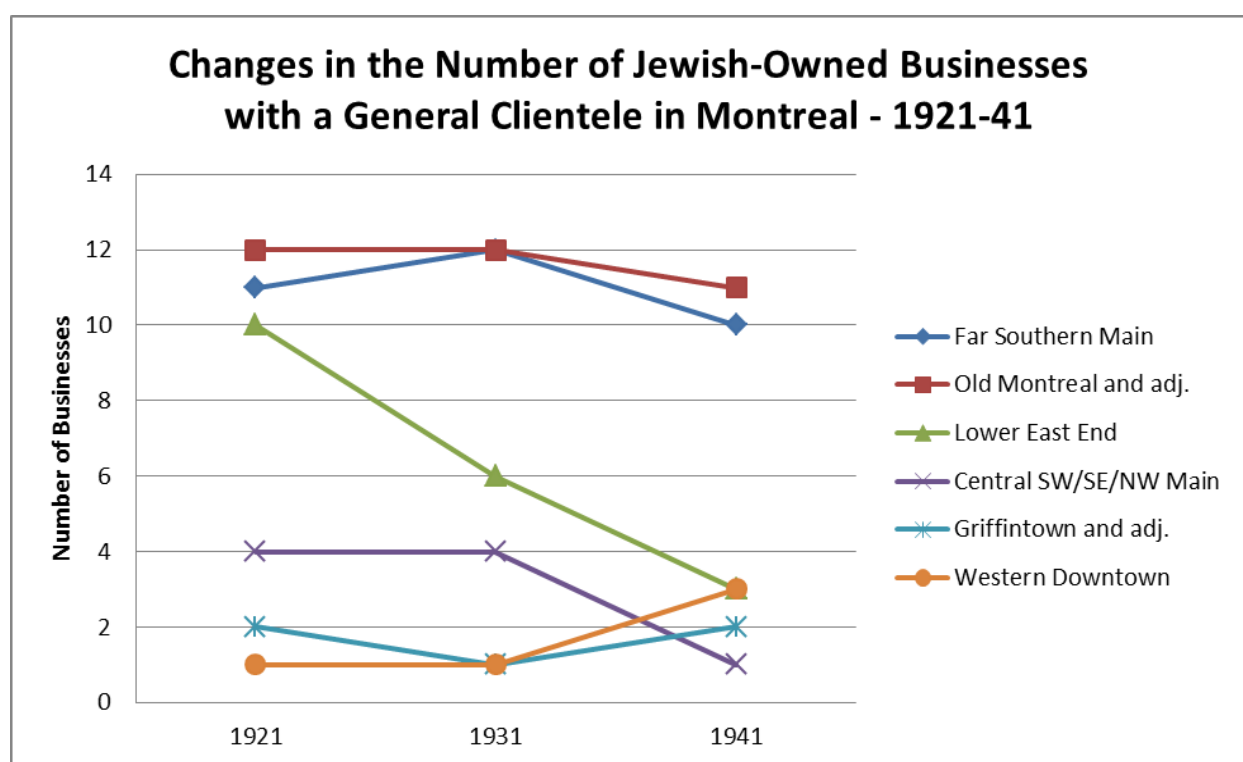


Figure 21: Changes in Commercial Distribution - 1921-41 - General Clientele

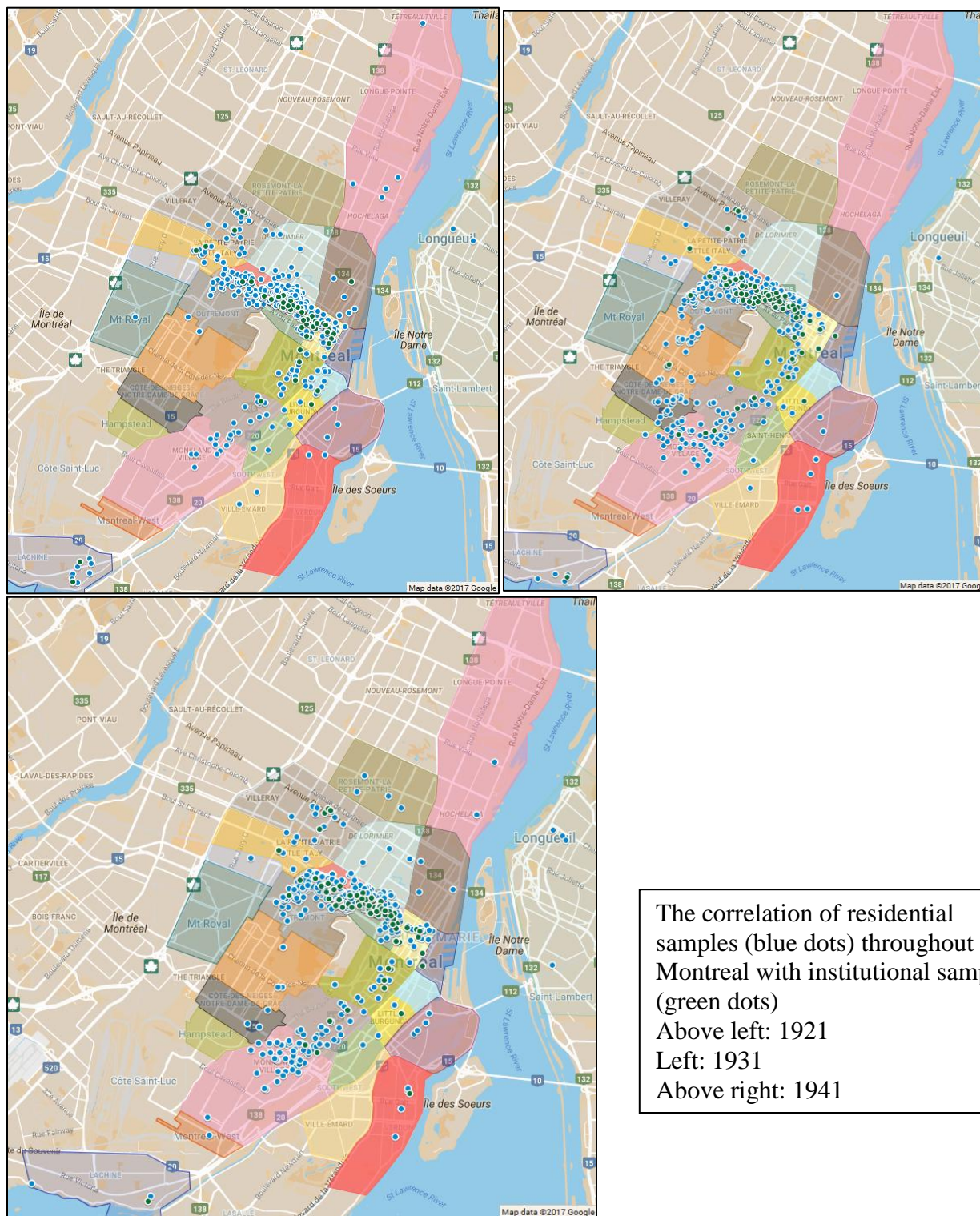
area	1921	1931	1941	change - 1921-31	change - 1931-41
Far Southern Main	11	12	10	9.09%	-16.67%
Old Montreal and adj.	12	12	11	0.00%	-8.33%
Lower East End	10	6	3	-40.00%	-50.00%
Central SW/SE/NW Main	4	4	1	0.00%	-75.00%
Western Downtown	1	1	3	0.00%	200.00%
Griffintown and adj.	2	1	2	-50.00%	100.00%
St. Henri	0	1	1	N/A	0.00%
Outremont	0	1	0	N/A	N/A



Map Figure 16: Residential vs. Famous Residential Distributions - 1921-41



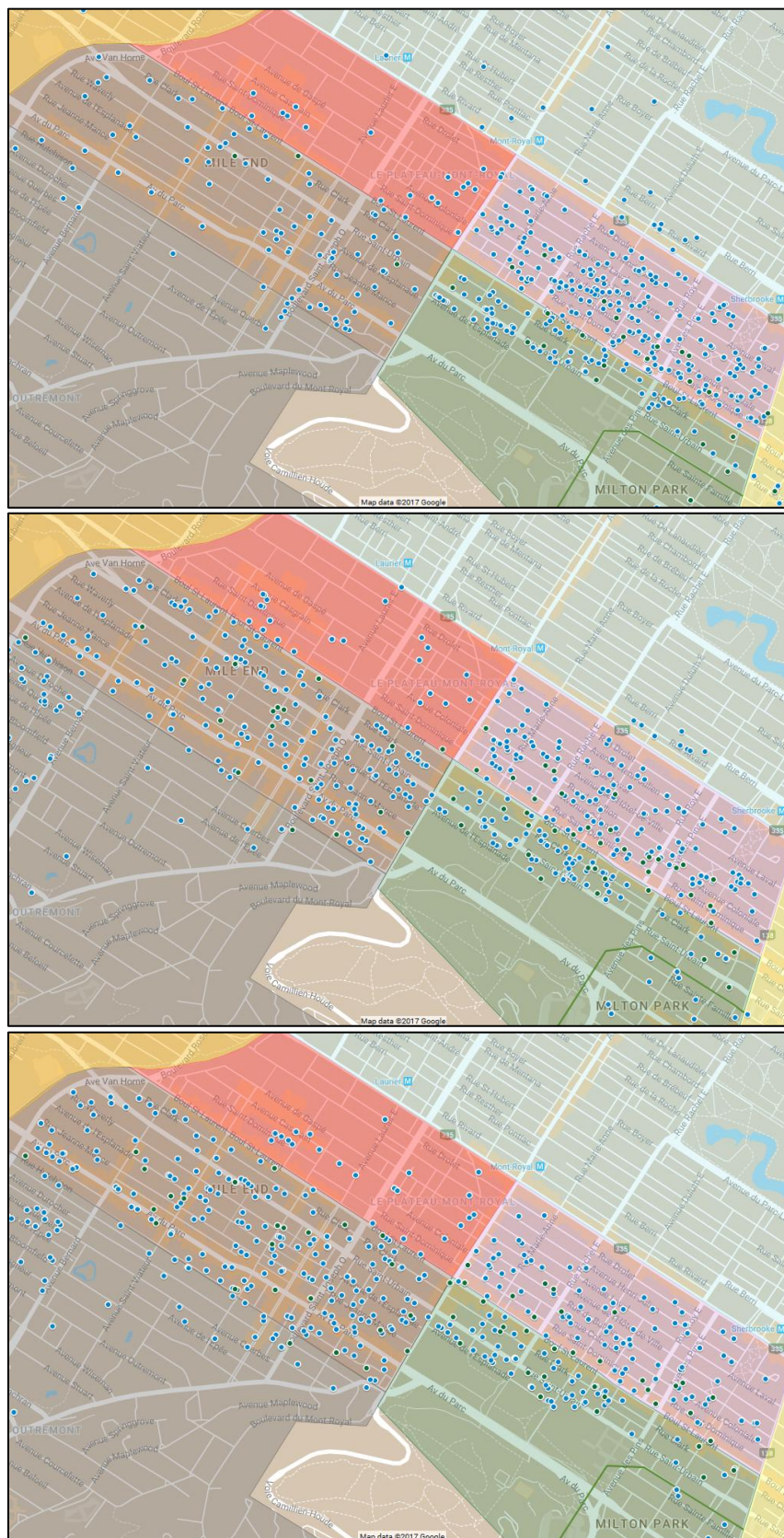
Map Figure 17: Residential vs. Institutional Distributions - 1921-41 - General



The correlation of residential samples (blue dots) throughout Montreal with institutional samples (green dots)

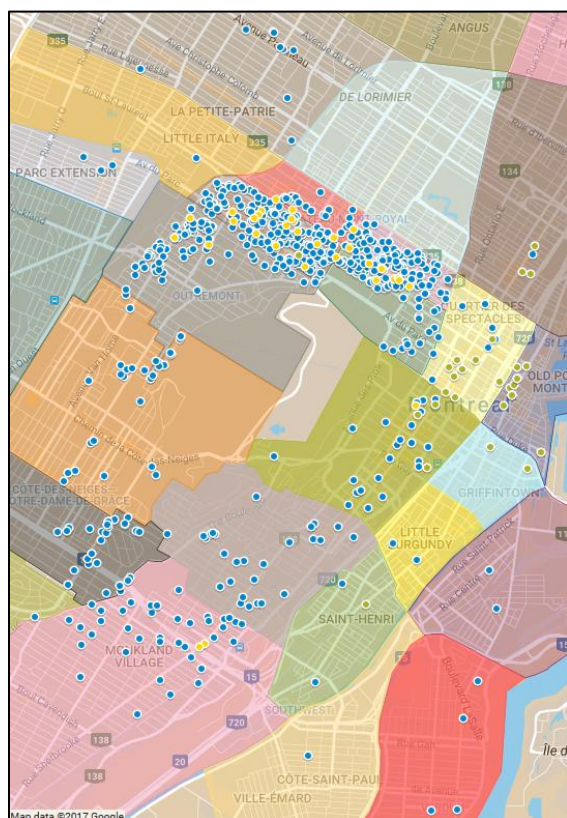
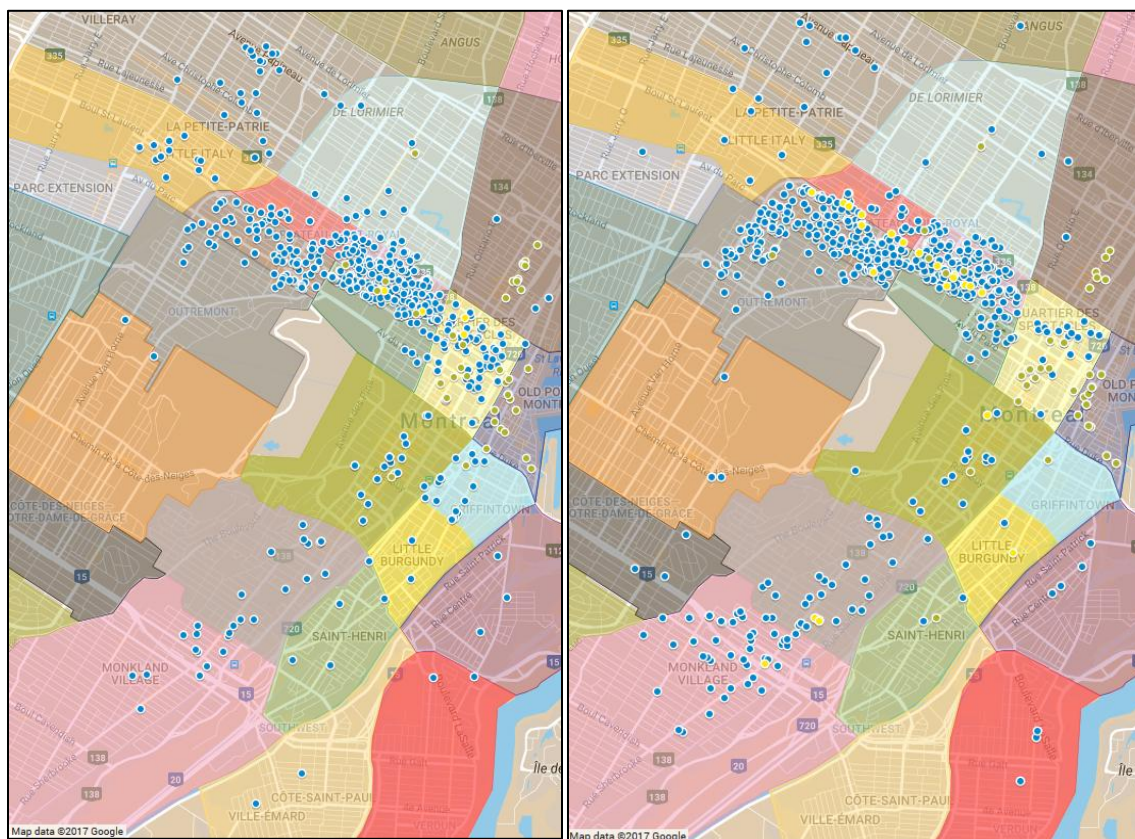
Above left: 1921
 Left: 1931
 Above right: 1941

Map Figure 18: Residential vs. Institutional Distributions - 1921-41 - “The Main”



The same correlation of residential samples (blue dots) with institutional samples (green dots) as applied to much of “the Main” corridor
 Top: 1921
 Middle: 1931
 Bottom: 1941

Map Figure 19: Residential vs. Commercial Distributions - 1921-41



The correlation of residential samples (blue dots) in central Montreal with selected commercial samples (olive dots for general clientele, and yellow dots for Jewish needs/clientele)
 Above left: 1921
 Above right: 1931
 Left: 1941