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## **Leib Malach's Montreal Travelogue, 1930**

## Abstract

*In mid-1930, the Yiddish novelist, playwright, poet, journalist, and world traveller Leib Malach visited Montreal to attend the dedication of a new home for the Jewish Public Library. He then sent the Buenos Aires Yiddish daily Di Prese a three-part travelogue devoted to: Social, cultural, and linguistic conditions in Montreal and the Province of Quebec; the Jewish School Question in Montreal; and Yiddish culture in Montreal. By making implicit comparisons between the two deeply Catholic, but very different societies of Argentina and Quebec, Malach's travelogue held up a mirror to his intended readership in South America. Quebec's proximity to the United States and Canada's status as a British Dominion suggested one point of contrast with Argentina. The long-festering Jewish School Question crystallized the colliding issues of religious confession, public policy, and provincial and internal Jewish community politics in Quebec, which lacked obvious parallels in Argentina. Descriptions of the Yiddish cultural milieu of Montreal offered oblique comparisons with conditions prevailing in the larger Yiddish-speaking community of Buenos Aires. This essay thus attempts to situate Malach's Montreal travelogue within the frameworks of Canadian and Latin American Jewish Studies, along with transnational Yiddish Studies.*

## Résumé

*En 1930, le romancier, dramaturge, poète, journaliste et globe-trotter yiddish Leib Malach s'est rendu à Montréal pour assister à l'inauguration de la nouvelle bibliothèque publique juive. Il a ensuite envoyé au quotidien yiddish Di Prese de Buenos Aires un récit de voyage en trois parties consacrées aux conditions sociales, culturelles et linguistiques à Montréal et dans la province de Québec, à la question des écoles juives à Montréal, et à la culture yiddish à Montréal. En établissant des comparaisons implicites entre les deux sociétés profondément catholiques, mais très différentes, de l'Argentine et du Québec, le carnet de voyage de Malach tendait un miroir à ses lecteurs d'Amérique du Sud. La proximité du Québec avec les États-Unis et le statut du Canada en tant que dominion britannique suggèrent un point de contraste avec l'Argentine. La question de l'éducation juive, qui perdure depuis longtemps, cristallise les enjeux de la confession religieuse, de la politique publique et de la politique provinciale et interne de la communauté juive au Québec, qui n'ont pas de parallèles évidents en Argentine. Les descriptions du milieu culturel yiddish de Montréal offraient des comparaisons indirectes avec les conditions prévalant dans la grande communauté yiddishophone de Buenos Aires. Cet essai tente donc de situer le récit de voyage de Malach à Montréal dans le cadre des études juives canadiennes et latino-américaines, ainsi que des études yiddish transnationales.*

“It’s a piece of Europe in the middle of America. It’s a slice of France in a British dominion. Montreal is a big French city. . . It’s not English or Anglo-Saxon here; it’s

Latin and Catholic, and separately French.”<sup>1</sup>

Quebec and Argentina are two “Latin” societies located at opposite ends of the Western Hemisphere. Quebec’s metropolis, Montreal, and Argentina’s federal capital, Buenos Aires (which is sometimes characterized as the “Paris of South America”) are both port cities; each was a destination for tens of thousands of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. The present discussion of a travel series about Quebec and Montreal, which ran in an Argentine Yiddish newspaper in July 1930, is intended as a modest contribution to the expanding dialogue between the fields of Canadian and Latin American Jewish Studies.

That travelogue was by the Yiddish writer Leib Malach (1894 to 1936). Although he lived in South America for less than five years (1922 to 1926), Malach’s literary legacy is largely defined by works that are set in Argentina and Brazil. Accordingly, contemporaneous writers such as Jacobo Botoshansky and Melech Ravitch considered him to be a quintessentially Latin American Yiddish writer.<sup>2</sup> It was in that light that the Yiddish-speaking Jews in Argentina took in his descriptions of conditions in a very different “Latin” society far to the north.

There were superficial similarities between the two Jewish communities. In each city Yiddish-speaking immigrants created an impressive array of organizations: schools, libraries, *landsmanshaftn* (mutual-aid societies based on their members’ town or region of origin), and charitable establishments. But there were obvious distinctions to be drawn between the settings in which Jewish immigrants in the respective countries were living out their lives. In 1930, Canada and Quebec were politically far more stable than Argentina. Quebec sat securely if somewhat uncomfortably within Canada, in the orbit of the British Empire and the territorial shadow of the United States. Argentina, by contrast, was beset by waves of political unrest, with profound implications for the Jewish community’s security and stability. On the other hand, Buenos Aires was one of the Spanish-speaking world’s undisputed cultural capitals.

Yiddish-speaking Jews in the Argentine capital—like their Canadian counterparts—were constantly exposed to the latest Yiddish literary and dramatic trends emanating from New York City and the latest entertainment fare from Hollywood. However, they would have been largely ignorant of social and cultural conditions north of the U.S.–Canadian border. Malach’s June 1930 visit to Montreal offered him the opportunity to remedy that situation.

### **Leib Malach and Yiddish Travel Journalism**

The globetrotting Yiddish novelist, playwright, poet, and journalist Leyb (Leib) Zaltsman was born in Zwolen, near Radom in Congress Poland, then under Russian

rule, and he died in Paris. His mother's first husband bore the surname Malekh (Malach), which the largely self-educated Leib adopted when he made his literary debut in 1915. An ardent adherent of the Left Labour Zionist movement (*Linke Poale Tsiyon*), he emigrated to Argentina in 1922. Among his "South American" works are the epic novel *Don Domingos kreyttsveg* (*Don Domingo's Crossroad*, published in Vilna in 1930) and the controversial 1926 play *Ibergus* (the title has been translated, variously, as *Overflow*, *Regeneration*, or *Remolding*).<sup>3</sup>

Following his departure from South America at the end of 1926, Malach temporarily relocated first to New York City and then to Toronto, spending the next four years in Canada and the U.S., serving as a lecturer and a correspondent for the Yiddish daily *Di Presse* in Buenos Aires and other Yiddish publications.<sup>4</sup> He visited Montreal in mid-June 1930 to mark the dedication of a new home for the Jewish Public Library.<sup>5</sup> His three articles for *Di Presse* treated the following topics, in this sequence: social, cultural, and linguistic conditions in Montreal and the Province of Quebec; The Jewish School Question in Montreal; and Yiddish culture in Montreal.

Malach's dispatches situated Montreal and its Jewish community within their provincial, pan-Canadian, North American, hemispheric, and transatlantic contexts. His series provided Jews in Argentina with a basis for comparison with conditions confronting them in *their* America.

While he is remembered today for plays and novels that addressed social themes, in his own times (especially during his final decade) Malach was also appreciated for his travel writing.<sup>6</sup> Yiddish travel literature represented a "prolific genre," anthropologist Tamar Lewinsky notes. For Yiddish-speaking cultural figures, travel writing "can be considered a form of autoethnography or native ethnography," she states. "The writers' use of tropes and images underscores their notion of a transnational East European Jewish diaspora connected through language, cultural traditions, and memories" and "directe[d] readers' attention to specific differences, linguistic and cultural, that [had] emerged as a result of migration and cross-cultural influences."<sup>7</sup> In historian Mariusz Kaczeviak's words, "Jewish travel writers and their subjects shared a common language, an eastern European background, and the experience of travel or migration."<sup>8</sup> Malach's travel articles about Montreal fit these criteria.

Most journalistic travelogues in Yiddish dealt with Palestine (either traditional pilgrimages or descriptions of the Zionist *Yishuv*), the United States (especially before 1914), or Soviet Russia (starting in the 1920s). Yiddish travelogues about South America included accounts by such prominent writers as Peretz Hirschbein and H. D. Nomborg.<sup>9</sup> Canada and its Jews were relatively neglected in Yiddish travel literature. This was consistent with a tendency among Yiddish writers to view Canadian Jewry as an adjunct of the American "branch" of Yiddishland. As Kalman Weiser observes,

“Yiddish writers visiting Canada from abroad seldom explicitly contrasted Montreal with Toronto. . . Yiddish cultural activists expressed their disappointments and anxieties about the fate of Yiddish culture, as well as their hopes and dreams for it, by comparing New York City with Montreal.”<sup>10</sup>

Traditionally, academic scholarship, too, has framed Canadian Jewry within its larger North American context but drawn fewer comparisons with other centres of Jewish life. Geographical proximity and a dense web of cross-border relationships make such comparisons inevitable. Lately, though, there have been calls to view Canadian Jewish Studies in a broader transnational perspective. In a recent volume of essays, historian David S. Koffman writes, “Canadian Jewry is often compared with that in the United States but can also fruitfully be compared with Jewish communities in many other countries—those that emerged as colonies of European empires—say, the Jewries of Mexico, South Africa, Argentina, or Australia—and those in which Jews made their homes for many centuries, such as Poland, Scotland, Uzbekistan, and Morocco.”<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere in that same volume, the historian Lois Dubin narrows the comparative focus to the Americas:

Canadian Jewish history should be compared with the history of every Jewish settlement throughout the New World—not only in the United States, but indeed in the Caribbean and Latin America, in the colonial and post-independence periods. There is much to be learned from comparing the mass migrations of eastern European Jews to Canada and Latin America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as in the post-Second World War period. Montreal, Toronto, Mexico City, Buenos Aires—all should be compared with one another, and not only with New York City.<sup>12</sup>

If Quebec represents a distinct society within the Canadian Confederation, then the Jews of Montreal have sometimes been characterized as a “Third Solitude” between the French Catholic majority and the historically dominant English Protestant minority of the province’s largest city. In his travelogue Malach made a point of emphasizing the distinctiveness of Montreal’s Jewish community within the Quebec—and continental—context.

### **Jewish Immigrants in Canada and Argentina: Some Comparisons and Contrasts**

Leib Malach’s byline was familiar to readers of the Yiddish press worldwide. He maintained a longstanding relationship with the Argentine Yiddish newspaper *Di Prese*, with its leftist, pro-Soviet—but also somewhat pro-Zionist—orientation (which aligned with Malach’s own political sympathies). While in Canada he established close ties with the Yiddish dailies of Toronto (*Der Idisher zhurnal*—*The Daily*

*Hebrew Journal*) and Montreal (*Keneder adler—The Jewish Daily Eagle*).<sup>13</sup>

In his Montreal travelogue Malach held up a mirror to his intended audience in Argentina. The proximity of Canada to the United States, coupled with the Dominion's position in the still powerful British Empire, contrasted with Argentina's geopolitical situation. Malach's treatment of the Jewish School Question provided a snapshot of the colliding issues of religious confession, public policy, and provincial and internal Jewish community politics in Quebec, which bore very little equivalence with public education in Argentina. Finally, his observations concerning Yiddish institutions in Montreal offered oblique comparisons with the trajectory of Yiddish cultural life in Buenos Aires.

A common element in the Jewish experience in Canada and Argentina is that large-scale immigration of Eastern European Jews to those countries peaked a decade or so later than was the case with the United States, which took in by far the largest number of Jewish immigrants. The flow of Jewish immigration—especially from Poland—to both Canada and Argentina continued throughout the 1920s, after the U.S. Congress imposed restrictive quotas on immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe in 1924.<sup>14</sup>

A second point of comparison concerns the role of Jewish agricultural settlements in both countries. Starting in the 1890s, the Jewish Colonization Association established agricultural colonies in Argentina and Canada. Much more so than in Canada, though, the rural settlements constituted a central element of the Argentine Jewish community's foundational narrative.

Another of Argentine Jewry's "origin stories," as Leib Malach's play *Iberqus* attests, involved the conspicuous presence of underworld elements associated with the international sex trade—the so-called *tme'im* (impure elements). The Argentine Yiddish critic and educator Samuel Rollansky (Shmuel Rozhanski) characterized these shady, late-nineteenth-century arrivals as "the very first Jews" of Argentina.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, Canada's "first Jews" arrived more than a century earlier, following the British conquest of New France in 1759. Unlike Argentina, there were well-established, if small (and eminently "respectable") Jewish communities in Montreal and elsewhere in Canada throughout the nineteenth century. However, as cultural historian Pierre Anctil observes, "it was not until 1904 that the influx of Eastern European Yiddish speaking immigrants to Montreal began in earnest."<sup>16</sup>

From the demographic standpoint, it is necessary to point to a key difference between the Montreal and Buenos Aires of 1930. While both cities experienced dramatic population growth over the previous half century, the sources of this growth greatly diverged. The francophone population of Montreal increased in both absolute numbers and as a percentage of the city's total population as a result of *internal*

migration from rural areas of Quebec. Immigration from overseas played a secondary role in the city's expansion during the first few decades of the twentieth century. The city's and province's majority population were descended from migrants who had arrived in New France two or more centuries earlier.<sup>17</sup>

By contrast, Jewish immigrants arriving in Buenos Aires encountered a city whose rapid growth was heavily reliant upon *transatlantic* immigration, especially from Spain and Italy. Historian José Moya reports that in 1914 as much as 51 percent of the population of Buenos Aires was born abroad; by 1936, this percentage had dropped by 15 points—but, even so, a majority of the city's population still consisted of immigrants from overseas and their children.<sup>18</sup>

The bulk of Argentina's Jews were concentrated in and around the country's metropolis, Buenos Aires, with the JCA colonies and modest-sized communities in other cities (including Montevideo, in neighbouring Uruguay) forming its hinterland. In contrast, Canada's Jewish population was distributed across the vast country and included several sizable urban communities; most of the JCA settlements were located in relatively remote areas in the Prairies. Moreover, Canada's two largest Jewish communities, Montreal and Toronto, were integral nodes in a larger, North American religious and cultural ecosystem. This was especially true where Yiddish culture was concerned. While both Montreal and Toronto possessed locally edited Yiddish newspapers, New York's Yiddish dailies were widely circulated there as well.<sup>19</sup> Canada's two largest cities were way stations in a Yiddish theatrical circuit that also encompassed such major U.S. cities as Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago—with New York City serving as its nerve centre.<sup>20</sup> Leib Malach's readers in Buenos Aires were certainly aware of their own relative isolation in the Southern Cone.

### **Leib Malach on the City of Montreal and the Province of Quebec**

The first of Malach's Canadian travel pieces (*Di Prese*, 17 July 1930) bore the title "Montreal and Montevideo." He drew the comparison "not because the cities resemble each other, but because the two share a similar fate." Each one sits in the shadow of a much larger city: New York and Buenos Aires, respectively. The United States is the "gigantic dream of all of North [America] and New York is even more than a dream." And just as Uruguay is Argentina's "little sister," Canada is the "little sister" of the U.S.A.

There is a sameness to the modern cities of the Americas, "kneaded from the same dough and emerging in the same form." However, Montreal is distinct: "It's a piece of Europe in the middle of America. It's a slice of France in a British dominion. Montreal is a big French city." He continued: "Language places its distinctive stamp not only upon an individual, but also upon a country, a city, a street, architecture, cus-

toms, lifestyle, gestures, ethics, and morality." What sets Montreal apart from other North American cities is the predominance there of the French language.

"Such an irony"—everything about Quebec and Montreal, "the metropolis of the entire country" (i.e., Canada) is French: its public service, premier, and laws; the language of debates in the provincial legislature; and the Catholicism that is so characteristic of "a Latin land. What connection does it have with England—and how mocking the English anthem 'God Save the King' sounds!" This, notwithstanding the fact that "in Montreal, English is *also* an official language." Despite their compromises with British authority, the local populace adamantly maintains its "struggle for its own mother tongue: French." (Malach was eliding the fact that anglophones, though a minority, nevertheless comprised one-quarter of Montreal's population.<sup>21</sup> He would touch upon the tensions between Montreal's French—and English-speaking communities in his article about the School Question.)

Malach offered some impressions of French Canadians' sentiments toward their "mother country": "Deep in their hearts they harbour a bitterness against France on account of its secularism." Furthermore, Quebec's francophones resent the fact that France cast off Canada so readily, nor do they appreciate the disdain with which the French regard their *Canadien* cousins. The French consider francophone Canadians to be "an insignificant tribe that speaks a French dialect. . . an incomprehensible jargon." Here, Malach was invoking a trope that was frequently applied to *Yiddish*, thereby expressing a degree of solidarity with Quebec's francophones. Despite the neglect that French intellectuals display toward their country's former colony, French Canadians "with their refashioned French language" have managed to create their own culture whose "stamp emphatically underscores that it's not English or Anglo-Saxon here; it's Latin and Catholic, and separately French."

Malach was especially impressed with the vibrancy of street life in Montreal. The city "sings with the sauciness of carefree Paris." Like the great metropolis by the Seine, "Montreal has adopted the hot pace, the glowing flame in the eyes, the taste for wine and women." Its main thoroughfare, Ste-Catherine, "doesn't empty out in the evening like New York's Fifth Avenue or Yonge Street in Toronto. . . it's alive and it throbs. The cafés are busy not only during lunch hour and supper time," but also into the wee hours (as was likewise the case in Buenos Aires). And when it came to the prohibition of alcoholic beverages elsewhere in North America, "the Province of Quebec said 'No' with a capital N [*loy mit an alef*]." Instead, Quebec makes "hundreds of millions" of dollars from tourists who travel there "to quench their thirst for hard liquor." Malach's description of the Montreal of 1930 evokes the wide-open "city unique" of the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>22</sup> He had no difficulty locating the city's houses of ill repute along some of its narrow side streets (this was a recurring theme in his writing), notwithstanding the fact that prostitution was ostensibly illegal.



Malach also commented on the enormous sway that the Roman Catholic Church had over the Quebec of 1930: “All of the religiosity that has dissipated in Paris has entered the French Canadians like a dybbuk. . . The Catholic Church is not only visible; it is a power.” As such, it has served as a bulwark against massive assimilation to the American way of life or to the British “fatherland.” He likened the determination of francophone Quebecers to hold on to their language, religion, and culture, to the resolve of traditional Jews who, clinging to their ancestral faith and distinctive customs, resisted the temptations of assimilation.

Although Montreal may boast of its vibrant night life, Malach lamented that for entertainment the locals must content themselves with motion pictures. Every so often, he wrote, a third-rate French classical theatre troupe passes through and performs “historical” operettas that are “no better than in the Yiddish theatre of yesteryear.” The City of Montreal lacks even a “library, which is the most elementary necessity for a people of culture.”<sup>23</sup> He attributed this to the “silent struggle between Catholics and Protestants”—i.e., between francophones and anglophones in Montreal and Quebec. Nevertheless (anticipating the *Révolution tranquille* of some three decades hence), Malach speculated that should French Canadian society extricate itself from the clergy’s grip and the population’s educational level be raised, Quebec’s francophones—like Malach’s Yiddish-speaking, Jewish contemporaries—might maintain their “distinctive peoplehood” while at the same time “play[ing] an interesting chapter in the history of secular culture.”

Meanwhile, he concluded, Montreal is full of churches, monasteries, and seminaries, all of them surrounded by their “tall grey walls.” “The streets, cities, and rivers are all named after saints.” Ordinary pedestrians mix with hordes of Catholic priests and nuns in full regalia. “And as a symbol of their holiness and power, the priests and the city fathers (under the powerful influence of the priests) have installed a huge, blazing cross atop Mount Royal. Piercing the firmament, the cross burns with electric lights at night and casts its fiery shadow upon all of the rivers and lakes. . .” Malach would return to this particular theme later on.

### **Malach on the Jewish School Question**

In his second instalment (24 July 1930) Malach waded into the constitutional and public-policy morass of the Jewish School Question in Quebec. The British North America Act made no provision for the education of non-Christian children in Quebec, who at the time of Confederation were very few in number. However, with the dramatic growth of the province’s Jewish population, accommodations needed to be made for the education of Jewish children, most of them from working-class immigrant families. As legal historian David Fraser points out, Jews “sat as a category apart, neither Protestant nor Roman Catholic, yet otherwise fully equal British subjects

and Canadian citizens.”<sup>24</sup> In Montreal (where the vast majority of Quebec's Jews resided), Jewish children were educated under the aegis of the Protestant School Board.

When Leib Malach visited Montreal in June 1930, the constitutional right of Jewish children to attend publicly funded schools and the authority under which they might be taught were still unresolved matters (this would soon change).<sup>25</sup> Consequently, his account of the Jewish School Question, which was coloured by his leftist and Yiddishist ideological orientation, was a snapshot of a situation that was still in flux. He placed the Jewish School Question within the matrix of relations between the francophone majority and anglophone minority of Quebec. The two language communities are engaged in “deep and bitter” struggle, he wrote, with each side “pulling the rope” as hard as circumstances permit. The arrangement whereby two parallel school systems exist to serve the “French Catholics and the English Protestants” is “complicated and muddled.”<sup>26</sup>

The curriculum in Catholic schools is “purely a religious one” and were Jews to enrol in them they would pay the price of “tuition” in “Jewish souls.” Protestants are “also, fundamentally, religious in nature”; nevertheless, when the Jewish population was still fairly small the community entered into a contract with the Protestant School Board “to educate them according to the ways of the Protestant God.” With the growth of the Jewish community, there is increasing concern that “the atmosphere in the Protestant schools” is “suffocating” the Jewish children, giving rise to a movement to establish separate Jewish schools “on the basis of constitutional rights.” The proposal for a separate, constitutionally guaranteed Jewish school system, with taxation authority and a budget, Malach reported, has received broad support among Quebec's provincial legislators. First, though, a “commission of Jewish legislators” must attempt to reach agreements with the Protestant and Catholic school boards to implement the proposal.

Were that to happen, it would represent a genuinely “historic event for future generations,” but only “a handful, several hundred or perhaps a few thousand” Jews actually favour the need for such a system. “Most Montreal Jews tremble like lambs at the thought of separate Jewish schools,” and Jewish politicians meekly follow the “raw masses.” On the one hand, these politicians fear the antisemitism “that in their opinion will definitely arise at the moment when separate schools are established for Jews.” At the same time, the “toadying” (*mayofes-zinger*) Jewish leaders embrace an assimilationist agenda. The clincher, though, is that an autonomous Jewish school system “will cost more”; new schools will have to be built; maintenance will also be more expensive; and new teachers' seminaries will also be required.

Protestants are “satisfied” at the prospect of separate Jewish schools, Malach wrote, because the taxes that working-class Jews are paying do not offset the expense of

teaching Jewish children. However, “the French Catholics are grinding their teeth and crying out in their newspapers that Jews, with their Jewish schools, will transgress the sanctity of the Catholic atmosphere of Montreal.”

Montreal possesses two highly regarded Yiddish schools, Malach added: the Peretz School and the Jewish People’s Schools (*Folksshuln*). But the Yiddish schools are overshadowed by Talmud Torahs, *heders*, and Hebrew schools—so Yiddishist progressives are “weak and helpless” when it comes to the practical realization of their dreams. Instead, they fear domination by a “dark” religious system that would be backed by the force of governmental authority through an officially constituted Jewish School Board. “If so, the radical elements are afraid of the golem that they created—that it might inflict harm on them.” As Malach put it, “When two midwives bicker, the child gets suffocated”; maybe it is better to leave well enough alone.

For Yiddish newspaper readers in Argentina, Malach’s account of the Jewish School Question in Quebec would have contrasted with their children’s educational options. The Buenos Aires of 1930 also boasted an array of Jewish schools, which—as in Montreal—supplemented the state schools that Jewish children attended.<sup>27</sup> However, in contrast to Quebec, Argentina’s Congress had long since (in 1884) passed the country’s Ley de Educación Común no. 1420, according to which, historian Victor A. Mirelman writes, “education became secular, universal, and compulsory at public expense. The Jewish immigrants profited from this situation that allowed their children to receive an elementary education and that permitted them to pursue their more immediate necessities of earning a living and adjusting to the ways of their adoptive country.”<sup>28</sup> Unlike Quebec, the education that Jewish children of that era were guaranteed under state auspices in Argentina (a country whose population was likewise overwhelmingly Catholic in its composition) had a non-religious and strongly patriotic character.

### **The Yiddish Scene in Montreal (and Buenos Aires)**

Malach devoted his third and final instalment (31 July 1930) to “Montreal and Yiddish.” Historian Rebecca Margolis characterizes Montreal as “a minor centre of Yiddish culture before the Second World War.”<sup>29</sup> Likewise, as of 1930 Buenos Aires was still a young and relatively peripheral outpost of Yiddishland. By then, both cities possessed robust Yiddish cultural and institutional networks. Yiddish Buenos Aires boasted a more diverse publishing environment than its Montreal counterpart: two Yiddish dailies (the outspokenly leftist *Di Prese* and the pro-Zionist *Di Idishe tsaytung*), versus just one (*Keneder adler*, which offered “something for everyone”<sup>30</sup>), along with weekly magazines for household consumption and book publishers. This was largely owing to the geographical isolation of Argentina from both North America and Europe.<sup>31</sup> The relative proximity of New York City and its ramified Yiddish me-

dia environment and cultural apparatus worked against Montreal becoming a fully autonomous Yiddish publishing centre.<sup>32</sup>

Malach characterized Winnipeg as the city possessing the strongest orientation to Yiddish culture in Canada (and North America), “but Montreal is more outwardly Yiddishist.” Having treated the urban ambience of Montreal in his first instalment, here he focused on the city’s Jewish quarter. “The city’s central street, St-Laurent—or as it is still called by its earlier name, Main Street—is not only a Jewish street, not just a section of New York’s Lower East Side, but is a slice of *Dzika* or *Twarda* [Streets] in Warsaw. There are even little side streets around Main Street that remind one of the ghetto alleys of Vilna.”

Elsewhere in North America, Malach wrote—even in “*yidishlekhe*” Toronto—English signage eclipses Yiddish in Jewish neighbourhoods: “Rooms to rent,” “Rooms to let,” “Furnished room,” etc. “But in Montreal, you can buy ready-made signs” for the same purposes in Yiddish—and also, “as on New York’s East Side, English announcements in Yiddish letters.” There are even Yiddish signs in banks and post offices, he reported. The face of Montreal’s Jewish district is trilingual: English, French, and Yiddish. “[Jewish] Montrealers deny that Montreal is a Yiddishist city. Indeed, Yiddishism there is not carried out there demonstratively but is rather a necessity that has perhaps been created by the special linguistic conditions of the place. Yet, in no other city have I heard as much moaning and groaning [in Yiddish] that it’s an empty wasteland, as in Montreal.”

Rebecca Margolis observes that for its Yiddish-speaking immigrants “Montreal’s institutional framework emerged out of an active interplay between the different facets of transnational Yiddish culture.”<sup>33</sup> Indeed, Malach reported, Jewish communal activity in Montreal resembles that of New York City and is marked by “offices and assemblies [*mitingen*].” Although Jewish immigrants had seemingly recreated the streetscapes of Warsaw and Vilna, he considered the organizational environment of Jewish immigrants in Montreal to be rather pallid. Yiddish Montreal “has all of the advantages of a big city and all of the faults of a small town. Everyone knows everyone else, and [yet] they distance themselves. It is a *mélange* of Europeanness and Americanization.”

An earlier wave of immigrants from Romania to Montreal established the organizational patterns adopted by the Polish-Jewish immigrants who followed in their footsteps, Malach wrote, and they also “created what they do best: *Romanian restaurants*.” But there is no central meeting point; Jewish immigrants take refuge, through their *landsmanshaftn*, in “nostalgia for the recent past in Warsaw, Pinsk, or even the club in Miechów.”

Malach portrayed the “loan syndicates” operated by these mutual-aid societies as an important factor in the economic life of Jewish Montreal. Plaques in Yiddish bearing the societies’ names are affixed to “practically every house in the centre of the Jewish ghetto.” These organizations are patronized by “every worker and even every middle-scale merchant.” The loan syndicates’ financial arrangements amount to a kind of pyramid scheme: “Today I will be your guarantor—and next week you will vouch for me.” (Memories of the October 1929 Wall Street crash were still quite fresh.) Even politically “progressive youth institutions” operate according to these principles and their meeting agendas are consumed by discussions revolving around shares, interest rates, and payouts.

Malach was also rather dismissive of Montreal’s Yiddish literary milieu. The Yiddishist intelligentsia of Montreal is organized around grouplets that gather in private, he reported. Within these circles one hears echoes of the “New York Yiddish gossip mill.” As for Montreal’s Yiddish writers, “their chief virtue is that they regard themselves as Canadians, even though there is little that is specifically Canadian” reflected in their works. Their talents are modest, and in the absence of “any special Canadian local colour” they have little to contribute to world Yiddish literature. Their publications have negligible impact beyond their narrow circles and the poets are not positioned in the cultural vanguard. The few authors who have been accorded wider recognition come from outside of these little groups and “Montreal just happens to be their place of residence.”<sup>34</sup> Malach’s perspective largely tallies with contemporary and later assessments. “As late as the 1930s,” Rebecca Margolis writes, “Montreal Yiddish literary critic H. M. Caiserman asserted that despite the fact that the work of American Yiddish poets, in particular that of New York’s Di Yunge group of writers, was being read in Canada, local writing was at the very initial stage of poetic evolution.”<sup>35</sup>

If Malach was not overly impressed by the Yiddish literary scene in Montreal, there were two institution types that in his estimation placed Montreal “in the top ranks of [North] American” centres of Yiddish culture: the Yiddish schools and the Jewish Public Library (*Yidische* [also: *Idishe*] *folks-bibliotek*<sup>36</sup>). The local Yiddish intelligentsia, justifiably, “tremble with pride” in the schools and the library. As Pierre Ancil observes, Labour Zionist activists were instrumental in establishing and leading these highly respected community institutions, a fact that doubtless afforded a degree of ideological comfort to Malach from his perch on the left flank of that movement.<sup>37</sup>

Hundreds of children are enrolled in the Peretz School and the Jewish People’s Schools, he reported. Both schools pursue “essentially the same goals,” albeit with nuances: The Peretz School, whose curriculum focuses on Yiddish language and literature, is the more radical of the two. The *Folksshuln* are closer in spirit to mainstream Labour Zionism and their curriculum places a somewhat greater emphasis

on Jewish history. "The Montreal schools have already produced many well-educated community leaders" and also "poetesses" (Malach used the gender-inflected noun *dikhterins*<sup>38</sup>). Thanks to the schools, the children speak "a juicy, pure, and literary Yiddish." Malach observed. "It is such a rarity in America [to hear] Yiddish in the streets and the mouths of children, but in Montreal it is a fact."

Malach portrayed the Jewish Public Library as a "genuinely important cultural institution and on quite a large scale." There is no other Jewish library in North America that operates at this level, he wrote. A very high percentage of Montreal's Jews use the library, "perhaps because Montreal doesn't offer favourable terrain for communal gatherings (*koholn zikh*)."<sup>39</sup> In its sixteen years of existence, "the library has become lodged in the hearts of the youth of Montreal and become the spiritual center for the intelligentsia."

The JPL's dedication festivities took place on Sunday, 15 June 1930. Having outgrown its cramped quarters at 4115 St-Urbain, it was relocating to a handsome building at 4099 Esplanade which was originally constructed as a private residence.<sup>40</sup> Two events honouring the dedication took place that day: a ribbon-cutting ceremony in the afternoon and a banquet in the evening, where Malach was one of several notables called upon to deliver greetings to those assembled. The evening's featured speaker was the famous Yiddish poet H. Leivick, visiting from New York City.<sup>41</sup>

As the guests toured the library, Malach reported, "with sincere and naïve joy" they marvelled at the appearance of the books on the shelves. The library's reopening, puts the lie to "the worm that gnaws at the heart. . . the fear of the decline of Yiddish and of our disappearance." Rather, with its 6,000 books, adult-education classes, "comfortable furnishings for teachers and students," children's library, hall for art exhibits, and its *folks-universitet* (People's University), the dedication of the community's "very own bright and spacious" library is the occasion for a "family celebration."

The Jews of Buenos Aires had their libraries, too, but in 1930 there was no central library serving the entire community. Rather, the city's Jewish libraries were dispersed among the *landsmanshafim*, political clubs, and Yiddish cultural organizations.<sup>42</sup> By contrast, as Rebecca Margolis observes, Montreal's *Yidishe folks-bibliotek* "was a non-partisan lending library. . . accessible to everyone rather than restricted to a select group of individuals with shared ideological convictions."<sup>43</sup> Indeed, the roster of participants in the JPL's dedication ceremonies brought together the cream of the Jewish community as a whole, among them city councillors, the editor and the publisher of the *Keneder adler*, well-heeled members of the library's board, representatives of several Jewish educational institutions (not only the Yiddish schools, but also the Talmud Torah), children's choruses, and even a cantor.<sup>44</sup>

Malach concluded his travel series on a foreboding note, by underscoring the geographical juxtaposition of the library—and, by extension, Montreal's Jewish district—with the city's most distinctive topographical feature:

The library is located along the spine of the Jewish district, but [also] at the foot of the beautiful and aristocratic park, beneath the summit of the enchanting Mount Royal. From atop the mountain, a great illuminated cross casts its blinding glare, while down below a sign glows bearing the Yiddish inscription *Idishe folks-bibliotek*—and the thought comes to mind that these two symbols are positioned against each other as if in a war where one will devour the other.

He seemed to be saying that although Eastern European Jews had apparently established a comfortable foothold in this remote North American city, nevertheless they were ultimately subject to the more powerful forces driving the society in whose midst they had come to dwell—a Zionist takeaway *par excellence*. Malach's trepidations would have been readily grasped by his readers in Argentina, a strongly nationalistic country that had in the past experienced violent outbursts of antisemitism and was then in the throes of political turmoil which would soon (6 September 1930) culminate in a right-wing military coup.

### **Leib Malach Moves on. . . and out**

Malach seldom held a fixed address for very long: Four-plus years in South America, several more years in North America, and then across the Atlantic and around the Mediterranean. During his final decade, he increasingly devoted his attentions to travel journalism.

A modest file on Malach in the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS) Collection at the Canadian Jewish Archives reveals that when he left Argentina for the United States in late 1926, he effectively abandoned his wife Sara and their three children.<sup>45</sup> About a year later, following two productions of his play *Iberqus* in New York, he moved to Toronto, where he met Lotty Fiedler, who would become his second wife. Malach died of acute appendicitis in Paris on June 18, 1936, at the age of only 42, having lately returned from a trip to Spain shortly before the outbreak of that country's civil war. He had spent eleven months in Palestine during the two previous years and was planning to travel next to the Soviet Union.

Whatever his shortcomings as a paterfamilias, Leib Malach, both as a writer and as a personality, evidently left a powerful impression upon many of his contemporaries. He was laid to rest in an imposing ceremony at the Bagneux cemetery in Paris.<sup>46</sup> The funeral cortège included delegations from various leftist organizations, marching under red banners; one delegation travelled from as far away as Brussels, Belgium.<sup>47</sup>

When Malach died, an alert staff member at JIAS, across the ocean in Montreal, slipped two obituaries from the *Keneder adler* into the agency's case file on the writer.<sup>48</sup>

In death, Malach drew special praise for his travel writing. As the French Yiddish writer Benjamin Shlevin wrote, "He crisscrossed the world in its length and breadth. And although he was merely a 'guest for the night' in all of the countries that he managed to visit in recent years, with his poet's eye and his heartbeat attuned to the Zeitgeist, he nevertheless perceived his surroundings much more profoundly than one might ordinarily imagine."<sup>49</sup> Malach's Montreal travelogue offers a prime example of his powers of observation concerning one of the many locales which he passed through and wrote about during the course of his relatively brief but productive literary and journalistic career.

Leib Malach personified (to the point of exaggeration) the restless transnationalism that was so characteristic of Yiddish culture during its heyday. In his Canadian travelogue he constantly drew comparisons between Montreal and the metropolises of Paris and New York, while alluding to the looming presence, just offstage, of the British Empire. Yet, precisely because his series was intended for an Argentine audience, it is in light of that connection that his articles must also be read. Such are the cultural, spatial, and geopolitical intricacies of Yiddishland.<sup>50</sup>





1

Leib Malach, "Montriol un Montevideo," *Di Prese* (Buenos Aires), July 17, 1930.

2

Yankev Botoshanski (Jacobó Botoshansky), *Mame-yidish: eseyen un lektsyes* (Buenos Aires: David Lerman, 1949), pp. 219-222; Melech Ravitch, "Leyb Malekh," in *Mayn leksikon*, vol. 1 (Montreal: 1945), pp. 135-137.

3

L. Malach [Malekh], *Ibergus: drame in fir aktn* (Buenos Aires, 1926). Background on the Buenos Aires production is included in the prologue by Jacobo (Yankev) Botoshansky, its director. The prologue and excerpts from *Ibergus* are included in the volume *Yiddish South of the Border: An Anthology of Latin American Writing*, edited by Alan Astro (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), pp. 89-98. See also C. Tova Markenson, "Jewish Immigrant Theatre and the Argentinean Avant Gardes: The Case of *Ibergus* in 1926 Buenos Aires," *Modern Drama* 63:4 (Winter 2020), pp. 455-476.

4

The leftist *Di Prese* was one of two Yiddish dailies serving the Jewish immigrant community of Argentina; the centre-left, pro-Zionist *Di idische tsaytung* was the other Yiddish newspaper.

5

See: Leib Malach (Leyb Malekh), "Montriol un Montevideo," *Di Prese* (Buenos Aires), July 17, 1930; "Montriol un idische shuln," *Di Prese*, July 24, 1930; "Montriol un idish," *Di Prese*, July 31, 1930.

6

Three of Leib Malach's books (two of them published posthumously) are devoted to his travel accounts: *Palestine-reportazhn* (Warsaw: Literarishe bleter, 1935); *Fun Shpanye biz Holand* (Warsaw – Paris: 1937); *Fun Poyln biz Terkay* (Paris: A. B. Tserato, 1939).

7

Tamar Lewinsky, "Eastern Europe in Argentina: Yiddish Travelogues and the Exploration of Jewish Diaspora," in Andreas B. Kilcher, Liliane Weissberg (eds.), *Writing Jewish Culture: Paradoxes in Ethnography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), p. 252, 253, 258, 265.

8

Mariusz Katczewiak, *Polacos in Argentina: Polish Jews, Interwar Migration, and the Emergence of Transatlantic Jewish Culture* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2020), p. 103.

9

Peretz Hirschbein, *Fun vayte lender: Argentine, Brazil, yuni November 1914* (New York: 1916); H. D. Nornberg, "Argentinishe rayze in yor 1922," part 3 of his *Gezamlte verk*, vol. 6: *Amerike* (Warsaw: Kultur-lige, 1928).

10

Kalman Weiser, "Vilna on the St Lawrence: Montreal as the Would-Be Haven for Yiddish Culture," in *No Better Home? Jews, Canada, and the Sense of Belonging*, edited by David S. Koffman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2021), pp. 56, 66.

11

David S. Koffman, "Introduction: What Does It Mean to Ask the Question, 'Has There Ever Been a Better Home for the Jews Than Canada?'" in *No Better Home*, p. 5.

12

Lois C. Dubin, "Montreal and Canada through a Wider Lens: Confessions of a Canadian-American European Jewish Historian," in *No Better Home*, p. 227.

13

Khayim Leyb Fuks (Ch. L. Fox), *100 yor yidische un hebreishe literatur in Kanade (100 Years of Yiddish and Hebrew Literature in Canada)* (Montreal: Kh. L. Fuks bukh fond komitet, 1980), p. 166; *Cent ans de littérature yiddish et hébraïque au Canada*, traduit du yiddish, commenté et complété par Pierre Anctil (Sillery: Septentrion, 2005), p. 231.

14

Jewish immigration to both Canada and Argentina proceeded on a fairly robust scale through 1930, at which point it fell very sharply in Canada but continued in Argentina at a somewhat reduced level. See Table 91, "Distribution of Jewish Intercontinental Migration 1901-1936," in Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, Bureau of Social and Economic Research, 1939), p. 134.

**15**

Samuel Rollansky (Shmuel Rozhanski), *Dos yidishe gedrukte vort un teater in Argentine* (Buenos Aires: 1941), p. 203. Rollansky's essay was originally published under the title "Dos idishe gedrukte vort un teater in Argentine," in *Yoyvl-bukh: sakh-haklen fun 50 yohr idish leben in Argentine; lekoved "Di Idishe tsaytung" tsu ihr 25-yohrigen yubileum* (Cincuenta años de vida judía en la Argentina: homenaje a "El Diario Israelita" en su vigesimoquinto aniversario) (Buenos Aires: 1940).

**16**

Pierre Anctil, "The Challenge of Memory for Yiddish Language Activists in Montreal," in *History, Memory, and Jewish Identity*, Ira Robinson, Naftali S. Cohn, Lorenzo DiTomasso, eds. (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2015), p. 211.

**17**

Paul-André Linteau (translated by Peter McCambridge), *The History of Montréal: The Story of a Great North American City* (Montréal: Baraka Books, 2013), pp. 106, 121. According to the 1931 Canadian census, the population of the island of Montreal was about one million, with the vast majority living in the city of Montreal: 818,577, as compared with only 155,238 in 1881. See *The Canada Year Book 1932* (Ottawa: Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, General Statistics Branch, 1932), "Population, Table 11: Populations of Cities and Towns having over 5,000 inhabitants in 1931, Compared with 1871-81-91-1901-11-21," p. 103. Online at: <https://www66.statcan.gc.ca/eng/1932-eng.htm> (accessed April 29, 2020).

**18**

See Table 14: "Total and Spanish-born population, Buenos Aires, 1855-1936," in José Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 149. In 1914, the population of Buenos Aires was 1,575,814; by 1936, it had increased to 2,415,142. In absolute numbers, the total of foreign-born residents rose from approximately 803,000 to 869,000.

**19**

Rebecca Margolis, "The Yiddish Press in Montreal, 1900-1945," *Canadian Jewish Studies/ Études juives canadiennes* 16/17 (2008-2009), p. 8.

**20**

Jean-Marc Larrue, *Le théâtre yiddish à Montréal – Yiddish Theatre in Montreal* (Montréal: Editions Jeu, 1996).

**21**

According to the 1931 census, about one-quarter of the city's population – over 200,000 inhabitants – spoke English only. See Stanley Lieberman, "Bilingualism in Montreal: A Demographic Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 71:1 (July 1965), "Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Official Language by Ethnic Origin, Montreal Area, 1921-61," p. 16.

**22**

William Weintraub, *City Unique: Montreal Days and Nights in the 1940s and '50s* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1996).

**23**

In fact, at the time of Malach's visit the city of Montreal did possess a central library, on Sherbrooke Est, facing Parc Lafontaine: <http://archivesdemontreal.com/2017/09/05/les-cent-ans-de-la-bibliotheque-de-la-ville-de-montreal/> (accessed April 4, 2020). However, its scale was quite modest in comparison with other cities' main libraries, and the city lacked a network of public library branches.

**24**

David Fraser, "Honorary Protestants": *The Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1867-1997* (Toronto: Published for the Osgood Society for Canadian Legal History by University of Toronto Press, 2015), p. 3. Concerning the label "Honorary Protestants," see Roderick MacLeod and Mary Anne Poutanen, *A Meeting of the People: School Boards and Protestant Communities in Quebec, 1801-1998* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), chapter 7, "Honorary Protestants: Jews and the Protestant Boards." For a compilation of quoted excerpts from documents, see David Rome, *On the Jewish School Question in Montreal, 1903-1931* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, National Archives, 1975), which is vol. 3 of *Canadian Jewish Archives, New Series*. This volume is accessible online at: <http://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/3658087?docref=Tzmlwkw3i5IBHJrFmyoX1qQ&docsearch-text=David%20Rome%20Jewish%20school%20question> (accessed May 12, 2020).

**25**

MacLeod and Poutanen, *A Meeting of the People*, p. 207.

**26**

Malach overlooked the fact that the Catholic school board served a sizable number of anglophone Catholics; a much smaller number of francophone Protestants were educated in the Protestant schools.

**27**

For an overview of Jewish education in Argentina during the same period, see Victor A. Mirelman, *Jewish Buenos Aires, 1890-1930: In Search of an Identity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), chapter 6: "Concern for Jewish Education," pp. 147-160.

**28**

Mirelman, *Jewish Buenos Aires, 1890-1930*, p. 147.

**29**

On Montreal's position on the "Yiddish stage," see Rebecca Margolis, *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil: Yiddish Culture in Montreal, 1905-1945* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), pp. 33-37.

**30**

Margolis, *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil*, p. 52. Margolis discusses the *Keneder adler* at length on pp. 45-56. See also *Through the Eyes of The Eagle: The Early Montreal Yiddish Press (1907-1916)*, translated from the Yiddish by David Rome; edited and introduced by Pierre Ancil (Montreal]: Véhicule Press, 2001).

**31**

Buenos Aires would emerge as a major Yiddish publishing centre after the Shoah. On the history of the Yiddish book trade in Argentina, see Alejandro Dujovne, *Una historia del libro judío: la cultura judía argentina a través de sus editores, libreros, traductores, imprentas y bibliotecas* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno, 2014), especially chapter 3, "El libro idish en Buenos Aires," pp. 65-119.

**32**

Newspapers from New York City – including the Yiddish dailies – were delivered to Montreal within a day of their publication in New York. See Margolis, *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil*, p. 34. As of 1930, one New York Yiddish newspaper, the *Forverts* (which published local editions in several U.S. cities outside of New York), ran weekly columns summarizing goings-on in Montreal and Toronto.

**33**

Margolis, *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil*, p. 33.

**34**

In this connection, Malach may have had in mind the poet Y. Y. Sigal (Jacob Isaac Segal).

**35**

Caiserman, as quoted in Margolis, *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil*, p. 77.

**36**

In English, its name then was Jewish Peoples Library.

**37**

Ancil, "The Challenge of Memory for Yiddish Language Activists in Montreal," p. 218.

**38**

Malach likely had in mind the example of Rivka Royzenblat, a graduate of the Peretz School, whose poetry was published in the New York monthly magazine *Tsukunft* and in a volume that came out in 1929. Subsequently, as Ruth Rubin, the former Rivka Royzenblat became a prominent Yiddish folklorist, specializing in the study of Yiddish folk songs. Regarding the Yiddish schools of Montreal, see chapter 4 of Margolis, *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil*, pp. [123]-158.

**39**

In addition, as might be inferred from Malach's comments in his first installment, the absence of public libraries in Montreal helped to elevate the JPL's profile in its community.

**40**

The JPL remained at 4099 Esplanade until 1953, when it moved into a brand-new building at 4499 Esplanade (at the corner of Mont-Royal), its home until 1966.

**41**

M. Ton, "Vos hert zikh in Montreal," *Forverts* (New York), June 22, 1930. For additional background on the Jewish Public Library during this period, see Margolis, *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil*, pp. 92-104.

**42**

The tenth-anniversary issue of *Di Idische tsaytung* (January 1, 1924) includes a table, "Biblioteken un kultur anshtalten," listing 55 Jewish libraries and cultural establishments in Argentina, the vast majority of which were located in or near Buenos Aires. Of the

approximately 30 organizations with book collections, none approached the Jewish Public Library's holdings of 6,000 volumes as of 1930. The Argentine branch of the Vilna-based YIVO Institute, the Instituto Científico Judío – IWO (now called the Fundación IWO), established an extensive library and archive that was located alongside other Jewish community agencies in the Asociación Mutual Israelita Argentina (AMIA) building from 1945 until 1994, when the building was destroyed by a terrorist bombing.

**43**

Margolis, *Jewish Roots, Canadian Soil*, p. 92.

**44**

M. Ton, "Vos hert zikh in Montreol."

**45**

The Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS) Collection at the Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives file (no. 16406) on Leib Malach contains correspondence from late 1929 to early 1931. I am very grateful to Janice Rosen, archivist at the CJArchives, for providing me with access to this file.

**46**

Concerning the Bagneux cemetery, see: [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cimetiere%20parisien\\_de\\_Bagneux](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cimetiere%20parisien_de_Bagneux) (accessed April 22, 2020).

**47**

"Di imponzante levaye fun Leyb Malekh in Pariz," *Unzer ekspres* (Warsaw), June 25, 1926.

**48**

Y. Y. Sigal [J. I. Segal], "L. Malekh: a vort bay zayn keyver," and B. G. Z. [B. G. Sack], "Togayn tog-oys: Malekh geshtorbn"; both articles appeared in the June 22, 1936, issue of the *Keneder adler*.

**49**

Benjamin Shlevin, "Nokhn toyt fun L. Malekh," in *Literarische bleter* (Warsaw), July 3, 1936, p. 1.

**50**

Jeffrey Shandler, *Adventures in Yiddishland: Postvernacular Language & Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).