



of His Excellency's engagements during Saturday was his visit to the Boys' Farm and Training School at Shawbridge where he addressed the students at the closing exercises. In the above picture L. is seen being greeted by Major Ralph Wilcock superintendent of the Farm on his arrival at Shawbridge in company with E. W. Beatty, K.C., chairman of the Canadian Pacific Railway and president of the institution.

LEYNOTE OF SBOROUGH

he graduation and closing exercises were held in the E. W. Beatty gymnasium the seating capacity of 500 being taxed to the full. The dinner was a fine affair, the vice-regal party which included E. W. Beatty, chairman and president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and also president of the Boys' Farm and Training School, Governor-General's suite and a number of other well-known

It was, he pointed out, the first time in the history of the school that a governor-general of Canada had been present at this function. He asked the boys to recognize it as a signal honor in their lives. Character Great Asset His Excellency said that in the past two years he had spoken to more than 100,000 boys and girls in the Dominion and thought it was high time he should also speak to the boys of the school. He had lately been through the mining districts of Ontario and while he was profoundly impressed with the great wealth in minerals that was under foot in Canada, he thought

Distribution of prizes was made during which C. W. was thanked by name for his unsparing service to the school. In addition to his presence on the platform, Colonel A. J. K.C., John McMillan, A.C., Owen Dawson, A.C., and Robert Adair, K.C., were present. Others at the closing included: W. F. Angus, W. R. Cheneveth, Dukes, Ferand Dufresne, Daniel Fitzpatrick, and others.

Jewish Juvenile Delinquents at the Boys' Farm and Training School, Shawbridge, QC., 1907-1926: a Snapshot

Jesse Moss, MA-candidate in Jewish Studies at McGill University, Montreal.



Winners of Senior, Intermediate and Junior divisions at Sports Meet. Gagnants aux différentes divisions des sports. —Photo D. Dunn

Fire drill at the Boys' Farm at Shawbridge, P.Q.
Exercice en cas d'incendie à la Boys' Farm à Shawbridge, P.Q.



Happy boys and their visiting Kiwanian friends at Shawbridge, on the occasion of the Club

"Standard," July 5, 1929.



(Left)—A new arrival at the Boys' Farm at Shawbridge, being cared for by one of the boys. (Above)—Members of the School Graduating Class at the Boys' Farm, Shawbridge. — Photo E. W. Bennett Photo Service.



Jewish juvenile delinquency in Montreal in the first quarter of the 20th century is an understudied aspect of Canadian Jewish history. In the early 1900s in Montreal, delinquency was recognized as a liability to the standing of the established Jewish community, as delinquency of even a few Jewish youths reflected on the entire community. Additionally, from the perspective of Canadian Jewish historiography, as more recent Jewish immigrants prospered and integrated into their new life in Montreal and Canada into the 1950s, issues of any past “disproportionate” criminality could have undermined aspirations to a “model-minority” status; hence, it is understandable why until recently this facet of Canadian Jewish history has escaped a thorough examination.¹ Yet, given that *at that time* Jewish juvenile delinquency in the early 1900s was clearly seen as a critical issue on the part of Jewish communal elites, and action was taken to assist delinquent Jewish youth, mostly boys, with subcommittees of the Baron de Hirsch Institute (BDHI) and (later) the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies tasked with funding and remediating the community’s delinquent youth, these efforts, especially the cases of immigrant Jewish boys

¹ In what is essentially the definitive tome on Canadian Jewish history, Gerald Tulchinsky’s *Canada’s Jews*, there is only fleeting mention of how juvenile delinquency was seen as a communal problem in Montreal, where “so many of these boys were convicted and sent to a provincial correctional farm at Shawbridge that the [Baron de Hirsch] Institute was forced to mount a special rehabilitative program for them.” However, the endnote at the conclusion of this paragraph in Tulchinsky’s book leads only to a secondary source which deals with the emergence of the big brother movement of the Jewish community in Toronto. There is no further mention of this special program... Morton Weinfeld, in *Like Everyone Else But Different*, makes mention of the statistically disproportionate reality of Jewish juvenile delinquency in Montreal and Canada in the period in question by referencing Louis Rosenberg’s compilation of statistics - Rosenberg’s work published in 1939 using data from the Dominion Census Bureau. However, there is no commentary on this facet outside of excusing it, as Rosenberg does too, by contending that this needs to be adjusted for Jews as a predominantly urban group, with criminality being more prevalent in cities... Tamara Myers’s 2005 paper, “On Probation: The Rise and Fall of Jewish Women’s Antidelinquency Work in Interwar Montreal” is the only focused scholarship specifically on *Jewish* juvenile delinquency in Montreal in the early 1900s and provides an excellent comprehensive overview of the situation, even exploring a few specific cases of delinquent Jewish youth, but this paper contains only three passing mentions of the Boys’ Farm at Shawbridge.

sent to and supported at a Protestant reform farm 70km north of Montreal – The Boys’ Farm and Training School at Shawbridge (now Prevost), deserve a more focused treatment.

The real and perceived problems of juvenile delinquency in Montreal created a dichotomy of elites vs. non-elites that transcended the ethno-religious divide between the elites of the Protestant and Jewish communities. Montreal’s Jewish and Protestant elites had more in common in their like desire to stymie youth criminality among their respective working classes than to oppose each other on ethno-religious grounds. For example, in 1909, the board of directors of the Baron de Hirsch Institute received a letter from the Children’s Aid Society (of Montreal) “asking that the Board of Directors consent to have a representative on their council.” Lyon Cohen, president of board of the Baron de Hirsch Institute (BDHI), the forerunner to Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal, was appointed by his colleagues to represent the Jewish community at the Children’s Aid Society meetings.² This invitation needs to be read in the context of the extreme resistance to any Jews serving on the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of Montreal at the time – something that only changed in 1965 (by this time called the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, with the passing of special legislation at the behest of the Protestant board itself).³

Linking these Protestant and Jewish elites in this effort is also a clear romanticisation of country life in their support of schemes to remove delinquent youth from the city. Founded in 1907 as an offshoot of a Protestant reformatory in central Montreal called the Boys’ Home of Montreal, the establishment of the Boys’ Farm and Training School at Shawbridge epitomized

² Canadian Jewish Archives (CJA), Baron de Hirsch-Federation, CJC ZE 011, BDHI Meeting September 9, 1909.

³ David Fraser, *Honorary Protestants: The Jewish Schools Question in Montreal, 1867-1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 367.

many of the progressive ideals and sentiments of the beginning of the 20th century. There was great concern on the part of the urban elite and social reformers for the ills of the congested city on the children of the working class, and various efforts were undertaken to remove poor children from the city to a “pastoral setting,”⁴ perhaps most famously by Charles Loring Braces’s “orphan trains” out of New York.⁵ The establishment of the Boys’ Farm at Shawbridge can be situated within these impulses, and an idealization of the countryside and farm life is evident on the part of the Montreal elites, Jewish and otherwise, and clearly motivated their support for the project.

For Jewish elites these sentiments are all the more complex given that arguments made against Jewish immigration to Canada were grounded in the “racial unsuitability” of Jews to farming.⁶ Elite Jewish support for sending delinquent Jewish boys to Shawbridge seemingly demonstrates a buy-in to this thinking: that the farm is the best place to make a decent life free from the vice of which the city is conducive to. There is also a paradox in that almost all those involved at a high level in supporting Shawbridge - the many Protestants and few Jewish elites - were unequivocally tied to urban industry: *rules for thee but not for me*, if you will. By 1921 the Jewish contingent at the Boys’ Farm was receiving support from the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal, and Lyon Cohen was on the board of the Boys’ Farm with the *who’s who* of Montreal’s Anglo-elite: Molson, McConnel and E.W. Beatty. In many ways The Boys’ Farm at Shawbridge contrasts to the more bitter divisions between English-speaking Jews and

⁴ Tamara Myers, *Caught: Montreal’s Modern Girls and the Law, 1869-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 216.

⁵ Stephen O’Connor, *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brance and the Children He Saved and Failed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁶ Gerald Tulchinsky, *Canada’s Jews: A People’s Journey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 234.

Protestants in Quebec, most acutely demonstrated in the strife regarding the Montreal schools question. But in the case of efforts to combat juvenile delinquency, and within the first decades of operation of the Boys 'Farm at Shawbridge, there is seemingly a booster element and a sense of collaboration among Jewish and Protestant elites in supporting this institution. Yet this support is also uncannily like the elite Jewish support for further integration into Protestant Montreal schools, in contrast to the more recent immigrant, Yiddish speaking Jews who favoured separate Jewish schools in Montreal who would have had similar misgivings of their children being sent to a Protestant "prison-farm."⁷

Certain factors set Shawbridge apart from the other reformatories in Quebec at the time. From the records of the Montreal Juvenile Delinquents' Court, it appears that Jewish boys were rarely sent to any facility other than Shawbridge, and never to the Catholic reformatories. Again, this runs parallel with the schooling of non-delinquent Jewish children in Quebec, who were appended to the Protestant schools wherever they resided in the province.

Established in 1911, the Montreal Juvenile Delinquents' Court (MJDC) was one of the first non-confessional institutions in Quebec dealing with children, and had broad support from liberal and progressive circles, and from the Jewish communal elite of Montreal. Addressing the board of BDHI as president, Lyon Cohen conveys elite Jewish opinion:

In my last address last year [sic] I referred to the proposal to establish a Juvenile Court in this city. I may say that this has now become an accomplished fact and your President has the honor [sic] together with Mr. Maxwell Goldstein of representing Jewish interests. We offer our congratulations to Premier Gouin on his progressive policy.⁸

⁷ Israel Medresh, "In Shawbridge Prison-Farm There Are Only 3 Jewish Children" [translated from the Yiddish], *Keneder Adler*, January 3, 1950. NB this was a clipping compiled by Louis Rosenberg kept in his file for articles dealing with Jewish criminality, now at the Canadian Jewish Archives.

⁸ CJA, Baron de Hirsch-Federation, CJC ZE 022, BDHI 1911 Annual Reports.

One possible explanation of this enthusiasm is that the concept of “juvenile delinquency” is predicated on the ideals of liberal reform, differing in spirit from the seemingly more defensive and parochial motivations of those involved with concerns of general education at the time, either Jewish or Protestant. Operating from this burgeoning framework of progressiveness, Montreal’s Protestant community embraced high-level Jewish collaboration in their efforts to combat the moral panic of youths in the big bad city.

In 1909 The Boys’ Farm at Shawbridge was described by one of nine (at this time all Protestant) members of its board of directors as ostensibly “organized to take the place of the old style Reformatories for Protestant juvenile offenders.”⁹ Yet by 1914 over 25% of the boys at Shawbridge were Jews!¹⁰ Statistics on the demographics at Shawbridge need to be coupled with the elite support of the Jewish community for the Jewish boys there, and the overall elite collaboration in supporting this institution, bearing in mind the hazards of this being *de jure* a Protestant reformatory - in the country, without the ability to return home at the end of the school day as the Jewish kids could who were attending Protestant schools in Montreal could have. The most interesting question, and the most difficult to answer, is what was life like for these Jewish boys at Shawbridge?

Unfortunately, there is little in the archival records directly enlightening us to these lived experiences; however, it does seem clear that Shawbridge was a site of integration of Jewish and non-Jewish juvenile delinquents from Montreal. This positive inter-communal accommodation is further found in the goings-on of the Boys’ Farm, where Jewish youth were also undergoing a

⁹ Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG24-C-1-c, Volume 35772, File 2001-12/231, Letter from J.S. Buchan to Sir Frederick Borden, May 18, 1909 [pictured, Figure 5].

¹⁰ LAC RG24-C-1-c, Volume 35772, File 2001-12/231, Cadet Roll Form 1914. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BANQ) Montréal, TL483 Fonds Cour de jeunes délinquants pour la cité de Montréal (MJDC), S45 Délinquance, SS7 Plumitifs 1911-1914.

Fig. 1.

JUVENILE COURT OF MONTREAL-DAILY RECORD

366

Judge *F. B. Choquet*

Date *June 26.13.*

Name	Parent or Guardian	Address	Nationality	Age	Remarks
<i>[Redacted]</i> <i>Hyman</i>	<i>1108</i>	<i>2471 St. Louis St.</i>	<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>3 years July 4.13. Shaw.</i>
<i>[Redacted]</i> <i>Gilbert</i>	<i>1109</i>	<i>107 Rived St.</i>	<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>discharged June 30.13.</i>
<i>[Redacted]</i> <i>Thomas</i>	<i>1110</i>	<i>165 Roy St.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>" " "</i>
<i>[Redacted]</i> <i>Philip</i>	<i>499</i>	<i>1216 St. Dominique</i>	<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>4 years July 4.13. Shaw.</i>
<i>[Redacted]</i> <i>Joseph</i>	<i>1111</i>	<i>247 Colonial av.</i>	<i>b.</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>discharged June 30.13.</i>

3c

Fig. 1.

A page from the Juvenile Court of Montreal Daily Records from June 26, 1913. The last names of the offenders have been redacted in this image. Note the category for "Nationality" and the three "Hebrew" boys, two of whom were sent to Shawbridge - "Shaw." in the "Remarks" column. Their sentences of 3 and 4 years respectively were pretty standard lengths of time to be incarcerated by the MJDC, although by contemporary standards they may appear harsh in the extreme. It is important to note in the vast majority of cases the juveniles were sentenced to probation or paroled.

Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Fonds Cour des jeunes délinquants pour la cité de Montréal.

type of integration and acceptance, interacting with non-Jewish peers as their communal elites were with their elite Protestant peers. A pattern of collaboration begins to emerge among issues of juvenile delinquency that stands in contrast to the adversarial nature of inter-communal relations on matters of general education.¹¹

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According to the MJDC daily records, Jewish boys were almost always sent to Shawbridge when they were sentenced to time. In 1912 (the year records begin) 11 Jewish boys were sentenced by the court to serve time at a facility: 8 of these boys were confirmed sent to Shawbridge, and the remaining three were most likely sent the Montreal Boys' Home; it is extremely unlikely they would have been sent to the Catholic Montreal Reformatory.¹² Unfortunately, for the year 1912 the court's daily record does not specify the institution of sentence, just the length of stay. For 9 of these cases the sentences were three years, and for the remaining two cases the sentences were for 4 years, respectively, regardless of institution. For these 11 cases from 1912, four had prior run-ins with the law and had made appearances at the MJDC. It is important to emphasize that sentencing to a facility was very rare at the MJDC: for 1912 there were at least 80 instances of Jewish children brought before the court (nb: frequent flyers are counted multiple times here, so it is 80 hearings), and only 11 of these resulted in

¹¹ Roderick MacLeod and Mary Anne Poutanen, "Little Fists for Social Justice: Anti-Semitism, Community, and Montreal's Aberdeen School Strike, 1913," *Labour/La Travail*, Vol. 70 (Fall 2012), 61-99. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24244046>

¹² Tamara Myers, "On Probation: The Rise and Fall of Jewish Women's Antidelinquency Work in Interwar Montreal," in *Negotiating Identities in 19th- and 20th-Century Montreal*, eds. Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 182.

incarcerations. The daily record for 1912 is the most sparing on details of the years under analysis here; there is not yet a category for “offence” as there is in the later years discussed below, but when the crimes appear under the “Parent/Guardian” column (removed in later years for “Offence,” tellingly perhaps, and little used to record the parent or guardian in 1912) they range from: theft (most common), vagabondage or vagrancy, peddling without a licence, shop breaking, and one case of forgery.¹³ For the 9 Jewish boys who were sent to Shawbridge in 1912, most of their listed addresses are in the area downtown around the present Montreal Convention Centre and the Ville-Marie Expressway - the old centre of the Jewish community at the time (this is prior to the move up to the Plateau neighbourhood - the original Baron de Hirsch/Federation building was situated where the Convention Centre is today, at 410 Bleury Street.¹⁴

In 1913 and 1914, Jewish boys were *only* sent to Shawbridge when they were sentenced to a facility by the MJDC. Here again it is important to note that the court majorly favoured probation and fines, and these are the outcomes in the vast majority of all cases, Jewish and not. In 1913 the MJDC sent 10 Jewish boys to Shawbridge, with sentences ranging from 2-5 years. Interestingly there is one “voluntary” Jewish case here, Abraham S., 13 years old, for theft.¹⁵ “Voluntary” cases were privately funded by a boy’s relatives or parents, and these boys were viewed by the reformers (staff and executives) as being “more amenable to reform, coming as they did from ‘more or less respectable homes.’”¹⁶ Nonetheless, Abraham S. reappeared before

¹³ BANQ, MJDC, Plumitifs 1911-1912.

¹⁴ CJA, Baron de Hirsch-Federation, CJC ZE 022, Annual Report 1923.

¹⁵ BANQ, MJDC, Plumitifs 1913-1914.

¹⁶ BFTS board minutes, 26 October 1922 quoted in Rains and Terem, *Normal Bad Boys*, 23. I have been unable to find the administrative records that Prue Rains used in the 1980s for her research - they may have been destroyed, or at least they are not at Batshaw’s archives presently...

the court the following year where he was sentenced to 5 years at Shawbridge for theft, assumedly involuntarily.¹⁷

The offences for the Jewish Shawbridge cases from 1913 range from “theft” and “theft from the person” (again, the most common), “shop breaking,” vagabondage or vagrancy, and one case of “house breaking.”¹⁸ There is nothing inherently special about these offences which seemingly warranted the sentence; in 1913 there were 136 instance of Jewish juveniles appearing before the court and even for seemingly more severe crimes the result is always parole, probation or a fine. The few most alarming offences that Jewish youths were brought before the court for - “assault,” “common assault,” “discharging a firearm in the street,” “highway robbery,” and worst of all, “playing ball on the street,” – all did not result in incarceration. Outside of these outlier instances of violence and danger, for 1913 almost half (61) of the 136 instances of Jews brought before the court were for “theft” or “theft from the person,” and 33 were for vagabondage or vagrancy. Out of the 136 instances, 108 of these ended in the offender simply being paroled or put on probation, with the eighteen remaining fined in addition to this, and of course the 10 boys who were sent to Shawbridge discussed above.¹⁹

The Jewish boys appearing before the MJDC in 1914 require more intricate analysis because the daily record for 1914 contains a column for “Where Born,” which reveals that most of the Jewish boys sent to Shawbridge this year were not born in Montreal; 6 were born in Russia, one from Romania, 2 from the United States, 2 born in Canada, and one, the same Abraham S. from above, having “Where Born” left blank upon his involuntary sentencing of

¹⁷ BANQ, MJDC, Plumitifs 1913-1914.

¹⁸ BANQ, MJDC, Plumitifs 1913.

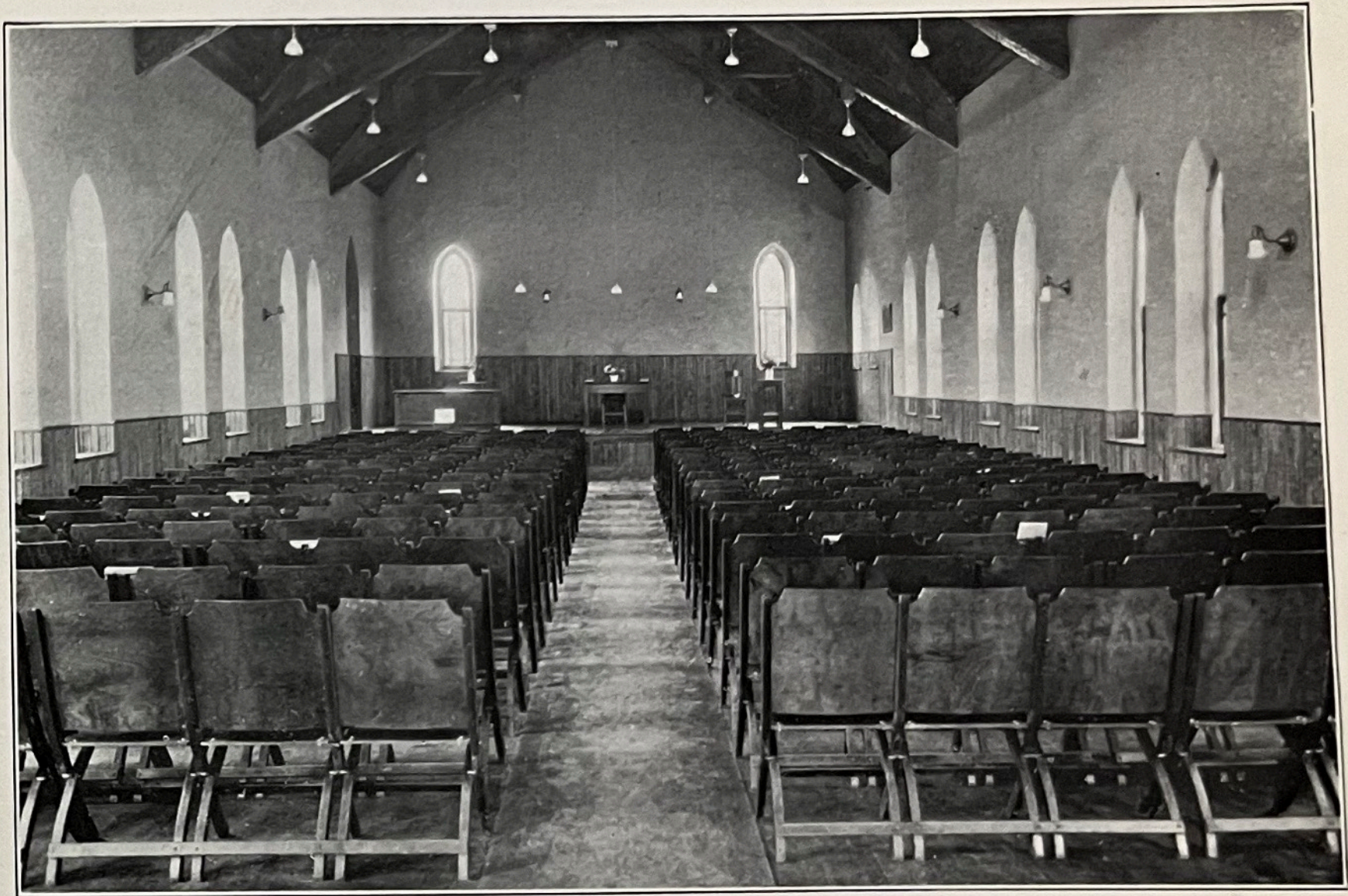
¹⁹ BANQ, MJDC, Plumitifs 1913.

Fig. 2.



The Chapel services are attended by all the pupils and staff.

Fig. 3.



Interior view of Molson Memorial Chapel—The chapel services are conducted by the Superintendent, the spiritual side of the work being especially emphasized.

Fig. 4.



Each boy is supplied with a suit of civilian clothes for Sunday wear.

Figs. 2-4.

These pictures are taken from a promotional pamphlet titled “A Picture Story of the Boys’ Farm and Training School at Shawbridge Quebec.” Published in 1930, the pamphlet contains some 50 full page images like these touting the goings-on of the facility and its activities, and how these are conducive to reforming delinquent boys. The emphasis here on religion begs the question of the Jewish boys at Shawbridge at the time - were the chapel services really attended by *all* the pupils and staff? In this same pamphlet Lyon Cohen, an Honorary President of Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and the man who initially suggested Federation financially support the Jewish boys there in 1921, is listed as a board member of the Farm - seemingly the only Jewish member.

McGill University Library, Rare Books and Special Collections.

Figs. 5-6.

This May 18, 1909 letter from J.S. Buchan KC, one of the main progenitors of the Boys Farm at Shawbridge, to the Minister of Militia Sir Frederick Borden, candidly outlines the realities of the institution - revealing sources like these are incredibly valuable, and always a lucky find at the archives.

Library and Archives Canada, Department of National Defence fonds.

Fig. 5.

CHAN, K. C.
 OCATE, &
 ADDRESS "TRYLAN"
 TELEPHONE MAIN 3256
 GUARDIAN ASSURANCE BUILDING
 180 ST. JAMES STREET
 MONTREAL, May 18 1909
 MILITIA DEFENCE
 JUN 4 1909
 H.Q. CANADA
 12-8-25
 The Honorable Sir Frederick Borden
 Minister of Militia and Defence
 Ottawa, Ont.
 My Dear Sir Frederick,

Following our conversation of a few days ago respecting the organization of a Cadet Corps in the Boy's Farm and Training School at Shawbridge Que. I would be greatly obliged if you would kindly furnish us with the necessary information to attain that object.

I should perhaps explain that the Boy's Farm has been organized to take the place of the old style Reformatories for Protestant juvenile offenders and consequently the Boy's Farm is technically a Reformatory School. At the same time so far as external appearances go it is like a free agricultural school. We have no walls or bolts or bars and so far the boys have justified the opinion of the managers that if the boys were made comfortable, had plenty of wholesome food and plenty of work with some play, they would behave themselves.

They have a certain time for education, for work and for physical exercises, including drill, we have three ~~members~~ members of our staff who are qualified to teach drill and the boys are showing the good effects already. We feel that if a Cadet Corps were organized it would greatly assist in maintaining discipline and as this is in the nature of an experiment we are naturally anxious to use every means by which its success will be assured.

Fig. 6.

NEW JURY SYSTEM (1946)
 K. C.
 GUARDIAN ASSURANCE BUILDING
 180 ST. JAMES STREET
 MONTREAL, JUN 4 1909
 H.Q. CANADA
 CROSS REFERENCE
 I should explain that we have 30 boys in the school and others being sent there from time to time. Being legally a Reformatory School I think that, although the conduct of the boys has so far been everything that could be desired it would be as well to arm them with imitation rifles. at least until they have had a ~~thp~~ thorough training, this however is merely a suggestion on my part.
 I thought it as well to give you as full information as possible concerning the ~~seg~~ school and will be greatly obliged if you would give us the desired information.

Yours Truly,

J. Buchanan

1914.²⁰ This reflects the increase in Jewish immigration to Canada from these countries at the time, and helps explain some the anxieties of the more established Jewish community in Montreal on the ability to assimilate the recently arrived Eastern European Jews.²¹ Of the 103 out of 113 Jewish cases where birthplace data is recorded for 1914, 74 were born outside of Canada: 46 cases from Russia, 9 from Rumania, and 7 from the United States, with the rest being from England (6), France and Germany (2 each), Palestine and Poland (1 each). The average age of these 103 cases with birthplace data is just under 13 years old. Hence, it is not unreasonable that both the established Jewish elites and non-Jewish Montrealers perceived Jewish juvenile delinquency as partly an immigration issue. Jewish immigration to Canada from Eastern Europe skyrocketed in the 1880s and remained high until 1924, when the Canadian government imposed severe restrictions on Jewish immigration. In 1901 Montreal's Jewish population was just 6,941. In 1921 it was 28,807 and by 1931 it was 45,802.²² Most of this population growth was from immigration - according to data from the 1931 census, 53.51% of Jews in Canada were foreign born.²³ These statistics, coupled with the biographical data from the daily records of the MJDC, paint a clear picture of immigrant children and children of immigrants having trouble integrating into their new country, possibly facing outsized government oversight, police interaction and also an embryonic communal social safety net.²⁴

The MJDC record for 1915 contains the first incontrovertible instance of a Jewish boy sentenced to somewhere other than Shawbridge, "Sent to the Boys Home," but no length of

²⁰ BANQ, MJDC, Plumitifs 1914.

²¹ Myers, *Caught*, 123, 251.

²² Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 499.

²³ Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of Jews in Canada in the 1930s*, ed. Morton Weinfeld (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 78.

²⁴ Myers, "On Probation," 180.

sentence is provided, which is anomalous. Samuel E., of Brooklyn, NY, 17 years old in Montreal, found to be trespassing. That Samuel was in his late teens, almost outside the jurisdiction of the MJDC, and out of the acceptable age range for the boys being received at Shawbridge for longer periods of time, it seems clear that this stint at the Boys' Home was rather short. It is also interesting to note that this year also contains two cases of Jewish youth being sent to the Protestant Hospital for the Insane in Verdun - another instance where Jews were making use of Protestant infrastructure at the behest of the court. The MJDC daily record for 1915 saw 107 Jewish youths pass through, including (possibly) 3 Jewish girls; in addition, one of the two Jewish youth mentioned above sent to Verdun might have been a girl (included in this tally of *possibly* 3). For the 105 of 107 Jewish cases where we have data under "Where Born," the breakdown is similarly foreign as in 1914. 87 of these 105 cases concern foreign born Jewish youths: 51 from Russia, 11 from Rumania, 9 from the US, 6 from England, 4 each from France and Austria respectively, and 2 from Hungary. Seventeen Jewish boys were sent to Shawbridge by the MJDC in 1915 and the data is similar for the preceding years in terms of immigration history: 8 Russians, one Romanian and the rest from the US, France, England and Canada, with the most common offence being theft. This was clearly a population of immigrant Jewish boys forming the bulk of the Jewish contingent at Shawbridge which, as stated above, accounted for a quarter of the institution's population.

In terms of lived experience while at Shawbridge, it is likely that given the "cottage system," wherein the Boys' Farm population lived in 3-4 smaller houses as opposed to one main dorm building common at other reformatories both urban and rural, Shawbridge was a site of integration just by nature of these close quarters, and that the Jewish boys were seemingly divided up amongst the non-Jewish population. Indeed, there is no mention of a religiously

the
It was moved by Mr.
unanimously resolved that the report
for discussion.

Mr. J. Kellert opened the discussion by stating that whilst in normal years there is a marked decrease in the demands for relief during the period from April to September, the present year has shown practically no decrease whatsoever and he was very much afraid that the fall would show a large increase in applications for relief. Messrs S. Schwartz, J.B. Miller, A.W. Muhlstock, J. Cohen and Mrs. Philip Levy joined in the discussion.

Mr. Lyon Cohen offered some suggestions regarding increased income for Federation. He also brought up the question of the Shawbridge Home and gave startling figures showing the very small proportion of Jewish support to the proportion of Jewish boys in the institution.

Mr. Ascher Pierce asked some questions in regard to the Welfare Department and they were answered by Mr. Kellert who explained the workings of the department.

Mr. E.M. Berliner made the following suggestions:

1. That those subscribers who are in a position to do so should pay in advance for the balance of the year.
2. The possibility of using the funds of the various constituent societies.
3. That a campaign of some kind be undertaken.

Mr. Ascher Pierce suggested an appeal to the ICA to supplement the funds of Federation. Mr. Al Lesser addressed the meeting and in a spirited speech put forth the claim that the community is rich enough to support its own poor, and that it only requires the united efforts of Federation to get to the people and to put the issue properly before them in order to obtain a generous response. Mr. Jassby spoke in accord with Mr. Lesser, and said that a self-sacrifice campaign must be initiated and carried through.

It was moved by Mr. Lyon Cohen, seconded by Mr. J. Kellert and unanimously resolved that the report of the Executive Committee be adopted as read. Mr. Ascher Pierce suggested that the matter of the Shawbridge Boys Farm be left to a small committee who should obtain \$100 apiece from about 30 individuals and that the amount so raised be given to the institution. Mr. Jos. Cohen said that in his opinion the money ought to be provided from Federation funds.

It was moved by Mr. Jos. Cohen and seconded by Mr. J. Kellert that the Executive Committee place in its budget the sum necessary to subsidize the Jewish boys upkeep in the Shawbridge institution. Mr. Ascher Pierce moved an amendment that a committee be formed to collect a special fund for the purpose. On a vote being taken the main motion was carried.

Mr. Lyon Cohen thanked the members of the board for their prompt action re the Shawbridge Boys.

The meeting adjourned at 11.15 P. M.

Confirmed August 16th. 1921.

Nicholas Hirsch
President.

Simon Hirsch

Fig. 7.

Fig. 7.

These are the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of [the] Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal held on May 17, 1921, where the issue of the Jewish boys at Shawbridge was first formally addressed by the Jewish communal elite - "startling figures showing the very small proportion of Jewish support to the proportion of Jewish boys in the institution."

Jewish Public Library [archives], Federation CJA Collection.

segregated cottage for Jews, and the very idea would have likely been anathema to the Protestant elites funding and managing the institution. Protestant religious instruction played an important role in the idea of reform being undertaken at Shawbridge, with “mid-week and Sunday services” ongoing by 1925. To the mind of Shawbridge’s superintendent, J. N. Barnes,

it is difficult to put into words the influence the mid-week and Sunday services have had on the boys, their eagerness to participate in them and the reaction that come from them, but if you could read as we have some of the letters that these boys have written home to their parents, and also the replies received from grateful mothers and fathers, you would appreciate how well repaid one feels for any effort in this connection.²⁵

Of course, this begs the question as to the nature of *religious* life for Jewish boys during these times of Christian services. It is unknown if there were regular Jewish services, but similar to the Jewish pupils at Protestant schools in Montreal, they would have likely been exempted from these services, even more so given that by the mid-1920s the Jewish contingent at Shawbridge received support from the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal (Federation) to the tune of \$1,085.18 total for the year 1925.²⁶ This likely corresponds to at least ten Jewish inmates, so it would appear that the Jewish population began to decline from the 22 boys verified at Shawbridge in 1914. According to Shawbridge’s annual report for the year 1927, “the Federation of Jewish philanthropies gave \$100.00 per year for each committed boy” for a total subsidy of \$1,037.25.²⁷ If Federation was funding the Jewish boys at Shawbridge there may have been some allowance for Jewish life as well - but there is yet no evidence for this that I have found in the archival records, although examples of limited Jewish religious life at other places of juvenile incarceration in Quebec at the time period have been found.²⁸ Although the annual reports for

²⁵ Batshaw, BFTS Annual Reports.

²⁶ Batshaw, BFTS Annual Reports.

²⁷ Batshaw, BFTS Annual Reports.

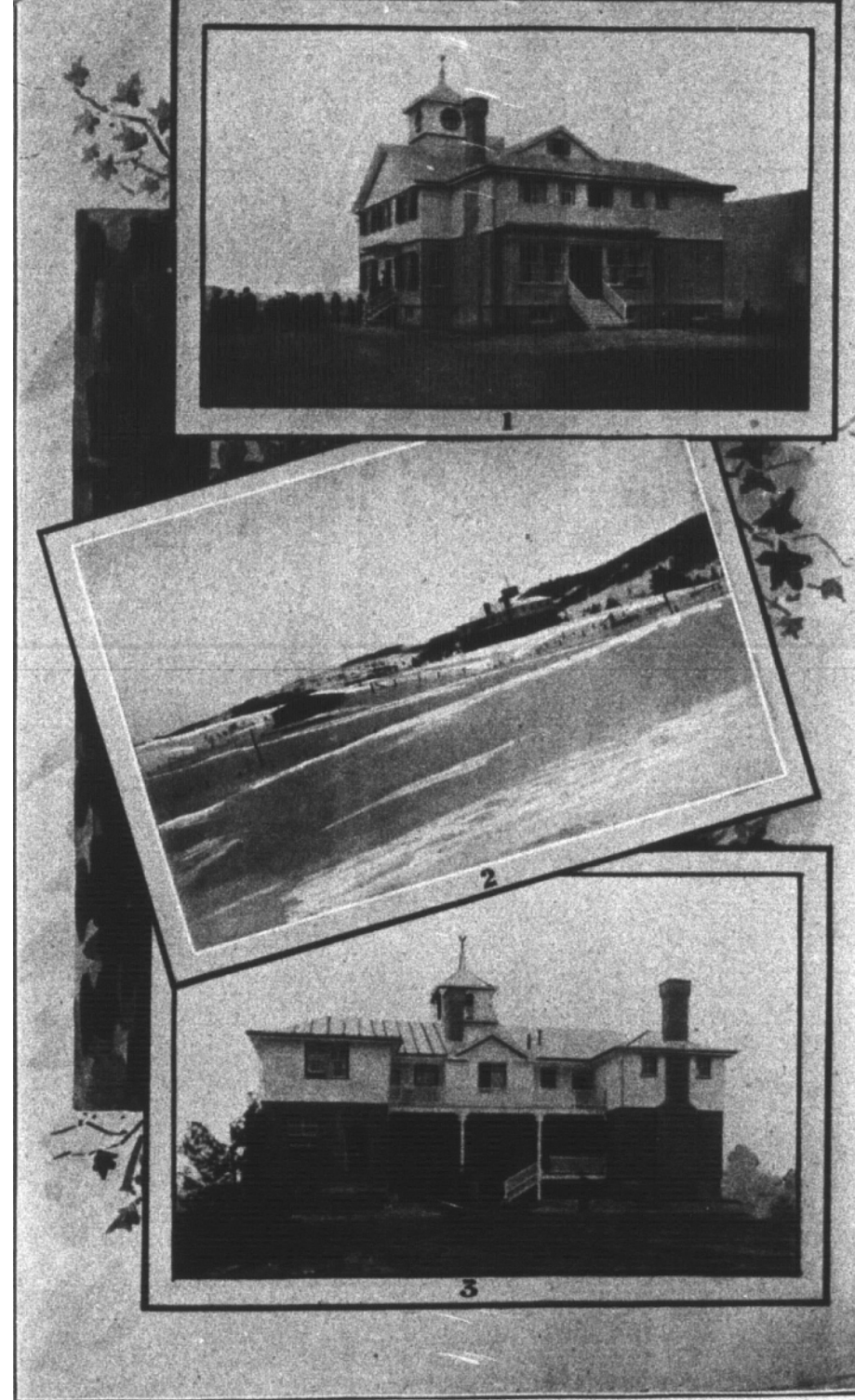
²⁸ Myers, *Caught*, 233.

Fig. 8.

Fig. 8.

These images were published in the First Annual Report of the Boys' Farm and Training School, Shawbridge, QC, when it was still under the auspices of the Boys' Home, Montreal, for the year 1908. The building pictured top and bottom was labelled as the "Administration Building" in 1930. A dedicated school house was eventually added next to this building. The administration building was destroyed by fire in 1939.

Library and Archives Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration fonds.



1—Three-quarter front view of Training School Building, Boys' Farm.
2—Distant view of same, showing Root House. (Winter.)
3—Rear view of Training School Building.

Shawbridge are seemingly missing for the years 1908-1924 (the first annual report for 1907 was included as a section of the Montreal Boys' Home's annual report, of which Shawbridge was a spin-off), it is clear from Federation minutes that official support for the Jewish boys at Shawbridge only commenced in 1921.²⁹ This gap in the archival records leaves much to be desired, but the daily record of the MJDC provides insight into the Jewish boys sent to Shawbridge, who they were, and where they came from.

²⁹ Jewish Public Library Archives, Fonds *Ometz*, Federation Minutes 1921.