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THE DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE JEWISH  
COMMUNITY IN MONTREAL

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ABSTRACT

The Jewish group offers a picture different in certain ways from other racial and ethnic minorities in Montreal and in Canada. The main period of its history in Canada begins about 1900. In Montreal a small, compact nucleus of Jewish population in the nineteenth century has expanded and developed into a large, comparatively heterogeneous and widely scattered, yet solidly integrated, self-conscious community. The changing ecological pattern of the Jewish community is traced, in relation to the growth of the city of Montreal as a whole. Informal habits, as well as formal structures, reveal the differences in adjustment and assimilation between different elements within the Jewish community, these differences being shown to coincide rather closely with those of successive areas of settlement in the city. Complete assimilation has been achieved by few, if any, of the members of this community; the completely unassimilated type is likewise practically non-existent.



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THE DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE JEWISH  
COMMUNITY IN MONTREAL



## PART I INTRODUCTION

### Chapter I Methodological Note--Statement of the Problem

The Jewish group in Montreal possesses, in addition to the characteristic traits which distinguish each ethnic group from every other, certain unique peculiarities and problems. These peculiarities and problems are common to practically every Jewish community in North America.

The Jewish population, unlike most ethnic minorities, is set apart from the rest of the population in large American cities by both racial origin and religion. Furthermore, they have a European history unparalleled by any of the others--a history of ghetto segregation and persecution. Again, they are gathered, not from one localized geographical and national unit, as are most of the others, but from many. All these distinguishing features are reflected in the character of their immigration, and in many aspects of their life in the New World.

This study will be concerned primarily with the communal organization of this immigrant group in Montreal. Much has been written about the immigrant in America: his early attempts to recreate as fully as possible the cultural milieu he has left behind; the new needs and new structures that arise in the little transplanted colony he sets up; the gradual orientation of members of the colony towards the new culture that surrounds them; and finally the efforts to emerge from this colony and become an indistinguishable part of the new society. The Hebrew immigrant as a class undergoes a somewhat different life history since, unlike most others, he immigrates as a family unit, is drawn from a variety of social and economic strata, and possesses the unusual historical background already described. He thus has greater potentialities for setting up a more complete and self-sufficient community and is at the same time more adjustable to the large community and hence more likely to lose his identity. On the other hand, because he is

set apart from most of the population by both race and religion, the possibilities for his rapid assimilation are reduced. What sort of a community, then, does he set up?

Hence the following problems are treated in this study:--the distribution pattern of the Jew in Montreal according to birthplace, occupation, area of residence, date of immigration, age, and sex; the stages of assimilation and adjustment reached by different members of the group; the lines of demarcation within the group such differences have brought about, or, on the other hand, the degree of integration and of solidarity achieved by the group in spite of them.

Lastly, the relation of the Jewish community to the non-Jewish community will be discussed. Is the Jew losing his ethnic identity in Montreal? Or has he retained his self-consciousness as a member of a minority group with a long, eventful history and a distinctive culture of its own?

Many other aspects of the growth and adjustment of the Jewish community in Montreal could be investigated, but room was not found for them in the scope of this study.

A discussion of the pattern of distribution of Jews in Canada precedes the treatment of Montreal Jewry, in order to give the reader a glimpse of the broader national pattern and how closely it is reflected by the local one.

PART II PATTERN OF DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEBREW POPULATION OF CANADA  
AND OF MONTREAL

Chapter II Pattern of Distribution of the Hebrew Population of  
Canada 1901-1931

Problems and Terminology

As a preliminary to the intensive study of the changing structure and nature of the Jewish community in Montreal, a sketch of the Jew on the Canadian scene is in order, to form a background and give perspective. Such data as the density and concentration of the Jewish population in Canada, its age and sex distribution, its birthplace and date of immigration, seem important for establishing the place of the Hebrews in Canada's demographical pattern, and for better throwing light on Montreal's Jewish population.

Furthermore, in order to understand clearly and precisely the people we are studying, we must establish once and for all, at this early stage of discussion, our terminology and classifications. In this connection two outstanding questions present themselves. First, are we dealing with a religious denomination or with a racial origin group, or both; and second, have all Jews been accounted for in our statistics as Jews, or are some included among other racial groups, such as Poles or Russians?

In answer to the first difficulty, one may say at the outset that there seems to be confusion concerning the connotations of the terms "Jewish" and "Hebrew". The Dominion Census of 1931 lists "Hebrew" as a racial origin, in company with "French", "British", and the like; while it considers "Jewish" a religious denomination, in company with "Roman Catholic", "Presbyterian", and so on. In earlier years, the Census sometimes lists "Jewish" as a racial origin. The Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization, in its annual reports, seems to follow no consistent policy, listing both terms as representing a racial origin, and "Hebrew" as a nationality as well. In written materials on Jews, the two terms are often interchanged indiscriminately.



Upon investigation it is found that the number of Hebrew persons in Canada who are not of the Jewish faith are so negligible as to make this confusion of terms of little real significance for our purposes. In Canada the number of Hebrews in 1931 is listed as 156,726 and the number of Jews (religion) as 155,614.<sup>(1)</sup> Of the Hebrews, 155,351 are Jews by religion, leaving only 1,375 in all Canada of other faiths. Of the Jews, 155,351 are Hebrews, leaving 263 of various other racial origins, mostly German, Polish, and Russian.<sup>(2)</sup> In other words, there are 155,351 persons in Canada who are both Jews by religion and Hebrews by race; 155,614 who are Jews by religion and supposedly of various other racial origins; and 156,726 who are Hebrew by origin and adherents of various religions, the predominant non-Jewish faiths being Anglican, Roman Catholic, and United Church.

Since the actual discrepancies are so small, this paper will make use of both terms interchangeably, for the purpose of variety, except when specifically stated.

The second difficulty, that of confusing Jewish Poles with non-Jewish Poles, and Jewish Russians with non-Jewish Russians, is upon examination found to be very slight. Since the Dominion Census classifies religion by racial origin, we have but to investigate whether the number of Hebrews tallies with the number of Jews. This has already been done in connection with the preceding difficulty. If some of the Jews are of racial origin other than Hebrew, they may be assumed to be included among the population of other racial origins. This was found to be the case, as has already been stated; but again, the discrepancy is very slight. Of the 155,614 Jews, 155,351 are of Hebrew origin, while the remaining 263 include 89 Russians, 59 Poles, 41 Englishmen, and a few others.<sup>(3)</sup> Hence the two difficulties of classification outlined above are not very considerable.

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(1) Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. IV, pp. 772-3.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

### Density of Jews in Canada

Let us now examine our data. How many Jews are there in Canada? The latest figures available in most cases, are those for the Census year 1931. Note that we shall deal usually with Jews or Hebrews as a racial group, more information being given in that form.

There are 156,726 Jews in Canada, forming 1.51 % of the total population. This seems, and is, a very small proportion; nevertheless, the Hebrew group is the fourth largest racial group in Canada, excluding the British and French, being outnumbered only by the Germans, Scandinavians, and Ukrainians. (1) Of these Jews, 68,703, or a little less than half, have been born in Canada (43.84%), and 79,291, or 50.59% are European-born. Between two and three per cent are natives of the United States, and an almost equal number from British Isles and Possessions, excluding Canada. Of the European-born, Russia supplies over half, and Poland about 31%. Hence of all Jews resident in Canada in 1931, the largest single group were native-born, followed by those born in Russia, Poland, and Rumania. Relatively small proportions were born elsewhere. (2) (See Table IIIA).

Of Canada's female population, Jews form 1.55%; and of the male population, 1.47%. On the whole, Canada and each province claim practically even proportions of the sexes as far as the Hebrew group is concerned. (3)

How does this picture of Canada's Jewish population compare with that of earlier years? Again, it must be remembered that there are two units of classification with which we must deal: the religious classification, under the heading "Jewish"; and the racial origin, designated by the term "Hebrew". This population group, in either category, was inconsiderable before the turn of the century, but from 1900 onwards, it grew at a rate much greater than could be accounted for by natural increase. As could be surmised from the foregoing data on birthplace, large movements of immigration took place for

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(1) Census of Canada, 1931, Vol.IV, p.726.

(2) Tables marked "A" are in the Appendix. From the Census of Canada, 1931, Vol.IV, Table 5, p. 90 ff.

(3) Ibid.

three decades following the turn of the century.

Table I. Decennial Jewish Population of Canada, by Religion, 1891-1931, showing per cent of total population, and per cent increase (1)

	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>
Jewish Pop- ulation	6,414	16,401	74,564	125,197	155,614
P.c. of to- tal Pop.	0.13	0.31	1.03	1.42	1.50
P.c. In- crease of Jews	-----	155.71	354.63	67.91	24.30
P.c. In- crease of total Pop.	----	11.13	34.16	21.94	18.08

Table I shows the Hebrew population of Canada, by religion for five decennial periods, and the per cent increase of each period over the last. Table IIA (Appendix) shows a similar set of figures for the Hebrew population by racial origin. In both cases it is obvious that the size of this group was comparatively small before 1900, and that the biggest proportional increase occurred between 1901 and 1911. The smallest occurred between 1921 and 1931. But inasmuch as these represent percentages or rates of increase, rather than absolute figures, they seem larger in the earlier years because of the smallness of the Hebrew population. In all cases the rate of increase surpassed that of the Canadian population as a whole, although this comparison, too, is largely coloured by the fact that the numbers involved were so much smaller than those of the total population.

An interesting observation made in these two tables is that prior to 1911 the number of "Jews" slightly exceeded the number of "Hebrews", while on and after that date the reverse holds true. Is this to be explained by a change in censal classification, or is it due to some other cause?

Regional Density

We have divided Canada into five geographical regions for purposes of classification and comparison. They are: the Maritime Provinces (Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia); Quebec; Ontario; the Prairie

(1) From "Canada 1936", p.27; and the Canada Year Book 1922-23, pp159 and 163.

Provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta); and British Columbia. With British Columbia have been included Yukon and the Northwest Territories, which contain very few Jews.

The pattern of distribution of Jews in these regions does not approximate very closely that of the total population. In 1931 the Maritimes, for example, had far less than their share of Jews, according to the Hebrew populations figures for Canada as a whole: the Hebrew population formed only 0.33% in the Maritimes as over against 1.51% of Canada. As can be observed from Table IIA (Appendix), Quebec and Ontario show the greatest proportional density of Jewish population in the Dominion. In Quebec Jews form 2.09% of the total, and in Ontario 1.82%--both above the density for Canada as a whole. The Prairies, on the other hand, though harbouring a greater concentration than the Maritimes, still fall below Canada's proportions, with 1.20%. The British Columbia region approximates the Maritimes, with 0.39% of the population being of Hebrew origin. In the 1911 material, "Jewish" is the name given to this group in the racial origin classification. Note, too, that between 1911 and 1921 certain changes took place in the boundary lines of Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba by the Boundaries Extension Act of 1912. This caused no significant population change, however, and none at all in the Jewish population.

In each of these regions, as in Canada as a whole, the greatest proportional increase in Hebrew population took place in the decade 1901-1911, and in all but British Columbia the lowest rate of increase was from 1921-1931 (Table IIA). The Maritimes even showed a decline during this decade both in actual number of Jews and in their proportion of the total population. The Prairies showed the greatest proportional increase between the whole period 1901-1931, increasing over 15 times their original size. Again, the fact that their actual size was comparatively small at the opening of this period makes the percentage increase seem unduly large. As a matter of fact, in absolute numbers Quebec and Ontario showed greater increase than the

Prairies. Ontario showed an increase of 57,046 as compared with an absolute increase of 26,468 in the Prairies over the three decades.

While Canadian Jewry as a whole increased 871% during the period 1901-1931, Ontario and the Prairies increased 1069% and 1531% respectively; Quebec showed a somewhat smaller rate of increase, with 690%; and the Maritimes and British Columbia fell far behind with only 268% and 360% increase respectively. In 1931, Quebec had the largest absolute Jewish population of all the regions, a superiority which it has gradually won from Ontario, which led in 1901 and 1911.

#### Birthplace of Regional Population

Mention has been made (p.5) of the preponderance of European-born, and especially Russian- and Polish-born among the Hebrew population of Canada. About 44% of Canadian Jewry were seen to be natives of Canada, the main countries of birth being Canada, Russia, Poland, Rumania, and the United States, in order of numerical importance. It is interesting to note how small is the German-born element in Canada as far as the Hebrew population is concerned. In contrast to the large numbers of German-born Jews to be found in the United States, they form only 0.25% of Canadian Hebrews. (1) See Table IIIA (Appendix).

How far do the five regions reflect the pattern of Canada as a whole in country of birth of the Hebrew population? A glance at Table IIIA will show that the proportion of Canadian-born Jews is quite constant in all regions, except in the Maritimes, where it is notably higher:--52.5% as compared with 43.8% in Canada. A correspondingly low proportion of European-born might thus

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(1)

Before 1880 Jewish emigrants to America were mostly from Germany, and were individual pioneers. After 1880, mass emigration, due to pogroms and oppression, started in Russia, and soon extended to Galicia, in Austria, and to Rumania. Between 1800 and 1880 the main destination was to the United States --Arthur Ruppin, Ph.D., "The Jews in the Modern World", London, 1934, pp.44-45.

This has an important bearing on the present social pattern of Canadian Jewry. In 1880 "----a small colony of Sephardic Jews had long been settled in Canada, but there were none of the immigrants from Germany who in the United States form the highest and richest stratum among the Jews."--Ibid., p.52.

Wirth describes how these early German Reform Jews might have disappeared as a distinctive element in America were it not for the invasion of the poor "Hinter-Berliner" and Russian immigrants, whose arrival "divided American Jewry into two opposing camps-----isolated-----through profound differences in religious and secular attitudes and customs."--Louis Wirth, "The Ghetto", Chicago, 1928, pp. 141-149, passim.

be expected, and this is found to be the case. There are only 42.3% European-born in the Maritimes as compared with 50.6% in Canada. British Columbia shows an even lower percentage of European-born--41.25%, although its Canadian-born population is also low. Hence we may expect an unduly great proportion of this region's Jewish population to be natives of other countries; and we find that 7.57%--three times as great a proportion as is shown for Canada as a whole--were born in the British Isles and Possessions, and that 8.7% are natives of United States, as over against 2.77% for Canada as a whole. Hence we may expect perhaps with further investigation to find in the Maritime Region, and especially in the British Columbia Region, a more assimilated and secular type of Jew, on the whole, with fewer language and acculturation difficulties,--a tendency that may be intensified by the fact that in both these regions the absolute numbers of the Jews are very small, and constitute smaller proportions of the total population than they do in the other three regions.

Of those born outside Canada, the overwhelming majority are European. This holds true for every region. In each case the three European countries of greatest numerical importance in this connection are Russia, Poland, and Roumania. Russian Jews are represented in 25.8% of Canadian Jewry, reach their highest peak in the Prairies where they form 35.4%, and their lowest point in Ontario, where they form 20.7%. Polish-born Jews, on the other hand, are much more predominant in Ontario than elsewhere, forming 24.2% as against 10 per cent for every other region, and raising the Canadian proportion up to 15.9%.

Roumanian-born Jews form from 1.86% to 7.61%, reaching their highest concentration in Quebec Province. A variety of other European countries, in negligible numbers, make up the total of European-born Jews in Canada.

British Isles and Possessions, and the United States furnish the next largest countries of origin. 2.64% of Canadian Jews were born in the British Isles and Possessions. This figure falls to 0.9% in the Maritimes, but rises to 3.17% in Ontario, and, as has already been pointed out, to 7.57% in British Columbia. The United States distribution is fairly even, clustering about the general 2.77% proportion for Canada, but reaching 8.73% in British Columbia. Only 0.16% of the total were born in all other countries.



Thus the birthplace pattern of each region fits fairly closely into that of Canada as a whole. The most notable exception is the distribution of Polish Jews, in which case the Canadian figure is really an average, not representing a reflection of the situation in each of the regions.

(1)

The sex distribution, it may be added, is fairly even in all cases.

Classified information concerning birthplace of Canadians of Hebrew origin is not available for any year prior to 1931.

#### Immigration Rates to Canada

The discussion of the size of Canada's Hebrew population and its rate of increase, and of the birthplaces of these people are both closely linked with the rates of their immigration to Canada. What was the greatest immigration period? How do the different countries of Europe compare as sources of Canadian immigration, both in volume and in period? What is the age and sex distribution of Hebrew immigrants to Canada? And how do various regions and cities of Canada differ on all these points?

Although the Canadian Census makes available much information regarding immigrants to Canada, it fails to give absolute immigration figures for any period classified by racial origin or religion, so that we will be able to discuss in detail only those immigrants of Hebrew origin who were resident in Canada in 1931. Those who stayed in Canada only temporarily after their arrival, as well as those who died before 1931 are, of course, not included in this class.

The Annual bulletins issued by the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization are of some service in this connection. They give the total number of immigrants arriving in Canada during given fiscal years. The report issued in 1934 contains a summary table of Hebrew immigration into Canada for the fiscal years 1900-1934 by certain periods. (See Table <sup>IV</sup>~~II~~, p. 11).

Apparently the heaviest migration took place in the first decade of this century. Figures for earlier decades are not given; it is likely that they were quite high. The Jewish population, as we have seen, (Table I, p.6),

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(1) See Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. IV, p.90, Table 5.

Table IV. Total Jewish Immigration to Canada, by Decennial Periods

<u>Period</u>	<u>Number of Jewish Immigrants</u> (a)
July 1, 1900-Mar. 31, 1910	43,529
April 1, 1910-Mar. 31, 1920	32,585
April 1, 1920-Mar. 31, 1930	41,873
April 1, 1930-Mar. 31, 1934	4,055

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(a) 1907 figures are for nine months ending Mar. 31, 1907.

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increased from 6,414 in 1891 to 16,401 in 1901, and it is reasonable to assume that a considerable portion of this increase was due to immigration.

The drop of the 1910-1920 decade may be accounted for by the war years, and that of the present decade by legal restrictions.

More detailed information is available concerning immigrants in the present population of Canada. There were 88,165 immigrant Hebrews in Canada in 1931, 44,529 being male and 43,636 female. This figure includes repatriated Canadians, however; the actual number of foreign-born Hebrews in Canada in 1931 was 88,023.<sup>(2)</sup> As intimated previously, the sex distribution is fairly equal in this ethnic group, the number of males to every 100 females being 102 in both the total Hebrew population and the immigrant population.<sup>(3)</sup>

Of the 88,165 immigrants, the greatest number came in the decade 1921-30, as Table V, p.12, shows, in which decade 31,250 or 35.44% of all immigrants now living in Canada arrived. The decade next in importance is 1910, with 29.8% of the total, followed by the war decade, with 27.9%. This decade would probably not have interrupted the otherwise smooth upward curve of Hebrew immigration to Canada, had it not been for the war and the set of circumstances accompanying it.

The discrepancy between the prominence of the decade 1921-30 in this

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(1) From the Report of the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1934, Tables 2-6, pp. 11-15.  
 (2) Census of Canada, 1931, Census Monograph No. 4, Tables 16 and 17, p.232.  
 (3) Ibid.



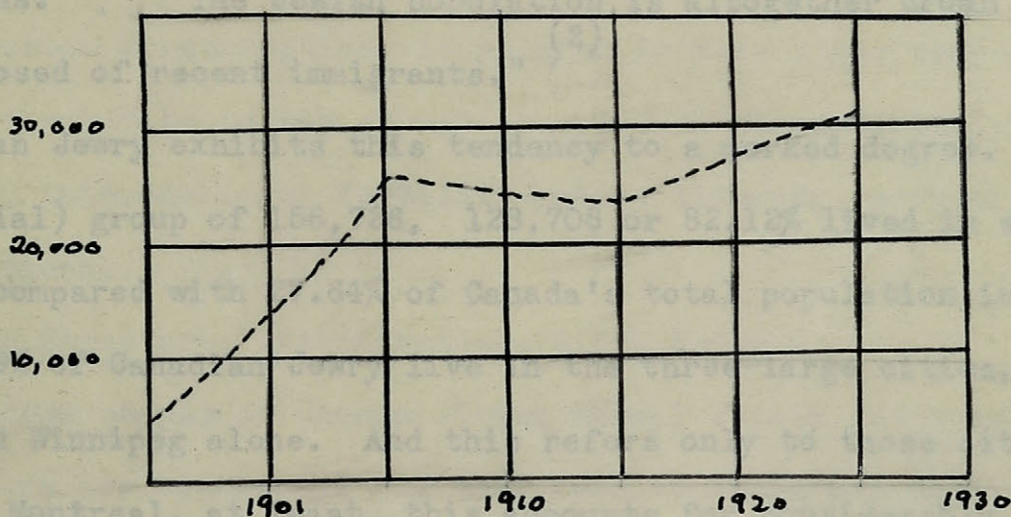
Table V. Number and Per Cent of Hebrew/Immigrant Population of Canada, by Period of Arrival, by Sex, 1931 (1)

Period of Arrival	Male	Female	Total	P.C. of Total Immigration
Before 1901	3,086	2,358	5,444	6.2
1901-1910	14,028	12,240	26,268	29.8
1911-1920	12,238	12,374	24,612	27.9
1921-1930	14,901	16,349	31,250	35.4
1931 (5 months)	177	196	373	0.4
Not stated	99	119	218	0.3
Total	44,529	43,636	88,165	100.00

table, and that of 1901-10 in Table IV., is not difficult to comprehend if it is kept in mind that many immigrants of 1901-10 may have died or emigrated from Canada since that time and would hence play no part in the 1931 census.

Up to 1920, about 63 per cent of the foreign-born Hebrew population had arrived; hence in 1931 about 63 per cent of them would have been in Canada at least ten years. About 80 per cent would have been in Canada at least five years; and almost 36 per cent at least twenty years.

Fig. I. Number of Hebrew Immigrants Resident in Canada in 1931 by Date of Arrival (2)



(1) Includes repatriated Canadians. From Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. IV, Table 24, p. 490

(2) After Table V.

Each region's pattern again approximates that of Canada fairly closely, i.e., 1921-30 was the decade when most of the foreign-born Hebrews arrived, although great numbers came in 1901-1910. Only in the Maritimes did the figure for the post-war decade fall below that of 1901-1910. In one or two cases, ( Ontario and British Columbia), the rate did not drop at all during the decade 1911-1920, but a steady upward trend is shown. As would be expected, Ontario and Quebec, with the largest Hebrew population, show the largest volumes of immigration.

In every case, a large city within the region reflects the data for that region. This is not surprising, since the great majority of Canadian Jews are urban dwellers. (Table VIA, Appendix).

Data on period of immigration of different ethnic groups by country of birth is not available, hence it will be impossible to show the relative importance of the various European countries as sources of Hebrew immigration as far as dates of arrival are concerned.

Age and sex distribution of the immigrant population will be treated simultaneously with that of the total Hebrew population.

#### Rural-Urban Distribution

"In countries which Jewish immigrants have entered after the modern means of transport had been developed, they settled in the cities only, avoiding the smaller towns." <sup>(1)</sup> "The Jewish population is altogether urban where it is mainly composed of recent immigrants." <sup>(2)</sup>

Canadian Jewry exhibits this tendency to a marked degree. Of the total Hebrew (racial) group of 156,726, 128,708 or 82.12% lived in sixteen large cities, as compared with 27.64% of Canada's total population in 1931. <sup>(3)</sup> Indeed, 70.9% of Canadian Jewry live in the three large cities, of Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg alone. And this refers only to those cities proper: in the case of Montreal, at least, this accounts for considerably fewer Jews than

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(1) Ruppin, op, cit. p. 32.

(2) Ibid. p.34.

(3) Calculated from Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. IV, Table 6, p. 206.



are contained in these cities plus their suburbs and satellites. Montreal proper contains 48,724 Hebrews; the suburb of Outremont 6,783; and the suburb of Westmount 1,780. Of the total Canadian population, the cities of Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg constitute only 16.1%. Hence the enormous preponderance of city-dwellers among Canada's Hebrew population becomes obvious.

The same situation held true ten years earlier. In 1921, the Jewish population of the same 16 cities formed 83.7% of all Canadian Jews, as compared with the 24.8% of the total population concentrated in these cities. <sup>(1)</sup> In that year, too, Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg contained 72.8% of all Canada's Hebrews as over against 15.0% of Canada's total population.

To state the same facts in slightly different terms, in 1921 Jews formed 6.9% of Montreal and 4.8% of the sixteen large cities mentioned above, but only 1.44% of Canada as a whole. In 1931 they formed 5.95% of Montreal proper and 4.5% of sixteen large cities, but only 1.51% of Canada's population. Hence there can be no doubt of the enormously marked tendency of these people to concentrate in large urban centres in Canada, although there seems to have been a slight decline in this concentration between 1921 and 1931.

This urban concentration is related to many other characteristics of this, as it would be to any ethnic group. Such characteristics include occupation, intermarriage, fertility rates, literacy, secularization, and other phenomena.

#### Age and Sex Structure; Intermarriage; Birth Rates

Are the Hebrew people of Canada living normal family lives as far as age and sex structure are concerned? Do they tend to immigrate as families, or as single individuals? If the latter, what are the tendencies towards assuming a normal family structure after they have settled? Is the Hebrew population an old or a young one? Do they intermarry freely with other racial groups? How does their birth rate compare with that of the population as a whole and that of other ethnic groups? And in all these matters, how

(1) From Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. 1, Table 28, p. 524

do the five regions compare? This section will attempt to answer as many of these questions as possible with the material at hand.

Of the 156,726 Hebrews living in Canada in 1931, 79,087 or 50.46% were males, making the male-female ratio practically 1:1. More precisely, in the adult population of Hebrew origin in Canada in that year, the males numbered 104 to every 100 females, one of the lowest ratios of all racial groups. <sup>(1)</sup> Such figures tend to indicate to some extent the existence of normal family structures.

All the regions reflect this even sex distribution fairly closely except the Maritimes and British Columbia, both of which have a slightly more noticeable preponderance of males. In the large cities of all regions except British Columbia the female element slightly overbalances the male, although the sex distribution is almost equal. This conforms to the general tendency for females to outnumber the male populations of large urban centres. (Table I LXIA, Appendix).

The sex ratio, then, is normal at the present time; has it been so in the past, while large numbers were every year entering the country as immigrants? In 1911, the Canadian Census <sup>(2)</sup> listed 75,681 persons as of Jewish racial origin, of which 39,594 or 52.32% were male, and 36,087 or 47.68% female. <sup>(3)</sup> In 1921, there were 126,196 of Hebrew origin, of which 64,029 or 50.74% were male and 62,167 or 49.27% female. Apparently the trend for the past twenty years has been towards an ever closer numerical equality of the sexes. In both these early censal years, too, the individual regions showed a slight preponderance of males, British Columbia being most marked in this respect.

So much for the entire Jewish population. But what of the immigrant population? It is of interest to know whether the Hebrews tend to migrate as

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(1) This refers to all persons 21 years of age and over. From Census Monograph No. 4, Census of Canada, 1931, Tables 17 and 18, p.233.

(2) Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. II, Table 12, p. 368.

(3) Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. I, Table 25, p. 358.

families, or as single individuals, as do many ethnic groups. According to the figures issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <sup>(1)</sup> of the foreign-born Hebrew population living in Canada in 1931

3,086 males and	2,358 females	had arrived before 1901;
14,028 males and	12,240 females	had arrived between 1901 and 1910;
12,238 males and	12,374 females	had arrived between 1911 and 1920;
7,107 males and	8,119 females	had arrived between 1921 and 1925;
7,794 males and	8,230 females	had arrived between 1926 and 1930;
177 males and	196 females	had arrived in the first five months of 1931.

The increasing proportion of females entering Canada is apparent here, but again, these figures are not fully significant, because they disregard persons who have re-emigrated from Canada or died in the ensuing period.

Since age at the time of immigration is not given, many of these persons may have entered as children. Reports of the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization <sup>(2)</sup> show that many Hebrew children did immigrate. In many cases more than half the yearly immigration was made up of persons under 18 years of age.

It appears, then, that the Hebrew group has tended to immigrate as families, and to maintain a normal sex distribution.

In the case of every region, the period 1921-25 climaxed the preponderance of female over male immigration. Only in the Maritimes and the British Columbia region did male immigration eclipse female in the period 1921-1930. (See Table VIIIA, Appendix).

A glance at the age distribution is requisite for substantiation of the apparent familial pattern of the Hebrew population so far revealed by sex distribution data. Dividing the group into quinquennial age groups by sex, it appears that the greatest frequency for males falls in the 15-19 year interval, and for females in the 20-24 year interval. Of both sexes together, the 15-19 year group is the largest, with 12.7% of the total. Approaching the upper age limits, the numbers decline quite steadily, and below the 15-19 interval there is a steady decline too. (Table LXIIA, Appendix). Thus the Hebrew population of Canada is not an old, one, by any means, and yet its youngest age groups are

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(1) Census of Canada, 1931, Vol.IV, Table 24, p. 490.

(2) Annual Report Bulletins, passim.



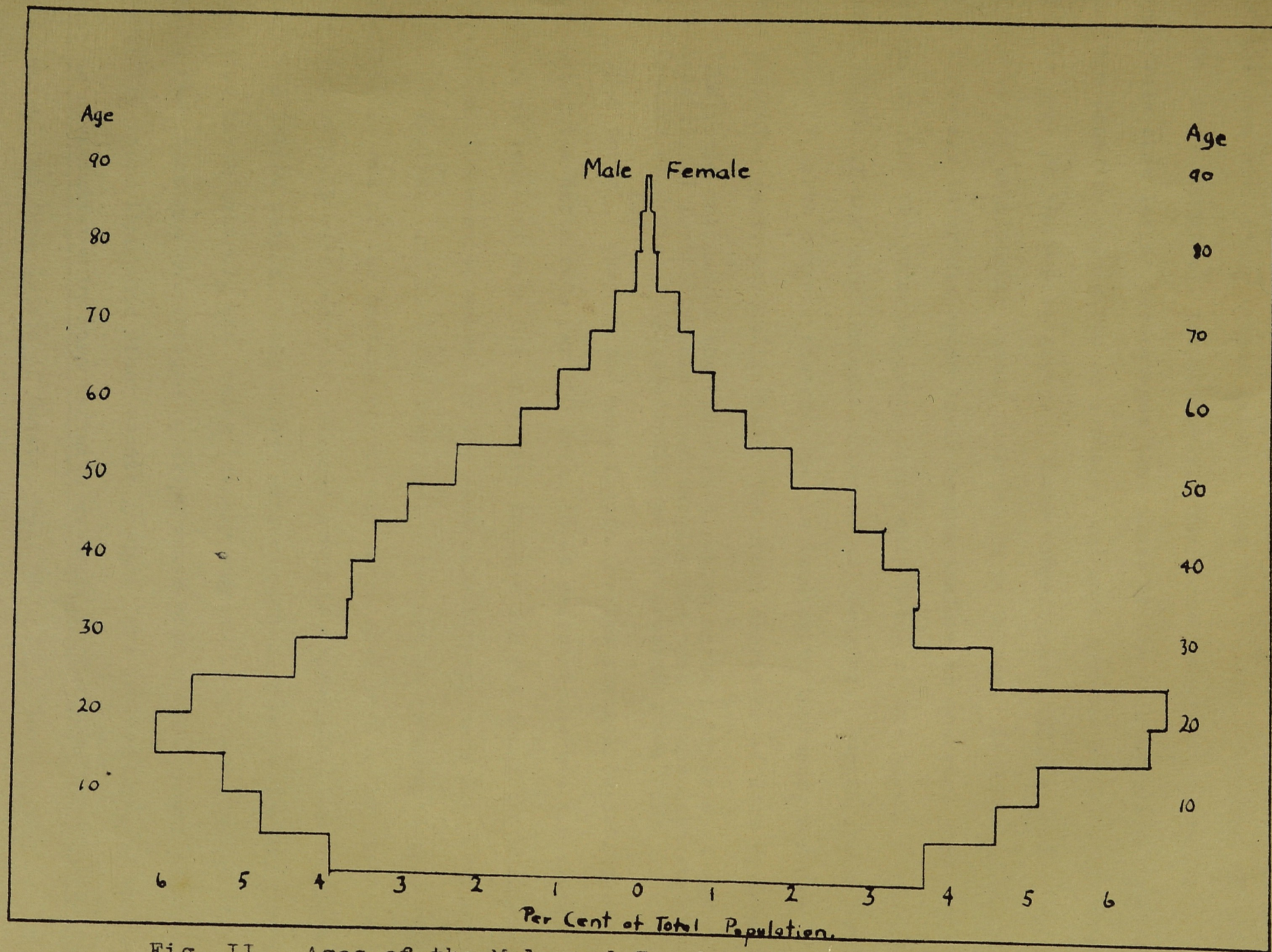


Fig. II. Ages of the Male and Female Hebrew Population of Canada by Quinquennial Age Groups, by Per Cent of the Total  
1931



not its greatest ones. In the case of Canada's total population, the 5-9 year group is the largest, while the 0-4 and 10-14 year groups are almost as large.<sup>(1)</sup> The Poles and Ukrainians of Canada, chosen at random for comparison of the Jews with other ethnic groups, show the 5-9 and 10-14 year groups to be the most numerical, respectively. The three youngest quinquennial intervals show larger percentages than those in the corresponding intervals for the Canadian population as a whole; and much greater proportions than is the case in the Jewish group. These comparisons indicate that this group is not maintaining itself numerically in Canada. As Table LXIIA shows, the three age intervals below 15-19 become smaller as one goes down the scale, so that the youngest group forms only 7.56% of the total, as compared with 10.35% of the Canadian population of all origins. Ruppin shows that the practice of birth control amongst Jews is tending to increase, and has been for some time past, partially due to the urban character of Jews in America.

"The rapid decline in the birth rate, which marks a break with the traditional fertility maintained through the ages is the most striking feature of Jewish vital statistics at the present time." (2)

(3)

In a table wherein the mean figure for the years 1930-1932 was computed, the birth rate per 100 women 15-44 years of age was 4.9 among Hebrews as compared with 8.4 among the English and 9.4 among the Russians. Births per 100 married women, by the same calculation, were 9.7 for Hebrews, 14.3 for English, and 15.3 for Russians. It must be remembered that urban dwelling is one of the factors positively correlated with a low birth rate, and that 1930-32 were years of abnormal economic depression. It is likely that the Hebrew people, being almost entirely urban, comparatively free to practise birth control, and being largely engaged in occupations which would feel economic catastrophe quickly, would show a more marked decline in fertility rates than some other ethnic groups. This explanation, of course, must be substantiated by more definite evidence before being recognized as

(1) Calculated from Census of Canada, Vol. III, Table 16, p. 146

(2) Arthur Ruppin, op. cit. p. 70.

(3) Census of Canada, 1931, Census Monograph no. 4, Table 1, p. 27.

anything more than a surmise.

Regional Age Structure---In every region except Quebec, the largest quinquennial age group in 1931 was 15-19 years. This group held from 10.9% to 13.3% of the Hebrew population in the various regions. In Quebec the largest frequency fell in the 20-24 year group, which contained 13 per cent of the total. The 15-19 year interval contained 12.3%.

In every case there was a steady, regular decline from this maximum in both directions. All regions repeat Canada's distribution in that the bottom layers of the population pyramid are not as broad as would give a regular pyramid diagram of the population. In practically all cases, the same trends are revealed in the figures for both sexes.

Except for the smallness of the very low age groups, then, the age and sex structure of Hebrews in Canada seems a normal one.

#### Occupation

"Except for a few thousand Sephardic Jews and a small group that has risen from among the East European immigrants, Canada, which in the nineteenth century received no German-Jewish immigrants, lacks a Jewish upper middle class. Most of the East European Jews are still petty traders, commission agents, or are in the fur and clothing trades, and in a few handicrafts; besides there are a few thousand settled by the Jewish Colonization Association." (1)

The Hebrews are the outstanding commercial race in Canada, from the point of view of occupational distribution within their own ranks, with five times the proportion of gainfully occupied men and two and one-half times the proportion of women than the population as a whole being so engaged. (2) 40 per cent of Jewish men ten years of age and over, gainfully occupied, and 21 per cent of women are engaged in commerce, as over against 8 per cent of men and 8 per cent of women in the general population of the same categories. (3)

The next occupation in importance is manufacturing. Between two and three times as many Hebrews are engaged in manufacturing as in the total population. 29 per cent of men are so occupied and 32 per cent of women as over

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(1) Ruppin, op. cit. p. 127.

(2) Census Monograph No. 4, 1931, p.178.

(3) Census of Canada, 1931, Bulletin No. XLV, Table IV, pp. 6-7.

against 11 per cent of men and 13 per cent of women in the total. By far the greatest share of these are engaged in the manufacture of textile products.

The gainfully occupied women are proportionally more largely in clerical occupations than the women of any other origin in Canada. Very few are to be found in domestic or other service ( 12.5% as compared with 52.0% of the total).

There are practically no farmers, or unskilled labourers among the Hebrews. Those in the professions constitute a small proportion: 5.0% of gainfully occupied men and 4.5% of women, as opposed to 3.7% of men in the total population and 17.7% of women.

So far we have compared the two categories of persons proportionally, each as a separate whole, with its own distribution of gainfully occupied persons. Observing what percentage Jews form of the total numbers engaged in given occupations, their numerical insignificance in the total picture appears. For example, Hebrew males form, in this classification, only 7 per cent of those ten years of age and over engaged in commerce, and females 5 per cent. Males form 3.8% of those engaged in manufacturing, females 5.5%. Gainfully occupied Jewish women make up only 3.8% of those in clerical occupations. On the whole, males form 1.46% of Canada's gainfully employed, and females 2.16%. Hebrews form 1.51% of the total population. (1)

Further classification of Hebrews in occupation has been done, viz. occupations of male immigrants by period of arrival, which shows into what occupations more recent immigrants tend to enter, as compared with those into which older-established residents have settled. (2)

In 1931, 27.34% of foreign-born male Jews ten years of age and over, gainfully occupied, who had arrived in Canada before 1911, were engaged in manufacturing; 38.81% of those arriving 1926-31 were so engaged. The intervening periods of arrival display the same upward trend: 31.96% for those arriving 1911-20, and 34.34% for those arriving 1921-25. Apparently the more recent immigrants tend to enter manufacturing more often than older ones.

(1) Ibid., Table 5, p. 7.

(2) See Table VIIA, Appendix, from Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. VII, Table 17, p. 24.

On the other hand, they seem to be entering less and less into trade. Of those arriving before 1911, 45.93% were so engaged in 1931; of those coming between 1911-20, there were 40.7%; between 1921-25, 38.6%; and from 1926-31, only 28.9%.

The percentages in the professions vary but slightly: the highest point is reached by those immigrants who arrived in the period 1921-25, with 5.31% of the total who entered Canada during that interval.

Proportionately more recent arrivals are found in the unskilled labour group than older inhabitants of Canada. In 1931 2.12% of those arriving before 1911 were in unskilled labour; and 5.58% of those arriving between 1926-31.

This table, of course, does not show whether Jews as a whole are moving from one occupational group to another; since each immigration period group is analyzed as a unit.

Comparing immigrant Jews with the total number of Jews (see Table IXA, Appendix),<sup>(1)</sup> the most notable difference seems to be in the manufacturing and clerical occupations of women. Far more of the foreign-born women of Jewish origin are found in the former occupation than of the total; and fewer, on the other hand, have entered clerical occupations. Another point worthy of notice is the relatively high proportion of foreign-born Hebrews of both sexes engaged in personal service as compared with those born both in and outside of Canada. The figures for professional service do not differ appreciably between the two groups, although the foreign-born show a somewhat lower percentage. The women in both instances deviate sharply from the tendency of the total female group to enter the professions. It would be of interest to investigate this point in greater detail.

In 1921, manufacturing and trade were also the predominant Hebrew occupations. The pattern of distribution of Hebrew occupations among those gainfully employed ten years of age and over is not strikingly different from

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(1) From the Canada Year Book, 1937, Table 35, p. 142 and the Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. VII, Table 20, p.30.

Table X. Per Cent Which Certain Occupational Groups Form of Hebrews  
And of All Races Ten Years of Age and Over, Gainfully Employed,  
Canada, 1921 (1)

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>P.C. of all Hebrews Gainfully Employed</u>	<u>P.C. of All Races Gainfully Employed</u>
Agriculture	2.35	32.8
Manufacturing	30.45	12.8
Trade	38.22	8.4
Service	7.33	13.3
Clerical	8.82	6.9
Labourers	5.23	9.6

that of 1931. As Table X shows, the comparison with all races is similar to that of 1931 as well. Almost five times as many Jews proportionally as the total were in trade, and between two and three times as many in manufacturing. Those engaged in agriculture and unskilled labour were comparatively few. As in 1931, the Hebrews gainfully occupied in each occupational group formed only a small portion of that group.

#### Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has failed to fulfil completely one of the main tasks it set out to do, namely to trace the changing pattern of distribution of the Jewish group in Canada over the period 1901-1931. This incompleteness is due in the main to the absence of necessary material. Cross-classification of population data by racial or religious groups was made rarely, if ever, by the Dominion Census before 1931, hence no analysis of the changing structure of the Hebrew population has been possible to any very great extent. Wherever the necessary material has been available, such as in the case of density, rural-urban distribution, immigration, occupation, and the like, comparisons have been made with earlier decades. Otherwise, only the 1931 situation has been described.

Again, certain census material has not been classified by racial or

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(1) From Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. VII, Table 67, p. 986.

religious subdivisions by provinces. In such cases a gap must appear in our discussion, which must be limited to Canada as a whole.

Information on literacy, languages spoken, unemployment, crime and delinquency, and the like has not made up part of this discussion; it will be presented when problems of adjustment and assimilation receive attention.

Mention was made in an opening paragraph of the double identity of the group receiving treatment here, for it is a racial group practically homogeneous as far as religious denomination is concerned. In almost the entire discussion, the racial group has been dealt with, since more information was available in terms of the racial origin of various population classifications than their religion.

This concludes our demographical discussion and analysis of Canadian Jewry. Implicit in Chapter IV, which presents a similar analysis of Montreal's Hebrew population, is an investigation of how closely the pattern of distribution of the one coincides with that of the other.

### Chapter III Successive Areas of Hebrew Settlement in Montreal 1901-1931

In Montreal, Jewish settlement has followed two simultaneous but distinct trends. It is not the purpose of this section to discuss these in great detail; at this point it will suffice to demonstrate, with some explanation, the number and boundaries of the successive areas of Jewish residential settlement in Montreal. The statistical data then presented in the next chapter will serve to corroborate or correct the boundaries laid down in the delineation of these areas.

The area of first settlement at the present time is approximately that bounded on the north by Mount Royal Avenue, on the east by St. Denis Street, on the south by Sherbrooke Street, and on the west by Park Avenue. The few most westerly streets of this area may have some characteristics of an area of second settlement, but are most appropriately included here. The area comprises the major portions of the political wards of St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste.

Some years ago the area of first settlement for the Hebrew people in Montreal was considerably farther south. Invasion and succession have continued steadily northwards for the last three or four decades, however, so that this area may hardly be called characteristically Hebrew today. The wards of St. Laurent and St. George, which contain most of the Hebrews in that district, and which must serve to represent it, since they are the only ones for which we have official figures, contained only 1,360 and 307 Jews respectively in 1931, or 6.6% and 2.3% respectively of the total ward population.<sup>(1)</sup> When these numbers are compared with the 10,828 Hebrews in St. Jean Baptiste, (18.7% of the ward), and 9,671 in St. Louis 16.7% of the ward), it will be readily seen that this area is not one of intense Jewish concentration. Still, these two wards contain a denser Hebrew population than many other wards in the city, which contain practically none.

"The concomitant of the concentration of Jews in certain parts of the city is that in other districts, especially on the outskirts, there are comparatively few, and in some parts practically none, even in towns with large Jewries." (2)

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(1) Census of Canada, 1931, Bulletin No. XXXVIII, Tables 5 and 6, pp. 22 and 30.

(2) Ruppin, op. cit. p. 39.



The changing locale of the area of first settlement of Jews in Montreal  
(1)  
may appear more clearly from the following data:

In 1901 the most densely populated ward as far as the Jewish element was concerned was St. Louis, with about 3000 Hebrews. St. Laurent was next, with a little over 2,000. There were no other areas with comparable figures. Hence the southern boundary of the area of first settlement was then around Craig Street. St. Louis Ward seems to have been at all times the ward of Jewish residence in Montreal par excellence, but it must be noted that its northern boundary, now at Mount Royal Avenue, was then just south of Duluth; its southern boundary, now at Sherbrooke Street, was then at Craig; and its western boundary, now at Park Avenue, was then at St. Lawrence Blvd. Hence, this ward, and with it the area of first settlement, was, in 1901, decidedly south-east of where it now lies.

By 1911 St. Louis had increased its Jewish population to 11,500, and St. Laurent to 8,000. Other significant increases now appeared: St. Jean Baptiste grew from 124 to 2,991; Laurier ward from 15 to 1,211; and an area comprising what is now St. Denis ward and a large area north and east of it from 6 to 1,047. Significant too is the fact that Westmount and Lachine each contained, for the first time, a few Hebrews in 1911. Each had only a few  
(2)  
hundred, but in the same period Outremont and Notre Dame de Grace ward, at present in the areas of third and fourth settlement, had only 41 and 35 respectively. Hence the northward and westward trends, which were to become so pronounced a decade or two later, had begun by 1911.

Note that at this time St. Jean Baptiste had as its western boundary Esplanade and Jeanne Mance Avenues, and that now, moving slightly to the east, it is limited on the west by St. Lawrence Blvd. The abandoned area between Esplanade Avenue and St. Lawrence Blvd. now falls in St. Louis Ward. In 1911 Laurier ward, too, showed a great increase over 1901. Again, changing

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(1) Population data in this chapter are from figures worked out by David Fisher in an unpublished paper entitled "Population Trends of the Main Ethnic Groups in Greater Montreal for the Period 1901-1931".

(2) Should have small parts of Outremont and Cote St. Luc added, to correspond exactly with Notre Dame de Grace boundaries of 1921--  
Fisher, Op. cit.

location must be kept in mind. Mount Royal Avenue and Hutchison Street formed the south and west boundaries respectively, just as they do today, but this ward then extended considerably farther north than it now does, including what is now known as St. Michael ward. In comparing population of 1911 with that of 1931, this qualification must be kept in mind, for otherwise the growth of the ward's Hebrew population must seem much smaller than it actually is.

After 1911 the movement northward continued well beyond Mount Royal Avenue. The area of second settlement at the present time will be regarded as that lying between Mount Royal Avenue on the south, Henri Julien Avenue on the east, and Hutchison Street on the west. The northern boundary is more difficult to fix. It may perhaps be placed at Van Horne Avenue. The more northerly wards of St. Jean and Montcalm, containing a sprinkling of Hebrews, indicate a slight penetration farther north than this, which may represent second or third settlement.

The bulk of the population of the area of second settlement, then, live in the major portions of the political wards of Laurier and St. Michael. St. Denis Ward, east of this area, also shows a sprinkling of Hebrew population comparable to, though somewhat smaller than, that of St. Jean and Montcalm. The movement of Hebrews in Montreal, then, seems to have followed an S-shaped line, the lower eastward bulge of the S appearing just east of the mountain, and the more northerly westward bulge coming in the City of Outremont, the present area of third settlement. Farther north still, the topmost end of the S turns east again to the wards of St. Jean, St. Denis,  
(1)  
and Montcalm.

(2)  
In 1921 ( see Table XI, p.26) Fisher's figures reveal that of the areas under consideration, St. Louis Ward and the City of Lachine showed the least significant increases; the area containing what is now St. Denis Ward more than doubled its Jewish population; but most noteworthy of all,

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(1) There are indications, however, that Jewish population is rapidly moving west of Outremont as well.

(2) Loc. cit.

Table XI. Hebrew Population of Seven Wards and Ten Suburbs of Montreal, 1901, 1911, and 1921, Showing Per Cent Increase or Decrease, 1901-1911, and 1911-21 (1)

Ward or City	Population 1901	P.C. Increase 1901-11	Population 1911	Population 1921	P.C. In- crease 1911-21
St. Louis	2,899	297.5	11,523	12,224	6.1
St. Laurent	2,131	262.9	7,733	5,342	-30.9
Ste. Anne	384	135.7	905	511	-43.5
St. Jn. Bpt. (a)	124	2,312.1	2,911	11,712	291.6
Laurier	15	7,973.3	1,211	7,289	501.9
N.D.G. (b)	-	-	35	449	1,182.9
St. Denis	6	17,343.3	1,047	2,411	130.3
Westmount	65	486.2	381	1,002	163.0
Outremont	-	-	41	1,195	2,814.6
Lachine	26	1,215.4	342	536	56.7

St. Laurent and Ste. Anne, (in the old first area), declined 30.9% and 43.5% respectively, and Laurier, (in the present second area), increased 500 per cent, Westmount 163 per cent, and Outremont and Notre Dame de Grace, areas of third and fourth settlement, shot up from complete obscurity into comparative prominence. Outremont in particular showed a population increase in this decade (1911-21), growing from 41 to about 2,000. Notre Dame de Grace increased from 35 to 449. (2)

In other words, by 1921 the old area of Jewish settlement had definitely begun to decline, the new area of first settlement had continued to increase, the area from Mount Royal Avenue northwards--the present area of second settlement--showed steady growth, and the areas of third settlement were becoming populated.

By 1931 there is hardly a ward in the old downtown area that has not

(1) Fisher, op. cit.

(2) Keep in mind the slight inaccuracy involved here (P. 24, footnote).

(a) Includes what is now St. Michael Ward.

(b) Plus a small additional area.

shown a substantial decrease in Jewish population; the three wards St. Laurent, St. Louis, and St. Jean Baptiste, <sup>(1)</sup> together show a decrease of about 7,000, or 23 per cent; the three wards Laurier, St. Denis, and Delorimier an increase of 124.5%--these are in the area of second settlement; and Notre Dame de Grace, Westmount, and Outremont show increases of 699.0%, 77.6%, and 467.6% respectively. All these increases refer to the decade 1921-1931. The northward and westward population movements among the Hebrews of Montreal are thus clearly demonstrated.

The area of third settlement at the present time, as has been intimated already, lies mostly in the city of Outremont, which is bounded, as far as residence is concerned, by Mount Royal (i.e., the mountain), and on the east by Hutchison Street. As suggested above, this third area probably extends north-eastwards and westwards beyond the limits of this suburb, although these latter areas may be in some cases areas of second or of fourth settlement. The ward of Notre Dame de Grace, though somewhat resembling Outremont in many ways, seems to possess most characteristically the attributes of an area of fourth settlement, and will be included as such along with the City of Westmount. As we have seen, however, settlement in Westmount began at so early a date that in many cases it was probably an area of second or even of first settlement. Even where such is the case, however, the residents of this area may be expected to show those characteristics possessed by the majority of the Westmount population: comparatively high economic and social status, long term of residence in Canada or the United States, and a comparatively advanced state of assimilation.

Since 1931, or even earlier, indications are to be found which suggest that movement westward from Outremont and north-eastward from Notre Dame de Grace and Westmount has been going on steadily, so that the mountain may soon be completely encircled. This section, which seems to be rapidly increasing in population, both Jewish and non-Jewish, comprises the political ward of

(1) Grouped together for comparison here because of changes in ward boundaries between 1921 and 1931.

Mount Royal. The hypothesis here presented is that Mount Royal Ward will show a substantial rate of increase, both in Jewish and in total population, in the next census. Building has been going on rapidly here in the last few years. Transportation to the central business area of the city is facile and swift. It is, in addition, desirable from many points of view as a residential area.

This hypothesis is apparently borne out by data published in the annual reports of the Assessment Department of the City of Montreal. Between 1928 and 1936 the number of dwellings increased from 1,405 to 3,583, or 155.0%, whereas in Laurier Ward, for example--more centrally situated--the increase was 20.9%, and in Montreal as a whole 14.6%<sup>(1)</sup>. This rapid increase in dwellings is accompanied by a similar increase in the number of stores and office buildings. Mount Royal Ward showed an increase between 1928 and 1936 of 242.9%, as compared with 35.1% in Laurier and 12.6% in Montreal for the same period.<sup>(2)</sup> Figures by percentage for Mount Royal are not as significant as they may at first appear, however, because of their smallness (7 for 1928, 24 for 1936).

Lastly, a count was taken of the names in Lovell's Montreal Directory of 1926-27 and 1934-35 listed on three of the main residential streets in this area: Maplewood Avenue, St. Catherine Road, and Queen Mary Road. Keeping in mind the probable inexactness of such data, it was revealed by this count that in the earlier year there were about 170 names listed on Maplewood Avenue between Bellingham Road and Cote des Neiges, of which only one or two were apparently Jewish; in 1934-35 there were 780, of which 164 were Jewish. Thus both the absolute increase and the increase in the proportion of Jewish residents was very great. Similarly on St. Catherine Road between Bellingham and Cote des Neiges, the increase was from 26 names with apparently no Jews to 72 names, including ten Jews. On Queen Mary Road there were 25 names between Cote des Neiges and Girouard Avenue in 1926-27, of which none were Jews, and 600 names of which 33 were Jews between Cote des Neiges and Decarie Blvd. in

(1) From the Annual Report of the Montreal Board of Assessors 1928, p. 11 and 1936, p. 19.

(2) Ibid. 1928 p. 11 and 1936 p. 19.

1934-35. This marginal area will not appear specifically in the forthcoming discussion on the four main areas of settlement, however.

Hence we have the following areas of successive settlement to study and compare in outlining the pattern of distribution of Hebrews in Montreal:

1. An old area of early Jewish settlement near the present downtown area of the city. Material has been obtained only for the wards of St. George and St. Laurent in this area. These two wards must therefore be treated as representative.

2. The present area of first settlement, between Sherbrooke Street on the south and Mount Royal Avenue on the north, comprising mainly the wards of St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste.

3. The area of second settlement, north of Mount Royal Avenue and east of Hutchison Street. Included in the wards of Laurier, St. Michel, and St. Denis.

4. Marginal areas of sparse Jewish settlement, partly second and partly third--St. Jean and Montcalm Wards.

5. Areas of third settlement--Outremont, Mount Royal Ward, and Notre Dame de Grace Ward, the latter being almost fourth area in character. Notre Dame de Grace is the only unit of these three for which statistical material was obtained. It will therefore have to represent both the third and fourth areas in the ensuing discussion.

6. Area of fourth settlement--Notre Dame de Grace Ward, and more characteristically, the City of Westmount. Represented statistically by the former, since no material was available for Westmount.

The following discussion of these areas will be based on unpublished information secured from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on the population of Hebrew origin in ten wards of Montreal in 1931. An attempt has been made to supplement this material, especially in the areas where Census data were not given, by questionnaires. This/ <sup>latter</sup> method is not as reliable, of course. The results will be discussed in a later chapter.



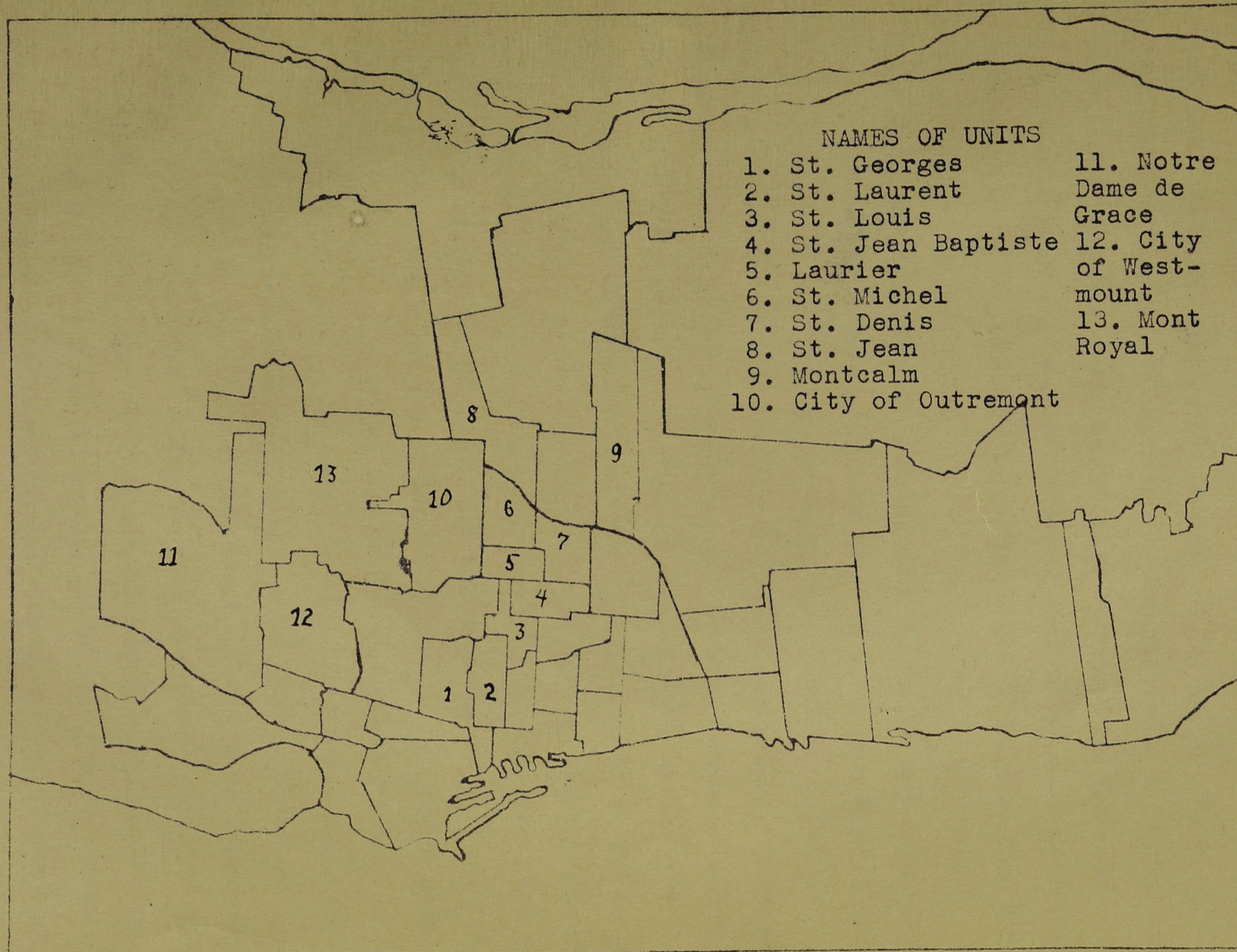


Fig. III. Identification of the Eleven Wards and Two Suburbs of Montreal of Main Jewish Population Density, 1931.



Chapter IV.    Pattern of Distribution Within Successive Areas of Hebrew Settlement in Montreal, 1931

The limited material at hand on this aspect of our subject necessarily restricts the analysis in this chapter to the year 1931. Throughout the chapter, the term "Montreal" will designate the ten wards for which material was obtained, namely St. George, St. Laurent, St. Louis, St. Denis, St. Jean Baptiste, Laurier, St. Michel, St. Jean, Montcalm, and Notre Dame de Grace.. These, together with the Cities of Outremont and Westmount, make up the bulk of Greater Montreal's Hebrew population, and since we have no information about the remaining wards, it is as well to disregard them and thus simplify the discussion.

The distribution of Jews in Montreal plus the two suburbs designated is shown in Table XIII A, Appendix. From this table, as from Figure V, it will be readily seen that the four wards St. Jean Baptiste, St. Michel, St. Louis, and Laurier contain the heaviest Hebrew population. The region in Montreal, then, which is most densely populated with persons of Hebrew origin is that strip about ten city blocks wide, directly east of the mountain, and lying between Sherbrooke Street on the south and Van Horne Avenue on the north. Outremont is the unit with the next largest concentration of Jews. The other six wards, led by Notre Dame de Grace, and the City of Westmount, each contain less than half of Outremont's total.

The greatest single portion of Jews, then, live in that region most closely resembling the ghetto--the Area of first settlement; almost as many live in the second area, which is not radically different from the first; and somewhat smaller numbers reside in the areas of later settlement. It is as well to note here the fact that these areas overlap repeatedly. Outremont may be for many individuals an area of second or first settlement, and the district above Mount Royal Avenue, classed as a second area, may be in many cases an area of first settlement. It is rarely to be expected, on the other hand, that the thickly-populated central area will house many who have previously resided in an area of more advanced economic and social



status.

It is interesting to note in passing that, although the sex ratio is in all cases practically equal, the downtown wards, St. George and St. Laurent, are the only ones to show a greater proportion of males. This is to be expected in the central business and bright-light area of the city. All others show a slight female preponderance. Sex distribution will be treated more exhaustively in a later part of this chapter.

### Birthplace

Table XVIA, Appendix, is an attempt to show how closely the proportions of the groups of Jews with different birthplaces conform within each ward to the expectation as judged by the percentage of the total Jewish population found in that ward. It can be seen, for example, that St. Louis Ward, although containing 21.5% of the total Jewish population, holds only 18.1% of the Canadian-born. If the ward distribution of Canadian-born Hebrews were in close conformity with the distribution of those of all countries of birth, the two figures would be equal. As another instance, this ward has slightly more than its share of Russian-born Jews. 22.4% of the latter category live in St. Louis Ward, while 21.5% of the total live in that ward.

St. Michel, Montcalm, and Notre Dame de Grace show a native population greater than the expectation. These wards, being in areas of later settlement, would be expected to hold larger proportions of natives. It may, and often does, take a generation or two for an immigrant family to emerge from its first area of residence, where low rents, low resistance to their entry, and usually easy access to work make such a central area desirable at the outset, but less so as progress is made in economic status and adjustment. Hence a smaller proportion of foreign-born persons is the rule in the better residential sections of any city. But obviously in Montreal even the ward of most successful and secularized population, Notre Dame de Grace, contains a goodly proportion of non-Canadian-born Jews. There are only 9.7% of the Canadian-born Jews living in Notre Dame de Grace, as compared with 7.3% of the total Jewish population--not much of a difference. But something of an



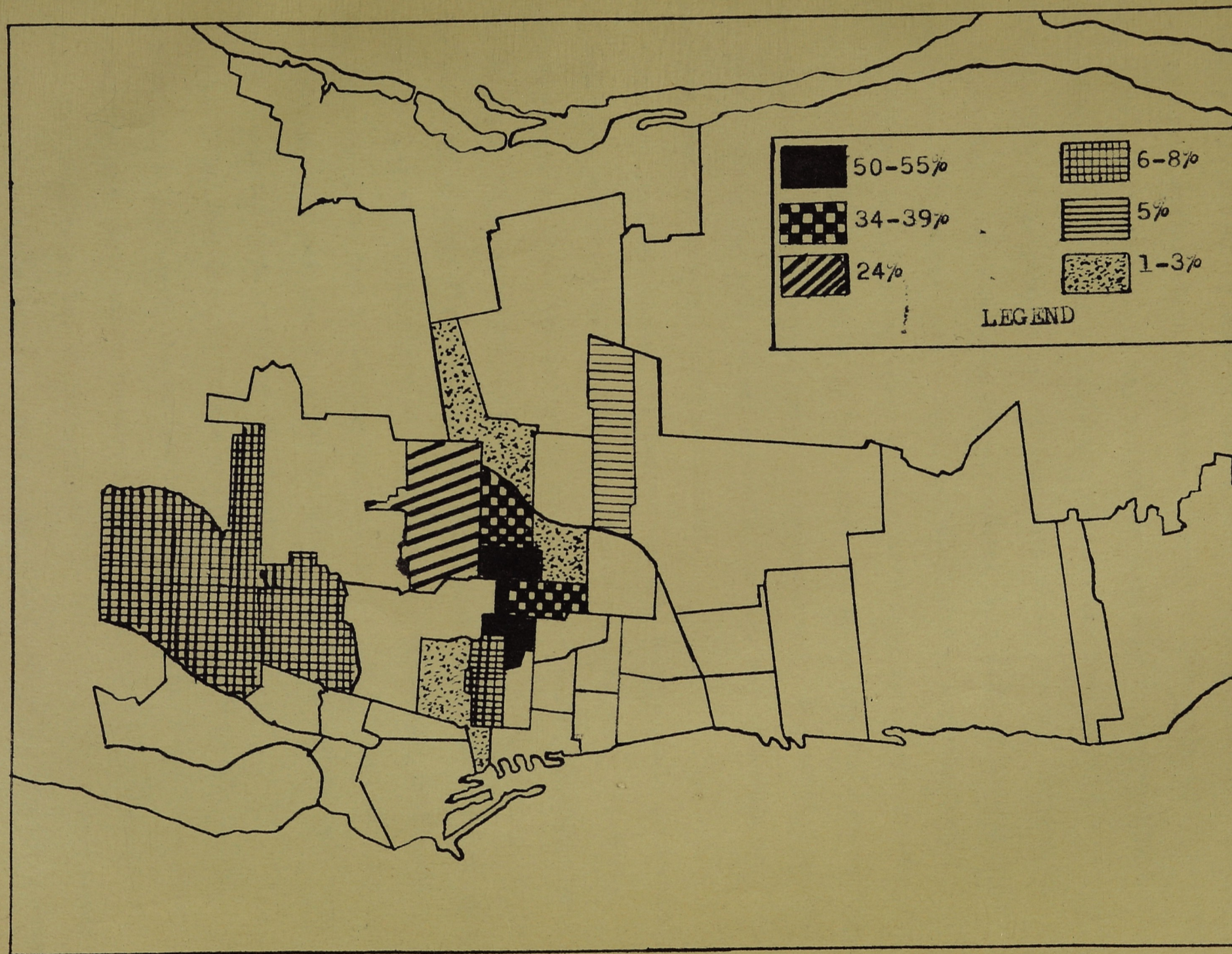


Fig. IV. Relative Density of Jews in the Total Population of Montreal (Ten Wards) and Two Suburbs, 1931



explanation appears when notice is given to the distribution of British- and American-born Jews. Notre Dame de Grace contains 36 per cent of the latter and 15.8% of the former--figures far above the expectation. These two groups of immigrants, while not natives of Canada, come from cultural milieus vastly closer to that of Canada than do any of the European or other groups. Assimilation and success therefore take place at a much more rapid rate. Furthermore, it may not be unreasonable to assume that many of the United States- and British-born Hebrews may have entered areas of third and fourth settlement immediately upon their arrival in Montreal.

Conversely, Notre Dame de Grace contains only 4.2% of the Russian-born group, 2.4% of the Polish-born, and 6.9% of the Austrian-born. The figure for the Polish group seems particularly low; upon investigation it appears to be unusually high in two wards, St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste, where over 65 per cent of the group is concentrated. Apparently, the Poles are either among the most recent arrivals, or have not succeeded in emerging from the area of first settlement.

The two downtown wards, St. Laurent and St. George, hold proportions of American- and British-born far above their expectation. Since the preponderance of these two groups is so great in the central and outer wards, it is to be expected that the proportion will be unusually low in the wards of present first and second settlement. This is found to be the case very definitely in the wards of first settlement--St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste--but in Laurier and St. Michel this is not so. In fact the British- and American-born groups show higher proportions here than either the total population or the Canadian-born.

Montreal Jews born in Russia are distributed much as the total Jewish population among the ten wards. The Polish group is not. Most noteworthy are their concentration in the area of first settlement, their low density in St. Michel and Laurier Wards, and their sparseness in the more recently settled areas of St. Jean, Montcalm, and Notre Dame de Grace.

The Austrian-born group, like the Roumanian, is quite proportionately distributed. The high proportion in Notre Dame de Grace is noteworthy, however. Two other aberrations from the general distribution, for which there seems no obvious explanation, are the high concentration in St. Michel Ward, and the low one in Montcalm. The group "Other European", which includes some 1300 individuals, shows high concentration in St. George and Notre Dame de Grace, and low concentration in St. Jean Baptiste and Montcalm. "All Others" have more than twice their share in St. Laurent, but none at all in St. George; and a high proportion in St. Jean and St. Denis. It is well-nigh impossible to investigate the reasons for all these variations. The general pattern of ward distribution is, in the majority of cases, adhered to by the European-born immigrant.

Table XVIIIA, Appendix, shows the percentage composition by country of birth of the Hebrew population in each ward, along with that for Montreal's Hebrew group. It appears that in general the wards of earliest settlement show a comparatively low, and those of later settlement a high, proportion of natives. In most cases the Canadian-born group formed over forty per cent of the ward's Jewish population, the Russian-born approximately thirty per cent, and the Polish-born held third place in numerical importance, with all others following in much smaller proportions.

St. George Ward has an unusual pattern of distribution, following the general one perhaps least of all the wards. The American, British, and "Other European" groups are all strikingly high in this ward, and the Canadian, Russian, and Polish unusually low. St. Laurent, also in the old downtown area, exhibits some of the same characteristics, but much more moderately. St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste, in the heart of the area of first settlement, hold low agglomerations of Canadian-, American-, and British-born groups, and high concentrations of Russians and Poles.

Laurier and St. Michel, second area wards, show a high Canadian percentage, but a low Polish one. Other categories follow the general tendency in these wards.



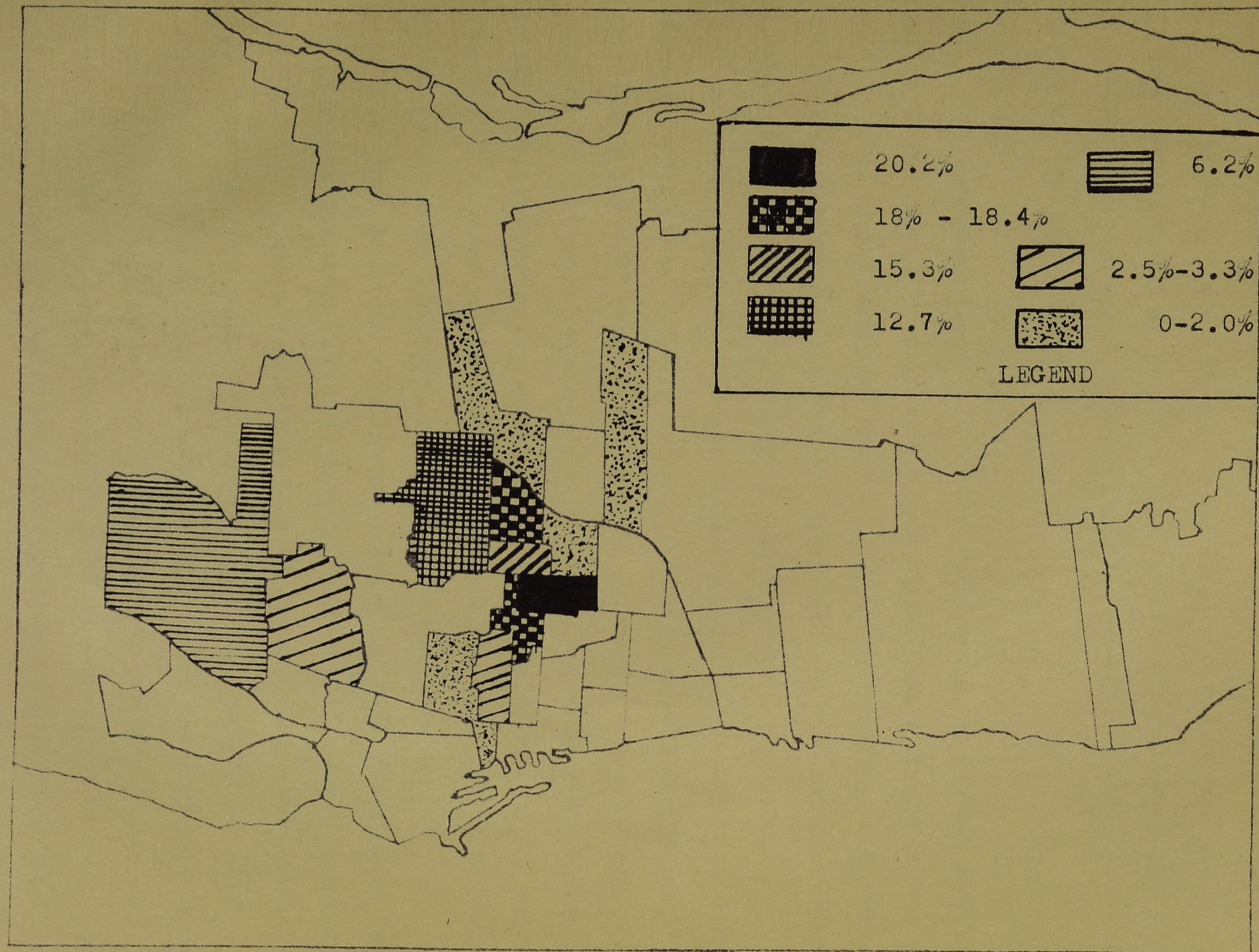


Fig. V. Per Cent Distribution Among Ten Wards and Two Suburbs of the Total Hebrew Population in these Twelve Units 1931



St. Denis shows an unusually high British proportion. In St. Jean and Montcalm, as areas of later settlement, but not of superior desirability as far as social and economic status are concerned, are seen very high rates for both the Canadian and Russian groups, but low rates for the Americans. The Poles are represented in this ward in very small proportions too.

Many of these deviations may be due merely to chance, and do not deserve the attachment of very much significance; others, which seem more important, have been given due attention, and attempts at explaining or accounting for them made.

### Age and Sex

Table XVA, Appendix reveals that the sex ratio among the Hebrews in the ten wards is practically 1:1, with a very slight female preponderance, which is more marked among the American, Roumanian, and Austrian groups. The British, Polish, and "All Others" groups contain more men than women, although the distribution of Poles is almost equal.

More detail is given in Table XVIII A, Appendix, for individual wards. The sex distribution in different parts of the metropolis now becomes observable. As might be expected, St. George and St. Laurent Wards, situated in the central business, bright-light, and rooming-house district of the city, contain a far greater proportion of males than do the others. They may be expected to hold very few children as well. Of the remaining wards, St. Jean has the lowest proportion of males--48.7%.

Notre Dame de Grace, a well-to-do residential ward, far removed from the centre of the city, does not, as might be expected, show a high female ratio. Such a characteristic is to be seen however, among the Canadian-born element in this ward. Oddly enough, therefore, Hebrews of other national origins must include a majority of males in Notre Dame de Grace. Since single adult males tend to live in the downtown area of the city, where shops, hotels, rooming-houses, and amusements are within easy reach; and since the more peripheral areas tend to become residential, family-dwelling districts, a high male percentage is not usually found in such a ward as this. However, the numbers involved here are fairly small (the

four groups responsible--the British, Russian, Roumanian, and Austrian--are made up of 156, 546, 165, and 75 persons respectively), so that their percentages should not be given undue value.

(1)  
The age distribution of the Hebrew population of Montreal resembles that of Canada (2) in that the largest quinquennial age groups are from 15-19 and 20-24 years, which provide 12.44% and 13.28% of the total respectively. The younger age groups, as well as the older ones, all account for proportions smaller than these. The female population seems slightly younger than the male. 13.0% of the females fall into the 15-19 group as compared with 11.9% of the males, and 14.4% in the 20-24 division as compared with 12.2% of the males. All age groups from 25-29 up show larger percentages for males. On the whole, though, the age distribution is quite similar for both sexes.

What of the age distribution in the wards? One would expect most children in the family-settled areas of first and second settlement, where families are perhaps largest; a somewhat smaller number in the outlying areas, populated by those with higher income levels; and fewest children in the downtown areas, where single dwellers and childless families are found most often. Table XXA, Appendix, reveals that this pattern is more or less followed in Montreal's age distribution of Hebrews. Whereas in the city as a whole children under ten years of age compose 16.4% of the Hebrew population, (3) in the downtown wards, St. George and St. Laurent they compose only 9.2% and 11.4% respectively. Most other wards approximate the Montreal figure; St. Denis is composed 18.1% of children under ten.

Again, whereas children between 11 and 20 years of age constitute 22.2 % of Montreal Hebrews, in St. George and St. Laurent they compose only 13.7% and 19.1% respectively. The areas of dense Jewish family settlement follow the general pattern, while the more recently-settled wards of

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(1) This refers to all of Montreal proper, not just the ten wards as discussed above. Calculated from the Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. III, p. 274, Table 19.

(2) See p. 16.

(3) Table XIXA.

St. Jean and Montcalm show much higher rates. In these wards children between 10 and 20 years of age form 27.0% and 26.8% respectively. Notre Dame de Grace has only 17.6% in this group.

It appears clearly from Table XXA that the wards with the highest proportion of children under twenty years of age are St. Jean and Montcalm --areas perhaps of later settlement, but of not comparatively high economic and social status. The densely-populated "ghetto" areas follow these closely; while Notre Dame de Grace, St. Laurent, and especially St. George, lag far behind.

The 25-44 age group corresponds inversely to these facts. St. George shows the highest proportion of all in this group--45.2%; Notre Dame de Grace and St. Laurent follow, with 38.3% and 37.2% respectively; St. Jean and Montcalm have much the lowest figures here; while the others fall in between, led by St. Denis.

The conclusions are, then, that the youngest elements of Montreal Jewry are clustered most thickly in the areas of first and second settlement, and that those between 25-44 years of age concentrate in the downtown and outer areas. The age groups from 40-44 onward decline steadily. St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste, in the area of first settlement, have the largest proportions of persons 65 years of age and over, a fact which fits neatly into the hypothesis that many old people, first generation immigrants, prefer to remain in the "ghetto" where, in spite of its undesirability as a place of residence for those who could afford to move elsewhere, life is so much more satisfying.

What of the different national backgrounds represented by these 45,000 Hebrews? Striking differences come to light between the Canadian-born group and the immigrant groups. The former shows far greater numbers in the lower age levels than any other--not a surprising fact, since many immigrants, themselves natives of foreign lands, have Canadian-born children. 75.1% of Canadian-born Hebrews in the ten wards in question were under twenty years of age in 1931--a huge proportion as compared with 38.6% of all Montreal



Age

Male Female

Age

Fig. VI. Ages of  
Male and Female  
Hebrew Population  
of Montreal Proper  
by Quinquennial  
Age Groups, by Per  
Cent of the Total  
1931

80

80

70

70

60

60

50

50

40

40

30

30

20

20

10

10

6

5

4

3

2

1

0

1

2

3

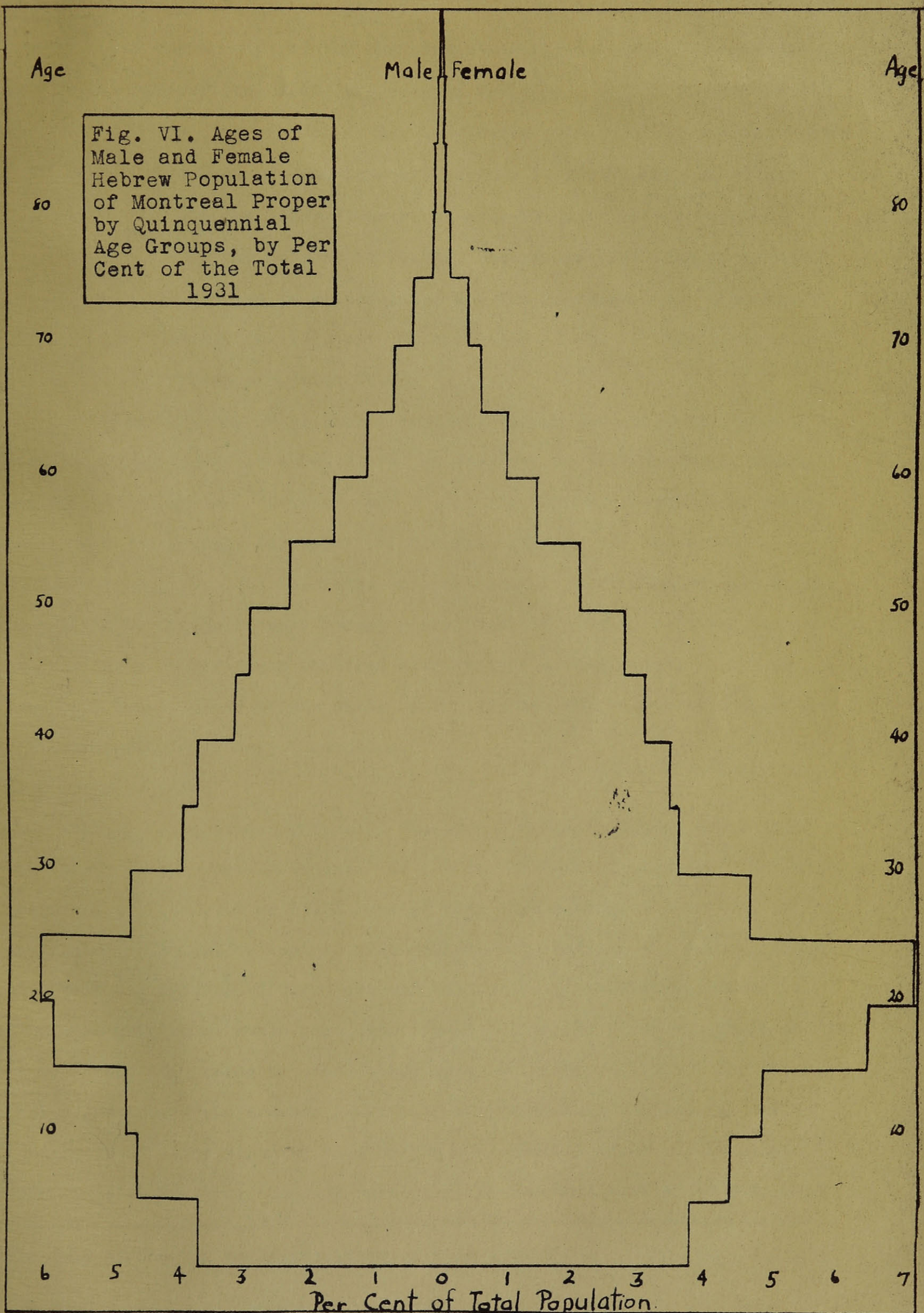
4

5

6

7

Per Cent of Total Population.



(1)

proper; and enormously greater than any other single group. Accordingly, only a small proportion, 9.4%, are between the ages 25-44, a figure greatly exceeded by every other group, as may be clearly seen from Table XXIA, Appendix. The youthfulness of Canadian-born Hebrews is most clearly apparent from the number who are below 50 years of age--99.6%. The corresponding figure for all Montreal Hebrews is 87.8%. The groups most closely approximating the Canadian-born in youthfulness are the American-born, with 94.7% below 50 years of age in 1931, and "Others" with 93.5%. Of the Europeans, the Polish-born stand out, with 86.6%.

The Americans and Poles show a decidedly lower concentration below 20 years of age: the former shows 27.7% as compared to the Canadians' 38.6%, and the latter 20.1%. "Others" show a slightly higher proportion of young people--27.6%. Though far below the Canadian figure, all these are comparatively high. The inference in such cases is that these groups have immigrated to Canada in more recent years than the others, and that larger proportions of their young children have arrived as immigrants than have been born here. Study of the dates of immigration will serve as a check in the corroboration of this assumption.

#### Date of Immigration

This section is concerned only with those of Montreal's Hebrew population who have not been born in Canada. Of the 48,724 Jews resident in Montreal proper in 1931, 27,917 or 57.3% have at some time entered the country as immigrants. It must be kept in mind both in this section and the preceding ones that the suburbs of Outremont and Westmount, if statistical data for them were available, would more than likely colour the picture significantly. It is likely that these suburbs, being areas of later settlement for the Jewish group, contain greater numbers of native-born individuals and of immigrants of older standing than do the more central areas of the city. Notre Dame de Grace is the only ward which is somewhat similar to Outremont

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(1) Not of the ten wards receiving special attention.

and Westmount in these respects, hence it must serve as our sole indication of conditions in areas of the most recent settlement.

The bulk of Montreal's Jewish immigrant population, like that of Canada, arrived after the turn of the century. Of the present population, the greatest numbers came in the decade 1921-30. 1901-10 had the next heaviest immigration, and the war decade the lowest (See Table XXIIA, Appendix).

Date of immigration is of value when applied to individual wards, for it serves as a further indication of the character of the ward, i.e., whether it is a ward in which new arrivals tend to take up residence, or one of more selected population. If the former type, the ward may be expected to retain more of the old European ghetto traits than another where residents have lived in this country for many years. Immigration dates, too, will tell whether Jews from all countries tended to emigrate simultaneously over a period of years, or whether migration took place from different countries at different times. They will help check on reasons why certain groups seem older than others as well (p.37).

In the ten wards which we are able to investigate, 26,026 of the 45,031 Jews are foreign-born, making 57.8% of the total. This would seem to suggest that there were the same number of immigrants; but the number of immigrants is in fact slightly higher--26,061. This is explained by the return as immigrants of 35 Canadians, who will henceforth be included among the immigrants. As a matter of interest, in 1931 18 of these had become naturalized Canadians, 8 were aliens, and 9 had never relinquished their Canadian citizenship.<sup>(1)</sup>

Table XXIIA showed that 39.5% of Montreal Jewish immigrants arrived in the period 1921-30, 28.1% in 1910-10, and 25.5% in 1911-20. Table XXIIIA, Appendix, showing period of immigration of immigrants in ten different wards, contains practically the same distribution for the ten wards altogether. But a different situation comes to light when the wards are examined separately. In the two wards which are most intensively devoted to first settlement, according to our classification, (St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste),

(1) From unpublished Census material in the possession of the Social Research Offices, McGill University.

the proportions of immigrants arriving in 1921-30 were far above those for the total--51.2% and 49.8% respectively as compared to 40.4% for the ten wards--and more than doubled those of 1901-10. Furthermore, the war decade 1911-20 surpassed 1901-10 in immigration for Jewish residents of these wards, and the number coming before 1901 is much smaller than in the other wards. Hence, this area is distinctly an area of more recent immigration, and further justification appears for regarding it as an area of first settlement at the present time.

Laurier and St. Michel Wards, in the second area, show a distinctly older immigration, although not as old as those of the wards of third and fourth settlement. Much smaller percentages of the foreign-born entered Canada in the last decade than was the case in the two wards discussed above; about equal proportions came in 1911-20; and the greatest single decade of immigration for these wards was 1901-10. During this decade and in the period prior to it, the percentages are definitely higher than those of the city as a whole, and much higher than those of the wards of first settlement. In other words, residents of these two wards who were born outside of Canada arrived here on the whole considerably earlier than those of the wards just south of them.

The ward of St. Denis, situated north-east of Laurier, and east of St. Michel, is a ward of much more recent immigration than these two, and as such would be more appropriately grouped with St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste. Immigration before 1901 was comparatively low, and increased steadily in each of the ten-year periods. As such it appears more characteristically an area of first settlement than of second.

St. Jean, Montcalm, and Notre Dame de Grace contain on the whole immigrants of longer Canadian residence than any other wards. In each case 1901-10 was the decade of heaviest immigration, and in two cases out of three, 1921-30 was the lowest, the exception being Montcalm, whose lowest decade of the three was 1911-20. The two northern wards differ radically from Notre Dame de Grace, however, in pre-1901 figures. Only



very small proportions of their foreign-born Hebrews came to Canada before 1901, but over one-fifth of Notre Dame de Grace's entire immigrant population arrived before 1901.<sup>(1)</sup> This exceptionally large figure is over three times as great as the corresponding one for the ten wards together, and shows that a considerable proportion of the oldest migrants in Montreal dwell in that vicinity and others like it. No doubt figures for Westmount would be somewhat similar. Notre Dame de Grace, moreover, possesses the lowest percentage of 1921-30 and 1931 arrivals of the ten wards.

One other ward deserves mention here: St. George, in the centre of the city. It merits note because of two things; first, a proportion almost as high as Notre Dame de Grace for the period prior to 1901, and second, a percentage eleven times as great as that of any other ward for the first five months of 1931. This might indicate on the one hand a remnant of old people who still cling to their original homes in the old area of first settlement either voluntarily or involuntarily, and on the other hand a recent influx of single adults.<sup>(2)</sup> It must be remembered, though, that the numbers involved here are so small (there are 194 immigrants in St. George) that the figures are apt to be misleading, particularly for 1931, which is only 4.6% of 194.

On the whole, then immigration periods reveal a strong corroboration of our classification of these ten wards of the city into areas of first, second, and third settlement.

What of period of immigration according to country of birth? It is of interest to know whether Jews emigrated from certain countries earlier or later than from others. It has already been pointed out that of the foreign-born Hebrews now residing in Montreal, the largest single group

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(1) Of course, they did not necessarily take up residence in Notre Dame de Grace immediately upon settling in Montreal.

(2) It will be remembered that this ward possesses a very low child population and a high percentage of males (pp. 34 and 36). Single adult males would tend to take up residence in a central area such as this.

arrived between 1921 and 1930, the next largest between 1901 and 1910, and that the war decade introduced fewer than either of these. However, a similar distribution of arrival periods is to be found only in the case of British- and Russian-born Jews in Montreal, with the qualification that the 1901-10 proportion is above that for the population as a whole, and the 1921-30 share below it, in both cases. (See Table XXIVA, Appendix).

Earliest among the countries from which Montreal Jews have emigrated are Roumania and Austria, whence 50.7% and 45.5% respectively of the present immigrant population reached Canada before 1911. Latest is Poland, whence only 13.7% of the present Montreal inhabitants who were Polish-born arrived in Canada before 1911. Correspondingly, no less than 66.5% of the latter reached this country later than 1920, while only 22.5% of the Roumanian Jews, and 23.2% of the Austrian, did so. Hence the theory that Poles are among the most recent migrants is upheld (p. 37). It becomes manifest, too, at this point that the unusual concentration of Polish-born Jews in the area of first settlement is no mere coincidence. Neither is the fact that the Roumanian- and Austrian-born Jews are considerably older than the Polish-born. (See Table XXIA).

Jews born in "Other European" countries arrived comparatively late, although not as late as the Poles. 25.1% were in Canada by 1910, and 55.8% arrived after 1920.

The United States-born are the only group to show a steady increase with succeeding decades. Although exceeded only by the Austrians in the percentage arriving before 1901, yet they show a fairly large percentage again for 1921-30, and a very high one for the first five months of 1931. In spite of their recent immigration, however, they do not concentrate in the "ghetto" area of first settlement, but in the second, third, and fourth areas (Table XVIA).

#### Nativity of Parents.

It is known that in the ten wards of Montreal with which we have been dealing, 42.2 % of the Hebrews are natives of Canada (Table XVA), and that,

if the suburbs of Outremont, Westmount, and Lachine were taken into account, this percentage would without doubt be appreciably higher. Of these native-born Canadians, some are the children of foreign-born Jews, others of Canadian-born Jews. Those whose parents were born in Canada, United States, or British Isles and Possessions have even less of an assimilation problem than other native Canadian Jews. How many such individuals were there in Montreal in 1931?

American-born parents, although for the reason mentioned in the last paragraph they should be distinguished from those born in other foreign countries, are listed as foreign-born by the Dominion Census. Those British-born, are, however, so designated and may be distinguished from the Europeans and others.

Table XXVA, Appendix, shows the nativity of parents of Montreal Hebrews in broad groupings. Keeping in mind that two important suburbs of third and fourth settlement are omitted here, it may be observed that 93.2% of the total had both parents foreign-born, <sup>(1)</sup> 4.0% had one parent foreign and the other Canadian- or British-born, and 2.8% had both parents Canadian- or British-born.

Considerable variety exists between the wards. <sup>(2)</sup> St. George and Notre Dame de Grace have the largest percentages of British- and Canadian-born parents by far; and the wards of first settlement, and Montcalm, the least. Conversely, St. George, Notre Dame de Grace, and St. Denis have the fewest foreign-born parents, proportionally; and St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste, wards of first settlement, the most.

Table XXVIA makes possible a comparison between the birthplace of parents of all the Hebrew population and that of parents of the Canadian- and British-born. Of the 19,995 in the latter group, 17,019 or 85.1% have both parents foreign-born, as compared to 93.2% of the total Hebrew population.

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(1) Note that "foreign" includes American.

(2) These figures help throw light on differences in problems of adjustment from ward to ward, to be discussed in a later chapter.



In the Canadian- and British-born group, as in the total population, the highest percentages of British- and Canadian-born parents are found in the three wards St. George, St. Denis, and Notre Dame de Grace, and the lowest in the area of first settlement, (St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste), and Montcalm . In both cases, too, the wards of St. Denis and Notre Dame de Grace contain the largest proportions of persons with mixed parentage.

Thus in the ten main wards of Jewish population in Montreal, 19,995 of the 45,031 Jews are British subjects by birth. Of these, 1,222 or 6.1% have both parents in the same category, and 1,744 or 8.7% have one. A large part of the total, then, is made up of second generation immigrants, persons whose early childhood environment differs widely from that of their parents.

#### Summary

The Jews of Montreal are concentrated most thickly in an area just east of the mountain, with traces of the old Jewish district remaining closer to the heart of the city, and with two other important centres to the west and north-west of the main point of concentration.

In 1931, of the 45,031 living in the ten wards for which information was secured, almost half were Canadian-born, the next largest group, 29 per cent, being Russian-born. The greatest Canadian-born concentration, in relation to Jewish ward population, lay, on the whole, in the more peripheral wards. Foreign-born, Poles in particular, are concentrated in the area of first settlement, St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste wards.

The sex ratio in all wards, as in the city as a whole, is practically equal. The age distribution is patterned after that of Canadian Jewry, with some deviations from ward to ward. The downtown sections contain smaller proportions in the lower age intervals than do the more peripheral, residential ones. The Canadian-born population contains a strikingly great proportion of younger persons as compared with the total. The American- and Polish-born approximate the native Canadians most closely in this respect, the Austrians and Roumanians least. This fits in well with

the fact that Jews from these two latter countries immigrated earliest on the whole, thus increasing their likelihood of having Canadian-born children, and raising the average age of Austrian- and Roumanian-born. Poles, on the other hand, immigrated comparatively late, thus increasing their proportion of young foreign-born people in comparison with other national groups.

Whereas 42.2% of the Hebrews in the ten wards are Canadian-born, only 6.8% are the children of British parents. Thus 93.2% are either first or second generation immigrants. The latter figure is conceivably somewhat lower, however, when those of American birth or parentage are not considered foreign. For our purposes they could well be classified with the British group.

### PART III EARLY JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN MONTREAL

#### Chapter V. Typical Adjustment Process of the Immigrant and its Relation to Spatial Factors in the Metropolis

Transplantation is not a simple process. The plant that grows sturdily in one soil and set of environmental conditions will require, once uprooted and transplanted therefrom a critical period of trial, a careful and painstaking process of re-adjustment before it can flourish healthily once more. So it is in the case of that equally or more delicate organism, the human personality. Once removed from the soil of its native and life-long culture and placed in an alien one, a period of acclimatization and adjustment must take place before the individual becomes a healthy and integral part of his new social matrix.

Such a problem looms large in the experience of every immigrant individual and group. The habits of a lifetime must undergo changes, all of them considerable, and some very radical, if he is to become an integral part of the new culture in which he has chosen to transplant himself, i.e., if he is to assimilate.

But habits cannot be changed radically in a moment, or in a year. And so it is, in every city that contains immigrant populations, that each ethnic group, as soon as possible after settling in its new milieu, sets up a little community resembling as closely as possible that from which it has come. Each ethnic group develops such institutions and services as are necessary for survival and adjustment in their new surroundings, given their habits and attitudes in the old ones.

Nearly always, this Old World colony is found in or near the slum district of the city.

"It is in the slum, in every city, that one finds Little Italy, Little Poland, Chinatown, and the Black Belt. As we have already remarked, this does not mean that the immigrant necessarily seeks the slum, or that he makes a slum of the area in which he lives. But in the slum he finds quarters that he can afford, and relatively little opposition to his coming. Moreover, as the colony grows, the immigrant finds in it a social world. In the colony he meets with sympathy, understanding, and encouragement. There he finds his fellow-countrymen who understand his habits and standards and share his life-experience and view-

point. In the colony he has status, plays a rôle in the group. In the life of the colony's streets and cafes, in its church and benevolent societies, he finds response and security. In the colony he finds that he can live, be somebody, satisfy his wishes--all of which is impossible in the strange world outside." (1)

As time goes by, the attitudes of the immigrants and their institutions show decided signs of modification. They lose more and more of the colour of the Old World and take on more and more of that of the new. But the process is a gradual and sometimes a painful one: age-long usages are not always abandoned without a struggle. Ironically enough, as happens to many institutions in the mobile society of a great modern urban centre, modification is often the price to pay for actual survival.

An immigrant area of first settlement, whatever the particular background of the group inhabiting it, has certain universal characteristics. It would seem at first that a little bit of the Old World had been set up intact in the midst of an American metropolis: a Little Sicily, a little Poland, a Ghetto, or a Chinatown; and for a certain number of individuals, no doubt, life is virtually unchanged, as far as their personal mode of life is concerned, from what it was in the old land.

But for the great majority this is impossible. Eager as is the adult immigrant to perpetuate his former mode of life, his ideals, attitudes, and customs, certain requirements are made of him by the outside world. In most cases, he must go outside the intangible walls of his Ghetto or Little Italy for bread, for medical services or political duties; and once outside the walls he cannot go untouched by the outside culture for long.

For the child immigrant this experience is incalculably more extensive and intensive. As a child he plays on the street, he goes to school. Here, daily contacts with the new environment make their mighty impress on his mind, and he cannot fail to be affected strongly by them. As he grows up, his amusements, his employment, indeed almost every phase of his experience will be linked with that of his larger community. Inevitably he must face an inner conflict. His early habits, attitudes, ambitions, and ideals are

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(1) H.W.Zorbaugh, "The Gold Coast and the Slum", University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929, p. 141.

not those which now surround him; are not those of his parents and of his inner group. He wants desperately to be a part of his new world, where he feels more at home already, where he will have to live his life; he wants to be like the others in that world, and to gain a place of honour in it, to gain and maintain status. To do this is not always the same as to gain status in his ethnic group. His elders see that he is drifting away from their ways, and devise means to detain him. Imperceptibly the parent-child immigrant conflict, expressing itself in extreme manifestations in delinquency or personal disorganization, resolves itself little by little by concessions on the part of the Old World ethnic group, the older generation.

And so the Old World colony, the Little Sicily or Little Russia does not remain for long truly that. Within its boundaries are to be found customs and attitudes and organizations that are those of the Old World modified by American or Canadian influences, changes accepted in and of themselves, or merely as concessions to the passing of the old order, for the purpose of their very survival.

As the immigrant achieves a more secure social and economic position, he moves out of his area of first settlement, usually a slum area, where he settled at first because rents were low and resistance to his invasion lacking or ineffective. The area of second settlement is less characteristically the area of an immigrant group. The habits of living, the outlook on life, the conception of their roles, their services, institutions, and organizations, reveal a certain stage of advancement towards assimilation.

The areas of later settlement display like characteristics in ever-increasing degrees, so that in certain areas of the city it is difficult to tell from casual observation whether the inhabitants are of one ethnic background or another. Furthermore, as assimilation advances, the members of an immigrant group become less prone to reside in close contiguity to each other. Whereas the area of second settlement may be quite near the first, areas of third and fourth settlement are more likely to locate in

more peripheral, residentially desirable sections of the city.

Hence the ethnic colony in the great American or Canadian city displays on the whole a certain ecological pattern, whose development is closely related to the ecology of the metropolis. Although concentrated for the most part in one or two centrally-located districts, where on the whole the most recent immigrants live, the group will by no means be limited to those districts. And, although many items of the Old World culture will have remained intact, many more of them will have undergone severe modifications. Modifications of all types and all degrees will be found. And--what is almost more significant--habits, attitudes, services, and organizations of an entirely new type will have emerged, that belong neither to the old culture nor inherently to the new--the hybrid offspring of the mating of an old culture with a new environment. The peculiar problems of adjustment that the immigrant group must face give rise to the need for such hybrid services--mutual aid societies, nationalist organizations, native language and culture schools for the American-born children, and many others.

Such is part of the natural history of an immigrant group in a large city. Each particular group will of course display individual deviations from the general process. An account of the growth and adjustment of the Hebrew group in Montreal in the last thirty or forty years will be presented in the ensuing chapters.



## Chapter VI. Early Jewish Settlement in Montreal--The First "Ghetto"

In Montreal Jewish immigration on any large scale began in the last two decades of the nineteenth century; but the major part of Jewish immigration took place after the turn of the twentieth. Figures for the Jewish population of Montreal are not available for the year 1901, but since most Jews in the province of Quebec live in Montreal, provincial figures are significant for that date. In 1901 there were 5,515 Jews (by racial origin) in Quebec Province. (1) By 1911, Montreal contained 27,948 Hebrews, (2) whose ranks were slightly augmented by those residing in the suburbs of Westmount and Outremont. In 1921, the figures had reached 42,817 for Montreal, and 2,197 for Outremont and Westmount combined. In 1931 there were 48,724 Hebrews in Montreal, 1,780 in Westmount, and 6,783 in Outremont, making a total of 57,287. (3) It has been estimated that the Jewish population of Montreal, Westmount, Outremont, and Verdun in 1936 (4) was 62,540.

These are of course not immigration figures, but total population figures. Obviously, however, the study of the development of the Jewish community in Montreal may begin with the year 1901.

Indeed, prior to 1881, and even earlier than this--in the eighteenth century--Jews are known to have lived in Canada. The early Canadian Jews were not typical immigrants, entering a mature, well-established society, but more like colonists coming to a new land. (5) They were Sephardic Jews (6) from Spain, Portugal, and other western European countries, and were men of

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(1) Census of Canada, 1901, Bulletin VII, p. 2.

(2) Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. II, p. 372, Table 14.

(3) The suburban centres of Verdun and Lachine contained only a few hundred each.

(4) From a document, "Statistics of Jewish People in Montreal", in the possession of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal

(5) For the distinction between immigration and colonization, see Fairchild, H.P., "Immigration," MacMillan Co, New York, 1918, pp.16-23.

(6) "On the one hand were the Spanish, or Sephardic Jews, who prided themselves on the purity of their stock and the superiority of their status; on the other were the German Jews, or Ashkenazim, whose ghetto history considerably lowered their status."---Wirth, "The Ghetto," p. 84.

high education and means. They seem from the earliest times to have entered rather fully into the life of the community, holding public office and being held in high esteem. And although "the 'Sephardic custom' gave the tone to everything, and this custom was marked by a severely aristocratic, conservative, and orthodox attitude," nevertheless "from the later (i.e. after 1765) registers of Montreal, it is to be seen that marriages between Jews and Christians were quite ordinary occurrences."<sup>(1)</sup> In other words, the smallness of their numbers, and their social, economic, and educational background, as well as the early and unformed state of the country to which they had come, kept these Jews, as their contemporaries and immediate successors in the United States, from becoming either a "Jewish problem" or a typical immigrant colony as we know it today.

The earliest settlement was apparently in the neighbourhood of St. James Street, where the early Spanish and Portuguese Congregation (called "Shearith Israel"--"Remnant of Israel") first met.<sup>(2)</sup> A few years later, "in 1777 was erected the first and, for the following eighty years, the only synagogue in Canada. It was situated on Notre Dame Street near the site of the present Court House in Montreal."<sup>(3)</sup> Shortly before this a burial ground had been purchased on St. Janvier Street near the present Dominion Square.<sup>(4)</sup> In 1835 a new synagogue<sup>for this congregation</sup> was erected at the corner of Lagauchetiere and Channeville Streets; and in 1887 the cornerstone of the present Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, on Stanley Street, was laid, in order that this growing congregation might have a "more commodious place of worship."<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) A.D. Hart, "The Jew in Canada," Jewish Publications Ltd., Montreal and Toronto, 1926, p. 17.

(2) Ibid, p. 17.

(3) Ibid. P. 83.17.

(4) Ibid. p.83.

(5) Ibid. p.84.

Since the location of the synagogue indicates to some degree of accuracy the vicinity where the Jewish population make their homes, it is important to note, too, that the first non-Sephardic congregation, the "Congregation of English, German, and Polish Jews", who followed the Ashkenazic ritual, met first in temporary quarters on St. James Street, and later on St. Gabriel Street. Some fifteen years later, in 1860, their first permanent synagogue on St. Constant Street (later called Cadieux Street, and now known as De Bullion), was dedicated. This synagogue moved in 1886 to larger premises on McGill College Avenue, and was destined later to become the largest in Canada:--the Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue, on Cote St. Antoine Road, Westmount.

The changing locations of these two synagogues over a period of years shows that even at this early period the Jewish area of Montreal, at the base of what is now St. Lawrence Ward, showed a tendency to move northward. By 1860 the two main synagogues of the city were located in what is now the shopping and bright-light area of Montreal--considerably north of Notre Dame and St. James Streets. Soon after the building of the new Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue on Stanley Street, the old building on Chenneville Street was bought by Roumanian Jews, and became the Beth David Synagogue, now on St. Joseph Boulevard West, in the area of third settlement. The St. Constant Street synagogue was bought by Russian Jews, and became the B'nai Jacob, now on Fairmount Avenue, in the heart of the area of second settlement.

The early Jewish settlers, then, lived not in scattered, isolated parts of the city, but, in this one aspect at least resembling a typical immigrant group, took up residence in one district. By 1881, when the huge influx of Central and Eastern European Jews began, the original families had moved still farther north, and the newcomers, mostly of education, means, and social position far below those of the Sephardim and early German, English, and Polish immigrants, moved into the area then beginning to deteriorate, around Dufferin Square. Indeed, large numbers of these relatively late immigrants, refugees from political and

religious persecution, were destitute.

About 1895, of 600 Jewish school children in Montreal

350 attended Dufferin School (on Dufferin Square);  
120 attended Aberdeen School (St. Denis Street between  
Pine and Sherbrooke);  
100 attended Mount Royal School (St. Urbain Street at  
Rachel);  
and a few attended other schools. (1)

Hence, by 1900, although the movement above Pine Avenue had begun, the bulk of Montreal Jewry lived below Sherbrooke Street, not much west of Bleury Street, and limited on the east and south roughly by St. Denis Street and Craig Street, respectively.

Here, then, was the first "ghetto" area of Montreal, to the extent that it could be regarded as a cultural ghetto. The Sephardic Jews, though highly orthodox and conservative, were not isolated from the life of the community. It has been mentioned that intermarriage with Christians was common. Moreover it is known that:

"In 1760 Aaron Hart, first Jew to settle in Canada, entered Montreal as Staff Officer with General Amherst."

"In 1803 Jews of Montreal subscribed to the building of an English church."

"In 1777 Jacob Kuhn was appointed Court Cryer."

"In 1812 Benjamin Hart advanced money to the Governor-General to garrison forts on the St. Lawrence."

"In 1848 Dr. de Sola was appointed lecturer in Oriental languages at McGill." (2)

Such a community, although "every occurrence which affected the little Jewish group was closely bound up with the synagogue, which was the Jewish centre,"<sup>(3)</sup> does not **constitute** a ghetto.

"In modern times the word 'Ghetto' applies not specifically to the place of officially regulated settlement of the Jews, but rather to those local cultural areas which have arisen in the course of time or are voluntarily selected or built up by them. It applies particularly to those areas where the poorest and most backward group of the Jewish population of the towns and cities resides. In our American

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(1) Ibid. p.79.

(2) Ibid. pp. 534-537.

(3) Ibid. p. 17.

cities the ghetto refers particularly to the area of first settlement, i.e., those sections of the cities where the immigrant finds his home shortly after his arrival in America.....

"From the standpoint of the sociologist the ghetto as an institution is of interest first of all because it represents a prolonged case of social isolation." (1)

As early as the 1850's, when English and German Jews swelled the numbers of the Montreal Hebrew population, the homogeneity of this group showed signs of disappearing. The very difference in origin and in religious ritual between the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim constituted per se grounds for a rift between the older and the newer sections of the community. This original difference gave root to others, "It is to be surmised," says Hart, (2) "that the Sephardim were not looking with favour on the growing importance of the recent arrivals, who, by their increase in number, had created the need for another congregation with its own synagogue. It was a clear sign of the influence they were beginning to exercise over the Jewish community." Trustees of the Portuguese congregation, as well as the rabbi himself, declined invitations to the laying of the cornerstone of the new edifice.

Further exemplifying the almost hostile attitude between groups of diverse national background is the advertisement by Quebec Jews in the New York papers for a "schochet" (ritual slaughterer of livestock for meat), in which it was specified that the schochet must not be a "Litvak." (3) The national origin of the schochet was apparently an important issue at that time.

The coming of large numbers of eastern European immigrants helped both to intensify the rifts within the Jewish community and to solidify it and increase its self-consciousness as a unit. "The persecutions of the Jews in Roumania brought to the shores of Canada, in 1884, a new stream of Jewish immigrants, the first from that country to arrive here." (4)

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(1) Louis Wirth, "The Ghetto," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928, p. 4.

(2) Op. cit., p. 50.

(3) A Lithuanian. Ibid., p. 78.

(4) Ibid., p. 66.



There were no adequate means for providing for these destitute newcomers. "There was being felt, more and more acutely, the need for some institution that could serve both as a temporary asylum for arriving refugees and as a home for the aged, the feeble, and all other dependents upon charity."<sup>(1)</sup> But again: "It is characteristic that regardless of the fact that Montreal, for instance, had at the time (about 1885) Sephardic, Ashkenazic, and Reform Jews, the division which had existed in the former years between them, seems to have disappeared entirely. On the other hand, there began to be noticed little by little a new alignment between the older-settled and Canadianized Jews, on the one hand, and those that had only recently arrived in the country on the other. Theoretically, the difference was only in the few years which had elapsed between the arrival in the country of the first group, and the coming of those who landed later, but that difference was of great significance in life. There began to be formed an 'uptown' and 'downtown' which divided the one from the other. Nevertheless, they could not long remain separated entirely one from the other."<sup>(2)</sup>

As the Spanish and Portuguese, and the English, German, and Polish congregations both moved, new synagogues appeared in the area of first settlement. The Roumanians, as has been mentioned, set up the Beth David congregation in the old Spanish and Portuguese quarters on Chenneville Street, and the Russian Jews took over the St. Constant Street "schul" of the Shaar Hashomayim congregation, naming it "B'nai Jacob", in 1886. In 1889 the "Shaare Tefillah" was founded, chiefly by Austrian Jews. "By the end of that decade Montreal had five synagogues, besides a Reform Temple (the Temple Emanu-El, then in a rented hall at St. Catherine and Drummond Streets), and one could perceive the tendency in Jewish communal life which later found expression in the establishment of all sorts of 'landsmanschaft' associations."<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Ibid., p. 66.

(2) Ibid., p. 68.

(3) Ibid., p. 68. "Landsmanschaft" associations--Associations based on contiguity of residence in the old country.

While these divergent attitudes were forming, institutions were being conceived and founded which revealed the growing self-consciousness of the Jewish community as a distinct entity. But these very institutions had their birth and their expression in the differentiation of the community into various natural areas. Of these, one contained the earliest Canadian settlers, others were marginal, and one contained the most recent arrivals--those who were unfamiliar with and out of place in the new land, and were almost as distant in thought and speech and action from their co-religionists on the other side of the mountain as they were from the rest of the population of Montreal.

### The First Ghetto

In the area, then, below Pine, between Bleury and St. Denis, and above Craig, was the first Ghetto of Montreal--for it must have approached fairly closely a cultural ghetto. The key-word to the meaning of the term "ghetto" is isolation, and this early ghetto was, as we have seen, indeed segregated from the rest of Montreal Jewry. The ghetto, remarks (1) Wirth, in its spontaneous form, was a natural, easy way of maintaining cultural heritages and practising peculiar customs and rituals. Relationships outside the ghetto became impersonal and abstract, while primary group life was intensified within. Social distance developed between those living within the ghetto and those outside. This social distance diminishes as the cultural walls of the ghetto are broken down, and where the individual belonging to a minority group ceases to appear like one of that group. From this standpoint the Jews living in the area denoted above were more or less enclosed in a ghetto. Differences in birth, in economic status, in outlook and attitude, and in folkway, custom, and ritual between them and the longer-established Jewish residents were too great for it to be otherwise.

(2)

The ghetto, says Wirth, is an institution, a cultural entity, which can be studied in terms of natural history. To the ghetto as a

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(1) Op. cit., p. 21.

(2) Op. cit., p. 6.

by-product of immigration the same can apply. American ghettos in large urban centres are not, says Ruppin, <sup>(1)</sup> peculiar to the Jewish group.

Every ethnic group undergoes a typical process upon its entrance to the New World. The arrivals first settle where rents are low and access to work easy. As soon as they accumulate sufficient means to do so, they leave the ghetto, both physically and culturally. This process keeps the population of the area shifting, as new arrivals come to take the place of the old. In Montreal, Solomon <sup>(2)</sup> found that in an area where Jews had succeeded English and French residents, they themselves were gradually being succeeded by certain central and eastern European groups.

An intensive study of this early ghetto, however, is not the main theme of this paper. Having briefly outlined the first stages of the ghetto in Montreal, we shall go on to more detailed examination of the ghetto of today.

Since immigration to Canada has been virtually stopped since 1930, a halt in the process of invasion and succession must necessarily have taken place to some extent. That is, with few exceptions, the latest immigrants are those who arrived in 1930, and have therefore had eight years in which to adjust themselves to new conditions and to adapt themselves to new ways. How closely then may we expect to see an area of synagogues and "cheders" (schools where Hebrew instruction is given), both making up in number what they lack in splendour; of bearded men, black skull-cap on head, and shawl-coiffed women; of streets filled with the sound of Yiddish conversation, and shops and shop-windows filled with unusual commodities and signs in unfamiliar lettering; of innumerable small herring and delicatessen stores, second-hand and general stores, with every available square inch occupied? For such are some of the external characteristics of a ghetto. One would expect to see shabby, crowded houses, peddlers and junk-dealers parading the streets in wagons; men talking earnestly in Yiddish on every

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(1) Op. cit., p. 38.

(2) David Solomon, in an unpublished paper, "Jewish Population Areas in Montreal," 1937.

corner, their speech uttered in a characteristic sing-song and accompanied by characteristic gestures; meat- and fish-markets crowded to capacity on Thursday nights, so that food may be cooked on Friday for the Sabbath; candles lit in every home on Friday night; and many other customs, which are themselves, in turn, only outward accoutrements of a life-organization and a complex of values and ideals distinct from those of the outwardly and inwardly assimilated Jew.

That this area is losing many of its erstwhile residents, whose ranks are not being replenished because of the virtual closing of immigration since 1930, is strongly suggested by the findings of Solomon<sup>(1)</sup> based on information in Lovell's Montreal Directory. He found that between 1911 and 1921 the number of Jewish names listed in this area trebled, while that of the English and French diminished. At the same time central and eastern European groups were invading the area from the south. Between 1921 and 1931 the Jewish population remained static, the English and French continued to decrease, and the other European groups to increase. At the same time, however, five more synagogues and four more Jewish schools appeared in the area. From 1931 to 1936 a small decrease in the number of Jews became apparent, and Jewish schools and synagogues declined in number. By this time, too, the southern part of the area was not even predominantly Jewish. Succession of other ethnic groups had already taken place.

The main movement of population from the area of first settlement was, as we have seen, northward. The area of first settlement at the present time is bounded approximately by Sherbrooke Street on the south, Hutchison Street on the west, Mount Royal Avenue on the north, and St. Denis or Henri Julien on the east. It is this area which is to be studied intensively as an area of first settlement--the nearest approach to a "ghetto" in Montreal.

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(1) Op.cit.

PART IV ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT-DAY JEWISH COMMUNITY OF MONTREAL

Chapter VII. The Montreal Ghetto Today

Ecology of the Ghetto

In the course of the growth and development of a large modern urban centre various complex ecological processes are constantly at work, which create specialized "natural areas" within the city. For the sake of economy in time and convenience, business transactions of every description are carried on within small distances of each other. Industrial, financial, and commercial establishments come into being within the same vicinity, and as a natural result of this aggregation, more and more enterprises of various types are drawn to make their quarters there: amusement centres, hotels, restaurants, transportation terminals, professional men's offices--in fact any undertaking to which the constant presence of huge numbers of people is an advantage. This central, vital area in every large metropolis thus comes to be the point of highest land values--every foot of street frontage<sup>(1)</sup> becomes precious.

This process of growth, the very essence of a city's existence, has far-reaching effects on the areas adjacent to the central business district. Invaluable for business purposes, the area is not at all desirable for residence. The most fashionable and desirable residential districts are commonly found farther from the centre of the city and nearer its periphery. The areas adjacent to the central shopping and amusement area, once the site of dignified old homes, becomes the antithesis of this as soon as the city assumes larger proportions. Smoke, noise, and other by-products of industry and commerce become common; residents move to more comfortable and healthful surroundings; as time passes, obsolescence creeps upon these large

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(1) "The highest land values in Chicago are at the point of greatest mobility in the city, at the corner of State and Madison Streets, in the Loop. A traffic count showed that at the rush period 31,000 people an hour----passed the southwest corner."--E.W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City", in Park and Burgess, "The City", Chicago, 1925, p. 57.



homes; small commercial establishments of myriad descriptions, unable to afford the rents of the main thoroughfares, spring up. This district rapidly becomes one of remodelled boarding houses and dingy second- and third-rate furnished rooms.

Industry may or may not make its headquarters in the same vicinity as finance and commerce; but wherever it does, it is followed by an "inter-<sup>(1)</sup>stitial area" comparable to that just described, and near which is found the slum. The irresistible growth of the city makes land values in this area adjacent to the expanding central area, at present so low, likely to rise enormously in the future. Accordingly, owners of such property find it advantageous to wait until such a rise takes place, while refraining from any further investment, such as repairs or renovations on their deteriorated property.

Such an area, or "zone of transition", becomes a slum. Where houses are dilapidated, dirt and disease flourish. An inverse selection of the city's population, forced by poverty, indifference, or degradation, drifts into the area, bringing with them overcrowdedness, delinquency, crime, vice, and other undesirable characteristics, each one in its turn paving the way for others, in a vicious circle.

Concentric with this zone, and outside of it, nearer to the periphery<sup>(2)</sup> of the city, is a zone of workingmen's homes. Here family and neighbourhood life is better organized and more stable. This is a zone of comparative thriftiness and respectability, albeit one of neither very great comfort nor affluence.

Beyond this lie one or more successive zones of middle-class and upper-class residences, apartments, and apartment hotels. Last of all come the suburban zones and the commuter zones, where space is freest, and

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(1) See F.M. Thrasher, "The Gang," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1926, p. 19.

(2) For the development of the concept of the radial expansion of the city in concentric zones, see E.W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City", in Park and Burgess, "The City," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, pp. 47-62

community organization very stable. Certain quasi-rural conditions are to be found in such zones.

At various points within the city are to be found sub-centres--areas resembling the central business and shopping district, but on a smaller and less specialized scale. Such sub-centres supply the needs of the surrounding dwellers only, whereas the main central area serves the entire city, and a considerable rural hinterland besides.<sup>(1)</sup>

This, the ideal theoretical scheme of a city's ecological pattern is, of course, interrupted very often by natural barriers, such as rivers, and, as in the case of Montreal, mountains, or by other physical barriers, such as railroad tracks, etc. "The structure of the individual city, then, while always exhibiting the ~~generalized~~ zones described above, is built about this framework of transportation, business organization, and industry, park and boulevard systems, and topographical features. All of these break the city up into numerous smaller areas, which we call natural areas, in that they are the natural, unplanned product of the city's growth. ....By virtue of proximity to industry, business, transportation, or natural advantages, each area acquires a physical individuality accurately reflected in land values and rents."<sup>(2)</sup>

#### Description and Location of the Ghetto

Somewhere between the slum and the workingmen's home type of area in Montreal lies the "ghetto." Although low rentals and deteriorated buildings are the rule here, the anonymity, disorganization, and degradation of a slum, while not entirely absent, are not characteristic. Neither does this area approach quite the level of the zone of workingmen's homes, although in certain blocks this might easily be considered the case.

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(1) See McKenzie, R.D., "The Metropolitan Community," McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., New York and London, 1933, pp. 256 and 260.

(2) H.W. Zorbaugh, "The Natural Areas of the City," in E.W. Burgess, Editor, "The Urban Community," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1926, p.222.

Fairly near the centre of the city, this area is definitely a natural area, being "a geographical area characterized both by a physical individuality and by the cultural characteristics of the people who live in it."<sup>(1)</sup> Bounded by string streets on both sides, and the mountain on the other, it is effectively cut off from the city surrounding it. On the west lie Fletcher's Field and the mountain; on the north the street-car line, Mount Royal Avenue; on the east the St. Denis Street tramway line, and on the south the wide string street, Sherbrooke. All four boundaries are heavy traffic lines. The area is cut almost in the centre by the busy thoroughfare St. Lawrence Boulevard, running north and south, which is in many respects the business and amusement street for the entire area and a source of specialized commodities for the Jewish population of the entire city. Many of the clothing and dress factories, which are to a considerable extent in Jewish hands in Montreal, are located in and about this street as well.

Another division line within the limits of the area is Rachel Street, running east and west, which is also a tramway route. Jewish institutions are fewer in number east of St. Lawrence above Rachel than in other parts of the area. Pine Avenue forms another dividing line within the area: below Pine the area is not as predominantly Jewish as above it.

The area is well connected with other parts of the city by street-car and bus lines, and is, in any case, within easy walking distance of the central business district of the city.

The streets in this area are for the most part fairly wide, and in a fair state of cleanliness. The houses are two- and three-storey structures, flats or converted single-family dwellings, many of them deteriorated and in need of repair. In spite of this, signs announcing rooms to let, both in English and in Yiddish, are plentiful. The houses crowd up against one another; their doorways in most cases open directly onto the sidewalk. The appearance of the area is further detracted from in some quarters by the absence of back lanes and the consequent necessity of putting garbage

(1) Zorbaugh, op. cit., p.223.

which is ready for collection on the streets. On garbage collection days battered receptacles of various types, filled with refuse, line both sides of the streets. Animals, children, and shabbily-clad individuals may occasionally be seen rummaging among this garbage to see what may be salvaged,--and much of it is to be seen scattered upon the streets.

(1)  
Housing values and rentals are low. Solomon reports that several buildings on City Hall Avenue drew rents ranging from \$4 to \$12 a month for from two to six rooms. (2) Levinson found that of 100 families of out-patients of the Jewish General Hospital, over half of whom lived in the area, 88% paid under \$21 per month for rent, 75% paid under \$16 per month, and 15% paid under \$10 per month. This represents a sample group of the out-patient obstetrical cases at the hospital for the year 1935-36, and comprises about one-third of the total number of cases. Only one woman in the sample was non-Jewish. 87% of the cases were immigrants, indicating possibly that this class of the population is less well established financially than others. Furthermore 66% had been in Montreal less than fifteen years.

Such low rentals are to be found only in areas of deteriorated properties. However, in the area of first settlement there are several distinct subdivisions. West of St. Lawrence the streets present a more prosperous appearance than east of it. Similarly, south of Pine Avenue the streets are wider and neater, and the houses decidedly larger and in better states of repair, though old.

The area is a crowded one. Only slightly over half a square mile in area, it contains two large Protestant schools (3) in the elementary division

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(1) Op. cit.

(2) Ruth Levinson, "A Study of the Economic and Social Status of the Families of 100 Obstetrical Cases from the Jewish General Hospital". (Unpublished material), 1938, p. 11.

(3) Jews attend Protestant elementary and secondary schools in the Province of Quebec.

(1)  
and a High School. At the periods immediately preceding and following school hours, as well as at other times, notably on summer evenings, the streets are thronged with noisy children. St. Lawrence Boulevard is filled with people at all hours of the day and evening, for here are the food shops--kosher meat and fish markets, herring and delicatessen and dairy and bakery shops, where the housewives of the area, as well as some who dwell farther afield, do their shopping. For these commodities are less easily obtainable elsewhere, even in a city the size of Greater Montreal, with a Jewish population of some 62,000. Only in Jewish bakeries (of which several have sprung up in the third and fourth areas of late) can bread baked in the Jewish manner, beside which the "goyisheh" or non-Jewish bread seems unbaked and tasteless, be bought--the ritual Sabbath "chaleh", or white, egg bread, the caraway-seed and rye bread and pumpernickel, and several other types. Only in Jewish delicatessens can the prized "schmaltz" herring, pickled herring, sauerkraut, "lox," or salted salmon, be obtained. Even the grocery stores, along with nationally advertised canned goods, cooking ingredients, tea, coffee, and the like, handle certain Hebrew products not found in many chain grocery stores--Sabbath candles, special vegetable-oil soap for cleaning dishes, special Passover products, "halvah", a cream cheese-like confection made largely of nuts. Neighbourhood grocery stores of this type are to be found elsewhere, of course, especially in Outremont and its vicinity, where several kosher butcher shops, bakeries, and general food stores have sprung up within the last few years. Besides the food stores, this street is lined with small and dingy dry goods and remnant shops, haberdasheries, ladies' ready-to-wear, candy and cigar stores, furniture stores, and others. At the corner of Rachel and St. Lawrence is the bustling "Rachel" market, where fresh farm products are bargained for and purchased.

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(1) As a matter of fact, this school is probably attended by as many second area pupils as first area ones. There is no High School in the area of second settlement proper, whereas in that area are possibly more children able to attend High School than in the first area.

Many of the store windows display Yiddish lettering. Even the Montreal City and District Bank at the corner of Pine and St. Lawrence has Yiddish lettering on a side window. All butcher shops, or practically all, display the kosher meat symbol, and most of them announce their affiliation with the Vaad Hair, or Jewish Community Council, a guarantee that their meat is truly kosher, i.e., slaughtered in the ritually approved manner by a qualified "schochet." On Roy Street East, and on St. Lawrence in the vicinity of Duluth, such butcher shops are particularly numerous. All are small and shabby, their interiors cramped and far from clean. Occasionally a branch of some well-known firm or chain store is to be seen--a United Cigar store, for example--amid the others which are typical of the area.

Everywhere, inside and out, Yiddish is heard. Rarely, though, does a store or other place fail to have duplicate signs in English. Posters billed on fences and vacant wall spaces announce side by side a Jewish movie featured at some neighbourhood house and the current, or often month-old attraction at one of the large downtown theatres.

The people who crowd the sidewalks are for the most part respectably, though not immaculately dressed. The young women more often than not are attired in clothes that while cheap, are in the height of fashion. Occasionally there passes an old woman, unconventionally dressed in shawl and sweater, carrying a large unwieldy bundle, perhaps purchased in the market.

Mobility---Where rents are as low as they appear to be in this area, incomes are very likely to be proportionately, or more than proportionately, low. In such cases competition for houses is keen, "which accounts for the high mobility of the population in poor districts."<sup>(1)</sup> Levinson reports that of the 100 cases involved in her study, 78 per cent had lived in their present homes for two years or less, 45 per cent for less than one year, while only 10 per cent had remained at the same address for five years or more. Mobility

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(1) Op. cit. p. 13. Quoted from "A Report on Housing and Slum Clearance for Montreal," by a Joint Committee of the Montreal Board of Trade and the City Improvement League Incorporated, March, 1935, p. 13.



of residence, then, is apparently great in this area.

As pointed out previously, the area is well-connected with other parts of the city by street railway lines on Mount Royal Avenue, Park Avenue, Rachel Street, St. Lawrence Blvd., and St. Denis Street, and by bus lines on St. Urbain Street and Pine Avenue. A great many of the gainfully employed, however, being engaged in some branch of the needle trade or managing small shops, have their place of business in close proximity to their homes, and do not make use of these transportation facilities daily. A ride on a St. Lawrence car finds one very largely in the company of French people.





Fig. VII. Four Areas of Successive Jewish Settlement in  
Relation to Political Ward Boundaries of Montreal  
1938



The answers to the following questions are needed for a study being made under the auspices of the Committee for Social Research, McGill University, of how the Jewish people of Montreal live and how their ways are changing. The information will be used for no other purpose; it will be treated confidentially and will not harm anyone in any way.

Notice that no names or addresses are required.

The study has nothing to do with the schools of Montreal, Westmount, or Outremont. The schools are merely being used to distribute the questionnaires.

N.B. Hand in only 1 copy from each home.

1. School.....Grade.... Age of pupil.... Boy or Girl.....  
On what street do you live? .....What is the nearest cross-  
street? ..... State other addresses at which your parents  
have lived (in Montreal and its suburbs) in order of sequence .....  
.....  
.....

2. Birthplace. In this question, state the country of birth by its present name, and the village, town, or city of birth, of: the pupil, his mother, father, and all brothers and sisters. State ages of the brothers and sisters, but not their names.

PERSON	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	VILLAGE	TOWN	CITY
Pupil	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mother	.....	.....	.....	.....
Father	.....	.....	.....	.....
Brothers:				
i. Age ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
ii. Age ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
iii. Age.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sisters:				
i. Age ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
ii. Age ....	.....	.....	.....	.....
iii. Age ...	.....	.....	.....	.....

3. Number of years of father in America (if born in Europe).....  
Number of years of mother in America (if born in Europe).....  
Occupation of father or chief wage-earner..... Does he work  
for himself? ..... Is he employed by someone else? ..... Is he  
working at present? ..... State occupations of brothers and sisters  
living at home.....  
State occupations of brothers and sisters living away from home.....  
.....

4. Does your grandmother live at your house? ..... Does your grand-  
father? ..... Does your grandfather attend the synagogue? .....  
During the week? ..... On Sabbaths ..... On all Holidays .....  
On High Holidays only ..... Name of Synagogue .....  
Does he lay tphillin in the morning? .....



Does your father attend the Synagogue? ..... During the week .....  
On Sabbaths ; ..... On all Holidays ..... On High Holidays only .....  
Name of Synagogue ..... Does he lay tphilin in the morning? .....

Do the pupil and his brothers attend the synagogue? ..... During the  
week ..... On Sabbaths ..... On all Holidays ..... On High Holidays  
only ..... Name of synagogue ..... Do they lay  
tphilin? .....

5. Does your household always go to Jewish stores to buy the following  
foods? Answer yes, no, usually, or sometimes:

(i) Meat ..... Name street or streets of Jewish stores.....

(ii) Fish ..... Name street or streets of Jewish stores.....

(iii) Bread ..... Name street or streets of Jewish stores.....

Does your household buy main items of clothing from large department  
stores ..... <sup>A</sup>wholesalers ..... <sup>C</sup>Jewish neighbourhood stores ..... <sup>D</sup>Non-  
Jewish neighbourhood stores ..... <sup>E</sup>Small St. Catherine St. stores .....  
Small St. Lawrence Blvd. stores ..... <sup>B</sup>Clothes made at home .....

6. Reading Habits. In the blank space put R for those of the following  
magazines or newspapers which are read regularly by members of your  
household, and S for those read only sometimes. Regularly means, is  
it usual for a daily paper to be read every day, a weekly paper every  
week, and so on.

PAPER	READ BY CHILDREN under 15	READ BY CHILDREN 15 and over	READ BY MOTHER	READ BY FATHER	READ BY GRAND- PARENTS
Star	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Herald	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Gazette	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Standard	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Can. Jewish Eagle	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
The Day	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
The Forward	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Can. Jewish Review	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Can. Jewish Chronicle	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sat. Evening Post	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maclean's	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boston Advertiser	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Reader's Digest	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
YMHA Beacon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
YMHA Clarion	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Name others not already mentioned in the space below:	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....





Chapter VIII. Informal Aspects of the Assimilation and Adjustment of  
the Jewish Group in Montreal with Specific Reference to  
the Four Areas of Successive Settlement

The number and description of its institutions and organizations, although undoubtedly an index of the characteristic interests and objectives of the people of a neighbourhood or a community, are not of themselves entirely reliable. One's attitudes, outlook, and ambitions are more truly reflected in daily, unofficial habits and practices than in formal affiliations.

Some attempt to measure the stage of adjustment and assimilation to Canadian life of the Jewish people of Montreal by means of these informal habits was made by issuing a questionnaire to children in eight schools, two in each of the four areas of settlement. Four of these were High Schools and four elementary schools. The second area contains no High Schools, but many of the pupils of Baron Byng High, in the first area, live well up in the second. In the fourth area, no elementary schools were included in the survey.

In the survey the areas of successive settlement were defined as follows:

The area of first settlement--East of Park Avenue, between Sherbrooke Street on the South and Mount Royal Avenue on the north.

The area of second settlement--East of Hutchison Street, between Mount Royal and Van Horne Avenues.

The area of third settlement--West of Hutchison Street, north of Mount Royal Boulevard. In other words, the City of Outremont and vicinity.

The area of fourth settlement--Portions of the City of Westmount and the adjacent ward of Notre Dame de Grace.

The questionnaires were designed along two main lines: with the purpose of comparing the four areas with each other, and with that of measuring the growing adjustment of the Jewish population in chronological terms. For the latter reason, most questions required answers applying to each member of the family, including grandparents of the school pupils



(1)  
 who answered. In this way, information was obtained for three generations. Some ambiguity resulted here. In many cases it was not clear whether the grandparents referred to dwelt in the same household as the rest of the family or not. It is well to keep this point in mind when interpreting the results. Only one questionnaire was requested from a household, so as to avoid duplications.

Five hundred and twelve questionnaires were answered, wholly or in part. In interpreting the results, several additional considerations must be made. Firstly, not only is it possible that some children were misinformed as to the correct information, (1) but it also lies well within the realm of possibility that deliberate misrepresentations were made in some cases. There is always suspicion and resentment on the part of persons questioned about their private life by apparently inquisitive strangers. This suspicion and tendency to reticence is, with reason perhaps, particularly marked in the case of the Jewish population. Unhappy events in Europe, occurring at the time when the questionnaire was distributed (February and March, 1938) may have been partly responsible for the intensification of this attitude. It may be noted further that resistance was greater in the fourth area--the area of greatest social and economic stability and communal solidarity--than in the other three. Although the number of questionnaires distributed in each of the four areas was almost equal, the returns were:

Table XXVII. Number and Per Cent of Questionnaires Returned in Each of the Four Areas

Question- naires	First Area		Second Area		Third Area		Fourth Area	
	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
Returned.	146	28.5	164	32.0	151	29.5	51	10.0

Questions Asked---An attempt was made to secure information on the birthplace of these people, the number of years lived in America if born elsewhere, occupations, size of families, synagogue attendance, languages spoken,

(1) Answers were supposedly made at home under the guidance of parents. In how many cases this was actually done, is, of course, not known.

the purchase of kosher food, place of purchase of clothing, newspaper habits, movie attendance, and number and type of organizations joined. Dependence of other areas on the "ghetto" commercially was studied by asking for the areas in which food and clothing were purchased. It was also asked in which areas the synagogues attended were situated.

#### Results of Questionnaires

If one wishes to compare the forthcoming data, which are in terms of areas of settlement with those discussed in Chapter IV, where the unit used as a base was the political ward, it may be noted that the first area corresponds to St. Louis and St. Jean Baptiste Wards; the second area roughly to Laurier, St. Denis, and St. Michel wards; the third area was not given, being the City of Outremont; the fourth area covers part of the City of Westmount, for which data were not given, and of the ward of Notre Dame de Grace. It must be remembered, too, that the data were gathered in 1938 for this chapter, while the Census material analyzed in Chapter IV refers to the year 1931.

Size of Families---This classification refers to all members of a family, whether living at home at present or not. It includes only the children of the householders, not their relatives or servants or boarders living in the same house. The drawbacks of this table (Table XXVIII A, Appendix) lie in the fact that the sources of information constituted a special sample of the Jewish population, namely that section having children of High School or late elementary school age. Childless families and families with children only of pre-school or post-school age were omitted altogether. Furthermore, there is no information as to the age of the mother at the time of answering the question, and hence no hint of the stage of completion of the family.

Table XXVIII A shows that the greatest category of families had three children, and the next two. Only a minority of the families had more than four children, those having four or less making up 79.6% of the total. The proportion having these smaller families, it will be noticed, increases in successive areas of settlement. In the first area 74 per cent had four

children or less, in the second 80 per cent, in the third 83 per cent, and in the fourth 86 per cent.

Length of Time in America---This refers to the parents of the pupils answering the questionnaire. That the period of years in "America" is asked for, not the time spent in Canada or Montreal, was done advisedly. Adjustment to the secular culture of the New World is what is most significant here: if time spent in Montreal alone were examined, there would be no way of determining whether the individuals concerned had arrived straight from Europe or from some other point in the New World. In such cases the information would have been decidedly less meaningful.

Table XXXA, Appendix, reveals that of the persons questioned, the largest single group had been in America thirty years or more--251 persons, or 24.5% of the total. The second greatest group had been here between 25 and 29 years--185 people, or 18.1%. This held true for both fathers and mothers, although 28 per cent of the fathers had been here over thirty years, as compared with only 21 per cent of the mothers.

How do these figures about time of immigration bear out the demarcations of the four successive areas of settlement designated throughout this paper? In other words, have those in the first area actually been in America the shortest time, and those in the fourth the longest? Table XXXA shows that in the first area the modal quinquennial period was 10-14 years--21 per cent of its total had been in America that long. In the second area the mode was 30 years and over, with 21.6%, although 25-29 years followed closely with 21.3%. In the third area the mode was again 30 years and over, but this time with 40.4% of the total. In the fourth area 49 per cent stated that they had been born in America. Hence movement of population in Montreal seems to have been in the directions indicated by the designation of the areas of successive settlement.

In the case of both men and women, the slump in the 20-24 year group may be accounted for by the fact that, dating back from 1938, these were the years of the Great War. Roughly, then, we may continue from this point on in the assumption that each successive area contains people who have been in

America longer, on the whole, than those in the preceding area.

This applies only to parents, of course, not to the pupils themselves. Of the 512 children, 363 or 70.9% were born in Montreal; and 449, or 87.7% were born in Canada and the United States. It is significant for the further confirmation of the data on parents just presented, that in each successive area, a greater percentage of pupils were born in Canada and the United States.

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Table XXXI. Per Cent of Pupils in Each Area Who Were Born in Canada or the United States

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First Area.....	78.8%
Second Area.....	84.1%
Third Area.....	96.7%
Fourth Area.....	98.0%

---

Birthplace---For distribution of the Hebrew population by birthplace, see Table XLA, Appendix, and compare with official Census data in Chapter IV and Table XVA, Appendix. It will be seen that a great discrepancy occurs in the Canadian-born group as shown in these two tables. Table XVA lists 42.2% of the total as Canadian-born (a figure that corresponds closely to that of Canada's native-born Hebrew population as a whole), while Table XLA lists only 10.4% in this category. Other discrepancies, of lesser proportions, appear as well. The explanation is, of course, that the latter table refers only to the parents of the present school-age generation, while the former classifies the entire population. Like the children (Table XXXI), larger percentages of parents have been born in Canada, British Isles and Possessions, and the United States, in each succeeding area, the fourth area in particular showing a great increase over the third. Russian-born parents, on the other hand, show a decided drop in the fourth area, and the Polish-born in the third and fourth. The Austrians, Roumanians, and "Other European" groups all have their greatest concentration in the third area, although their distribution was more or less even among all the areas.

Occupations---Louis Rosenberg, in an article entitled "How Montreal Jews

Earn a Livelihood," which appeared in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle,<sup>(1)</sup> presents data secured from the Census Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on the occupational distribution of Jews in Montreal, (i.e., Montreal proper, excluding Outremont and Westmount). The figures refer, of course, to the last census, taken in 1931. His article, as he himself points out, dispels a few popular notions regarding the occupations of Jews. They are not all engaged in finance, or in the clothing trade, he remarks. Neither are they all retail store keepers.

This information, of course, does not distinguish between natural areas or political wards of the city, merely treating the whole as one unit. It does reveal clearly, however, that although gainfully occupied Jews in Montreal dominate no particular occupational group, yet they cluster in certain occupations.

Table XLIV. Per Cent Which Jews Form of All Persons in Montreal Gainfully Employed in the Branches Specified, 1931. (2 )

Commerce.....	16.19
Cleaning, Laundering, Pressing, Dyeing.....	15.21
Manufacturing.....	11.38
Insurance and Real Estate Agents.....	6.57
Clerical.....	6.21
Warehousing and Storage.....	5.95
Entertainment and Sport.....	4.68
Professions.....	3.70
Finance.....	2.53
Building and Construction Trades.....	2.30
Transportation and Co mmunication.....	2.25
Personal Service.....	1.89
Unskilled Labourers.....	1.16
Primary Industries.....	0.59
Electric Light and Power.....	0.41
Public Administration and Defence.....	0.12

Since Jews form 6.17% of all persons in Montreal proper ten years of age and over, gainfully employed, the branches in which they form a larger percentage than they do of the total number gainfully occupied are commerce, cleaning and dyeing etc., and manufacturing. Insurance and real estate,

(1) Louis Rosenberg, F.R.Econ.S., "How Montreal Jews Earn a Livelihood," in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Montreal, Dec. 27, 1935, p. 7.

(2 ) As quoted by Rosenberg, op. cit., from Dominion Census information.



clerical occupations, and warehousing and storage form percentages about equal to the percentage Jews form of the total number in Montreal gainfully employed; and the remainder show percentages smaller than the latter.

Table XLV indicates the percentage which each Jews in each of these branches form of all Jews gainfully occupied, and for comparison a similar set of figures for all persons in Montreal gainfully occupied.

Table XLV. Number of Jews in Certain Occupational Branches, Showing What Per Cent Each Branch Forms of all Jews and all Persons in Montreal Gainfully Employed, Ten Years of Age and Over, 1931. (1)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No. of Jews in Montreal Gainfully Employed</u>	<u>P.c. of all Jews Gain- fully Employed</u>	<u>P.c. of all Persons Gainfully Employed</u>
Unspecified.....	4.....	0.03.....	0.06
Electric Light and Power.....	10.....	0.05.....	0.72
Public Administration and Defence.....	10.....	0.05.....	1.25
Primary Industries.....	12.....	0.06.....	0.60
Finance.....	30.....	0.14.....	0.35
Entertainment and Sport.....	44.....	0.22.....	0.28
Insurance and Real Estate.....	212.....	1.03.....	0.96
Warehousing and Storage.....	285.....	1.42.....	1.38
Labourers and Unskilled Workers.....	562.....	2.72.....	15.12
Laundry, Cleaning, Dyeing, Pressing.....	646.....	3.10.....	1.27
Building and Construction.....	684.....	3.30.....	8.86
Transportation and Communication.....	699.....	3.37.....	9.24
Personal Service.....	718.....	3.47.....	11.64
Professions.....	879.....	4.25.....	7.06
Clerical.....	2241.....	10.82.....	10.75
Commerce.....	6426.....	31.03.....	11.81
Manufacturing.....	7242.....	34.98.....	18.95
Total.....	20704.....	100.00.....	100.00

"The largest occupational group among Montreal Jews is that engaged in manufacturing, which accounts for 34.98% of all Jews gainfully employed in that city, almost twice as much as the percentage engaged in manufactur-  
(2)  
ing among Montrealers of all racial origins. The next largest occupational

(1) Ibid.

(2) Rosenberg states in a second article that, within the manufacturing industry the Jews hold the skilled positions more predominantly than the unskilled. Excluding unskilled workers and casual labourers, persons of all origins engaged in manufacturing industries constitute 11 out of every 100. Among Jews the figure is nearly 30 out of every 100.

Elsewhere in the same article he points out that there is a tendency for skilled Jewish workers in the men's and women's ready-to-wear clothing manufacturing industry to be forced out by cheaper

group among Jews in Montreal is that engaged in commerce which accounts for 31.03% of all Jews gainfully employed in comparison with 11.81% of the total population of all origins gainfully employed.

"Clerical pursuits such as stenography, bookkeeping, and general office work account for 10.82% of all Montreal Jews gainfully occupied in comparison with 10.73% of the total population gainfully employed.

"While it is true that the percentage of Jews engaged in the professions in the City of Montreal is next in size only to those groups engaged in manufacturing and commerce, <sup>(1)</sup> the prevalent belief that Jews are crowding the professions and showing a greater tendency to gravitate towards them than is evident among the general population is not true in Montreal, for only 4.25% of all Montreal Jews gainfully employed are engaged in the professions whereas the percentage in the professions among the total population of Montreal of all origins is 7.06%.....

"There is a general belief that Jews find a great attraction in financial occupations. Many writers have gone so far as to credit--or debit--Jews with a hereditary predilection and aptitude for financial pursuits. Jews, they say, are born financiers. Others say that Jews are forced by economic circumstances into financial pursuits. It is taken for granted by both these schools of thought that Jews gravitate to finance.

"It is therefore interesting to note that only one out of every 714 Montreal Jews gainfully employed is engaged in some branch of finance,

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unorganized workers. "Although Jews form only 28.68% of all persons engaged in this industry, Jews form 71.7% of all clothing cutters, 50.9% of all tailors and tailoresses, and 41.5% of all hat and cap makers in Montreal. The percentage of Jews among tailors' apprentices in Montreal is 15.2, so that the number of Jewish tailors may be expected to decrease substantially with the next twenty years if the present restrictions on immigration and tendency to eliminate male tailors in the manufacturing process continue."---L. Rosenberg, "Montreal Jews in Industry," Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Montreal, Jan. 17, 1936, p. 7.

(1) And the clerical occupations, judging from Table XLV. (p. 72)

whereas the proportion engaged in finance of the gainfully employed population of all racial origins is two and a half times as high."<sup>(1)</sup>

Summarizing his findings, Rosenberg states:

"The majority of the Jewish skilled workers in industry in Montreal received their training in Europe and as they become older and are forced out of their occupations by old age or unemployment their places are taken by non-Jews. The Jewish artisan or skilled worker who is his own employer or who works in a small workshop assisted by one or two employees is being displaced by the non-Jewish factory worker engaged in a large plant often requiring more capital investment than the small Jewish employer is able to command.....

"Jews in Montreal show a greater tendency toward manufacturing than the average Montrealer of all other racial origins, and are attracted to the more skilled occupations. They do not displace people of other racial origins from already established industries, but introduce and develop new industries. In Montreal they have been largely instrumental in establishing the manufacture of men's clothing, fur garments, hats and caps, leather gloves, and ladies' ready to wear garments.

"Because of the lack of capital required to establish factories engaged in the heavy industries, with the necessary experience, equipment, and substantial buildings, and the difficulty of securing work in the occupations controlled by large corporations, the Jew in Montreal as in other cities largely confines himself to the light industries, which require little capital investment.

"As a result of this situation, the younger Jewish population of Montreal is being forced into clerical and merchandising occupations, and the severe restriction of Jewish immigration to Canada, amounting to virtual prohibition, has cut off the immigration of skilled Jewish craftsmen and workers of the type which established the clothing and fur manufacturing industries in the past, so that the next occupational census will show a much lower percentage of Jews engaged in manufacturing industries, unless the younger Jewish population is not only trained to enter the heavy industries and the mechanical industries, but is also enabled to secure employment in such industries which are practically closed to them at the present time."<sup>(2)</sup>

Question 3 of the questionnaire dealt with occupation, and endeavoured to find out not only the occupational group in which that sample of the population found itself, but also their status as employer, own account worker,<sup>(3)</sup> or wage-earner. So few details were given in the replies, however, that they seemed of questionable value. Nevertheless Tables XLVIA, XLVIIA,<sup>(4)</sup> XLVIII, and XLIX were compiled from the results. Industries were not

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(1) "How Montreal Jews Earn a Livelihood," Loc. cit.

(2) Ibid., p. 14.

(3) I.e., proprietor of one's own business establishment, yet not employing others.

(4) Note that the tables distinguish between "chief wage earners" and "additional wage earners." Since the latter are mostly children of the former, this discrimination gives some idea of whether the younger generation are tending to follow in their fathers' footsteps occupationally.

shown in the tables, the occupations being divided into eight classes: managerial, professional, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled (listed together as unskilled), clerical, commercial, service, and manufacturing. Hence a cutter, a salesman, and a secretary in a manufacturing plant would be listed under "skilled", "commercial", and "clerical", respectively. Only the employer would come under the "manufacturing" category. All tables show both occupational class and status, the latter including the three categories "employer", "own account", and "wage-earner."

Table XLVIA, Appendix, shows what percentage each occupational group forms of each status group and of the total chief wage earners in every area. Note that only chief wage earners are involved here. Thus there are as many gainfully employed in the total as there are families in the sample. Practically none of the chief wage earners admitted being unemployed at the time of the inquiry.

In this table, in all areas together the greatest single class of chief wage earners are engaged in commercial occupations--39.6% of the total. Skilled occupations are next in numerical superiority, forming 21.5% of the total; and manufacturing comes third with 10.3% of the total. Of the employer group, the great majority are manufacturers (61.5%), with commercial employers forming 24.1%. Of the own-account businesses 62.6% are commercial, 19.2 % skilled occupations, with the others making up comparatively negligible proportions. Of the wage earners, 33.2% are skilled workers, 29.1% are commercial, and 10.7% unskilled. Professionals form 4.3% of the total chief wage earners, none of the employers, 6.1% of the own account workers, and 3.6% of employees.

On examining the figures for each area, it can be seen that of the total number of chief wage-earners, only those in the second area conform somewhat to the group as a whole, with the commercial group leading,  
(1)  
followed by the skilled group.

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(1) Rosenberg's figures showed the manufacturing group in Montreal to outnumber the commercial one. His classification is different, however. Many of those listed as "skilled" and "unskilled" in Table XLVIA

In the first area the skilled class lead, with 30.1%, followed by those in commercial occupations, which constitute 23.3%. In area 3, 58.3% are commercially occupied, followed by 21.8% engaged in manufacturing. In the fourth area the largest classes are the commercial, with 39.2% of the total, the manufacturing, with 15.7%, and the managerial, who form 13.7%. The professional group forms the highest proportion in the fourth area, with 7.8% and the lowest in the second area, with 3.1%. Thus, on the whole, occupations involve more education, capital outlay, and ability to deal with the public as we go from the first area to the fourth.

Table XLVIII A, Appendix, which shows the occupational distribution of all additional wage earners (not chief wage earners of each family), reveals quite a different pattern. The occupations in the commercial field lead, it is true, with 31.8% of the total, but second place is held by the clerical workers, who form 27.9% of the total. This figure is largely reached by the inclusion of female wage earners, sisters and other relatives of the pupils questioned, who are largely office-workers. <sup>(1)</sup> Manufacturing, which held third place of importance among the fathers of the pupils, recedes to last place among additional wage earners, with 0.9%. Skilled occupations also decline considerably; <sup>(2)</sup> while unskilled occupations increase from 4.7% to 7.9%. There is an increase in the professional ranks, too, from 4.3% to 7.0%.

Hence, on the whole, the younger generation among Jews gainfully employed seems to be moving from skilled to unskilled and clerical occupations, as Rosenberg points out. As for setting up manufacturing establishments, the

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undoubtedly are employed in the manufacturing industry. These, added to the manufacturers in Table XLVI A, outweigh those commercially occupied. Comparisons between the two tables are not advisable, in any case, since they are based on different classifications.

- (1) Note the large proportion of stenographers and other clerical workers among Jews gainfully occupied, as over against the gainfully occupied of all origins, p. 14, L. Rosenberg, "How Montreal Jews Earn A Livelihood," Loc. cit.
- (2) See Rosenberg's remark re the decline of skilled workers among the younger generation, p.74.



present business depression may no doubt be largely instrumental in its prevention.

Table XLIXA summarizes information about both chief and additional wage earners, showing the total distribution of Jews gainfully employed.

Hence in type of occupation, as in industry, the Jewish gainfully employed population tends to cluster in a few specific branches, with a thinner spread among the others. As Table XLIXA shows, these Jews are distributed mostly in the commercial and skilled occupations, with a fair scattering in clerical work, the professions, unskilled labour and manufacturing. Very few hold managerial posts, and hardly any are engaged in the service branch of occupations, whether public, personal, or domestic. But there is no single occupation or group of occupations to which Jews adhere exclusively. They have entered quite generally into all aspects of occupational life in the community.

Table XLVIIA shows that the great bulk of all Jewish persons gainfully employed are either own account business men or employees--24.5% of the total being in the former class, and 54.9% in the latter. 10.3% are employers, and an equal percentage are not designated. Only in the last two areas does the number in the employer class approximate that in the own account category. From the first area to the fourth the proportion of wage earners goes down steadily, as the proportion of employees goes up.

As for occupational adjustment, it will be discussed in the summary statement on adjustment of the group in general.

Synagogue Attendance---The ground has now been cleared for comparing our four areas on various bases, in order to see what trends have been taking place in the adjustment and assimilation of the Jewish ethnic group.

Deeply entrenched in the Hebrew culture are matters pertaining to religion. Of outward, measurable signs by which to observe the preservation or neglect of religious practices, synagogue attendance is the most obvious. The information presented will compare not only the four areas of settlement, but also three generations within each family--the pupil,

(1)

his father, and his grandfather.

In all the areas together the modal synagogue attendance for the three generations combined was on Sabbaths. (Table XXXIIA, Appendix). Each individual area showed the same result, although the third showed that the greatest proportion gave no answer to this question. In all other cases, this group was second in size. (2) Invariably the responses concerning the grandfathers of the pupils included a great many who declined to give information, possibly because, among other reasons, the grandfather lived out of town or was deceased.

In all four areas, the group who attended on all Holidays was next in size, the figure approaching those who attended on Sabbaths fairly closely. Those who attended "never" formed a small part of the total in every area, the highest percentage being attained in the third area, where 5.3% said they did not attend.

The main differences between the first and second areas on the one hand, and the third and fourth on the other, as regards frequency of synagogue attendance, would seem to lie in the group who attended very often, i.e., during the week, and in that who reported that they attended on High Holidays only. Those who attended during the week declined from 13.0% and 14.2% in the first and second areas respectively to 10.4% in the third area and 7.8% in the fourth. Conversely, the percentages of those who attended on High Holidays only increased from 11.6% in the first area and 11.2% in the second to 17.7% in the third and 18.3% in the fourth. There would seem to be some slight indication, then, that frequency of synagogue attendance tends to decline with distance from the ghetto.

How do the three generations compare on this point? Reading vertically the last column of Table XXXIIA, one notes that the greatest percentage of

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- (1) Within the limits of the accuracy and truthfulness of the answers received. It has been noted above that in many cases the grandfather did not live in the same household as the pupil and his father. The question was limited to males because women are not expected to attend the synagogue as assiduously as men.
- (2) The size of this group, namely, that which did not answer the question at all, must be constantly taken into consideration. Obviously its size influences the accuracy and value of the other answers received

sons only--not of fathers or grandfathers--attended synagogue on Sabbaths, although this was the case with the fathers of the second area and the grandfathers of the fourth. Of the fathers as a whole, the greatest proportion attended on Holidays--less frequently than their sons. The greatest proportion of grandfathers, in every area except the fourth, attended the synagogue habitually on week-days.

In all cases except that of the grandfathers, the largest categories were those attending on Sabbaths, on all Holidays, and on High Holidays only. Only 2.2% of the sons attended during the week,--and none at all in the third area. 6.3% of the fathers attended on week-days. All sections had small proportions who reported never attending the synagogue, except the sons of the fourth area. The largest "never" group was the sons of the third area, and the smallest, apart from the sons of the fourth area, who had none, <sup>(1)</sup> were the grandfathers of the first three areas who ranged from 1.2% to 1.4%.

As might be expected, then, the importance of religion in daily life, as measured by synagogue attendance, declines with each succeeding generation. Noteworthy, however, is the slightness of the discrepancy in figures representing the data on pupils and on their fathers. The latter do not attend remarkably more often than the former. Indeed, in certain cases the sons attend with greater frequency. This, however, may be due to the fact that other demands upon their time are not so pressing. In a family where the father attaches little importance to religious duties and practices, it is not very likely that the son will do so, especially after he has reached an age where he is gainfully employed, or has adopted his own particular interests and pursuits.

Table XXXIIIA, Appendix, shows how closely locality of the synagogue attended coincides with place of residence. Do people tend to cling to their old synagogue as they themselves move out of their old district? This table will not be fully answered by Table XXXIIIA, since only the

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(1) The fewness of the replies in the fourth area--51 in all--must be kept in mind throughout. Percentages are apt to be misleading where such small numbers are involved.

area of the synagogue attended is given, not the synagogue itself. Furthermore, a synagogue itself not uncommonly moves its location in order to be conveniently near and hold its mobile adherents.

Although somewhat marred by the large numbers who failed to answer this question, the figures show that the area with the greatest concentration within its own boundaries is the fourth, where 65.5% of the 151 males questioned attended a synagogue in their own area. In the first area, the portion who stayed within their own area for synagogue services made up 32.7%. Here, as in all cases, the figure has been made to appear possibly lower than it really is by the huge percentage of grandfathers for whom no answer is given. Thus 40.0% of the sons and 38.3% of the fathers of the first area attended a synagogue within their own area.

The second and third areas showed more scatter. A large proportion of the second area residents attend synagogues in the first area, perhaps partly because they have not moved away from it so long ago as those in the later areas of settlement, and partly because the line of demarcation between these two areas is more or less arbitrary, many small synagogues lying close to the boundary. The third area also showed some scatter into the first and second areas, and also a slight penetration into the fourth,-- greater than that in the other two areas. Similarly the second area showed greater penetration into the third than did the first. Apparently orientation towards the more successful and fashionable areas is not lacking, even in synagogue attendance.

Kosher Food---Although religion as such, and as observed explicitly in synagogue attendance, seems to have been relegated in many cases in favour of more pressing occupations, this does not necessarily signify that the basic culture items of the Jewish ethnic group have been abandoned. Closely associated with sacred religious ritual are the dietary laws, to be observed daily in the orthodox Jewish home.

Prominent among Jewish dietary ritual is the purchase and preparation of kosher meat, i.e., prescribed sections of animals ritually slaughtered by a specially qualified slaughterer. Question 5 of the questionnaire

asked whether the family purchased meat at Jewish butcher shops.

Less sacred ritually, but of practically equal importance as an item of Jewish culture is the use of bread baked in the Jewish manner. Question 5 asked also, therefore, whether bread and fish were purchased in Jewish stores. The purchase of the latter has no ritual significance, and would merely reflect habit or closer identification with the ethnic group; whereas Jewish bread has its own characteristic flavours, shapes, etc., and is more specifically linked up with the Jewish home and culture complex. The persons questioned were asked to state not only whether or not they purchased these articles at Jewish shops, but also to designate whether "usually" or "sometimes" if the answer was not a straight affirmative.

Table XXXIVA, Appendix, shows that the great majority do buy kosher meat regularly, and very few buy it not at all. The area of fourth settlement conforms least of all the areas to this general tendency. Of the whole group of 512 families, 470, or 91.8% replied affirmatively to this question.

Those who purchased fish in Jewish stores regularly made up 77.7% of the total, and bread, 67.6%. On the other hand, greater numbers bought these two commodities at Jewish stores "usually" or "sometimes" than they did meat. Those who replied negatively were about equal, in the purchase of fish and bread. Again the percentages show a steady decline in those answering "yes" with each successive area, and an increase for those replying "no". Hence it appears in the case of daily household habits far more strikingly than in that of formal religious affiliation and behaviour that the observance of traditional Jewish ritual declines with emergence and greater distance, physical and social, from the ghetto.

How many families in our sample not only buy these three food commodities in Jewish establishments, but buy them in shops of the ghetto, i.e., on or near St. Lawrence Boulevard? The latter, being the main commercial and transportational stem of the ghetto area, the only area predominantly inhabited by Jews, still contains the most specialized



and choicest delicatessen shops, kosher meat markets, Jewish bakeries, and the like, although important new sub-centres, where such commodities are available, have grown up recently on and about Park Avenue, Van Horne Avenue, and Sherbrooke Street West, catering to the areas of second, third, and fourth settlement respectively. A continued patronage of the shops on "Main Street" shows the survival of the habit, if not the taste, for the commodities available there, therefore.

With this hypothesis in mind, Question 5 was also made to ask the streets on which those who claimed to buy from Jewish meat and fish markets and bakeries, shopped. These streets were then assigned to the areas of settlement in which they lay, as accurately as possible.

Table XXXIVA shows that of the 512 families questioned, 266, or 51.9% bought their meat in the ghetto area. 87.7% of the first area residents shopped there, as did 44.5% of the second area residents, 29.8% of the Outremont residents, and 39.2% of those living in the fourth area. That proportionately fewer third area residents than fourth area dwellers shop on Main Street is interesting: it may be that a much more extensive and specialized series of goods and services is available to the numerous Hebrews in the "North End" than to those in the fourth area, where Jews form only a small percentage of the total population. That 57.6% of the third area population buy meat in their own area or the closely neighbouring second area, while only 43.1% of the fourth area population do so, would seem to corroborate this. However, note that in the fourth area 15.7% failed to answer this question,--a fact which may possibly have changed the appearance of the results.

The purchase of fish, as far as locality is concerned, offers no startling differences in data from that of meat. But the Hebrew residents of the fourth area show a departure from the meat and fish data in the case of bread purchase, for only 7.8% claim to buy from Jewish bakeries on St. Lawrence Blvd., although surprisingly few, as in all areas, claimed never to buy Jewish bread.

Even those most remote from the ghetto in place of residence, outward appearance, speech, and attitude, then, still preserve some connection with it, even if that connection is only that of the palate. They have not severed themselves completely from physical contact or the traditional practices of their ethnic group.

Purchase of Clothing---Further evidence of the commercial unity or otherwise of the Jewish population was sought by means of information regarding habits in the purchase of the main items of clothing. To ensure, or at least facilitate true valuation of the results about to be disclosed, the reader must keep in mind the weaknesses of the question. There are so many items of clothing, many of which may be purchased at different types of stores, that it is difficult to give a single, yet accurate, answer to this question (Question 5, last part). Moreover, different members of the family may have different purchasing habits. This again makes a single, reliable response difficult. Many families gave several answers, indicating that the main items of clothing were bought at a few or several types of establishments. All these answers were counted in the compilation of the data, so that a total greater than the total number of families appears, yet that total represents the number of stores patronized by the sample group. The proportions of this total formed by each type of store will represent the relative importance of the latter.

Table XXXVIA, Appendix, indicates that for the Jewish population as a whole, the most important source of purchased clothing is the large department store, with the Jewish neighbourhood store a close second, and small St. Lawrence Blvd. stores third. Considerable purchases are made at non-Jewish neighbourhood stores, at wholesalers' and at the smaller downtown shops. Practically none had their clothes tailored, although 8.7% of the total answers showed clothes made at home.

Significant variations appear among the replies of the four areas. The first two areas show almost identical distribution of their places of purchase--the Jewish neighbourhood stores easily lead the series, with 23

(1)

per cent of all purchases, and the small St. Lawrence Blvd. stores are second in importance. (In many cases, for those living in the first two areas of settlement, St. Lawrence Blvd. stores and Jewish neighbourhood stores are one and the same). In the first area the next category is "Clothes made at home," with 13.2% of the answers. Next in order of numerical importance in this area are: small Ste. Catherine Street stores, with 10.6%; non-Jewish neighbourhood stores, 8.2%; and wholesalers, 5.6%. The second area differs from the first only in that the "Clothes made at home" category cedes its place to the small downtown stores. Fewer clothes are made at home in this area, and more purchases are made at large departmental stores..

In the third and fourth areas, the greatest number of purchases is made at large departmental stores. The second greatest number is made, in both cases, at wholesalers. Jewish neighbourhood stores fall, in these two areas, to third place, with only 14.3% in the third area and 9.8% in the fourth. Clothes made at home are few in these two areas, making up only 4.1% of the total answers in the third, and 3.0% in the fourth.

Hence radical differences are seen as we emerge and travel away from the ghetto. Shopping takes place downtown more often than on "Main Street." More people know wholesalers well enough to buy their clothes directly from them, or are wholesalers themselves. Rarely is it necessary for clothes to be home-made. Here are unmistakable indications of greater financial comfort and higher standards of living, and of detachment from the Jewish commercial centre in Montreal, which is also a relatively cheap and unattractive shopping centre.

Languages Spoken in the Home---Inherently bound up in any culture complex, and more deeply perhaps than most other items, is the language of an ethnic group. Most European Jews claim Yiddish as their mother tongue. (2) Canadian

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(1) The word "purchase" will include the category "Clothes made at home" in the discussion of Table XXXVIA.

(2) See Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. IV, Tables 58 and 59, p. 1162.

Jews now, do they still treat it as their mother tongue, using it, whenever possible, by almost involuntary choice? With this query in mind, Question 8 on Page 3 of the questionnaire was designed to find out what language or languages were usually spoken in the home, i.e., in private, where any language may conveniently be used.

Table XXXVIIA, Appendix, shows that for the community as a whole, by far the greatest single group employed both English and Yiddish in the home (59.6%). This figure was even greater in the first and second areas (63.0% and 65.9% respectively). Even in the "ghetto", then, English is almost as commonly spoken as Yiddish. It is not such a ghetto that its inhabitants are isolated, even by language, from the larger community in which they find themselves. <sup>(1)</sup> The second, and only other category of any significance in the group as a whole in Table XXXVIIA, is that which speaks English only in the home--85 families or 16.6% of the total. The third group of importance, speaking Yiddish only in the home, makes up 5.7%, a figure equalled, interestingly enough, by the category speaking English, Yiddish, and French.

In the ghetto area, as may be expected, the place of second importance, after the 63.0% group speaking English and Yiddish habitually in the home, goes to the Yiddish-speaking group, who make up 13.0%. This is the only area in which this is so. In the second and third areas, the group speaking only English holds second place, with 11.6% and 19.9% respectively. In the fourth area, there is a radical departure from the general distribution. The most important group numerically is the one speaking only English in the home, with 49.0% of the total; the second greatest percentage--35.3%--speak English and Yiddish. None at all speak Yiddish only.

Third place, held by "Yiddish only" and "Yiddish, English, and French" in the sample community as a whole, goes in the ghetto to "English only,"

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(1) In many of these cases, however, it may be the children who speak English most of the time,--not the parents. In these families there may be parents and certainly grandparents who speak Yiddish only or Yiddish and other European languages.

with 7.5%; in the second area to "English, Yiddish, and other European languages" with 5.5%; in the third area to "Yiddish, English, and French," with 9.9%; and in the fourth to "English and French", with 7.8%.

Here, in language spoken habitually, lies a strong indication that the assimilative process has been at work longer and more intensively in each successive area, although the ability to speak a nation's language does not of itself indicate the complete assimilation of the immigrant to the culture of that nation. More families speaking only English than only Yiddish in the second area; the same trend more emphatically repeated in the third with a larger number able to speak French; and a falling off entirely of the "Yiddish only" category in the fourth area, with a corresponding predominance of those speaking English exclusively; these factors point more powerfully than lengthy explanations to the truth of this statement.

Languages Spoken---Question 8 also asked what languages each member of the family could speak. In classifying the responses, the children of each family were classed as a unit; if more than half of them could speak a given tongue, the children as a unit were counted able to speak it.

The same trend is discernible in Table XXXVIII A, Appendix, as in the preceding table--namely, that Yiddish exclusively as the language spoken tended to give way with each successive area of settlement to English and Yiddish, with some French, and finally, in some cases, the complete elimination of Yiddish in favour of English and a certain amount of French.

In the first area 54.8% of the children could speak English and Yiddish; 18.5% could speak English, French, and Yiddish; 4.8% could speak English only; and only 0.7% could speak Yiddish only. Even in the ghetto area of Montreal, practically no children are isolated linguistically from the general population: their adjustment to it and to its way of living is off to a good start.

The second area shows 43.3% able to speak English and Yiddish; a larger number, 23.2%, able to speak English, Yiddish, and French; a comparatively large proportion, 11.6%, speaking only English; and none speaking only



Yiddish.

In the third area those speaking English, Yiddish, and French form the largest single group, with 33.1%; only 28.5% speak English and Yiddish; as many as 15.9% speak English only; none speak only Yiddish.

In the fourth area the largest group of all is the English-speaking one, with 27.4%; the English-Yiddish group shrinks to 13.7%; the English-Yiddish-French group is 23.5% of the total; and the English-French group, which has been increasing steadily from area to area, reaches 25.5%, the second largest group in the fourth area!

Similar tendencies are observable among the parents of these children. In the first area, the largest category, for both mothers (30.1%) and fathers (26.0%) is that speaking English, Yiddish, and one or more other languages, not Hebrew or French. The second greatest category is the English-Yiddish-speaking one, with 23.3% of the mothers and 22.6% of the fathers respectively. In the second area these shift places--the English-Yiddish group is most important, and that which still retains a foreign language is secondary.

In the third area, the trilingual group (English, Yiddish, and French) assumes predominance, a fact which has been noticeable throughout all the language data on the third area, with 23.8% of the total mothers and 27.1% of the total fathers. It is safe to say that this ability to speak French, not so pronounced in the fourth area (19.6% of mothers, 17.6% of fathers), may be largely due to its value as a business asset. Residents of the third area of settlement, having lived here longer than those in the two previous areas, and with business establishments more widely scattered over the city, have undoubtedly had greater opportunities and greater need than their fellows to the south-east of learning French. Residents of the fourth area would apparently have as much incentive as those of the third to learn the French language, yet they do not seem to have done so to such a marked extent.

The fourth area resembles the second in that the most important

group is the English-Yiddish-speaking one. The group speaking English, Yiddish, and French is secondary. As we proceed from the first area to the fourth there is a rise in the proportion who speak only English, and a steady decline in those speaking Yiddish only. There is an increase in the trilingual group, broken by the supremacy of the third area over the fourth; but the French-English-speaking group rises steadily, reaching its peak in the fourth area.

Grandparents show similar differences from area to area. In the ghetto 12.3% speak Yiddish only; in the fourth this figure is 3.9%. Practically none speak English only; but in the last two areas the modal category is the English-Yiddish-speaking group. Over fifty per cent in all cases did not answer this question, however.

Newspaper Habits---Somewhat linked up with linguistic powers and habits of an ethnic group are their reading habits. The latter, however, reveal more than merely what language the reader feels more at home in. The Yiddish newspaper naturally has a rather different focus of attention than has the English or French local daily paper. Although carrying matters of general local and international interest, the bulk of space of the "Canadian Jewish Eagle", Montreal's Yiddish daily, is devoted to subjects of rather specialized Jewish interest, or at least treats general subjects from the specialized standpoint of the Jew. That Montreal produces both Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish newspapers is an indication of the solidarity of organization of its Jewish community; how far these papers go in search of news that is not strictly confined to affairs in the Jewish community, and how extensively they are read and whether as a supplement to the English papers or vice versa will indicate the focus of attention, the interests and outlook of members of that community.

Question 6 of the questionnaire asked what newspapers were read regularly by each member of the family. Children were treated as one unit, as in the previous question on languages. It was attempted to divide the types of reading material into classes in order to present concrete findings. The

classification was as follows: the local Yiddish press, represented by the already mentioned "Jewish Daily Eagle"; the New York daily Yiddish press, represented chiefly by "The Day" ("Der Tag"), and the big labour-socialist newspaper, "The Forward" ("Vorwaerts"); the Anglo-Jewish weeklies--the "Canadian Jewish Review" and the "Canadian Jewish Chronicle" being the most important; the general English Montreal dailies, such as the "Star", the "Gazette" and the "Herald"; popular Sunday papers and magazines, such as the "Montreal Standard", the "Boston Advertiser", the "New York Sunday News"; publications of a popular but more sober nature, such as the "Nation", or the "Reader's Digest"; and publications in Hebrew. In Table XXXIXA, the different types of newspapers and magazines are indicated by the following code of letters:

A--General English daily papers--"The Star", "Daily News."

B--Local Yiddish press--"The Eagle."

C--New York Yiddish press.

D--Local Anglo-Jewish press.

E--English popular magazines and weekly papers, primarily of a light, entertaining nature,--"Liberty", etc.

F--English publications of a slightly more serious, educational nature.

G--Papers issued by local Jewish organizations--the "Y.M.H.A. Beacon", the "Y.W.H.A. Clarion."

H--Very light popular reading material--detective stories, screen magazines, etc.

I--Yiddish papers other than those already designated.

J--Papers catering to Jewish consumption, but published in English, apart from the two already designated under "D."

K--French papers.

L--Hebrew papers.

Description of Certain Papers---The "Canadian Jewish Eagle" naturally caters to those who are not perfectly familiar with the written English language, and who, coincidentally, are most interested in news dealing with the affairs of Montreal Jewry. In other words, it is the least assimilated elements of the Jewish population who read the "Eagle" most exclusively and most assiduously. Established in 1907, it has a daily circulation of about

population of the first and second areas, on matters of local importance, such as elections.

An orthodox paper, the "Eagle" does not appear on Saturdays. On Fridays and Sundays, it contains eight pages instead of the usual six, and on special holidays, such as Passover, as many as ten or twelve. A typical Sunday paper is as follows:

"The first page usually consists of general local news, local Jewish news, world news, and a column entitled 'Day by Day' written by the editor. This column, as its title indicates, is featured daily. It discusses current world or local items of interest, and is written in Yiddish, as compared with a corresponding English column in the 'Day.'<sup>(1)</sup> On the second page appears a want-ad column, social news dealing with societies and clubs, the Canadian Hebrew Sick Benefit, bazaars, and the like, and the rest of the page is filled with advertisements of Hebrew teachers, business men, and marriage brokers, (for the marriage broker still advertises in the Yiddish newspaper).

"The third page might be called the women's page, since it contains social news and a story in serial form which nearly every Jewish housewife of the first generation reads and cherishes."<sup>(2)</sup> The fourth page is the editorial page which usually deals with world problems and local politics. Health columns, political discussions, serials, weekly articles devoted alternately to federal and provincial parliamentary affairs, "Der Spiegel von Leben" (The Mirror of Life), a sort of Dorothy Dix column, and advertisements of nationally-distributed products, large downtown theatres, etc., fill the remaining pages.

The letters sent in by readers to the "Mirror of Life" column are interesting in content, since many of them deal with typical problems and conflicts that confront the immigrant in his attempt at adjustment to

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(1) Recently an English column has been instituted on the last page, written by A.M. Klein, corresponding to this.

(2) From an unpublished paper by Rose Beiss, "The Jewish Press" (manuscript) p. 8.

Canadian folkways and practices. Parents ask advice concerning the, to them, unseemly behaviour of their children; European-born young<sup>men</sup> want to know the chances of success in matrimonial ventures with American-born girls; individuals with relatives in Poland ask advice pertaining to immigration.

"The Day" is published in New York seven times weekly. It is a nationally-read paper, and contains items of many types. Jewish problems deriving from matters of general political nature, articles about Jewish culture, personals, advertisements, amusement and radio programs, with special attention to Jewish features, a legal division concerning insurance, property, legacies, etc., a workmen's section dealing with events in the labour movement, the influence of politics on the life of the worker, and so on, all appear. The editorials are devoted to Jewish affairs, matters of general interest, and international politics. The Zionist question is discussed. Business, industry, finance, have their place as well, as do book reviews, letters to the editor, stories, a column on Jewish life in the late 80's, beauty, health, scientific articles, humorous columns, and the Walter Winchell type of feature.

Hence the Yiddish press includes a full and well-rounded bill of literary fare for its readers. "No other immigrant press has attained so complete a simplification of the racial language as the Yiddish press, nor created so large a reading public. No other foreign-language press has succeeded in reflecting so much of the intimate life of the people which it represents, or reached so powerfully upon the opinion, thought, and aspirations of the people for which it exists."<sup>(1)</sup> Thus the Yiddish press in America, (including the city of Montreal) performs the double and seemingly paradoxical function of supplying the need of an immigrant group for an organ devoted to matters of exclusive interest to themselves, and at the same time of keeping them informed about, and hence facilitating

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(1) Quoted in a paper by Rose Beiss. Op. cit., p. 14. Source not given.



their adjustment to the life of the greater community around them.

The Anglo-Jewish press performs a function of its own. It caters primarily, as its chosen medium of expression signifies, to the more established and assimilated elements of the Jewish community. The two Anglo-Jewish papers in Montreal with the greatest circulation are the Canadian Jewish Review and the Canadian Jewish Chronicle. Issued on Friday of each week, with special editions on festivals and important holidays, both are small papers, one containing eight, the other fourteen or sixteen magazine-size pages. The most extensive and attractive feature of these papers is their social column, relating to the births, marriages, engagements, bar-mitzvahs, <sup>(1)</sup> and deaths of the greater and lesser lights of the community, their parties and other social functions, their trips to and from various points on both sides of the Canadian-American border, and the meetings of clubs and organizations, great and small. Among the remaining contents of these papers, particularly the "Review", short articles concerning the plight or the latest activities of Jews in Palestine, Germany, or elsewhere are featured. Occasionally a short story or serial appears, dwelling on Jewish culture or problems. Editorials and articles appear frequently by leading communal officials on the position of the Jews in society, their latest problems, etc. These increase in number in the special holiday issues. The advertisements deal in large measure with commodities that would appeal to the fashionable or would-be fashionable element: beauty treatments, gowns, furs, restaurants, piano or dancing lessons, and the like. The Canadian Jewish Chronicle devotes a somewhat larger portion of its space to matters of concrete Jewish interest in Canada. These publications also serve as circulators of bulletins concerning current programs and forthcoming functions of the main communal organizations and congregations.

Table XXXIXA shows what percentage each type of newspaper forms of the total material read by each of the three generations in each area.

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(1) "Reading of the Law"--a religious ceremony initiating the thirteen-year-old boy to manhood.

Many individuals, of course, read more than one type of paper, so that the total number of papers and magazines far exceeds that of the population represented.

In every area, the most widely-read type of material by the population as a whole were the daily city journals, the "Montreal Daily Star", "Herald", and "Gazette." Although each of these dailies stands distinctly apart from the other two in content, appeal, and type of reader, they have been grouped together here, inasmuch as they stand apart in the classification outlined above.

In the area of first settlement, the children, i.e., the school pupils interrogated and their brothers and sisters, read this class of paper more widely than any other--35.6% of their total reading material, as indicated in Table XXXIX, Appendix. The next type of importance is Class E --popular weeklies--which constitutes 24.0%. The Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press form only a negligible portion of the children's reading matter.

The parents of this group prefer Class C ("The Day" and "The Forward"). These two papers form 25.4% of the mothers' and 25.7% of the fathers' reading material. Note that second place, even in the ghetto area, goes not to the "Montreal Eagle", which places third, but to the English dailies, particularly in the case of the fathers. As with the children, the Anglo-Jewish press does not appeal to the middle generation of the first area inhabitants. It is read less extensively than the popular English weeklies, and forms only 5.2 % of the mothers' and 6.1% of the fathers' reading material. The grandparents definitely prefer the Yiddish press, as might be expected. They too, read the more satisfying "Day" and "Forward" more widely than the "Eagle"--21.1% of their total reading, as compared with the latter's 14.5%.<sup>(1)</sup> The English dailies and the Anglo-Jewish weeklies both hold a poor third place, each with 3.3% of the total.

The other classes each constitute small amounts, Hebrew and French

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(1) Note that of the total reading matter of the grandparents, the nature of 54.4% was not specified.

publications being read not at all in this area. Papers issued by the Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A. are read, as is most natural, largely by the third generation.

The differences in emphasis in the reading matter of these three generations speaks eloquently for the differences in underlying factors. The grandparents read the English local journals hardly at all; the parents of the present school-age generation read them to a marked extent, though not so widely as the Yiddish press; the children themselves read them more than any other type, and their secondary choice is also printed in English and dealing with non-Jewish material (Class E). Obviously, these second-<sup>(1)</sup> and third-generation immigrants are interested in reading about the affairs of their greater community, and in its medium of expression rather than that of their ancestors.

The area of second settlement differs hardly at all from the first in newspaper habits. The "A" group of papers holds first place in children's reading, but with only 30.8% of the total, as compared with 35.6% in the first area; the "E" group holds second place, with about equal proportions in both areas. One noticeable departure is the increase in "G",--the Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A. organs, from 6.4% in the first area to 12.3% in the second. Apparently more of the second area dwellers are "Y" members, or they are more interested in the "Y" activities.

As for the parents in the second area, they place the English dailies before the Yiddish ones in preference, although the latter hold a close second place. This departure from the situation of the first area is interesting and significant inasmuch as it suggests a change in the focus of attention of these readers and one in their chosen lingual medium. The "Eagle" and the Anglo-Jewish papers are of practically equal prominence in both areas, but parents in the second area devote a slightly larger portion of their reading to the "E" group of papers--light recreational English weeklies.

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(1) 78.8% of the pupils of the first area were born in Canada, United States, or the British Isles or Possessions--Table XLIA.

The grandparents read slightly more of the local English daily papers in the second area than in the first--5.1% as over against 3.3% of their total reading.

As in the first area, the remaining types of publication receive but scant attention.

In the second area, then, slight progress away from purely ethnic cultural attachments to the more generalized ones of the larger community, as far as is discernible from reading habits, may be seen.

Further differences in reading taste come to light upon examination of the data on the third area in Table XXXIXA. The children of this area, like those of the two preceding ones, read the "A" group of papers primarily, with the "E" group as second choice. There is an appreciable decline, however, in the reading of the Yiddish press, both local and American. The "Montreal Eagle", forming 7.8% of the reading material of second area children, constitutes only 2.5% of that of the children of the third area. Similarly the reading of the New York Yiddish press declines from 7.1% to 1.9%. This downward trend becomes even more pronounced in the fourth area, where the "Eagle" and the "C" group each form 0.7% of the total. Conversely, in the third and fourth areas, the Anglo-Jewish papers rise in importance. From 3.3% of the reading matter of the first area children, and 4.9% in the second area, the "Canadian Jewish Review" and "Canadian Jewish Chronicle" rise to 9.3% in the third area and 9.9% in the fourth.

The Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A. sheets reach their peak of circulation in the second and third areas, it seems, for in our sample they constitute 6.4% of the first area children's reading; in the second area 12.3%; in the third 14.8%; and in the fourth 8.5%. This probably reflects the distribution of membership of these organizations. A comparatively small number of Westmount and Notre Dame de Grace boys and young men are members of the Young Men's Hebrew Association (which is situated on the borderline between the first and second areas, and not far from the third, but a considerable distance from the west part of the city); and practically no

young women of the fourth area join the first area-situated and rather dingy Young Women's Hebrew Association.

The "F" group of papers and magazines--those with a more educational appeal--figures more prominently in the two areas of latest immigrant settlement as well. From 6.7% of the children's reading in the first area and 7.8% in the second, this class rises to 11.2% of the third area and 13.5% of the fourth.

For the parents the local English dailies hold a more and more pronounced first place with each succeeding area, reaching their highest point in the fourth area, where they make up 35.4% of the mothers' reading and 32.7% of the fathers'. In both the third and fourth areas, secondary importance is given, not to the New York Yiddish dailies, as in the second area, but to the "E" group. This fact is more pronounced in the fourth area than in the third. The mothers of the third area consider the Anglo-Jewish papers of tertiary interest; the fathers, the New York Yiddish press. The mothers of the fourth area agree with those of the third in tertiary choice; the fathers choose the "F" class. In both these areas, and more particularly in the fourth, circulation of the "Daily Eagle" dwindles: it forms 7.7% of the mothers' reading material and 8.9% of the fathers' in the third area, and 3.1% of the mothers' and 2.6% of the fathers' in the fourth.

Among this intermediate generation, then, the assimilative trend, insofar as reading taste is concerned, is easily evident. And, as intimated above, reading habits reflect underlying foci of interest, and outlooks and objectives, besides revealing the habitual language medium of the individual in question.

The grandparents of the school pupils questioned preferred the New York Yiddish dailies in the third area, as in the previous two, giving the "Canadian Jewish Eagle" second place. A radical difference appears in the newspaper preferences of the grandparents of the fourth area, however. The "A" group--Montreal English dailies--assume first place, the Anglo-Jewish press holds second, and only the third position of importance--7.7%



of the total--is granted the "C" papers. In the third area, the "A" class holds third place; while the "E" publications reach their greatest importance for grandparents, with 6.3%. In the fourth area, the "F" class reaches the greatest importance, actually overshadowing both the "Eagle" and the popular weeklies.

Thus the data concerning grandparents' reading habits, like those concerning the two younger generations, confirm the suggestion that mental and intellectual attachment to the traditional ethnic make-up of the group, no less than the necessary physical attachment to it and occupational and economic confinement within it, of the newly-arrived immigrant, tend to decline and disappear in proportion to the geographical distance from the area of first settlement.

Movie Attendance---In no way bound up with religious or other sacred elements in the culture of the group, recreation nevertheless does reveal in its own way trends of adjustment within an immigrant group to its surrounding cultural milieu. Question 7 of the questionnaire deals with frequency of movie attendance, it being felt that this particular type of recreation was a desirable choice because of being easily measurable and a fairly universal form of entertainment. Furthermore, movies are very closely bound up with the culture of the society which makes and patronizes them. The talking motion picture uses the language of the country. It depicts the dress, manners, and mannerisms of the society. Its plot is based upon the legal and moral orders of the society. Its problems and situations are those that are apt to arise therein. An individual who does not belong within the society, or who is only partially adjusted to it, would not particularly enjoy its movies. He would find the language, filled with colloquialisms, difficult to follow; he would not understand the attempts at wit; he would perhaps be impatient of the apparently unreal and unimportant problems presented.

(1) All this within certain limits. It is well known that the American moving picture is designed to cater to as universal and diverse an audience as possible.

On the other hand, the more or less completely assimilated individual, i.e., in all but the most subtle and deep-rooted characteristics of his ethnic group, would not be likely to find any of these objections to the movies, and would, indeed, prefer them to Yiddish plays or motion pictures.

So it is with the large majority of Montreal Jews. The occasional Yiddish movie that comes to Montreal, with very rare exceptions, is shown at one of the small, obscure theatres in the heart of the first or second area of settlement. It attracts practically no young people, and not a great number of older ones.

Indeed, the lack of interest of Jewish youth in the Yiddish drama has been deplored. H.B., in a review of the moving picture "Yiddish King Lear" in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle of January 17, 1936, p. 14, declares:

"We have often thought it strange that while the story and customs of other peoples are familiarly known to our younger generation who attend the high school and university, the traditions, customs, mannerisms, and thought of our own people in Europe should excite so little interest. It might have been expected that every Jew or Jewess who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how his ancestors.....lived their daily lives on the other side of the Atlantic. The older generation will certainly go to see 'Yiddish King Lear' and the younger generation should see this moving drama of the Yiddish stage written by the master--Jacob Gordin."

Amateur dramatic efforts of young Jewish people are rarely in Yiddish, although sometimes Jewish in content. However, even these are inclined to deal with the present-day social and political problems of the Jews, rather than with plots and situations typical of the old Yiddish drama. Such a play was "Birthright", its focus on the disastrous situation that confronts Jews in present-day Germany, which was presented by the dramatic group of the Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A.

Question 7 asked how often each member of the family went to the movies, the pupil being asked to check whether each member was accustomed to attend the movies more than once a week, about once a week, more than once a month, about once a month, less than once a month, or never.

In the first area, as in every other, Table XLIIA, Appendix, shows the commonest rate of attendance to be once a week. The third area contained the largest proportion in this category,--35.9% of the total persons

of all generations. The second greatest proportion in the second, third, and fourth areas attended more than once a month but less than once a week, the portions being 12.2%, 13.2%, and 13.2% respectively. In the first area the second greatest number, 12.7%, attended about once a month. In the whole sample 7.0% reported that they never attended the movies, the percentages decreasing with each successive area. This class made up 9.6% in the area of first settlement, 8.8% in the second, 4.1% in the third, and 2.5% in the fourth.

That movie attendance increases in frequency, on the whole, as one studies successive areas of settlement, is also shown in Table XLIIA. The proportions attending oftener than once a week increase from 4.9% in the first area to 11.8% in the fourth; simultaneously those attending less than once a month or never decrease from 16.8% in the first area to 10.8% in the fourth. The second area shows practically the same degree of movie attendance as the first, for although it holds its place in the gradual scale of attendance from area to area outlined in the preceding paragraph, it has fewest persons of all the areas in the "more than once a week" class and most in the "less than once a month" class.

Table XLIIIA, Appendix, divides each area up into the three generations. In the first three areas children and parents most commonly attended movies once a week, and the grandparents never. In the fourth area, a difference appears in that the grandparents most commonly attended either once a month or less than once a month.

Although "once a week" is the modal movie attendance frequency in each area, most children seem to attend in the third and fourth areas. While 34.2% attend once a week in the first area, and 37.8% in the second, the third area shows no less than 51.6% in this frequency class, and the fourth 45.1%. Furthermore, although 11.6% of first area children attend more than once a week, as do 7.9% of second area children and 12.6% of those living in the third area, those fourth area children who do so make up 27.4% of the total, so that those attending once a week or more make up 72.5%.

Whether this is due to the fact that children in the last two areas have more money to spend, and less of their time taken up in working after school hours and in studying at Hebrew school, is problematical. Not all these "children" are of school age, it must be remembered. They include all brothers and sisters of the pupils questioned, and no doubt include many who would not normally be designated "children."

Similar differences among areas are to be seen in the data on mothers' movie attendance: 32.2% of the first area mothers attend once a week or more, 37.8% of the second area mothers, and 55.0% of the third area mothers, and 54.9% of those of the fourth area. Again, more money to spend on recreation, and more free time to devote to it probably have something to do with these differences. It will be noticed, nevertheless, that in each case a larger proportion of children attended with great frequency than of mothers.

In every case, and in the fourth area most particularly, the fathers seem to attend less often than their wives. In each succeeding area, a smaller percentage of grandfathers never go to the movies--from 19.2% in area one down to 5.9% in area four.

Our data on the whole indicate a greater movie attendance on the part of those living in areas of more recent settlement, which in turn, as explained prior to the presentation of the data, would seem to indicate a more thorough identification of these people with Canadian culture. And although financial considerations no doubt influence the frequency of one's visits to the movies, it is not likely that they influence our data significantly. For Table XLIIIA shows simultaneously an increase of movie attendance in later generations in all areas, i.e., among all economic strata. This, when coupled with the admitted indifference of the younger generation to entertainment associated with their traditional ethnic background, is perhaps sufficient corroboration.

Clubs and Societies---To what extent do the Hebrew group in Montreal participate in club and organizational life of various kinds, and in which

types of club or society do they cluster most? The answers to such questions would give some indication of the extent of the tendency of this ethnic group to satisfy certain needs collectively, and would show what type of human social needs are most often satisfied and what objectives sought by means of clubs and organizations by the group in question.

Question 9 asked to which clubs or societies different members of the family belonged. Unfortunately, when classified the results do not distinguish between societies of an exclusively Jewish membership and those which are not to any great extent. The interpretation of the figures which follows will, however, master this shortcoming in most cases. For a general discussion on the participation of Jews in their own and in secular institutions and organizations in Montreal, see Chapter X, Section I.

Preliminary to studying the actual distribution, a glance at Table LA, Appendix, is in order for the purpose of measuring the general extent of club participation of any kind in the Jewish group. This table shows that of the 512 mothers involved, only 227 stated that they belonged to any clubs at all. In other words, 285 mothers, or 55.7% of the sample, either gave no answer to Question 9 or stated definitely that they belonged to no clubs or societies. Exactly the same percentage of fathers--55.7%--failed to  
(1)  
designate membership in any type of club.

Greatest proportional membership of women in clubs appears in the third area, where 60.9% belong to one or more clubs. The first area has the lowest, with 29.5%. Of the men, the leading area is the third, with 55.0%, and the lowest the first, with 32.2%. The second and fourth areas show greater relative club participation among the men than among the women. Of men and women together the greatest share of those who did have some club affiliation belonged to one society only, in about equal proportions in all areas. The second greatest share, although much smaller than

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(1) Since it was the pupil who supposedly answered the questionnaire, it is possible that failure to cite club membership in so large a number of cases may have been due to ignorance or negligence on the child's part.

the preceding one, belonged to two clubs. Few belonged to more than two, especially in the areas of first and second settlement. Those belonging to three or more clubs made up 2.0% in the first area, 4.6% in the second, 20.2% in the third, and 13.8% in the fourth. Outremont and its vicinity, then, show the greatest relative amount of club affiliation of any area among parents of the school children interrogated. This area, too, stands out in particular in the great number of women who belong to a large number of societies, although the totals involved here are not large. The first two areas show hardly any individuals who are members of six or more clubs. The fourth area shows a few men in this category. The third area contains, in our sample, 11 women and five men who belong to six or more societies.

Table LIA, Appendix, deals with the distribution of these club members among the different types of clubs. Classification on this point is a difficult matter, for many clubs perform two or more functions. In fact, the club which is exclusively recreational or philanthropic in nature, for example, limiting itself to one purpose only, is the exception rather than the rule. This circumstance must be kept in mind when examining the distribution of the types of clubs, in which the predominant function of the club was selected and classified in each case as carefully as possible.

The vast range of types of clubs has been reduced to eight main classes, each with from two to seven subdivisions. Even with these precautions, however, much overlapping was inevitable. For example, most philanthropic societies were also social and recreational; all nationalistic societies are also educational in function; many fraternal orders are philanthropic, recreational, and educational as well; and so on. As stated above, the dominating feature of the club was the decisive factor in classifying the club, as accurately as was feasible.

Table LIA gives the distribution for each area separately. Table LIIA, Appendix, summarizes the data for all areas. Since there is no limit to the number of clubs joined by any one individual, and since the number of children in each family is not given, the total number of clubs joined does



not necessarily correspond with the number of persons. The table is concerned, of course, only with those who have at least one club affiliation, and does not deal with that group (shown in Table LA) which claim no such affiliation whatever.

In the city as a whole, the most commonly joined clubs are apparently the recreational type, which make up 25.2% of the total. As stressed above, these are by no means exclusively recreational in function. Included in this category are clubs with educational and cultural programs, such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations, as well as purely athletic clubs. The group next in importance, as far as numerical membership is concerned, is the philanthropic type, with 23.3% of the total. This includes a variety of kinds of clubs, ranging from the Yiddish-speaking Ladies' Relief type of society of the first area, to the fashionable and well-known Council of Jewish Women, branch of an international philanthropic and educational organization, of the fourth area.

Mutual benefit societies are next in importance (13.0%), while the remaining types form about equal proportions. Nationalistic societies (mostly Zionistic) form 9.8%, socio-economic clubs (including those interested in various labour movements associated with the colonization of Palestine) 6.5%, fraternal orders (including not only the B'nai Brith Lodge, but also the Masons, Knights of Pythias, etc.) 8.2%, educational societies (including musical and dramatic groups, etc., as well as those associated with Jewish and other types of study) 6.2%, and all others 7.8%. The latter include school clubs, synagogue governing bodies, business and professional associations, and others.

Wide differences are discernible among the areas. The nationalistic organizations, predominantly made up of the Hadassah and Junior Hadassah (described more fully in Chapter X), although drawing members from all parts of the community, show, in this sample at least, an overwhelming majority to be drawn from Outremont and its vicinity, i.e., the area of third

settlement,,which makes up 16.5% of the total as compared with 1.6%, 5.9%, and 8.5% from the first, second, and fourth areas respectively. Similarly, the philanthropic societies, although in each instance forming a goodly percentage of the clubs of the area, do so most emphatically in the area of third settlement.

As might be expected, mutual benefit societies exist most abundantly in the area of primary immigrant settlement, where the need for them is greatest. 25.8% of this area's club affiliations fall into this category, and 21.3% of those of the second area. In the later areas, however, this localized and elementary form of insurance almost disappears. These clubs form only 6.3% of the total in Outremont and 1.9% in the west end of the city. With the rise in economic and social status, and with the dissipation of the need and natural tendency for self-sufficiency within the ethnic group, these little mutual benefit associations, often fraternal in nature, frequently composed of "landsleute" (i.e., formed on the basis of common towns or vicinities of residence in Europe), are found less necessary and less desirable.

Equally eloquent in revealing the objectives and outlook of the inhabitants of the different areas are the data for the socio-political clubs. Again, emergence from the locale of most intense cultural life and of least opportunity for expansion of one's ambitions in secular directions, leads to diminished enthusiasm for labour movements, associated with Zionism or otherwise. In the first area, those belonging to the Poale Zion, Pioneer  
(1) Women and similar organizations, make up 15.2%; in the second area 9.5%; in the third area 3.1%; and in the fourth 0.5%.

Recreational clubs show the greatest relative concentration in the first area, although this category is prominent in all parts of the community. In the first three areas, the Y.M.H.A. and Y.W.H.A. are mostly responsible for this prominence.

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(1) See Chapter X.

Fraternal orders are joined most often in the third and fourth areas, where the residents possess the wherewithal to pay dues, leisure enough to allow for an interest in general communal needs, and the personal qualifications necessary for admittance. 1.2% of the club memberships of the first area fall in this class, 2.6% of those of the second, 11.8% of those in the third, and 16.6% of those in the fourth.

Educational clubs are by far the most numerous in the fourth area. This may be due in large measure to the fact that the large and well-organized synagogues of Westmount and its vicinity give greater opportunity for such club membership in this area, sponsoring certain of the clubs themselves. The "socio-economic" clubs, prominent in the first and second areas, are largely educational in nature, but have not been so classified.

Table LIA discriminates between the generations, and in the middle generation, between the sexes. Invariably mothers form the group most numerically important in the nationalistic-philanthropic organizations. Of the philanthropic organizations of sundry types, mothers are the most numerous members, as well. In all areas these or the mutual benefit societies constituted practically the sum of all grandparents' club affiliations too. Philanthropic clubs form a negligible portion of the fathers' clubs, except perhaps in the third area; but a most important proportion of their total affiliations are the mutual benefit organizations in the first two areas (63.6% of the total in the first and 50.0% in the second).

Children, mothers, and fathers belong in practically equal percentages to socio-political clubs (grandfathers are conspicuously absent), although figures for the youngest generation have a slight advantage in the first area over the others.

Recreational club affiliations are overwhelmingly great among the youngest generation, while fraternal orders are joined most often by the fathers. In the third area, however, and even more in the fourth, the children do show some alliance to this type of society. In these areas it is more than likely that the orders joined by the latter are High School

and University fraternities and the Junior Order of B'nai Brith Lodge.

### Summary Statement

The Jews of Greater Montreal are not, then, a homogeneous group. Having long since emerged from Montreal's "ghetto", many are associated with it in only a few remaining ways. To many of the elite of the Jewish community --residents of Westmount and in large measure of Notre Dame de Grace Ward-- the "Main Street" is only a place to visit on the odd occasion for indulgence in delicatessen, or perhaps for business purposes; Marie Anne and De Bullion Streets are merely dirty and shabby thoroughfares where dwell many of the applicants for the various forms of aid for which they raise funds. The inhabitants of these streets and their neighbours have, in many cases, some equally narrow and limited picture of their more successful co-religionists. Yet in between these two widely differing groups there are many others, all in various intermediate stages of adjustment and assimilation.

The section just concluded has been an attempt to measure the gradings by which this process of adjustment and assimilation is taking place. Implicit in the discussion, which limits these gradings to four, and encloses these four classes of persons within arbitrary territorial boundaries, is the assumption that innumerable smaller variations, as well as many deviations from the general trend, exist.

It will now be our duty to complete the picture of each of the three remaining areas, somewhat as has been done in the case of the first area (Chapter VII). A major portion of this task has already been done in the discussion of the present section, just completed. Each area once discussed as an entity, its function as an integral part of the whole Jewish community will remain for treatment. (Chapter XI).

Chapter IX. Analysis and Comparison of the Second, Third, and Fourth  
Areas of Settlement as Separate Entities

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The Area of Second Settlement

It is worth noticing, in the foregoing discussion of differences in statistical data among the four areas, how the area of second settlement almost invariably approximates the characteristics of the first. This is particularly noticeable in the discussion of club membership, (Tables LIA and LIIA), occupation and occupational status (Tables XLVIA and XLVIIIA), reading habits (Table XXXIXA), moving picture patronage (Table XLIIA), and others. This fact is most significant, for that is just what an area of second settlement is, in essence--an approximation, a sort of lesser reflection of the area of first settlement. Not quite ready to take on the positive features of dress, manner, behaviour, and outlook acquired by the inhabitants of the third and fourth areas, members of the population of such an area have nevertheless begun to shed some of the outstanding and distinguishing features of their brethren who have succeeded them in time as they will in space.

"The proletarian ghettos work as a filtering-bed, in which immigrants, too old or unable to adjust themselves to new conditions, sink to the bottom and form a residue. The others--most of all the second generation--supply the outflow. They do not, however, as a rule, move straight to the non-Jewish districts, but pass through a second, middle-class ghetto.....Like a butterfly which has to pass through the stages of the caterpillar and the chrysalis, the Jewish immigrant requires several transmutations before he has fully adjusted himself to the new surroundings." (1)

Boundaries of the Area---The boundaries of this area have already been specifically designated. Mount Royal Avenue, the natural northern boundary of the area of first settlement is at the same time the natural southern boundary of the area of second settlement. No northern boundary to the second settlement area has been set, because there is no other spatial unit to the north which concerns this study. Jewish settlement thins out to very meagre proportions north of Van Horne Avenue. For practical purposes the latter may be considered the northern boundary.

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(1) Ruppin, Op. cit., pp. 39-40.

On the west, it might appear that Park Avenue is the natural boundary, and so it is in a way. A busy thoroughfare for autos and tramways, and an equally busy commercial sub-centre of Montreal, it serves equally the second area and the third, just west of it. But the centre of Hutchison Street, parallel to Park Avenue one block west marks the political boundary between the City of Montreal and the City of Outremont, so that in such matters as taxation, school attendance and administration, voting, care of the streets, and the like, there are marked differences between the two sides of the street. The east side of Hutchison Street belongs to the second area of settlement, not the third; and therefore Hutchison Street has been chosen as the boundary between the two areas.

On the east, as on the north, it does not matter very seriously exactly where the boundary is placed, since Jewish settlement gradually thins out in that direction, giving way to French. St. Denis Street may be considered the approximate eastern limit of Jewish residences.

Appearance of the Area---The appearance of the second area is not strikingly different from that of the first. The streets for the most part conform to the same pattern: from St. Urbain Street westward they are fairly wide, with many three-storey flats, and many trees lining the streets. From Clarke Street eastward the streets are narrower, shabbier, and contain houses commanding lower rentals. St. Lawrence Blvd., the central and busiest and most typical street of the "ghetto" undergoes a striking change as it crosses Mount Royal Avenue and enters the second area. Quite suddenly, it discards a great many of the features that mark it as the Jewish "Main Street." There is less noise and traffic, it seems, fewer small shops of the type characteristic of the ghetto, fewer pedestrians. The stores that are located here are not so busy; many of them are French. Park Avenue has taken the place of St. Lawrence in this northern zone as the shopping and amusement centre. Practicly all types of goods and services are available on Park Avenue north of Mount Royal, from radio and furniture stores to optometrists' and beauty parlours. There is an essential difference, however,



between the Park Avenue shopping centre north of Mount Royal and the St. Lawrence centre south of Mount Royal. The latter is unmistakably the Jewish "Main Street"; the former is not. Although there are kosher meat markets and Jewish bakeries on Park Avenue, there is practically no Yiddish lettering in the windows; the stores are clean and roomy by comparison,<sup>(1)</sup> the wares more attractively displayed, the attitude between customer and proprietor or clerk slightly more formal. The customers, though undoubtedly Jewish, for the most part, are rarely of the long-bearded, Yiddish-speaking, or be-shawled variety. The theatres on Park Avenue, unlike the "Hollywood" and others on St. Lawrence, have never, or rarely,<sup>(2)</sup> shown a Yiddish film.

The point is that Park Avenue caters to the third area, just as much as to the second, if not more. A Jewish housewife of the third area rarely does her daily marketing on St. Viateur or Laurier Street east of Park, for example, or on the "Main Street," as do many of those of the second. For her, Park Avenue and Bernard Avenue west of Park are the chief shopping centres (inasmuch as she shops in the neighbourhood, rather than downtown).

The second area is a vibrant, busy part of the city. It has six street-car routes, including the bounding thoroughfares, and several bus-lines, making all parts of the city easily accessible from it. It contains three large Protestant elementary schools, whose pupils are almost entirely Hebrew,<sup>(3)</sup> and the large, modern headquarters of the United Talmud Torahs, where many children get both their Hebrew and secular training, in addition to several smaller "cheders". On Villeneuve Street and even on Park Avenue

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- (1) Although Richstone's Bakery, in the heart of the ghetto, has recently been redecorated modernistically and air-conditioned. It stands conspicuously opposite the garrulous, bustling Rachel market.
  - (2) Still, the Mount Royal Theatre, on Laurier, two blocks east of Park, does so repeatedly. It is smaller, older, and more obscure than the two Park Avenue theatres in the area. The Outremont theatre, comparatively large and new, in the heart of the third area, has occasionally presented a Yiddish film.
  - (3) There is no High School in this area. Most Jewish High School children attend Baron Byng High School, in the first area, making up a substantial portion of its enrollment, which is practically 100 per cent Hebrew. Of those who answered our questionnaire in this school, 62.5% lived in the second area.

one may pass fairly often an establishment, usually an ordinary flat, with Yiddish lettering on the door, designating a school, club, or small congregation.

There are many synagogues in this area, (including temporary ones set up on High Holydays in halls and vacant stores), most of them fairly small. Two of the largest are the B'nai Jacob, on Fairmount Avenue, and the Chevra Kadisha, on Hutchison Street. Both of these have considerable numbers of third area adherents.

The Young Men's Hebrew Association, most important as a centre of Jewish communal life, is situated at the border of this area, close to the first area.

House rentals in some parts of this second area, notably on Park Avenue and Hutchison Street and their vicinities, are considerably higher than those in the first area and in the more eastern parts of the second.

Unity of the Area---Is the area of second settlement as homogeneous a unit, as definitely an entity, with its own recognizable characteristics as is the first? Let us regard first the findings brought to light by our questionnaires, and discussed in the preceding chapter, and compare the characteristics of this area with those of the first.

In composition the populations of the two areas are similar. The middle generations of both, i.e., the parents of the present school-age generation, are more than fifty per cent made up of Russian- and Polish-born individuals (Table XLA), and over eighty per cent of non-American-born persons (Table XXXA); while their children are in both cases mostly American-born (Table XLIA). Here the first difference occurs: 84.2% of the area two children are natives of North America, as compared with 78.7% of area one children. Both areas show more or less similar synagogue habits, as far as frequency of attendance is concerned. Finally, reading and recreational habits of the two areas show no striking differences, although both reveal discrepancies between the habits of the different generations.

Area one is, on the whole, more self-sufficient than area two in commerce and religion. Area two goes farther afield for these services,

both back to area one and beyond into other sections of the city. But in certain respects, chiefly in comparative attitudes and practices of the different generations, the second area is the more homogeneous of the two.

In the place of purchase of kosher foods, the second area shows far greater scattering. (See Table XXXVA) Fish, for example, is bought in Jewish establishments of the first area 85.6% of the time by housewives resident in that area, 2.7% of the time in the second area, and 0.7% in the third. Second area dwellers, however, purchase this commodity in the first area in only 56.7% of the cases; in their own area in 31.7%; and in the third area in 1.2%. This scatter from their own area of the second area residents is almost as pronounced in the purchase of kosher meat and Jewish bread. Situated midway between the first and third areas spatially, attracted to the one by force of proximity and habit in some cases, and to the other because of a combination of proximity and other possible factors in others, it is not difficult to see why such a scatter of commercial patronage should be characteristic of the second area. Both these areas are comparatively self-reliant in the purchase of clothing. See discussion on Table XXXVI A, pp. 83-84.

Table XXXIIIA shows that the same phenomenon of scatter is to be found in synagogue attendance among dwellers of the second area. While 32.7%<sup>(1)</sup> of the ghetto dwellers attend the synagogue in their own area, 4.4% attend in the second area, and 4.2% in the third, showing a decided concentration within their own boundaries, 19.5% of second area inhabitants cling to a "ghetto" synagogue, 29.4% attend in their own area, and 12.2% in the third area. This general pattern is found in the distribution of locations of synagogues attended by all three generations. Again, it is easy to understand this distribution. Loyalty to a first area synagogue, fortified by habit and proximity to it, encourages continued attendance in the first area; while many persons, living close to the boundaries of Outremont, do not find

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(1) A comparatively large percentage of this group gave no answer to

(1)  
it inexpedient to attend third area synagogues.

In other respects, however, the second area is the more homogeneous of the two. In the matter of languages spoken by all the persons concerned, both areas show similar patterns of distribution, but the second area shows more homogeneity among the generations (Table XXXVlllA). In the second area, parents speak only English and Yiddish, as do their children, in the greatest percentages, while in the first area the parents' modal reply, unlike the children's was that they spoke English, Yiddish, and a third European tongue.

Homogeneity between parents and children (i.e. between first and second generation immigrants, in many cases) is further displayed in the second area by Table XLlllA, on movie attendance. In area one, this form of entertainment is indulged in once a week or more by 45.8% of the children, 32.2% of the mothers, and only 27.4% of the fathers. In area two, the same information applies to 45.7% of the children, 37.8% of the mothers, and 31.7% of the fathers. Grandparents attend, apparently, more often in area one (48% as compared with 2.4%). The large numbers in this group who gave no answer renders the information hardly reliable, however.

Newspaper habits show no striking differences between the areas. Both show discrepancies between the habits of the different generations, and both stand out from the third and fourth areas.

Clubs---The first area showed (Table LlA) a great deal of scatter in the club affiliations of the different generations and in those of the different sexes. The younger generation's clubs were 65% recreational and 17.5% socio-political, with negligible proportions of other types. Their mothers belonged 53% to philanthropic societies of various kinds, and secondarily (24%) to mutual benefit societies; while their fathers favoured mutual benefit societies primarily (63.6%) and socio-political ones next (12.7%) The

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(1) Several factors make this third area attendance even more natural. The Chevra Kadisha "Shul" as stated earlier, is on Hutchison Street, and may in some cases have been classified in the third area. The Beth David, or "Roumanian" synagogue, on St. Joseph Blvd. at Nelson Avenue, near the outskirts of Outremont, moved there some time ago from farther downtown, to follow the movement of Jewish population.

grandparents belonged to so few clubs that they are not worth serious consideration. Hence the interests of this area's Jewish population show a wide diversity.

In the area of second settlement slight changes appear in the data on the younger generation, primarily a reduction in the recreational and socio-economic clubs, although these still lead, and an increase in the nationalistic and educational clubs. There is apparently a greater scatter in the type of club joined, indicating a greater diversity of interests. And this diversification manifests itself in the club affiliations of the mothers and fathers too. While the philanthropic and mutual benefit type still hold primary importance among the women's clubs, the socio-economic lose place, and the Hadassah, fraternal, and educational gain greater prominence. The same trend is somewhat less intensely noticeable among the men's club alliances.

Hence Table LIA furnishes convincing evidence that the second area inhabitants have the time and the incentive to interest themselves in diverse activities, as compared with the first area. Nor do the children limit themselves to the same activities and interest as the parents.

We have seen, on the whole, that the area of second settlement is neither self-sufficient nor homogeneous to a very marked extent. It is less intensely an area of Hebrew culture and spirit than the area of first settlement, neither has it the outward appearance, or the cohesive quality, the esprit de corps, of the fourth area. Yet it is definitely a natural area, with its own characteristics and its own inalienable place in the series of areas of successive population movement, adjustment, and assimilation of the Jewish group to the general population of Montreal.

#### Outremont and Vicinity, the Area of Third Settlement

If Montreal's Jewish community were to be divided, along cultural, social, and economic lines, into two parts instead of into four, the logical split would be between the first and second areas on the one hand, and the third and fourth on the other. The first two areas, as has been portrayed above,

are not radically different from each other. Outremont and the Westmount-Notre Dame de Grace areas, though far from identical, are less remote from each other in nature than they are from areas one and two.

Outremont, while in many respects revealing traces of its second area background, and striving in many others to be a replica of the fourth area, its social and economic model, is a distinct entity, with certain characteristics quite unlike those displayed by the other two.

Outremont does not contain so concentrated a Hebrew population as do the first two areas. 23.68% of the total population of the City of Outremont --which is an independent municipality, administratively distinct from the City of Montreal--are Hebrew. St. Jean Baptiste Ward, in the first area, by comparison, is 34.29% Hebrew, and St. Michel Ward, in the second area,

(1) 38.59%. Still, Outremont contains about twelve per cent of the total Hebrew population of Greater Montreal. (2) The residents of this suburb are for the most part in fairly well-to-do circumstances, and some have been extremely successful.

Boundaries---On the southern limits of this municipality, Mount Royal rears its green bulk as a natural barrier. Hutchison Street on the east is a logical division, (3) as are railway tracks on the north, which cut Outremont off effectively from the outlying Town of Mount Royal. On the west only, there is no natural and distinct bounding line, this third area giving way imperceptibly to the rapidly-growing residential section in Mount Royal Ward, (4) which might almost be considered to form an area of fifth settlement.

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(1) See Table XIII A, Appendix.

(2) As pointed out in Chapter IV, for this study Greater Montreal comprises the ten wards and two municipalities listed in Table XIII A. Few Jews reside in other parts of Greater Montreal.

(3) See discussion on the boundary lines of the second area, p. 108.

(4) See discussion of this growing section, pp. 27-29.



Appearance of the Third Area---The appearance of Outremont presents a very perceptibly different aspect from that of the two preceding ones. There are far more single dwellings and modern duplexes and apartment houses here. Practically all the streets are tree-lined, the houses fronted with lawns. The streets are much freer from papers and refuse, better lighted, and more passable in winter than those east of Hutchison Street. The small stores--candy and cigarette stores, ice-cream parlours, beauty salons, and the like, are characteristically cleaner and more attractively appointed than in the other two areas. The groceries are more often branches of large chains.

Farther afield spatially from the central business and shopping area of the city, Outremont is as well connected with the latter as are the other areas. Tramway transportation takes slightly longer, since the distance to cover is a little greater, and only specialized cars turn off from Park Avenue, the main transportational route for areas directly north and east, as well as north-west for Outremont, of the area of first settlement. There are two main tramway lines in Outremont, one along the south-west limit, the other in the heart of the area, and one bus line. (Another runs along the south-west boundary). Bernard Avenue, which is travelled in part by both bus and street-car, is the main shopping and service centre of the area, although, as already pointed out, for almost every purpose Park Avenue, in the second area is patronized equally, if not more.

(1)  
Three Protestant schools, including one High School, serve this area. The Beth David Synagogue, on the outskirts of the area, is the only fairly large one in Outremont, yet it draws members from the second area as well. The Adath Israel Synagogue--the only one, practically, in the heart of Outremont--was founded a few years ago.

Within the third area are no "cheders" or Hebrew schools comparable to the Talmud Torahs or Jewish People's Schools, and others, of the first two areas, or to the well-organized Hebrew classes affiliated with the large

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(1) Over sixty per cent of the pupils of these Protestant schools are Hebrews. The latter are not admitted to their staffs or boards of trustees, however.

west-end congregations. This paucity of both synagogues and sources of Jewish religious and cultural training sets Outremont apart from all other areas. Land has been purchased and work begun on the construction of a new building, to be the spiritual and cultural Jewish centre of Outremont, but up to the present time such a centre has been lacking.

Unity of the Area---Having shaken off numerous appurtenances of their ethnic background, and having achieved some measure of success and recognition in the larger community, the Jews of this area have nevertheless failed to unite into a solid, self-conscious community as have those of the west end. They are spatially far from the institutions which give expression to and assist the survival of their cultural needs, <sup>(1)</sup> and being spatially removed, have become, to some extent, spiritually removed as well. This, of course, is particularly true of the youngest generation, who have grown up in an atmosphere relatively barren of their traditional culture. Yet, unlike the Westmount and Notre Dame de Grace Jews, who are equally remote from the ghetto spatially, they have not, in any substantial degree, set up their own institutions.

"Outremont.....leans upon a neighbouring city for its spiritual sustenance," writes H. Wolofsky, (2) proprietor of the Yiddish Montreal Daily, the "Eagle", and the English language weekly, the "Canadian Jewish Chronicle", in an article deploring this situation. "The Jews of Outremont", he says, "have moved to parts quite distant from the hub of Jewish life and are separated from the constructed Jewish community in Montreal.

".....There is not one spiritual or cultural centre or building in the entire section of Outremont. Many of the Jews of Outremont still maintain an affiliation with those synagogues which were built years ago in the 'downtown' parts of the city. Under such circumstances, many hardships present themselves which make it impossible to attend these synagogues. When the Holydays arrive, a certain element overcomes the difficulty by taking the car to the synagogue.(3) Others take advantage of the patchwork 'minyanim' (congregations) that arise in some first-storey flat. Some still manage to wend their way afoot to

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- (1) Except from the Y.M.H.A. The United Talmud Torahs' centre, while actually nearer to the third area, is relatively more remote for young children to attend daily.
- (2) H. Wolofsky, "What Is Happening in Outremont?" in the Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Montreal, January 17, 1936, p. 5.
- (3) Strict orthodoxy forbids riding on the Sabbath or on Holydays.

the downtown 'schul' and very many find it more expedient to do without a synagogue altogether.

"The same applies to a Talmud Torah for the children. There is somewhere in Outremont a cheder, which could hardly be dignified by the name of Talmud Torah for such a large community. The central Talmud Torah is too far for the children, with the result that some children have private tuition, others go to the little Talmud Torah in the vicinity, and the majority have no Jewish education whatsoever.(1)

"Having no spiritual centre from which Jewish life and thought might radiate, the older generation is torn away from general communal life while the problem of the younger generation is a more serious one. In the case of the latter, a new generation is arising which is being reared without the Jewish influence which could be supplied if that district had an imposing synagogue or centre, a rabbi who should preach to them in the language they understand and a Talmud Torah which should educate the young. This is what is lacking in that otherwise thriving section of the community."

This somewhat exaggerated spiritual and cultural isolation he suggests is reflected in, or lies at the bottom of, their apathy to the administration of the charitable and other communal affairs of Montreal Jewry as a whole.

"We find that the Westmount section has its own Hebrew School. Moreover, from the ranks of these people are recruited the leaders of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, which constitutes the bulk of philanthropic endeavour. They are among the staunchest and most liberal supporters of the Central Talmud Torahs in Montreal, even though they live quite a distance away and have their own Hebrew school and synagogue to look after. Westmount Jewry is still an integral part of the communal map of Montreal in spite of the local activities that they have.....

"As compared with Westmount, Outremont has a much larger Jewish population, yet there is not one large synagogue in Outremont or Talmud Torah of any significance. Moreover, it is mooted that even the large communal institutions in Montreal are not supported by Outremont Jews as they should be.(2) This indifference is not because the Jews of Outremont feel less Jewish than their co-religionists in other parts of the city. Not at all! It is because they are torn away from the religious and cultural life of the community."(3)

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(1) This statement is not upheld by certain statistical findings. See section on the Hebrew schools, Chapter X, Section II, and Table LIIIA.

(2) Elsewhere in the same article he states, ".....we learn that among the contributors to the central Talmud Torahs and other institutions, Outremont Jewry does not make a conspicuous showing, in spite of the fact that many of its inhabitants are in very favourable circumstances. Even among those who give, there is apparently a desire to 'get away with it', judging from the reports of every campaign."

(3) Op. cit.

How do the data secured in our sample of 512 families bear out the rather extreme statements made in this article? A glance at the tables is in order at this point for the purpose of examining the degree of self-sufficiency among Jews in this third area. In country of origin, the Jewish population of Outremont is perhaps slightly less homogeneous than either the first or the second area.<sup>(1)</sup> Although approximately the same proportion are Russian-born, constituting the largest single group (about 32 per cent), the Roumanian-born group, unlike the situation in the other two areas, is more predominant than the Polish-born. Again, Outremont contains a larger number of Canadian-, American-, and British-born.<sup>(2)</sup> On the other hand, 74.5% of the mothers and fathers of the school pupils were either born in America or have been here 25 years or longer, the distribution of length of time in America by quinquennial periods showing far less scatter than in areas one and two (Table XXXA). The youngest generation are distinctly more homogeneous in birthplace than the others. 94.7% have been born in Canada, and 98.0% in Canada, the United States, and British Isles and Possessions. (Table XLIA). The population, on the whole, includes more native Canadians than those of either the first area or the second.

From Table XXXIIA, it appears that Outremont Jews attend the synagogue somewhat less frequently than those of the first two areas. Only 10.4% attend during the week as compared to 13.0% in the first area and 14.2% in the second. About equal figures appear in the "Sabbaths" and "on all Holidays" categories; but more Outremont Jews attended on the High Holidays only (17.7% as over against 11.6% and 10.2%); and larger numbers attended not at all (5.3% as compared to 2.3% and 2.2%). Still, these figures are not as radically different from the other two areas as Mr. Wolofsky's

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(1) As before, this refers to the generation who are parents of the pupils interrogated--Table XLA. The birthplaces of the entire population by areas of settlement are not given.

(2) Note that in the first two areas 17.1% and 9.1% respectively did not answer this question, as compared with 1.3% of the third area--Table XLA.

diatribe would suggest. Furthermore the fourth area, in frequency of attendance, shows up somewhat less favourably than does the third, in spite of its undoubtedly greater opportunity to do so. 7.8% attended during the week, according to Table XXXIIA; figures for "Sabbaths" and "all Holidays" were about the same as for the other areas; while those attending on High Holidays only made up 18.3%. As mentioned before, the sample in this area is very small, totalling only 51 families, and this tends to reduce the value of the percentages. Yet it will be noticed that the distribution in all four areas is basically similar. Outremont Jews, then, do not show much variety within their ranks in synagogue attendance, just as was found in all areas. The majority attend on Holidays, somewhat lesser numbers, especially among the older people, attend more frequently than this, while very few report no synagogue affiliation whatever.

One difference between the habits of school pupils and their fathers, not noticeable in the two previous areas, is that the former seem to attend more assiduously than the latter. Although no pupils at all claimed to attend during the week, as over against 4.6% of the fathers, fully 35.8% attended on Sabbaths, while only 22.5% of the fathers did so. This situation is to be found in only a very modified form in the first area, and not at all in the second.

As for attending a synagogue in one's own area, Outremont Jewry, according to Table XXXIIIA, shows this tendency more strongly than any other area except the fourth. 35.8% of those Outremont Jews who attend the synagogue do so in their own area, according to our sample information, while only 32.7% of the first area Hebrews do so, and 29.4% of those in the second area. Whether the sample is a specialized one, or some other modifying factor is responsible for this strong contradiction to Mr. Wolofsky's allegations, is a matter for further investigation.

In the purchase of kosher meat or Jewish type of foodstuffs, Outremont Jews stick less closely within their own confines, on the whole, than those of any other area, including the isolated fourth area(i.e., isolated from

the point of view of access to other areas for daily shopping purposes). Reading diagonally down from the top left-hand corner of Table XXXVA, it may be seen that 87.7% of first area dwellers buy kosher meat in their own area; 45.1% of second area dwellers do so; 37.1% in the third area; and 43.1% in the fourth. This pattern is not quite so marked in the case of the purchase of fish at Jewish shops, but it is most intensified of all in the purchase of bread. 91.1% of first area inhabitants buy Jewish bread within their own area, 40.3% of the second area residents, 17.2% in the third area, and 56.9% in the fourth.

The reasons for this seem quite clear. That many still prefer the ultra-specialized Jewish commercial services available in the stores on St. Lawrence Boulevard, or, through force of habit, believe them to be such, explains the considerable dependency on the first area. The second area's commercial centre, chiefly Park Avenue, it has already been pointed out, serves as a shopping centre in general for the near-by third area. The purchasing power of Outremont Jews, as far as the commodities in question are concerned, is thus expended in three almost equally powerful directions. Persons in the second area, while attracted to the shops of area one for the same reasons as are the Outremont dwellers, plus their greater proximity, have no corresponding need for going up to the third area for these commodities, hence their purchasing power remains concentrated in two areas only--the "ghetto" and their own area. The west-end group, who, it will be noted, are relatively more dependent on the area of first settlement for these services, being spatially distant from the other three areas, employ the services available in their own vicinity, or go directly to area one. There is no incentive or necessity for them to rely on either of the other areas.

The newspaper habits of the children of this area approximate those of their parents more closely than in areas one and two, but not as closely as they do in area four, where all three generations make the same first choice of reading material. As might be expected, habits of the children and parents of the third area diverge mainly on the reading of the Yiddish press,



just as the habits of the parents and grandparents diverge on the same point (Table XXXIXA).

Movies are attended more frequently in the third area than in the two preceding ones among all generations <sup>(1)</sup> (Table XLIIIA), but particularly so on the part of the parents of the school-age children. In area three, the parents' distribution in Table XLIIIA more closely approximates the children's than in the other two.

Languages known most often by children and mothers of the third area are English, French, and Yiddish. The fathers often speak one or more European languages in addition to these three (Table XXXVIIIA). This indicates considerable homogeneity among generations on yet another count, not, however, much more than is to be found in the language data for the other areas.

Of the four areas under discussion, Outremont stands out in having women's organizations well outnumber all the others. In every other area children's clubs are most numerical,--which seems not unnatural, since most families contain more than one child.

In area three, as has been pointed out before, it is the nationalistic-philanthropic organizations which are so predominant. Of these, Montreal Hadassah <sup>(2)</sup> is largely responsible for this predominance. Let it be said at the outset in this connection that the women of Outremont are not necessarily as hyper-nationalistic as this implies. Although doing conscientious work in the raising of funds for Palestinian rehabilitation, this organization (divided into local chapters within the city) performs other <sup>(3)</sup> functions. Not the least of these is its function as a medium for the gathering together of women of more or less common residential, financial,

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(1) Except that grandparents seem to attend most frequently in the first area.

(2) See Chapter X, Section II, on institutions and organizations for further details.

(3) In other areas this holds true as well, but there are possibly more types of organizations which perform this function, e.g., the many small Ladies' Relief circles of the first two areas, and the large charitable and educational organizations of the fourth.

and social backgrounds, for the pleasant spending of an afternoon, drinking tea, and chatting. A woman almost automatically becomes a member of the community if she joins Hadassah. She knows what is going on, what money-raising affairs are to be held, she participates in these affairs, and she is in constant contact with sources of the latest news about the births, marriages, professional success, etc., of the members of the community. This may, and probably does, account for the large membership of this, as of many other societies, in considerable measure.

As in area two, there is an appreciable spread in the distribution of the different types of clubs joined in this area, reflecting diversity of interests among the inhabitants. Philanthropic clubs make up 51.6% of women's societies, but the men show no such pronounced leaning in any one direction. That the area makes a good showing in the relative amount of total club membership was shown on pages 101 and 102.

Conclusion---We have seen that, on the whole, Outremont Jewry, having been in America longer, on the whole, than area one or area two Jewry, (p. 118), and having attained somewhat greater heights on the economic and social ladder, has been able to cast off many of the external features and inner components of the culture of their ethnic group. This, as our questionnaire results have just demonstrated, has made for greater likeness between the first-generation immigrants and their children in many ways. Such homogeneity automatically reduces the severe conflict usually to be found between a recent immigrant and his child. The newly-arrived immigrant, steeped in his own cultural heritage, fights against certain secular influences which inevitably begin, little by little, to force their way into his life and weaken the solidarity of its organization of standards, values, and ideals. The immigrant's child, less strongly attached to the cultural heritage of his ethnic group, resents the parents' struggle against secularization of his way of life, and welcomes the latter. For, while parents pass on their race to their children, they cannot hand down their culture in a new environment.

"The infant comes into the world entirely devoid of any traces of culture. He proceeds immediately to begin to acquire culture, and he continues to acquire it as long as he lives. Whatsoever culture he has at any given time is the product of his group associations up to that time." (1)

The parents' bitter struggle against the destructive forces impinging on their traditions, customs, and ways of life, against a new language displacing their own, against new values, standards, and ambitions rendering their own out of place and ignored by their children--this struggle is waged most fiercely and most unceasingly in the days of earlier immigrant settlement. When the parents themselves, however, have begun to be reconciled to the relentless process of assimilation, which goes on to some extent whether they will it or not, the conflict naturally begins to wane. Such reconciliation takes place when parents have achieved something of economic success, and are able to effect a higher standard of living for themselves and their children.

In the area of third settlement, then, where the great majority of Jews are in fairly comfortable circumstances, most parents of school-age children, as our data have shown, are themselves primarily Canadians, with typical Canadian habits, attitudes, and objectives. Such is the explanation for the comparatively strong homogeneity between the generations shown in the tables discussed above.

At the same time, Outremont Jews have not the strong sense of unity nor the esprit de corps and potential strength of concerted action as the fourth area--the exclusive "west end" of the city as far as Montreal Jews are concerned.

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(1) H.P. Fairchild, "Immigrant Backgrounds," J. Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1927, p. 10.

### The Fourth Area of Settlement

Forming only about 9.5% of all Jews in Montreal, Outremont, and Westmount, the Jewish population of this area is the best adjusted and assimilated of all. From this area come the large majority of the leaders of the entire Jewish community--its spokesmen, its most distinguished individuals in the eyes of Montreal's and Canada's population at large, its leaders in fashion, its philanthropic and communal administrators, its oldest and wealthiest families.

Boundaries---In spite of the social compactness of this area, spatially it is the most scattered of all. It extends from the eastern borders of the City of Westmount, beginning at Atwater Avenue, for some thirty-odd blocks westward (merging imperceptibly into the ward of Notre Dame de Grace in the meantime), and continues farther west in less concentrated fashion for a few blocks more. The southern boundary may be set at Western Avenue, and in the more westerly section, at Sherbrooke Street. In the Westmount part of the area (i.e., the eastern section) the northern boundary may be set between Sunnyside Avenue and Queen Mary Road, coinciding with the political limits of Westmount. In the central part of the area, i.e., the eastern section of Notre Dame de Grace, Hebrew settlement is strongly concentrated right up to Queen Mary Road on the north. Going westward past Marcil Avenue, settlement thins out, going only as far north as Cote St. Luc Road, the boundary between Notre Dame de Grace and the Town of Hampstead.

This area is therefore scattered physically, and the Jewish population within it is the least concentrated of all the areas. In Westmount, the 1,780 Jews in 1931 constituted only 7.3% of the total population, and in Notre Dame de Grace only 3,299 in a total population of 46,850, or 7.0%. This wide dispersion throughout the area makes the Jews less distinct as an ethnic group within it. There is no quarter of the area which to the passer-by would be recognizable as predominantly Hebrew, as in the case of the other areas, particularly the first two.

Appearance of the Area---The appearance of the area is that of a well-to-do residential district. The homes are mostly single family dwellings; there are many large apartment houses, particularly on Sherbrooke Street West and on and about Queen Mary Road. The former, a string street of Montreal, and one of its busiest automobile, street-car, and bus lines, changes gradually in character as one travels westward. In the downtown area of the city, i.e., east of about Guy Street, it acts as a sort of supplement to the main business and shopping centre, Ste. Catherine Street, to which it runs parallel. Here are novelty shops of many kinds, (e.g. "The House of Silver Craft"), exclusive gown shops in once-fashionable old residences, many doctors' offices, book shops, art dealers' establishments, and the like. West of Guy Street, as far as Grosvenor Avenue (about four blocks east of the western limit of Westmount), Sherbrooke Street contains large apartment houses, for the most part. From Grosvenor westward, however, an abrupt change takes place, and Sherbrooke Street becomes the Park Avenue of the West end. Stores of every description, including a kosher meat market and a Jewish bakery, display their wares.

The Park Avenue of the West end differs sharply from that of the North end, however, in the people who are to be seen on it. The Hebrews among them, to outward appearances at least, resemble their non-Jewish neighbours more closely by far than their co-religionists of the ghetto or of the second area. Their clothing is fashionable and new, their accents low. They are a minority group in the neighbourhood, tending to lose their identity in that of the mass. The Hebrews of Park Avenue are too numerous to feel self-conscious as a minority, and their ethnic identity stands out distinctly.

The institutions of the Hebrew population in Westmount are of an imposing appearance physically. The two synagogues are far larger, more<sup>(1)</sup> elaborately appointed than any others in the city. The "Shaar

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(1) The Shaar Zion Synagogue, formerly on Claremont Avenue, Notre Dame de Grace, was a small, meagrely-equipped building which burned down re-

Hashomayim," the largest and wealthiest conservative synagogue, reveals by its mere description that its congregation values highly such attributes as a desirable site, stately appearance, concessions on the part of orthodoxy to certain other demands. At the dedication ceremony in 1921 of this synagogue, the dedication booklet which was distributed contained the following excerpt:

"The site (Cote St. Antoine Road, at the corner of Kensington), is an ideal one, situated within a stone's throw of Westmount Park, and in the very heart of the most exclusive residential district on the Island."

The building is considered

"the finest of Montreal synagogues. A structure, cathedral-like in its imposing proportions, and dominating its immediate surroundings, it breathes the very life of stateliness and permanence. Built of grey vitrified rock, and sandstone, it is capped by a series of small, Moorish cupolas that lend a touch of oriental musticism to the whole. Fifteen hundred worshippers can be housed in its vast and lofty auditorium (the synagogue proper). There are no side galleries nor pillars to mar the interior. Two large loges raised about two feet from the floor, flanking the sides, are reserved for ladies, and replace the old-fashioned galleries."

The synagogue prides itself on its size, elaborateness, and departure from the "old-fashioned" attributes of the synagogues in the less affluent areas of the city.

In addition to the synagogue proper, the building contains an auditorium with movable seats <sup>(2)</sup> a dozen class-rooms, and several administrative rooms, such as offices and board rooms.

The architecture of this building, then, represents in itself the nature of the self-consciousness of the fourth area. These people take pride in their status, in their appearance before the eyes of the community at large. Furthermore they have the means and the desire to support a synagogue which performs many functions besides the purely religious one.

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cently. Plans have since been made, and a site chosen at the corner of Cote St. Luc Road and Clanranald Street for the erection of a large synagogue and community centre for this congregation at its central point.

(1) Underlined words denote attributes considered to make the synagogue desirable and distinguished. Note the type of characteristics that qualify.

(2) Making it available for dances, etc.



The fourth area stands out as the only one to have a synagogue within whose walls are carried on Hebrew classes, Sunday school classes, recreational and cultural meetings, and the like.

Temple Emanu-El, the only reform synagogue in Montreal, draws the great majority of its adherents from its own area, although some members are residents of other parts of the city. This synagogue, like the Shaar Hashomayim, conducts many allied activities. The "Temple Emanu-El Weekly Bulletin" of December 31, 1937 contains announcement of the Friday Evening Sabbath Service, the Saturday morning Junior Congregation services, notices concerning meetings of the College of Jewish Studies, the teaching staff of the Religious School, the Sisterhood Study Group, and a symposium at the Temple Brotherhood's "Annual fellowship supper meeting on 'Religion Speaks'", three non-Jewish religious leaders being the speakers. The announcement of the symposium includes the note: "Members of the brotherhood are requested to invite their non-Jewish friends as guests." An editorial "New Year's Eve on the Sabbath--a Problem" also appears, devoted to discussion on the problem arising out of the falling of December 31, 1937 on a Friday. The four-page leaflet also carries congratulations to those with birthdays or wedding anniversaries that week; a list of those deceased members of the congregation for whom memorial services were to be held that Sabbath; and a list of "Good Resolutions for the Beginning of the Civil Year," the resolutions dealing with support of the Temple during the coming year in large part.

Hence, this synagogue apparently exerts constant influence on its members. It offers them means of occupying their leisure time, of satisfying their desire for various activities, nor does it omit to attend to their personal doings and offer them the satisfaction of knowing they are remembered and of seeing their names in print.

Such all-inclusive, well-rounded synagogue bills of fare are not offered by the synagogues of any other area. Thus, while undoubtedly the most assimilated group in Montreal (reform Judaism is itself a means of

compromising between the retention of Judaism and the abolition of the inconveniences and conspicuousness of strict orthodoxy in a non-Jewish milieu), the Westmount-Notre Dame de Grace Jews are at the same time not lacking in self-consciousness and self-identification with their own ethnic and racial background. The Temple Emanu-El Bulletin demonstrates this. In its style and content this bulletin does not, at first sight, seem like that of an immigrant congregation, which, indeed, it is not. The bulletin, like the sermons, uses English as its medium of expression; the various groups--sisterhoods, auxiliaries, and study-groups--are like those of any other non-Jewish congregation. But here the non-Jewish resemblance ends. For the remainder of the items deal with matters rising out of the problems of the Jewish group, even a reform group in an advanced stage of assimilation. Conflicts between Canadian customs and Jewish dignity appear (the New Year's Eve problem); the need for friendship and understanding between Jew and Gentile is stressed many times (the symposium and elsewhere). Last but not least, education of young people in the history of their race and its problems in the world today is considered of primary importance; and the need for philanthropic activity toward members of their own race is recognized. The Canadianized, reform Jews of the fourth area are still Jews. Full discussion of this topic belongs in Part V, however.

Homogeneity of the Area---In actual frequency of attendance at synagogues, it has been shown (pp. 118-119) that fourth area Jews vary only slightly from those of the third area. They do, however, naturally attend the synagogue within their own area more than is the case in any other area. Their isolation, both geographical and social, and the location of their own synagogues within their midst, readily explain this.

Their self-sufficiency in the purchase of Jewish foods has already been discussed. (P. 120).

What of discrepancies between the habits of the generations in the fourth area? Both school-age children and their parents have had ample opportunity to absorb Canadian culture, as far as time spent in this

country and external environment are influential in that direction. 82.3% of the parents were born in America or have been here over 24 years; none at all have been here less than 15 years. (Table XXXA). 98.0% of the pupils in our sample were born in Canada or the United States (Table XLIA). Opportunities for the conflict between parent and child found in minority groups living in an alien culture, as discussed in the preceding section, should be minimized in this area. One would expect habits of reading, amusement, club affiliation, and the like, to be quite homogeneous as between parent and child.

This appears to be so, from our tables. Table XXXIXA shows that for the first time in all our areas all four members of the family--children, mother, father, and grandparents--take the local English dailies as their first choice in newspapers. Second choice was unanimous too--light English weekly magazines or papers--except in the case of grandparents, who favour the Anglo-Jewish press (not the Yiddish papers). In all cases the "Eagle", the narrowest paper of all in our list, from the point of view of assimilation, comes last.

As in the third area, the modal language ability for parents is English and Yiddish, but for the first time "English only" is the largest category for children. Similar to those in Outremont is the grandparents' mode, English-Yiddish; for the first time, however, a positive percentage of grandparents appears who speak English only--1.9% (Table XXXVIII A). The homogeneity for all generations is not much greater than in other areas, but the preponderance of English as the language usually **spoken** is greater.

Movie attendance seems about equal to that in area three (Table XLIIIA), the greater enthusiasm for movies of school-age children and their brothers and sisters in the fourth area being counterbalanced by the lesser enthusiasm of their fathers. Women's attendance is about the same in the two areas.

Clubs and societies joined do not differ much from father to child in this area. Mothers prefer philanthropic activities, as in all other areas

(Table LIA), but fathers and children show preference for fraternal and recreational clubs. The latter prefer the educational type most of all. Homogeneity in this respect seems greater than usual in this area. Note the conspicuous indifference to socio-economic and mutual benefit societies. There is less demand for the one, because of interests diverted elsewhere, and less need for the other.

### Conclusion

An attempt has been made in this chapter to set down as clearly as possible the attributes and characteristics, the relative solidarity of these four distinct areas of successive Jewish settlement in Montreal, with an aim to demonstrating how each differs from the others. Each area, then, must play its own assigned role in the life of the community as a whole. To what extent the life of each particular area reveals it to be an organic part of that community, will be the purpose of the following chapters.

PART V. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF MONTREAL AS AN ORGANISM

Chapter X. The Institutional Approach to the Investigation of the  
Development, Adjustment, and Solidarity of the Jewish  
Community

Throughout this thesis the subdivision of the 62,000 persons who make up the Hebrew population of Greater Montreal along various classifications has been made. Like all communities, whether rural, metropolitan, national, or any other kind, it is presumable that this group, while divisible into many categories, is fundamentally a unit, growing and acting as an organism.

This final section will aim to study the Jewish community of Montreal as an organism, revealing the fundamental integration of the areas of settlement and the classes of people within it.

Chapter X utilizes the institutional approach for this analysis. Other methods of approach will supplement it in the following chapter.

Section I. Foreword: A Classification of  
Jewish Institutions in Montreal

This section proposes to study the institutional framework of the Jewish community in Montreal insofar as this framework delimits and reveals the distinctive features of that community and its stage of growth and development in the city of Montreal.

The following questions present themselves:

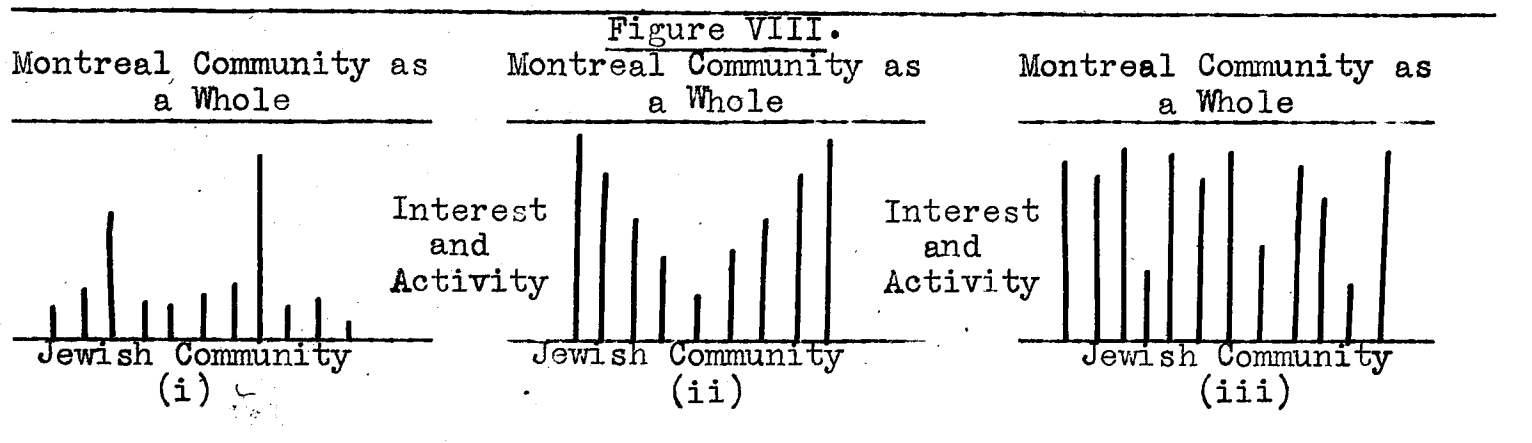
1. What institutions and organizations arise in the Jewish community by virtue of its particular characteristics as an ethnic community and of the milieu in which it finds itself? What institutions emerge similar to those in any community in our society? What marginal institutions emerge?

2. To what extent are the lives of its members limited by its own boundaries, i.e. Is their sphere of activity largely limited to their own institutions and interests as a minority group, or does it fall largely in

that of the Montreal community as a whole?

Furthermore, what non-institutionalized rituals, customs, folkways, attitudes, habits, et., characterize and define this community, and to what extent?

3. Trace the natural emergence and history of the institutional structure, based upon the growth and differentiation of the growth of the Jewish colony in relation to the growth of Montreal as a whole,--i.e., discuss the ecology of the institutional framework.



Which of these patterns of community activity represents most accurately the institutional participation of the Jewish people in Montreal?

- (i) shows concentration of activity within or very close to the Jewish group itself.
- (ii) shows a diffusion of interest and activity rather evenly spread across various distances from the boundaries of the institutions of the Jewish group.
- (iii) shows more of a concentration of Jewish interest and activity in the general sphere, few phases of activity being limited to the ethnic institutions.

In other words, we may classify all institutions with Jewish adherents according to whether they have arisen in response to a specific collective need of Jews because they are Jews; whether they are common in our society but merely serve Jews more conveniently when set up separately by the latter; or whether Jews participate in them to no greater extent in proportion to their numbers than do other elements in the population.



If the latter type of institution predominated, it might indicate that the lives of the Jewish people in Montreal are not confined very closely within their own group, that is, diagram (iii) would be the most accurate.(P. 132).

Hence the following classification suggests itself:

1. Institutions connected with rituals or problems peculiar to the Jewish group alone.
    - a. Synagogue--connected with religion, religious education, perpetuation of the history, language, literature, and teachings of the group.
    - b. Nationalistic organizations--Include Zionistic organizations of many types, nationalistic Hebrew and parochial schools.
    - c. Kosher food organizations and establishments--the Jewish Community Council, specialized type of butcher shops, specially qualified slaughterer.
    - d. Yiddish press--Language newspaper, covering both ethnic and secular subjects.
    - e. Anti-defamation--Canadian Jewish Congress, Committee against Anti-Semitism and Racism.
  2. Institutions and organizations found in many other communities as well, but more conveniently serving Jewish needs when distinct, and having a definite Jewish tinge.
    - a. Social service--Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, settlement house, community centres, women's philanthropic organizations, etc.
    - b. Fraternal orders--B'nai Brith Lodge.
    - c. Certain commercial establishments--bakeries, delicatessen stores.
    - d. Jewish hospital.
    - e. Immigrant Aid societies, sick benefit societies, etc.
    - f. Anglo-Jewish press--largely devoted to social news not quite so acceptable to the English press.
    - g. Sisterhoods, brotherhoods, auxiliaries, young people's organizations affiliated with the synagogue.
    - h. Restaurants, summer hotels, camps, etc.
    - i. Jewish arbitration court (dealing with only a certain measure of the legal problems of Montreal Jews)
- Some of these are marginal in nature, or overlap in function. The B'nai Brith Lodge, for example, might be put in the preceding category, inasmuch as it supports educational projects performed by cultural and nationalistic organizations, and anti-defamation work, etc. For the most part this set of institutions is a manifestation of communal solidarity and independence and in turn helps produce them.
3. Institutions in no way essentially different from those of the community at large, but existing because of formal or informal exclusion of Jews from the latter and the feeling of comparative ease and warmth which being among those by whom one is accepted gives.
    - a. Recreational--bridge clubs, sewing circles, etc.
    - b. Fashionable social and philanthropic clubs, sororities, etc.

- c. Employment bureaus, vocational guidance bureau.
- d. Social club--Montefiore Club.

In spite of themselves, organizations of this type may take on certain inevitable Jewish characteristics.

- 4. Institutions and organizations where Jews form the nucleus for a reason not related to the distinctness of their culture.
  - a. Factory or professional buildings--Jacobs Building, where many men's and women's clothing factories are situated, and a large proportion of the tenants and their employees are Jews.
  - b. Certain Protestant schools, in districts where concentration of Hebrew population is high.
  - c. Outremont Municipal Tennis Courts, situated in a district of relatively dense Hebrew population.
  - d. Certain country resorts.

Into these, too, certain minor Jewish characteristics gradually are injected.

- 5. Institutions of which Jews are adherents, but are segregated within the organization.
  - a. Lodges--Knights of Pythias, Masons. Although full-fledged members of the organization, Jewish members of the Knights of Pythias ally themselves with and offer their assistance to the Jewish Federated Charities, rather than the non-Jewish, for example. Few Jews within the organization belong to chapters other than those which are entirely made up of Hebrews.
  - b. International fraternities.
  - c. Boy Scouts.
  - d. In many institutions Jews are unofficially segregated socially, e.g., in elementary and secondary schools, the University.
- 6. Institutions where Jews participate, and are not noticeably differentiated in status or function from other members.
  - a. Schools
  - b. Y.M.C.A., Junior Board of Trade, etc.
  - c. Theatres, restaurants, business, commercial, and professional establishments, public institutions of all sorts. (This refers to clients or patrons, not employees.)

Even here, certain marginal and exceptional cases are to be found.

Certain swimming-pools, apartment houses, do not admit Jews as clients.

In some cases they are employed or admitted on equal terms, but in limited numbers, e.g., school teachers, Rotary Club, University students and staff.

- 7. Institutions where Jews would like to penetrate, but find it difficult to do so.

- a. As employees in many large firms.
- b. Exclusive social organizations--clubs, golf clubs, etc.

8. Institutions where they do not desire to penetrate.

- a. Ritualistic institutions of another religious denomination.
- b. Anti-Semitic movements or organizations.

They may enter even these in marginal capacities, such as entertainer at a church-sponsored function, for example, or in some other professional capacity.

This classification of institutions answers the first question. The precise number of adherents of each, together with the intensity and frequency of their participation in the life of the institution, would supply the answer to the second.

The institutions classified overlap in many respects. All seem to have anti-defamation as part of their implicit policy or practice, which are designed so as not to give unfavourable impressions about their activities or objectives. Conscious of their vulnerability to racial prejudice and its exploitation, they nearly always behave with an eye to the appearance or possible consequences of their actions. Most organizations, no matter how secular their main interests, always tend to do this. There are also certain other tendencies common to Jewish organizations with secular interests and objectives, which denote the ethnic background of their members, for example the tendency to refrain from meeting on Holy days, whether from the dictates of orthodoxy, concern for appearances, or convenience.

The second question asks how narrowly the lives of the Jews in Greater Montreal are centred about the limits of their own community, or how widely they extend into the life of the community of Montreal at large. The very classification of the institutions that have arisen in response to the needs of the Jewish community, as shown above, is a partial answer to this question. Apparently Jews, even though they take on the outward

manners and outlook of the general population, seem to set up their own duplicate institutions more than any other immigrant group. Such a situation naturally implies a comparatively greater unity and solidarity than is common to other, smaller immigrant groups.

Perhaps this ability to build up a comparatively complete community is due to the fact that the Jews, as Park and Miller declare, <sup>(1)</sup>

".....have the settler psychology. They bring their intellectuals, professionals, business men, as well as their revolutionists and workers, and have, more than other groups, the elements for a complete society.

"Other immigrant groups are usually defective in leadership and creative individuals; few intellectuals come."

Even after immigration has been going on for several decades, and the Jewish community is composed of heterogeneous elements, spatially scattered, it does not lose this suggestion of autonomy, of self-sufficiency. But why should a group, striving on the one hand to achieve recognition in a society, willing for that purpose to lose all marks of their identity, set up duplicate services, charities, educational organizations, and the like, on the other, including those which are designed to perpetuate their own culture and identity? It is because they are forced to do so by the population of the larger community, which is not quite ready to absorb them wholly into itself. This exclusion, together with the ability for communal organization of the Jews, explains this paradoxical phenomenon.

"What makes the Jewish community--composed as it is in our metropolitan centres in America of so many heterogeneous elements--a community, is its ability to act corporately. It has a common set of attitudes and values based upon common traditions, similar experiences, and common problems. In spite of its geographical separateness it is welded into a community because of conflict and pressure from without and collective action within. The Jewish community is a cultural community. It is as near an approach to communal life as the modern city has to offer." (2)

That participation and recognition in the non-Jewish community increases with successive areas of Jewish settlement is both a cause and

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(1) R.E. Park and H.A. Miller, "Old World Traits Transplanted," University of Chicago, 1925, p. 234.

(2) Louis Wirth, Op. cit., p. 290.

a result of greater social, economic, and occupational adjustment in the latter areas.

For further discussion on this point, see the section on "Self-Consciousness of the Group," in Chapter XII.

The second part of this question has already been answered in part by the discussion of the questionnaire results. It has been shown that Jews still eat kosher food, read Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish publications, and speak other languages than English and French in the home. In addition, the following observation may be made:

The phenomenon of "informal culture" here means that portion of the culture of an ethnic group maintained and handed down in a non-formalized, non-institutional way. This involves behaviour in the field of habit and folkway and attitude and primary social control.

It would include such Yiddish as is learned by children at home involuntarily (rather than at a school); the attitudes toward life and toward their specific roles and problems in it of these individuals; their objectives and ambitions as shaped by influences about the home and in the experience of every Jewish individual; the wealth of gesture, facial expression, vocal inflection, and idiomatic expressions untranslatable into English used by many who in most outward respects seem to have lost all racial or ethnic identity.

This portion of the social heritage is not inconsiderable.

We come now to the third question. It is quite evident that one can study the growth of Jewish institutions in Montreal from an ecological point of view. They have followed population movements within the city, and have had to find their place in the changes and competition for space that are constantly going on.

Synagogues have followed the population. (See pp. 50-51). The Shaar Hashomayim, for example, had its early quarters on St. James Street, De Bullion Street, and McGill College Avenue, respectively, before erecting its present structure on Cote St. Antoine Road. Into and about Outremont

several synagogues have moved fairly recently. Synagogues follow the residential movements of people quite closely. This tendency finds its extreme in the ephemeral places of worship set up for the High Holidays in rented halls or empty stores. This represents the acme of flexibility in an organization as sacred and as firmly instituted as the synagogue.

The Y.M.H.A., Y.W.H.A., and others have moved up in the last few decades from Ontario Street or even farther south (always east of Bleury) to at least above Pine Avenue now. The Neighbourhood House and the Jewish Mission are in the heart of the area of most recent settlement, where people are least independent, and more in need of (or susceptible to) the services they offer.

Institutions have also decentralized as Jews moved out of the "ghetto." No longer must one go to St. Lawrence Boulevard to purchase the more specialized Jewish commodities, (though many still do). Kosher meat markets are to be found now on Park Avenue as far north as Bernard Avenue, and on Van Horne Avenue, and more recently, on Sherbrooke Street West. Delicatessen stores and Jewish bakeries, too, have followed people north and west from the area of first settlement. Indeed, a very goodly proportion of the shops on Park Avenue north of Mount Royal are owned or operated by Jews (See pp. 108-109).

Hebrew schools and Talmud Torahs have also followed the same trend. The headquarters of the United Talmud Torahs are now well up in the area of second settlement.

As the Jewish community has become more firmly established, it has increased, the number, size, and scope of its institutions. Many of them are now housed in modern, well-equipped buildings. The synagogues in Westmount are indeed a far cry from many of the shabby, tiny ones which still stand in the older settlement areas. The community boasts a large, well-equipped Y.M.H.A., a hospital, several well-established women's societies, a fashionable social club, a large sanitarium in the Laurentians,



and others. Although many of the institutions--the settlement house, clinics, Young Women's Hebrew Association, and others--are still understaffed and under-financed, yet the growth and maturity of the community are undoubtedly manifested by their existence.

A fuller study of the ecology of the Jewish institutions in Montreal, while not undertaken at this point, should prove fruitful and interesting.

A more intensive discussion of some of the main institutions of the Jewish group in Montreal, pursuing the classification set forth above, follows.

## Section II. The Growth of the Main Institutions as an Aspect of the Growth and Development of the Community

This section, although using as its starting-ground the institutions in the "ghetto" area, will be much broader in scope. Following the classification of Jewish institutions in Montreal presented in Section I, the types to be discussed range from purely ritual, ethnic institutions of Jews to strictly secular ones in which Jews, along with all other elements in the population, participate. The latter require no special treatment here. Many of the marginal institutions, i.e., those that exist not as inherent parts of the Hebrew culture, but because of some circumstance surrounding Jews in Montreal, are situated either in or about the area of first settlement and cater to the total community. Others draw their nucleus of adherents from that area. Hence the residents of the area of first settlement appear to participate in more Jewish institutions than the others; and this may actually be the case, for their Jewish needs are greater, their penetration into non-Jewish life less.

### Institutions of the Ghetto

The ghetto, as a cultural unit, must perforce possess its own distinctive constellation of institutions, which express it and give it its identity, i.e., which are the tangible features of ghetto life and culture, and which also make the area a ghetto.

"In these segregated areas, found in most of the large cities of the Occident, Jews have immersed themselves and in their isolation have built their own institutions, set up their own standards of conduct, and in various ways fortified their own cultural heritage with practices and activities that, in the end, served to tinge the area with a distinctive and peculiar complexion."(1)

This, of course, is a process common to all situations wherein an ethnic group finds itself in the midst of an alien culture.

"The tendency to form ghettos is now strongest in countries with large numbers of recent immigrants; but it is not peculiar to the Jews."(2).

"The social position of the American Jew is best defined by the district he inhabits. This is the index of his economic situation, and even of his political outlook, and most of all of the stage he has reached in assimilation. The Jew in the first ghetto is 'orthodox' in his religion, in the second 'conservative', and in the third 'reformed' or 'liberal'."(3).

The institutional pattern of the ghetto area of Montreal does not encompass all those institutions and organizations which make up the Jewish community; neither does it mirror the pattern of the old European ghetto as pictured by Wirth. (4) It is somewhere between these types: not as broad as the first, nor as narrow and enclosed as the second.

### The Synagogue

The predominant feature of the communal solidarity of Wirth's medieval ghetto was the organization of communal life about the synagogue and other affiliated religious institutions. "The sominant position held by the synagogue in Jewish life is to be accounted for on the basis of the function of religion in that life and the synagogue as an expression of that function." (5) The main specific functions of the synagogue were three: It was primarily a "Beth Hattefilah," or "house of prayer" in the widest sense of that term. It was also a "Beth Hammidrash," or "house of study." Learning and religion went hand in hand among the Jews; school and synagogue were closely con-

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(1) N.P. Gist and L.A. Halbert, "Urban Society," Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1933, pp. 161-162.

(2) Ruppin, Op. cit., p. 38.

(3) Ibid., p. 40.

(4) Op. cit., pp. 52-62. (5) Ibid., p. 52.

(1)  
nected; rabbis were intellectual as well as religious leaders; a religious person meant a learned person, no less than a pious one. And the synagogue was, finally a "Beth Hakkeneseth," or "house of assembly," the administrative centre of the community.

"The synagogue officers had important judicial functions.....In the synagogue centred the educational, the philanthropic, and much of the recreational life of the community.....there arose, as differentiations from the synagogue, several well-defined functionaries."(2)

These included the President or "Parnass", the Treasurer of "Gabay", the "Schochet" or ritual slaughterer of cattle and other livestock, and the  
(3)  
"Shamash", or Beadle, and others.

The cemetery occupied one of the most sacred traditions of the ghetto. Other institutions included the "mikvah", or ritual bath house, the dance-house, burial societies, philanthropic committees, and committees to deal with the civil authorities.

Does the synagogue in the "ghetto" of today play a role like that of its predecessor? The first important fact that prevents it from doing so is that the ghetto of today is not a legal or administrative entity. True, it coincides roughly with two municipal wards of Montreal, but this has little significance as far as administrative autonomy is concerned. It is almost ridiculous to think of the synagogue in the ghetto area today as a "house of assembly" where secular authorities might reach the Jews, public announcements concerning various matters be made (although this is done to a very limited extent), or taxes assessed.

In the first place, of course, methods of communication have changed. Public announcements need not be made by word of mouth. In the second place, the area, although predominantly Jewish, is not wholly so. St. Louis Ward, with the highest concentration of Hebrews of any ward in Montreal, is only 54.9% Hebrew. Thirdly, not all Jews attend the synagogue. It is

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(1) The same word, "Schul," serves for both. "Cheder" was the elementary school, and "Yeshiba" the institution of higher learning.

(2) Ibid., pp. 54-55. (3) Ibid.

true that in this area more than elsewhere are to be found pious and orthodox Jews who attend the synagogue daily, or at least every Sabbath. But the exigencies of competing for a living have made it impossible for the vast majority of Jews to honour Saturday as their Sabbath in the traditional manner, even if they would do so. This inexorable factor, economic necessity, striking straight upon one of the basic traditions of Judaism--the honouring of Saturday as the Sabbath--constitutes a very powerful assimilative force in the life of the Jew. Even in the ghetto this factor prevails. How much more so, then, is the habit of synagogue-attendance on the Sabbath, and with it a whole set of attitudes towards the preservation of religious ritual, weakened among those who have emerged into areas of second, third, and fourth settlement!

The function of the synagogue as a house of assembly has completely disappeared. What of the synagogue as a "Beth Hammidrash", a house of study?

Second only to the synagogue in importance as a ritual Hebrew institution bound up with Hebrew culture and tradition is the Hebrew school. It is this institution which is now the house of study par excellence. Affiliated with some of the synagogues, (but not with many in this first area) are Sunday schools or Hebrew schools. For the most part, however, education in Hebrew language and literature, Jewish history and folk lore, songs, Bible study and religious education are handed out through the medium of independent Jewish schools, often morally and materially assisted by the synagogues, or of independent private tutors, of whom there are a considerable number. Further discussion of this important part of the institutional framework of Montreal's Jewish community will follow.

As a "Beth Hattefilah," or house of prayer the synagogue of course continues to function, although even here its sway has been vastly weakened. As has been pointed out, life under urban conditions does not permit a minority group to observe any day but Sunday as the Sabbath with economic

impunity; hence over the majority of Jews who are actively gainfully employed the synagogue has ceased to exert any direct daily, and even weekly, influence. Daily synagogue has been restricted to the very pious, most of whom are retired or otherwise free to spend the necessary time.

This does not mean that the synagogue is left to disintegrate or disappear through negligence. On the contrary, even in the areas of latest settlement, several wealthy or moderately prosperous synagogues continue to receive support from large congregations. Actual attendance at sermons and prayers in large numbers is limited to those few occasions during the year when special Holydays or festivals are celebrated: mostly on "Rosh Hashonah", the Jewish New Year, "Yom Kippur", the solemn Day of Atonement, and "Succoth", or Thanksgiving,--all autumn holidays; and Passover, and certain other spring occasions. But certain synagogues perform regular social and educational functions, particularly those in the more wealthy residential districts of the city.

In the area of first settlement, then, the synagogue resembles that of the medieval ghetto only to a limited extent. As a house of assembly its function has atrophied; as a house of study weakened and given place to independent institutions; as a house of prayer, it remains. From the point of view of influence of the synagogue over the community in all phases of life Montreal's area of first settlement is not a ghetto; but there is one point--strict adherence to orthodox ritual--which the synagogue of this area had maintained. Unlike those of more assimilated areas, where concessions to the English-speaking and more or less Canadianized element have been made, the ritual here is maintained in the traditional manner, and the traditional atmosphere survives. Many wear the black skull cap or "yarmulkah" instead of the ordinary hat; many long beards are to be seen; "talithes", or ritual prayer-shawls<sup>(1)</sup> are everywhere in evidence. In accordance with custom, the women sit upstairs in galleries, and for the most part do not attend on the Sabbath, but merely on the High Holidays.

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(1) Worn by men only. A head covering is essential for men in the synagogue as well.

Not a word of English is to be heard throughout the entire service; and in two of the synagogues, strict observance of the Sabbath is requisite for membership.

Many of the synagogue congregations are made up, nominally at least, of "landsleute", or those who have emigrated from the same town or county in Europe. At the present time, these lines of demarcation among Montreal Jews have largely broken down, and it is perhaps more through habit and old personal friendships than anything else that such distinctions remain today.<sup>(1)</sup>

(2)

According to Helen Schacher, there were nineteen synagogues of this type in 1930, of which thirteen were in the "ghetto" area, four in the second area, and two elsewhere. Some of these had moved several times.

It is interesting to note that many of these "schuls" get along without the regular services of a rabbi, who is not absolutely essential for the existence of a congregation.<sup>(3)</sup> The business head of the synagogue is often a lay member--someone versed in the handling of financial and legal affairs, and who probably enjoys high social status. With the breakdown of ghetto restrictions the rabbi has ceased to be looked upon as the healer of all spiritual ills, giver of legal and domestic advice, and settler of altercations. He is not the shepherd tending his trusting flock, but a performer of marriage and circumcision ceremonies, a leader of prayers and a maker of sermons, and in some areas a communal leader and spokesman. He can therefore be dispensed with if necessary, since finances in most of these small "schuls" are low, and replaced by a "Baltfillah," who leads the

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(1) The origin of such congregations still survives in some of their names --the Pinsker Schul, Ukrainer Schul, etc. The wealthy Shaar Hashomayim is still called the Deutscher Schul, the B'nai Jacob the Russian Schul.

(2) "The Synagogue in Montreal," 1930, p. 18. (manuscript).

(3) A congregation, or "minyan" may lawfully be formed with a minimum of ten adult males. A rabbi is not essential.



prayers.

Equally orthodox, if not more so, are certain synagogues with no permanent buildings. They rent halls whenever necessary. Most of these are in the downtown district--in the old area of first settlement, and are quite small, being made up of from 50 to 200 members. In 1930 there were fourteen such congregations, which were supposed to have been formed by "landsleute". Again, this is quite probable, since these congregations were apparently formed by early immigrants fresh upon their arrival from the old land.

"Here may still be seen the Jews with their long beards, their long coats, and little silk caps; and the women with their wigs and head-shawls. However, those who still observe these customs in dress are not always in the majority.....but the praying-shawl (talith) is used in every orthodox synagogue."(3).

"These synagogues have no Rabbi or Chazan (cantor). A Baltfillah takes the place of the Chazan. On special occasions a Rabbi from one of the larger synagogues (a Rabbi of the Old School) comes to preach a sermon. As in Europe, this is in the form of a Talmudical discussion .....There are no subsidiary organizations of any sort. The 'Cheder' or Hebrew school is not connected with the synagogue, but the synagogues give these sums of money (4) to keep them up." (5)

The function of the synagogue in Westmount (see pp. 125-128) contrasts vividly in many respects with this ghetto-like, ill-financed, ill-equipped, dingy, orthodox, typical house of worship of the central area of the city.

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(1) However, four of them fall into what has been considered the present area of first settlement, and one in the area of second settlement.

(2) Op. cit., p. 14.

(3) "During prayers we must be especially careful to provide ourselves with a talith. It is a disgrace for a scholar to say the prayer without a talith."---Friedlander, "The Jewish Religion," p. 336. Quoted by Schacher, p.15.

(4) "The (B'nai Jacob) Synagogue (in the area of second settlement) took the leading role in the community's effort to establish a Talmud Torah (Hebrew School).""---R. Ship and J. Leavitt, in an unpublished paper, "The Synagogue in Montreal," 1938, p. 7, Part III.

(5) Schacher, op. cit., p. 16.

The latter has reduced its function to that of a Beth Hattefilah, and even in that function has been modified in certain respects to conform to the ways of life in Canada,--even in a natural area that has taken on the colour of the Hebrew culture and the characteristics of that ethnic group. Even in the "ghetto" of Montreal the first steps towards accommodation have been taken.

The synagogue in the areas of second and third settlement are characterized by gradual changes appropriate to the areas in which they are placed. In most cases residents of both these areas attend the same synagogues, situated rather near the border between the two areas. See Table XXXIIIA for the per cent of third area residents who attend the synagogue in the fourth area, and pages 116-119 for a discussion of the synagogue in the third area. The synagogue in the fourth area and its function were described on pages 125-128.

#### The Hebrew School

Second in the list of institutions of a ritual nature which are peculiar and unique to the Hebrew culture is the Hebrew school. To be sure, every ethnic group which finds itself a minority in a strange cultural milieu will set up institutions whereby its own cultural heritage may be transmitted to oncoming generations. Those institutions set up by the Hebrew group are, however, different in certain respects from most others.

In the area of first settlement, as has already been suggested, the synagogues help support these schools, both morally and materially, but do not actually sponsor them. Different schools lay emphasis on different aspects of Jewish training--and here is where they differ from the cultural schools of most other ethnic minorities. Some stress religious study, others Hebrew or Yiddish language and literature, Jewish history, tradition, and folk lore, and others various aspects of Zionism. In some cases these schools have sought to supplant the Montreal Protestant Schools in the more elementary grades as the agencies of secular education for Jewish children as well, thus making it necessary for them to attend only one

school.

(1)  
In 1898, says A.J. Livinson, M.A., Hebrew instruction was given to Jewish children by "Chedarim" or room schools, "Melamdim", (itinerant private teachers), the Hebrew classes conducted by the Baron de Hirsch Institute, and Sunday Schools associated with various synagogues. Since at that time the main Jewish residential section of Montreal lay well south of Sherbrooke Street, most of the schools were located within the same vicinity.

The first Talmud Torah was located on Cadieux Street (now De Bullion, three streets east of St. Lawrence Blvd.), "just opposite the old B'nai Jacob Synagogue", in the old area of first settlement. It later moved to Lagauchetiere Street. In 1903, "The school followed the trend of population" and moved to 143 St. Urbain (five streets west of De Bullion, but too far south to be in the present area of first settlement); and was chartered under the name of the Montreal Hebrew Free School. Its curriculum was apparently largely composed of cultural subjects, such as Hebrew language and literature, history, and the like. The religious aspect, too, was not neglected, for the school, reports Livinson, had a congregation for daily worship.

In 1906 the idea of introducing a modern Hebrew system of school was seriously considered, and by 1917 the five Talmud Torahs of Montreal were combined under the name of the United Talmud Torahs of Montreal, with 800 pupils and an annual budget of \$16,000. The institution was incorporated in 1922. By 1924 there were eight branches, with 1,250 pupils enrolled in the Talmud Torahs and 57 (note the significant drop) in the "Yeshiva" ("Talmudic Academy", or advanced school). The latter, in 1924, was located at 412 Henri Julien Avenue, which is at the southern extremity of the present area of first settlement.

At the present time this school enrolls over 1,000 pupils, of whom

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(1) "History of the United Talmud Torahs of Montreal," in A.D. Hart, op. cit., p. 187.

(1)

about 400 are taught free. There are 36 classes in all. The school includes a four-year High School or Yeshiva, as well as a seven-year elementary course; and a parochial school up to grade three. From one and one-half to two hours per day, five days a week are devoted to work in both the Hebrew school and the parochial school. In the former, the language of instruction is in some cases Hebrew, and in others Yiddish. Subjects include the study of these languages, the Bible, Jewish history, prayers, songs, and others. Although the school is described as "National Progressive" it is actually devoted, as the curriculum shows, almost exclusively to studies of a religious nature. It is not, like other "National Progressive" schools, concerned with labour or other movements connected with Zionism, and is strongly supported by the synagogue. The school is financed by membership fees, tuition fees, subsidies from synagogues, and the Jewish Community Council of Montreal.

(2)

Such, briefly, has been the growth and development of one of the largest institutions of Hebrew education in Montreal.

Meanwhile, different aspects of Jewish education have been emphasized by other elements in the community. In 1914 the Jewish People's School was opened,--a "progressive Jewish national school." Unlike the Jewish Peretz Schools, (also national-progressive), founded two years earlier, it was not Yiddishistic, i.e., it did not regard the Hebrew language only "as a sort of advanced study to be pursued by the senior pupils." Furthermore, these two schools differed "regarding the extent to which the spirit of the

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(1) Boys make up about 75 per cent of the enrollment, girls 25 per cent,--Livinson, loc. cit. The headquarters of the institution are in a large modern school building on St. Joseph Boulevard West, in the heart of the area of second settlement.

(2) Information about the Talmud Torahs at the present time obtained from answers to a questionnaire sent to seven Hebrew schools in Montreal regarding administration and curriculum by the Canadian Jewish Congress, Bleury Street, Montreal. The Jewish Community Council will be treated later in this chapter.

(3) S. Wiseman, in an article entitled "History of the Jewish People's Schools of Montreal," in Hart, op. cit., p. 189.

school was to be nationalistic."

Founded by members of the Poale-Zion, a world Socialist Zionist party, this school is nationalistic rather than religious. Although Yiddish is by no means ignored in these schools, equal importance is given to both Yiddish and Hebrew as national languages of the Jewish people, and stress is laid mainly on Jewish history, culture, tradition, the building of a national homeland, and on upholding "a positive and sympathetic attitude towards the ideals of freedom, in its broadest sense, including political, economic, social, and national freedom," than on religious pursuits solely.

The Jewish People's School, or the "Folk Schule", gives parochial or secular instruction up to grade five; and at the present time pupils between the ages of twelve and sixteen are enrolled in the cultural department. There are now two branches: one on St. Urbain Street, in the heart of the area of first settlement, and one on Waverley Street, in the more northerly area of second settlement. The Peretz Schule has three schools at present, two in the first area and one in the second.

Struggling against opposition on the part of "official orthodoxy" on the one hand, and the "semi-official Yiddishistic radical wing" on the other, the "Folk Schule" had 250 pupils by 1917; and nearly 400 in 1920, when a permanent building on St. Urbain Street was obtained. In 1922 a Mittel-Schule (High School Course) was begun, and in 1924 the Waverley Street branch was opened at the corner of Fairmount Avenue. By 1924, over 500 pupils in all were enrolled, with twelve teachers and a principal. The proportion of boys to girls was equal. At the present time the school is attended by about 450 pupils, equal numbers of boys and girls, of whom 70 are taught free.

There is a six-year elementary course and a two-year advanced course; the parochial classes reach and include grade five. One and one-half hours per day and two hours on Sunday constitute the work periods in the Hebrew section, while the parochial subjects occupy an additional two hours. The week is a five-day one. Although the languages of the school are Hebrew

and Yiddish, English and French are included in the curriculum. Besides singing, dancing, and music, the subject matter encompasses both Yiddish and Hebrew language and literature, Jewish history, dramatics, world news, and "social information in the higher classes."

This school celebrates May first as a holiday, in addition to all Jewish festivals and Holydays. It boasts a library of Hebrew, Yiddish, and English books, and participates in various communal, social, and educational activities, such as those sponsored by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, the National Fund, and parents' meetings, lectures, debates, clubs, graduates' society, and the like.

Administration is performed by a school board made up of fifteen representatives from the school organization. The Ladies' Auxiliary, affiliated with the central body, is composed of ninety members. These bodies, as well as the mothers', graduates', and students' clubs mentioned above, play a large part in raising funds for the upkeep of the school. A similar situation is found in the case of the Peretz Schools, where the socialist-nationalistic objectives of the supporters renders the maintenance and growth of these schools their constant goal. Neglecting religious instruction practically entirely, in favour of nationalistic and cultural education, these schools have not, like the United Talmud Torahs, the support of the synagogues. The Jewish Community Council has, however, undertaken to subsidize these schools, as well as the Talmud Torahs, in recent years, so that their financial problem has been somewhat lessened.

The Jewish Peretz Schulen, founded in 1912 are, like the Folk Schulen, "national-progressive" in policy, but differ from the latter on certain points. They place greater emphasis on Yiddish as the language of the Jewish people, whereas the Folk Schulen consider Hebrew equally important. Moreover, the Peretz Schulen are not as emphatic in the inculcation of nationalistic Jewish doctrine as the Folk Schulen, being more strongly socialistic in policy.

Detailed information concerning the beginnings and early history of



this school have not been made available. The educational system followed is that developed and advocated by Peretz, after whom the schools are named. Like the other school systems, the Peretz Schools are not limited to Montreal, but are part of a much larger system.

At the present time the Peretz School has three branches: two on De Bullion Street, and one on Waverley, in the area of second settlement. The school has about 300 pupils, of whom about two-thirds are girls.<sup>(1)</sup> About one-quarter of the children are taught free. There are fourteen classes in all, consisting of six elementary grades and three "High School" grades.

The Jewish Peretz Schools offer no secular training, and conduct one hour of teaching a day for five days a week. The language of the school is Yiddish, although Hebrew is included on the curriculum, which includes Yiddish, Hebrew, Jewish history, history of Jewish literature, and the history of social movements.

In addition to all Jewish Holydays, the first of May, graduation, and commemoration days for Yiddish writers are celebrated. The library consists of 1200 Yiddish books and pamphlets; and like the Jewish People's School, several groups have been formed within the school--lecture and study groups. Unlike the other two schools described, there is no "school organization" functioning in addition to the school board, whose members pay dues. There is, however, a Ladies' Auxiliary of about forty women, who are affiliated with the central body, and who, like those of the Folk Schule, are largely responsible for the financial upkeep of the institution. Innumerable means of raising funds have been adopted, including door-to-door solicitation. This school, like the others, receives subsidies from the Jewish Community Council.

All five of these branches are located in shabby, ill-equipped, and meagrely-furnished buildings, which are merely houses practically unaltered from their original form except by the addition of desks and blackboards.

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(1) Note that the United Talmud Torahs, a religious school, draws a large majority of boys, in keeping with ancient custom; while the national-progressives do not attach importance to sex as a basis for education.

As might be expected, the children who attend are not drawn from the most well-to-do, socially established families; on the contrary, they are from the least assimilated and most nationally- and culturally-conscious section. Many, as we have seen, do not pay fees. The predominance of this type of pupil may, in turn, prevent such of the business and professional class Jews who might send their children to a school that combines Hebrew and secular education from doing so. The latter do not live very near the schools; the surroundings of the schools and their interiors are neither comfortable nor particularly pleasant; the children who attend are often shabby, at times somewhat unkempt, and certainly not a step upward on the social ladder. In spite of these prohibitive factors, some third area residents do send their children to these schools, driving them down by automobile in the morning.

A fourth, and relatively minor type of Hebrew school, one indigenous to an area of the type under discussion, is the Workers' School. The Arbeiter Ring, or Workmen's Circle Schools are sponsored as part of the program of the Canadian Workmen's Circle, a radical organization not to be confused with the Workmen's Circle, a labour organization not aligned officially with any particular political party.

The schools were founded in 1927, and now have enrolled about 200 children, two-thirds of whom are girls.<sup>(1)</sup> About one-eighth of the total are taught free. Apparently the school has difficulty in raising sufficient funds, for, like some of the others, it is often behind in the payment of teachers' salaries. Sources of income include membership fees of fifty cents per month, school fees, bazaars, concerts, solicitations, etc., as well as subsidies from the Circle and one or two other organizations.

The elementary course and the High School or advanced course are each four years long. Classes last for from one to one and one-half hours four days a week. The language of instruction is Yiddish, and no other

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(1) See page 151, footnote.

languages are included in the curriculum, which consists of Yiddish, history, biographies, and "social knowledge." Singing is on the curriculum, as it is in all the schools. There is no equivalent to the parochial school. The absence of both Hebrew language and literature and religious instruction is significant, for these schools are primarily interested in the teaching of left-wing doctrine, and only secondarily in the transmission of the cultural heritage of the Jews, either cultural or religious.

Holidays celebrated by the Arbeiter Ring schools include not the Jewish festivals, but the first of May, anniversaries of the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution, birthdays of Peretz, Dineson, Mendole, and other socialist writers. There is a library for children, but it numbers "very few" books. The school, like most, sponsors clubs and lectures.

The school board, according to the response to the questionnaire issued by the Canadian Jewish Congress, (page 148, footnote), is composed of "eight branches of the Canadian Arbeiter Ring", with 27 board members. A Ladies' Auxiliary, affiliated with the central body, contains 57 members.

These are not, of course, the only Hebrew schools. In 1920-21, Lovell's<sup>(1)</sup> lists six in all, of which one is in the old downtown ghetto area, two in the present ghetto, one in the area of second settlement, and two well north-east of the present main area of Jewish concentration, namely on De La Roche<sup>(2)</sup> and Papineau Streets respectively. In 1937, eleven are listed: five in the first area, five in the second, (including the large Talmud Torah building), and one in Outremont. From these figures, taking them for whatever they are worth, it may be seen that the number of Jewish schools found in the old ghetto area has dwindled to nothing, while those in the present areas of first and second settlement predominate. A few qualifying considerations must be kept in mind however before coming to any conclusions: Many children of Outremont, the third area of settlement, attend Hebrew schools in the second area, which is adjacent; in Westmount, the fourth area, the large synagogues sponsor Hebrew and Sunday schools which do not appear among the classified schools; and finally, a great many children are taught in their own homes by private tutors, or in small private schools.

(1) Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1920-21, p.2006. (2) Ibid., 1937, p.2571.

The Canadian Jewish Congress conducted a survey in 1937 whose purpose was to investigate the number of Jewish pupils in Greater Montreal who received Jewish instruction of some sort, the type of Jewish education they favoured, and the average number of years of study. 8,914 or 79.2% of the Jewish students attending the Protestant schools in every municipality on the Island of Montreal or the parochial schools mentioned above answered the questions asked pertaining to Hebrew instruction.<sup>(1)</sup> Of the 8,914 boys and girls who answered 3,536 were receiving some type of Jewish education at the time, while 6,009 were either doing so or had done so in the past. Hence a large proportion (67.4%), though by no means all, of the present school population have received some formal instruction in the language, literature, history, or religion of their forefathers. As is customary among this ethnic group, the boys have received such education in greater relative numbers than have the girls, except in Westmount. See Table LIIIA, Appendix.

Table LIVA, Appendix, shows the distribution of those who were receiving Jewish education of some sort at the time of the survey among the different types of schools. It appears that the overwhelming majority--83.3% of the total--received the traditional type of Jewish education at the schools classified as "conventional" in Table LIVA: the study of Hebrew and Yiddish language and literature, of Jewish history, songs, festivals, and the like. Moreover, the greatest class of dispensers of this type of Hebrew training are the private teachers who make up 36.8% of the total. In the traditional manner, too, far more boys than girls receive this type of education (see Table LV). In three out of four "conventional" schools the percentage of boys far outweighs that of girls.

13.2% of the total received Jewish education characterized by the "progressive" emphasis; 2.0% the more radical training given by the Workers' Schools; and only 1.5% the religious training of the Sunday Schools.

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(1) From a pamphlet, "Jewish Education in Montreal," issued by the Canadian Jewish Congress, December, 1938, p.2. (Mimeographed material).

It is of interest to note that while the traditional type of training, essential in the preparation of a boy for his bar-mitzvah (see p. 92, footnote), is given to only a limited number of girls, except in Westmount, such is not the case with the other types of training. The nationalistic and progressive schooling, not being connected with any religious ceremony, does not regard the sex of the pupils as important. As will be seen in Table LV, the number of girls more than doubles that of boys in these schools.

Table LV. Per cent of boys and of girls attending different types of Jewish schools, 1937. (1)

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
All Schools.....	67.9.....	32.1
Private Schools.....	83.6.....	16.4
Private Teachers.....	78.7.....	21.3
Talmud Torah.....	76.6.....	23.4
Sunday Schools.....	47.2.....	52.8
Congregational Schools....	45.5.....	54.5
Workers' Schools.....	39.4.....	60.6
Jewish People's Schools...	32.1.....	67.9
Peretz Schools.....	27.3.....	72.7

(2)

The first area is described in the survey as that area bounded on the west by Park Avenue and lying south of Mount Royal Avenue, as well as the area bounded on the west by St. Lawrence Blvd. and lying north of Mount Royal Avenue. The eastern and northern limits of the area are not specified exactly, but Jewish concentration of population dwindles east of St. Denis and north of Van Horne Avenue. In this area, (which includes part of what we have defined elsewhere as the area of second settlement), attendance at the progressive schools is higher than it is in the city as a whole. So is attendance at the Talmud Torah. On the other hand, attendance at congregational schools is well below that for the group as a whole. As a matter of fact, the latter type of school, being limited largely to the large west-end synagogues, draws most of its scholars from that area.

(1) Ibid., p. 10.

(2) Ibid., p. 2.

The large figure in the third area may partly be explained by the inclusion by the Congress of Notre Dame de Grace in their third area, instead of in the fourth, as has been done throughout this paper. The second area has a distribution pattern similar to the first, except for a drop in attendance at the Peretz Schools, for which no explanation readily presents itself. Talmud Torah attendance falls off in the last two areas, as do those of the Jewish People's and Peretz Schools, and the private schools. Tutors are most widely patronized in the third area.

The last three areas are bounded as follows by the Congress:

Second Area: "West of St. Lawrence above Mount Royal Avenue, and west of Park Avenue below Mount Royal". (No western limits given).  
"Including Verdun, Cote St. Paul, Ville Lasalle."(1)

Third Area: "Outremont, Notre Dame de Grace, Montreal West, Snowdon, Cote des Neiges, Ville St. Pierre, Hampstead, Cote St. Luc."

Fourth Area: "Westmount."

The divisions are based on economic levels of the residents.

Conclusions---This, then, is as complete a picture as can be given at the present time of Hebrew education in Montreal. (Note that figures for total attendance at certain Hebrew schools do not tally with the figures given out by the schools themselves, even when the percentage based only on those answering the questionnaire is corrected to the total number of Jewish pupils in Montreal schools). Ethnic consciousness is still alive among the Jews, or at least among large numbers of them, as judged from their interest in cultural education for their children.<sup>(2)</sup> Is the importance of this cultural education in the lives of Jews in Montreal, however, on the decline? Since English, and not Yiddish or Hebrew, is the daily and mother-tongue of the largest part of the young generation, they tend to forget these languages, especially in their written form, after they have ceased to study them actively for some time. The love and reverence for learning,

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Although the Congress shows some concern in its report over the fact that the figures are too low.

traditional among Jews, has swung from pious to secular learning, to some extent. University graduates and scholars of secular subjects enjoy as high a status as the learned Talmudic students; rabbis and communal leaders are scholars of secular as well as of religious studies. Yet the agencies of Hebrew education--institutions and private tutors--seem to be maintaining themselves. In the area of highest economic and social adjustment, and of apparent and real assimilation, the proportion of those receiving formal Jewish instruction is high: 88.0% as compared with 67.4% of the city as a whole (Table 3, op. cit., p. 6). Hence it may be said that while adjustment and assimilation have been going on rapidly in many spheres of life, attachment to the formal aspects of the culture linger.

The Jewish Community Council--"Vaad Hair."

A primary item in the pursuit of Jewish religious ritual is that connected with the slaughtering of animals for food and the selection and preparation of meat. Food, to the orthodox or conservative Jew is "trefah", (not kosher, i.e. taboo) unless it consists, in the case of meat, of certain specified parts of animals slaughtered in the approved ritual manner by a qualified "Schochet", and prepared for consumption in a ritual manner. Such is the written law of the Jews. ".....Then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which the Lord hath given thee, as I have commanded thee.....Only be sure that thou eat not the blood."<sup>(1)</sup>

About this religious precept a set of practices and functionaries have grown up--the Schochet, (ritual slaughterer), the kosher butcher shop, the kitchen ritual of the preparing and cooking of the meat. All these grow directly out of the religious law. But in Montreal, as in other cities, a further organization, in and of itself completely outside the dictates of the law, has evolved to regulate and control difficulties that arise in the production and distribution of kosher meat. This organization, falling into the series outlined in Section I as an organization arising out of some

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(1) Deuteronomy XII: 21-23.



circumstance in which the Jews, by virtue of their particular culture or position in society find themselves, is the Jewish Community Council, or "Vaad Hair" which came into being as a result of a crisis situation among Montreal Jewry in 1922.

In accordance with ceremonial requirements

"local slaughtering (of animals for meat) began in Montreal with the first wave of Jewish immigration. Previous to the foundation of the Jewish Community Council, the two rabbis in Montreal gathered around them a group of Schochtim (ritual slaughterers), made agreements with the wholesale butchers who sold it to the Jewish retailers and thus assured the community of kosher meat. That is to say, each rabbi had his wholesalers who were naturally anxious to capture the Jewish trade and were therefore willing to pay so much per head or pound for the ritualistic killing of cattle. By this means the rabbis obtained the revenue necessary for paying the Schochtim and themselves."(1)

The rabbis received no regular salary from their congregations.

"For centuries the tax on meat has been regarded in Europe, and for the past twelve years in Montreal, as the most natural and honourable method for maintaining the rabbinical system and the institutions."(2)

After the Great War, with the new increased wave of immigration, new rabbis appeared without any means of earning a livelihood, since they were not provided for in the above arrangement. Their "landsleute" and other friends demanded, therefore, a rearrangement of the old order, and aroused public opinion on the matter.

In the same year (1922) that claims were being made that the Protestant schools were losing money on Jewish children, and that Jewish teachers in the Hebrew schools, not having been paid for months, went on strike, the price of kosher meat (by an agreement among the butchers) jumped from twelve cents per pound to twenty-five cents. Indignation and rebellion broke out among Jewish consumers who picketed butcher shops to prevent customers from entering. At the same time conflict was raging among the rabbis.

"One rabbi excommunicated the other. Each rabbi had his own schochtim, maschgichim (meat supervisors), wholesalers, and retail butchers, and each

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(1) From a paper by Sam Greenblatt: "The Birth and Development of a Ritual Institution, the Vaad Hair of Montreal," p. 3. (Manuscript material).

(2) The Vaad Hair Bulletin, March 29, 1934, quoted by Greenblatt, p.4.

one vied with each other to obtain contracts from the companies for Shechitah money (money for ritual slaughter) or Passover supervision."<sup>(1)</sup>

Immediately after the sudden rise in the price of meat, a Consumer's League was formed, at a meeting of which \$2,000.00 was collected. The League then opened its own stores and sold meat at thirteen cents per pound. Obviously some response was being made to the need for a central body for controlling "Kashruth" (i.e., the matter of correct slaughtering and assurance that food is kosher).

Within a few weeks the Consumer's League, at a meeting attended by delegates from 73 organizations, passed resolutions stating that Montreal Jewry was to become united officially under one body, to be called the Vaad Hair; and moreover, that the Vaad Hair was to be composed of 33 delegates, 11 from each of the following groups: representatives of synagogues; societies and organizations; representatives of the working class. On October 27, 1922 the Vaad Hair became a reality, when the permanent members were elected.

This institution, then, is not quite a ritual institution in and of itself, (although closely connected with religious laws). It is rather a marginal organization between that type which is an essential part of Jewish culture and that which arises indirectly to supply some need that could exist only in a Jewish community.

The Vaad Hair has a sizeable task to perform. There are many difficulties to be overcome in controlling the sale of trefah meat. Since the rabbis and schochtim are paid so much per pound of meat bearing their stamp of approval, the prices paid by the wholesaler, retailer, and consumer are correspondingly higher than they would be without this service. Each of these is therefore tempted with the bait of lower prices to deal in trefah meat, either masked as kosher, or openly. Some retailers and wholesalers,

<sup>(2)</sup>  
says Greenblatt, attempt to increase their profits by the unscrupulous

(1) The account of this crisis is taken from the translation of an article by Mr. Peters, Executive Secretary of the Jewish Community Council, entitled "The Founding and Work of the Vaad Hair," in the Canadian Jewish Eagle, July 15, 1922. Quoted by Greenblatt, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

(2) Op. cit., p. 9.

mixing of trefah and kosher meat, selling all the meat as kosher, at the price of the latter. Others sell trefah meat only, at a lower price, managing, by locating in a Jewish neighbourhood, to dupe certain customers who do not bother to look for the certificate of the Vaad Hair in the store, or who are deceived by the Hebrew lettering;<sup>(1)</sup> and attracting others who prefer to buy in a Jewish shop but are not too particular about buying kosher meat.

The methods employed by the Vaad Hair to combat these difficulties are several. All meat suitable for use is stamped with the seal of the Vaad Hair before leaving the slaughter-houses. Besides this, paid "Maschgichim" (meat supervisors) visit the stores and inspect the meat that is to be sold. Furthermore, approved stores receive the certificate of the Vaad Hair to place in their windows where all can see it, the Vaad Hair having the right to revoke the certificate and blacklist the retailer, and call the wholesaler to a hearing, if the code is violated.

Appeals to the consumers are also made, by means of circulars, house-to-house visits, and appeals from the pulpit. In order to combat the strong advantage of cheapness in trefah meat, the sacred traditions of the Jewish people are invoked, couched in emotional and touching terms.

"Your forefathers have sacrificed themselves for Kashruth. Do not sell it for a few meagre pennies. Buy all your meat products only in Vaad<sup>(2)</sup>

Hair butcher and delicatessen stores."

"Eliminate the rabbi and Kashruth ceases to exist," writes the Vaad Hair Bulletin. "Meat will cost two cents a pound cheaper and chickens two cents less. But when Kashruth ceases to function you have torn away, rooted out, the basic foundation of our Jewish life in the Diaspora. You will have trampled ruthlessly upon a struggling

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(1) "Meat" is printed in Hebrew: **בָּשָׂר**; whereas "kosher" is printed **כֹּשֶׁר**; only the first letter, (reading from right to left) differs slightly. Hence the word "meat", if printed twice, resembles the words "kosher meat."

(2) From a circular. Quoted by Greenblatt, op. cit. p. 11.

people--who have withstood disintegration mainly because of Kashruth."<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1933 a crisis occurred in the life of the institution. Following the onset of the economic depression in 1929, the Hebrew schools, never affluent at any time, found it impossible to carry on their functions with the reduced funds at their disposal. It was suggested that, since the existence of Kashruth depended on the maintenance of a self-conscious body of Jews, those who benefited materially from Kashruth should contribute substantially to the support of the Jewish educational agencies, the very means of training such a generation of Jews. It was not without a good deal of conflict that such an arrangement was finally made; and the Jewish Community Council now subsidizes many of the "chedarim." Hence it has come to perform functions other than that for which it was first established.

A subsidiary branch of the Jewish Community Council is the Jewish Arbitration Court. It seems to be a relic of the "San Hedron" of Biblical days and also of the Middle Ages, when rabbis and other pious leaders of the community used to sit in council over legal, religious, and personal problems. Today, although of course there is no necessity to keep out of the civil courts, a vestige of the old authority and advisory function of the rabbi remains here. Certain families and individuals respect the judgment of the Arbitration Court on personal, commercial, and communal problems. Although not vested with official judicial authority, the Court obliges all participants in cases to submit to an agreement to respect its judgment. It does not treat criminal cases.

While the essential members of the Jewish Community Council are professionals, (e.g., rabbis, schochtim, etc.), most, if not all, other offices are voluntary, yielding no personal remuneration except prestige. Prominent members of the community take it upon themselves either as a prerogative or as a duty, or both, to hold offices in this organization. The leaders are not always the social and philanthropic leaders of the community, however, nor the pious and learned ones, but those of a middle class,

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(1) March 29, 1934. Quoted by Greenblatt, op. cit., p. 12.

affiliated usually with other religious or cultural institutions of the community.

Most of these leaders are devoted to the cause of Kashruth, if not for religious reasons then for ethnological ones. The ethnic identity of the Jewish group, they feel, may be effectively preserved by this means. However, the very magnitude of the task confronting the Jewish Community Council in maintaining the consumption of kosher meat by the Jews only reveals that increasingly great numbers are not completely averse to abandoning the strict and troublesome dietary laws. This part of Jewish religious law has been deleted from the reformed, or liberal form of Judaism.

A few years ago the Jewish Community Council underwent a period of further strain and dissension within its ranks, over matters of personnel and policy,--a period which lasted some months. However, wrote Greenblatt in 1936, "With the solving of this crisis, the Vaad Hair will, I think, become a relatively permanent and powerful institution,--if, and only if, it adapts itself to modern conditions."<sup>(1)</sup>

#### Marginal Jewish Institutions

We have discussed up to now those institutions found in Montreal which are inherent in the Jewish culture. Before reaching those which are merely replicas of the institutions of the more general Canadian population, an intermediate type of institution presents itself, namely that type which, because of certain problems or characteristics of Jews, have arisen to satisfy permanent wants of that ethnic group, but which are none the less, not an essential part of their culture. We shall discuss two of these: the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society and the Canadian Jewish Congress.

<sup>(2)</sup>  
Jewish Immigrant Aid Society---This organization was founded in 1920 when post-war complications made legal and other difficulties of immigration unusually great. At a meeting of the Canadian Jewish Congress in that year,

(1) Op. cit., p. 19.

(2) Information mostly from A.J. Paull, former Executive Director of the Society.

money was raised for the purpose of helping immigrants confronted by such difficulties. The head office of the organization was established in Montreal with branches in Toronto and Winnipeg. Help could now be given to thousands who emigrated from Europe after the war who were ignorant of immigration laws and restrictions or who could be easily cheated or swindled upon their arrival because of ignorance of customs and the language difficulty. Trained workers now met such arrivals at the ports, wired relatives of their arrival, helped put them up at lodgings or at the Society's own hostelry for indigent newcomers situated on Notre Dame Street. If possible the Society also helped find jobs for them.

With changing times the function of the Society has changed. There has been little immigration since 1930; the hostelry is no longer used. Advice given is largely limited to that requested by Canadian residents who wish to know whether their relatives or friends are eligible for immigration, and similar information. Money is sent through the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society to needy relatives in the Old Country by their more fortunate kinsmen in the New World.

The office of the J.I.A.S. is situated in the heart of the main Jewish district of Montreal,--on St. Lawrence Boulevard, just south of Mount Royal Avenue.

Canadian Jewish Congress---This organization, like the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society and others, serves a great many individuals who reside outside the area of first settlement and lead their lives outside its sphere; indeed, it serves the entire Jewish community. It is situated just beyond the boundaries of the area of first settlement, however, lying actually within the limits of the central shopping area of the city. The Congress, now occupying premises in the old and dingy Baron de Hirsch Institute on Bleury Street, was founded, after an unsuccessful attempt some fifteen years earlier, in 1934 for the following purposes:

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(1) This and most of the forthcoming information from a paper by Jocelyn Mussell, "The Canadian Jewish Congress," p. 1. (Manuscript material).

- "a) To safeguard the civil, political, economic, and religious rights of Jews.
- "b) To combat anti-Semitism.
- "c) To study problems relating to the cultural, economic, and social life of the Jewish people, and to seek a solution to such problems.
- "d) To assist the Jewish Agency in its program of work for Palestine.
- "e) To co-operate with World Jewry when deemed advisable."

The Montreal office is the head office of the national organization, which is divided into three territorial divisions: western, central, and eastern. The organization is supported by membership fees of three dollars per annum, contributions, and an annual campaign. "There is but one paid functionary,"<sup>(1)</sup> plus a small clerical staff. Projects, surveys, and studies are performed both by the staff and voluntarily by interested members of the Jewish community with adequate qualifications.

The executive includes persons "unusually well fitted, financially, intellectually, and socially, to represent their communities,"<sup>(2)</sup> and Miss Mussell notes that although representatives of both the orthodox and the liberal forms of Judaism are found on the executive, the latter element predominates.

Anti-defamation, one of the main activities of the Congress, is organized as follows: Material dealing with Naziism and other forms of anti-Semitism is gathered and classified. It includes newspaper clippings, pamphlets, posters, statistics., etc. Secondly, the Congress keeps in constant touch with anti-defamation committees in 64 different communities of Canada, in some cases jointly with the B'nai Brith Lodge. Thirdly, a national mailing list, which covers leading members, both Jews and non-Jews, of 50 communities, has been established. These persons receive copies of pamphlets and mimeographed articles dealing with matters of tolerance, race hatred, and the like.

The Social and Economic Research department aims "to survey and collate all records and statistics affecting the economic, social, cultural, judicial, political, and educational life of Canadian Jews."<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Ibid., p. 5. (2) Ibid., p. 9. (3) Ibid., p.12.



Other activities of the Congress include efforts to help Jews economically by publicizing relief problems; to collect material of historical and cultural interest to Jews; and to exert moral pressure and propaganda in favour of an economic boycott against Nazi Germany.

Here is an organization which in its very existence and function reveals the position of the Jewish community in Montreal,--a minority group of specific ethnic background, composed not of typical, unadjusted or semi-adjusted immigrants, but largely of assimilated, educated, well-established families who are conscious of their problems as a minority group and are attempting in a systematic manner to solve, or at least mitigate, these problems. <sup>(1)</sup>

#### Young Men's Hebrew Association

Today a highly organized community centre housed in a well-equipped, up-to-date building on Mount Royal Avenue West, the Young Men's Hebrew Association started its career in the opening years of the century in the old Standard Hall at the corner of St. Lawrence Blvd. and Ste. Catherine Street. <sup>(2)</sup> It was proposed that a cultural and athletic organization be formed. Meetings were held weekly in the Baron de Hirsch Institute on Bleury Street and later at 52 Ontario Street West. Larger quarters soon became necessary at 495 St. Charles Boromee Street, now known as Clarke Street.

The Association experienced the financial and membership difficulties common to young organizations. By 1910 public interest had been aroused to the extent that membership numbered over 300, and activities included outdoor sports such as snowshoeing, skating, baseball, and the like (facilities

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(1) I.e., in comparison with most ethnic minority groups in the population.

(2) Note the location in relation to the concentration of Jewish population in the central part of the city about 1900. Information from an unpublished manuscript by M.G. Batshaw: "The Y.M.H.A. and its Influence on the Jewish Community of Montreal."

(3) Note the move northward in keeping with Jewish population movements in Montreal.

were lacking for indoor sports), recreational and cultural functions such as lectures, debates, and smokers. Later, after another removal to quarters on St. Urbain Street, were added "a bicycle club, speaking contest, Passover and Chanukah holiday celebrations, chess and checker tournaments, Friday night talks, Saturday afternoon Jewish history class, harrier team, swimming club, water polo team, Junior and Intermediate basketball, and bowling. A synagogue was instituted and has been maintained to this day. With the exception of the synagogue, the efforts of the Association, though most successful, were not always continuous over many years."<sup>(1)</sup>

In 1912 an intense membership campaign brought the number of members over 1200, but insufficient accommodation had reduced the number to 300 by 1916. Since that time, however, the membership has gradually increased,<sup>(2)</sup> totalling 2,800 in 1930 and 3,900 in 1935.

By 1920 the "Y" was a fairly well-established institution of the community, located on St. Urbain Street near Prince Arthur,<sup>(3)</sup> with developing traditions, sentiments, and loyalties of its own. Public support was more generous, and by 1925 a trained professional executive director was appointed, Mr. M.H. Weinstein. "His regime is marked by an attempt to develop the "Y" into a community centre such as had been established in the United States."<sup>(4)</sup> In 1926 Sir Mortimer Davis' grant for a modern fully-equipped building heralded the opening of the present era in the history of the Y.M.H.A.--an era in which it stands out as one of the most important and influential institutions in the Jewish community, especially the youthful part of that community, in Montreal. The building is located on Mount Royal Avenue just east of Park Avenue,--a strategic loca-

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(1) J.R.Goldstein, "Study of an Institution: the Y.M.H.A. of Montreal," p. 13. (Manuscript material).

(2) Batshaw, op. cit., p. 10 et passim.

(3) This building now houses the Young Women's Hebrew Association of Montreal.

(4) Batshaw, op. cit., p. 5.

tion from the point of view of concentration of Jewish population(see Fig.V) and of important street-car and automobile transport routes. The new Sir Mortimer Davis Memorial building was dedicated in 1929, and upon the resignation of Mr. Weinstein a new executive director engaged in the person of Mr. Harvey Golden.

From the location of the building it will be easily understood that the membership is drawn very largely from the first three areas of settlement. This is so with the exception perhaps of two classes of members: the business and professional men, and the donors and governors. The latter of course are the communal leaders who by virtue of wealth and social position are associated with all such organizations in a like capacity. Table LVIA, Appendix, shows the type of membership of the Y.M.H.A. in 1935. From Table LVIA it appears that the intermediates are the most active members--boys between 15 and 17 years of age, who are presumably High School students, or working boys, who have the time and the inclination to partake most enthusiastically of the cultural and athletic offerings of the "Y". Young men and boys of the fourth area of settlement obviously will not attend as frequently as those of the other areas because of the distance of the "Y" from their homes. Young Jewish men of all parts of the city, however, attend the central Young Men's Christian Association, perhaps because of its downtown location, greater facilities and accommodation, the desire to make social or business connections, or other reasons.

Function---Besides helping Jewish youth to keep fit physically and providing them with various forms of recreation, this institution attempts to increase their self-consciousness as Canadian citizens and as Jews. Debates, lectures on literary, international, and cultural topics, as well as study groups, are among the means employed to do this. Undoubtedly, too, as a social centre the "Y" performs an important function, solidifying, by means of primary contact in recreation and other activities, and by common feelings of loyalty, common interests and experiences, the ranks of the Jewish community. The Association, finally, acts as an agent of religious express-

ion by means of its Junior Congregation for boys under fourteen years, and its Senior Congregation. The latter is strictly orthodox, conducted in Hebrew only, and is attended by about thirty<sup>(2)</sup> individuals, who need not be members of the Association. Material services include an employment agency, the use of showers,<sup>(3)</sup> and health service.

Young Women's Hebrew Association---Located on St. Urbain Street, near Prince Arthur, this is less of a general community centre than its brother organization, although closely affiliated with and allowed the use of many of the facilities of the latter. It has a more closely localized body of adherents than has the Y.M.H.A., although girls from all parts of the city attend, quite a number coming from Outremont. About 75 per cent of the girls live in or about the area of first and second settlement; 10 per cent in Outremont; and the remainder from Westmount, Notre Dame de Grace, and Verdun. Like the Young Men's Hebrew Association, practically all the senior, and many of the intermediate (aged 14-18) members work; and like the latter, too, its largest number of adherents fall into the senior age group.

Starting as the "Welcome Club" for immigrant girls about 20 years ago, the organization occupied one room in the Baron de Hirsch Institute. The teaching of English, handicrafts, and the like, and social gatherings, formed the main functions of the society. As it grew, it moved with the population to St. Urbain Street near Ontario, and finally to its present premises, previously occupied by the Y.M.H.A. By 1937 its function had radically changed, with new needs. It then drew about 950 members who actively participated, and 200 contributing members. Cramped at all times by lack of funds and facilities, the Young Women's Hebrew Association has in the last three or four years greatly enlarged its scope of activity, and in turn its membership and influence. Largely a recreational and educa-

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(1) Services are conducted in Hebrew and English.

(2) Much higher on Holy Days.

(3) This is a real attraction for those first and second area residents who have no showers at home and no readily available hot water facilities in summer. Ready access to the swimming pool is likewise a real service in summer.

tional centre, it performs many of the functions performed by the Y.M.H.A., and it has evolved in response to many of the same needs within the community. Its influence as an agent for the creation of Jewish self-consciousness by means of Jewish education of various types or religious programs is somewhat limited, however. It operates more as a medium of primary contact and common experiences, creating solidarity among the young women who attend by these means. Its most popular classes are those in gymnastics, beauty and costuming, public speaking,--subjects hardly inherent in Hebrew culture.

Like most other organizations in the Jewish community, it wages a constant financial struggle to keep alive. Annual campaigns for members and contributions, and efforts to keep the public informed of its activities and importance in the community are among the means adopted.<sup>(1)</sup>

Considering that the present building presents many handicaps in the way of obscure location, unattractiveness, and the absence of up-to-date equipment, the Y.W.H.A. has reached notable proportions.

Both the Young Men's and the Young Women's Associations keep in contact with other groups, Jewish or otherwise. Both play a prominent part in city and provincial league athletics of various types. Educational contacts are also kept: inter-organization debates, symposiums and the like frequently take place. Such a policy obviously helps make for pleasant relationships with other groups, both Jewish and Gentile, and keeps the institution within the focus of public consciousness. It makes, too, for deeper satisfaction on the part of the participants. These two associations thus play a definite role in the affairs of the Montreal community at large.

Many non-Jews are speakers or guests on both special and regular occasions at both associations. The clerical staff is largely, if not entirely, Jewish. These institutions, as we have seen, are not strictly ethnic in origin or in nature. Indeed, there are only three which may be so classified: the synagogue, the Hebrew school, and the organization for the supervision of Kashruth (viz., the Vaad Hair).

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(1) Information mostly from Mrs. Alta Kahn, Director.

## Zionist Organizations

Another set of organizations not in themselves an inherent part of Hebrew culture, but which have become so integral a part of that culture by virtue of the circumstances in which Jews have lived for centuries that they seem inseparable from it, are the Zionist organizations. A nation without a country, scattered over the face of the globe, taking root and living wherever circumstances and the tolerance of men permit, the Jews have long dreamed of re-establishing themselves in Palestine, once more to have the status of a nation and a national homeland. (1)

But living for generations amid other peoples and other cultures, Jews, wherever they have settled, have, whether consciously or unconsciously, voluntarily or involuntarily, by the inevitable social process of assimilation (and partly by biological amalgamation as well) taken on most, if not all, the characteristics of those cultures. Born in Canada or in France, many naturally regard themselves, not as Canadian or French Jews, but as Jewish Canadians or Jewish Frenchmen, with small emphasis on the "Jewish." But rarely are they allowed to do so completely; rarely are they allowed (though they themselves may desire it) to forget that they are Jews. They are neither complete Frenchmen or Canadians nor complete Jews: they are, in many respects, "marginal men." (2) Among other resources many turn to the, for them, ideal solution--Zionism. For the first time in history, the Zionist movement grew from something spiritual to something political and practical in 1917, upon the Balfour Declaration of the British government.

With differences in upbringing, in experience, in education, in status,

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(1) The modern Zionist movement actually began only in the nineteenth century, however, when nationalism was rising all over Europe. It had behind it "the added stimulus of the messianic hopes which repeatedly stirred the Jewish world during the Middle Ages, and which had found vivid expression in Jewish literature."---Wirth, op. cit., p. 102.

(2) For a treatment of this concept see R.E.Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man" in the American Journal of Sociology, May, 1928. For further discussion of the position of the Jew from this standpoint, see Chapter XII of this paper.

--in fact, in environment, in the broad sense of the term,--the outlook on life and on Zionism as a solution to Jewish problems vary.

The largest and best organized movement in Montreal is part of a national movement (which in turn is part of an international one), embodied in the Zionist Organization of Canada, and its counterpart for women, the Hadassah organization. A corresponding young people's organization is "Young Judaea." All these have Montreal sections, Hadassah having many subdivisions, or chapters, in Montreal. These groups are interested in furthering the cause of Zionism,--the achievement of Palestine as a national homeland for the Jews,--and aim "to promote Jewish culture and ideals in accordance with Jewish tradition."

As is usual with nationalistic and other fund-raising societies, these three, especially Hadassah and Young Judaea, perform the simultaneous role of medium for social intercourse and recreation. Beyond doubt a strong incentive to join these groups is the potentiality for making friends and passing a pleasant evening or afternoon which they offer. Prestige and social status, too, may be achieved with high office in the organization.

Zionists with a policy of a slightly different hue are the socialist group, who, unlike the trilogy already mentioned, visualize the building of Palestine on a co-operative basis. To this group belong the Poale Zion and the Hashomar Hatzair, men's and youths' groups, and the Pioneer Women, divided into four chapters. These organizations seem to attract a different type of member from that of the Zionist organizations. Their program is more intensely intellectual, less like a purely social group than the latter, (1) although the Zionist organizations are far from being merely that.

Comparatively minor nationalistic groups are the Revisionists,--a radical group, who advocate a Palestine independent of Great Britain; and the Mizrochi, the pious, orthodox, element, who regard Palestine as a sacred religious heritage, in contrast to the more nationalistic, material views of the other groups. Both the Revisionists and the Mizrochi are insignificant as far as membership and influence are concerned.

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(1) This does not apply as much to the Young Judaea group.



All these are not independent local societies, but parts of international schools of thought.

Merely by glancing at the membership of these different Zionist organizations, the trend away from religion as the unifying spiritual bond among Jews becomes apparent. It is mirrored in such other phenomena as the decline in regular synagogue and Sunday school attendance, the observance of religious ritual on the Sabbath and on special days, both inside and outside the home. The place of religion as a great unifying force is being usurped by other agencies, no less powerful, perhaps.

Montreal Hadassah may be said to encompass practically all classes of Jewish women. Chapters are largely made up of neighbourhood groups, although not entirely so. The largest number of chapters seem to be concentrated in the areas of second and third settlement, although several are found in Westmount and Notre Dame de Grace. (1) Only one chapter, the Judith Chapter, is officially Yiddish-speaking. The Pioneer Women, too, are subdivided into English- and Yiddish-speaking, and into married and unmarried groups. Age group divisions occur in the Hadassah organization too. Junior Hadassah, an allied organization as its name implies, is made up of younger, and more often unmarried women, than is Hadassah.

#### Federation of Jewish Philanthropies

From the earliest days Montreal Jews have found that they can themselves best take care of their own needy individuals and families. In theory there is no reason why Jewish charity should be administered separately as such (2) but in practice this method has been adopted. The characteristic "clannishness" of the Jew, a product of ghetto life and of racial and religious persecution and discrimination, may explain this feeling of responsibility, or perhaps the same factors that brought about this clannishness may have operated here, (to a lesser extent, of course), to

(1) See questionnaire results for actual figures--Table LIIA.

(2) This does not apply to social service.

bring about this sense of responsibility.

"Now, this esprit de corps, this exclusiveness, this seeking of brethren, is a direct result of the treatment to which Jews have been subjected during the Christian centuries. And not alone the masses of poor, wretched creatures that live in the lowly quarters of the great cities of the world, but even those Jews who have reaped all the benefits of emancipation, and move in the higher circles of life and thought, are often met with the reproach that they are clannish and exclusive, that they shut themselves up within their own precincts, and are attracted to one another by a magnetism of fellowship. Very true, and very natural; so long were the Jews excluded by legal measure and enactment and religious prejudice and teaching from all intimate contact with non-Jews, so long were they thrown upon one another, that, as a logical result, they became exclusive. People maltreated and oppressed for the same reason cling to one another. Suffering in a like cause attaches them very close to each other, for there is no bond that unites so firmly as suffering. The Jew was excluded, therefore he became exclusive; he was avoided, therefore he became clannish; the hand of the world was against him, therefore he sought protection among his own." (1)

Whatever the reason, we find that early settlers in Montreal formed, in association with congregations based on "landsmanshaft", benevolent or charitable societies. These, naturally, were limited in scope. In 1863 the "Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society" was founded, to be composed of young unmarried men. Growth of this organization was slow at first, but gradually public support was obtained, and the Society took care of "any Jewish relief work needed." (2) Impetus was given to the growth of the organization with a \$20,000 donation from Baron de Hirsch about 1890, upon the receipt of which leading Jews of the community undertook to help organize the Society upon a more efficient and important basis. With further grants from the Baroness de Hirsch and the Jewish Colonization Association of Paris, land was bought and a building erected on Bleury Street, (3) near Ontario. In 1902 the building, "The Baron de Hirsch Institute" was completed and dedicated. Jewish children attended school here for some time. (4)

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(1) David Philipson, "Old European Jewries," The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1894, pp. 199-201.

(2) Information about this Society obtained from an unpublished paper by Evelyn Miller: "The Baron de Hirsch Institute", 1928. (Manuscript).

(3) Headquarters had been on St. Peter Street, and later on Elizabeth Street.

(4) In 1904 they began attending the Montreal Protestant Schools.

Hebrew and Sunday School classes, a library, recreation room, a night school for the teaching of English, were all part of the program carried on by the Institute. In addition, many other societies held meetings or carried on work in this building: the Ladies' Aid Society, the Hebrew Citizenship Association, the Hebrew Benevolent Loan Society, and others.

"It was these forms, so to speak, that gave to Canadian Jewry a certain appearance of unity, externally and internally, although a strong division into groups still existed among the Jewish population."(1)

By 1914, many other agencies had been set up for the aged, orphaned, sick, dependent, or otherwise needy of the community. Besides innumerable minor societies, there existed by this time the Mount Sinai Sanatorium (2) near Ste. Agathe, Quebec, for the treatment of incipient tuberculosis, opened in 1913; the Herzl Dispensary, "a general outdoor clinic for the poor ambulatory sick," on the corner of St. Urbain and Milton Streets, opened in 1912; the Hebrew Maternity Hospital, opened in 1912; the Montreal Hebrew Orphans' Home, opened 1912; the Old People's Home on Esplanade Avenue, established 1910; and others.

As the community grew in size and resources, new specialized needs appeared too. "The growth of a large number of charitable societies and institutions was bound to result in considerable overlapping and duplication of service. Community-minded individuals began to voice the need for consolidation and co-ordination." (3) The justification for centralizing the Jewish charitable organizations and their money-raising agencies lay, it was argued, in the saving of expense, time, and annoyance in the raising and expenditure of funds; the elimination of duplicate work; protection against appeals for spurious causes; greater justice and efficiency in

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(1) A.D. Hart, op. cit., p. 73. Treatment has already been given to rifts between different "landsmanschaft" groups and between those of different periods of arrival. (Chapter VI et passim).

(2) Like the recently-established Jewish General Hospital, under Jewish support and sponsorship, but not limited to Jewish patients.

(3) G.E. Erlick, "The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal-- Its Organization, Characteristics, and Philosophy," 1934, p. 2. (Type-written material).

meting out funds and services to the various organizations; and the building of unity "by uniting all groups in one mighty cause."

At the present time the Federation occupies quarters in the building of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, which is now subsidized by Federation.

The latter has taken over control of many of the functions once performed by the Institute when it flourished as an organization in its own right.

Functions of the Baron de Hirsch Institue proper now include a Family Welfare Department, a Medical Aid Department, a Legal Aid Department, ownership and administration of the Baron de Hirsch Institute Cemetery, and maintenance of the building.

In 1937<sup>(3)</sup> the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies had a budget of over \$300,000 and subsidized, besides the Baron de Hirsch Institute, fourteen other organizations, namely: the Hebrew Old People's Sheltering Home, the Herzl Dispensary and Hospital, the Mount Sinai Sanatorium, the Young Women's Hebrew Association, a Juvenile Aid Department, the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society, the Neighbourhood House, a Jewish Employment Bureau, the Mackay Institute for Deaf Mutes and the Blind, the Montreal Hebrew Orphans' Home, the Montreal Association for the Blind, the Jewish Vocational Guidance Survey, the Montreal Convalescent Home, the Victorian Order of Nurses.<sup>(5)</sup> Of these, the largest subsidies were received by the Family Welfare Department (\$90,000); the Old People's Sheltering Home (\$39,000); Herzl Dispensary

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- (1) Which gives free legal advice, mainly concerning domestic relations problems,--desertion, non-support, etc.
- (2) The building now houses the main office of the Jewish Colonization Association of Canada, the executive offices of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, and the office and archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Classrooms, recreation halls, etc., are now located in the various specialized establishments.
- (3) See "Twenty-first Annual Report of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal and Constituent Societies," 1937, p. 22.
- (4) Which performs work "in the fields of juvenile delinquency and mal-adjustment."--Ibid., p. 59.
- (5) As a result of this survey, a Vocational Guidance Bureau is to be set up, according to reports, in the autumn of 1939.

and Hospital (\$14,000); Mount Sinai Sanatorium (\$76,000); and the Montreal Hebrew Orphans' Home (\$33,000).

In the same year 70.8% of the income was derived from subscriptions and donations, 14.2% being grants made to the constituent societies themselves; 28.4% from income of five constituent societies; and 0.8% from interest on investments and legacies.

(2)

Erlick briefly describes the functions of eleven of the constituent societies and departments:

".....the largest spending agent being the Baron de Hirsch Institute which comprises the Family Welfare Department, rendering social service(3) and material assistance to indigent families and individuals; the Legal Aid Department, giving free legal advice and concerning itself with domestic relations problems.....; the Baron de Hirsch Cemetery, providing free burial to needy cases; and the Jewish Employment Bureau, rendering free employment service to applicants and employers. There are also the Mount Sinai Sanatorium for the treatment of incipient tuberculosis, a non-sectarian institution caring for approximately 100 patients; the Montreal Old People's and Sheltering Home, with some 70 aged inmates; and the Montreal Hebrew Orphans' Home, caring for about 90 wards.(4) There is the Herzl Hospital and Dispensary where free medical attention is given to hundreds weekly; the Juvenile Aid Department, concerning itself with juvenile delinquency; the Neighbourhood House, a recreational and educational centre.(5) Among minor services may be mentioned the Hebrew Ladies' Sewing Society" which makes garments for distribution in the various organizations, "and the Court of Arbitration. The Business Men's Council is a sort of service body of prominent members of the community, concerning itself with fund-raising campaigns. Its officers are elected annually."

The report of the activities of this organization alone gives a graphic suggestion of the size, complexity, solidarity, and self-sufficiency of the

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- (1) The Baron de Hirsch Institute made 3.0% of the total, the Hebrew Old People's Home 5.7%, the Herzl Dispensary and Hospital 1.8%, the Mount Sinai Sanatorium 15.2%, and the Montreal Hebrew Orphans' Home 2.7%.
  - (2) Op. cit., p. 15.
  - (3) This department has, in the last two or three years, been organized on a much more highly professional and efficient scale than formerly.
  - (4) In 1936 this institution and the Montefiore Hebrew Orphans' Home were amalgamated. Twenty-seven children, former inmates of the latter, now moved to the Montreal Hebrew Orphans' Home on Claremount Avenue.
  - (5) This might in some respects be regarded as a competitor of the Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations. But it is a charitably-run institution: no fees are required. Facilities are very limited, there are no indoor athletics, but certain activities, such as mothers' circles, are not duplicated elsewhere. It is smaller and in some respects boasts a more intimate atmosphere.

(1)  
Jewish community. It is not utterly self-sufficient, of course. A certain proportion of the donations are from non-Jewish sources. Among the names of the administrators of this organization outstanding communal leaders appear, who by virtue of wealth and social position are able to give of their time, energy, and material support, receiving in return recognition and prestige from the Jewish and the larger communities. That the prestige motive is a strong one is recognized. Many organizations follow the practice of calling for donations at public functions such as dinners, where the focus of attention upon the donor often helps raise the amount of his donation.

### Missions

Another institution which exists in this community only because of the presence of Jewish people there is the Jewish Mission. It is unique in that Jews are the recipients of the efforts and purpose of the institution, yet are not in any major way the initiators of those efforts. Yet the nature of the institution derives from an outstanding culture trait of the Jews:--their religion.

The Montreal Jewish Mission is located on Colonial Avenue, near Prince Arthur Street, within the area of lowest incomes, education, and adjustment. It must naturally find its most favourable location here, for it is only by supplying attractions that it can draw prospective converts within its walls, and only to those who cannot afford these attractions elsewhere can such an approach be made: the Jews do not actively wish to be converted. Hence poor children and adults take advantage of the recreational and educational facilities here offered. But this institution is of negligible, or no importance. It merits mention here only because of its place in the classification of institutions. Not by the method of religious conversion do Jews assimilate, but by more natural social processes.

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(1) In 1910 Lovell's Montreal Directory lists six Hebrew organizations; in 1920-21 fifteen; in 1937, fifty-six. This increase may be due in part to a more efficient and all-inclusive classification by Lovell, but it shows a definite development of the Jewish community.

## Secular Jewish Institutions

Other institutions in the city may be composed entirely of Jews, merely because of their exclusion from similar Gentile organizations or of the feeling of greater warmth and satisfaction which any ethnic group gives to its members when they assemble within its boundaries. Such organizations include a great number of sick benefit and mutual aid societies, the Workmen's Circle (a left-wing, though not extremely left movement, devoted to educational activities of various sorts), the Hebrew Consumptive Aid Association; and numerous young people's clubs, ladies' relief circles, sewing societies, and the like.

Lastly, certain institutions and organizations have come to be predominantly Jewish not for any conscious reason on the part of the members, but merely by chance. Labour unions of various branches of the needle trade are largely composed of Jews because large numbers of Jews are employed in those particular branches. In Montreal the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is made up roughly 45 per cent of Jewish members; (1) the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union about 60 per cent. Similarly, the Protestant schools in the first two areas are attended by Jewish (2) pupils well over 90, and in some cases 95 per cent. The same situation is true of many amusement, commercial, and other establishments within these area and in the third area of settlement. Jews form the main body of patrons of these establishments, although the latter are undeniably part of American or Canadian culture, and in no way related to the ethnic heritage of the Jews as such.

Needless to say, there are establishments and organizations in which Jews participate only in proportion to their numerical importance in the total population of the city; and some from which they are entirely, voluntarily or otherwise, excluded.

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(1) From field notes on interviews.

(2) Teachers are about 50 per cent Jewish in these schools; principals and clerical and menial staff, never.



Chapter XI. Independence and Interdependence of the Four Areas of  
Settlement---Lines of Cleavage Between Different Elements  
in the Community

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Chapter X showed that in certain ways all divisions of the Jewish population, both social and territorial, are linked. Several institutions, it was demonstrated, drew upon individuals from all areas and social and economic strata of the city, in either similar or complementary capacities. Yet all this division of labour stands side by side with the data revealed in Chapter IX--that the community is definitely composed of different types of elements, some of whom resemble their non-Jewish neighbours more closely in many respects than their socially and spatially distant co-religionists.

Which feature of the organism stands out more strongly-- the interdependence of the parts, or their independence? Besides possible lines of divergence based on social and economic status, place of residence, there are also possible differences between generations, between occupational groups, and between groups of various national European backgrounds.

It has already been noted that Jews seem to build up a more complete community after immigration to a new cultural milieu than do most other ethnic groups. (See page 136). Our inclination, then, may be to presuppose that absolute independence of certain types from the Jewish life of Montreal is rare, if indeed it is to be found at all.

Chapter VIII showed that no area of the four remained detached commercially from all of the others. There is greater religious independence from area to area, as this chapter showed, especially in the area of fourth settlement, but along these lines too, segregation is far from complete. Perhaps the most intense type of segregation is recreational. It has been shown that there are definite demarcations between the types of clubs and organizations joined by members of dif-

ferent strata. Generally speaking, members of the Young Men's Hebrew Association and Young Women's Hebrew Association, Young Judaea, Poale Zion, and Pioneer Women come from the first two, and to a considerable extent from the third area; members of the Council of Jewish Women, B'nai Brith Lodge, Montefiore Club, and the like, are almost all third and fourth area residents. Each area has, of course, innumerable local bridge clubs, sport clubs, and others, whose membership is largely contingent upon residential proximity and likeness of interests. Even within city-wide philanthropic and cultural organizations, such as the recently-formed Council of Jewish Juniors, the Hadassah, and the Auxiliary to the Jewish General Hospital, a segregation within the membership ranks based on coincidence of other (1) interests is not unknown.

Occupational differences were shown in Table XLVIA, but as industries were not given, it is not known to what extent Hebrew employers hired workers of their own racial origin. There must be considerable self-sufficiency of Jews along occupational lines, however, for while all Jews who are employers do not necessarily hire Jewish help, many non-Jews are known to employ Jews to a very limited extent or not at all. From this angle, then, the four areas show some interdependence.

The different stages of assimilation which different persons have reached are reflected in divergencies within the Jewish group in many aspects of life. The three main divisions of religious adherence are officially the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform forms of Judaism, but there are in addition innumerable marginal types. Indeed the many stages of secularization which are to be found among the ranks of these people along these lines break down their homogeneity perhaps more than most other factors. Many are the adjustments and compromises that have to be

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(1) It has been remarked that both the Hadassah and the Pioneer Women's organizations have separate Yiddish- and English-speaking divisions as well as subdivisions based on age.

In some cases, totally different functions are performed within the same organization by members of different areas. In the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, for example, the trustees and governors are for the most part from the fourth area; the trained professional and clerical staff from the fourth, third, and perhaps second; and the clients from the first and second.

made,--most difficult those between parents and children, with regard to these differences.

Conflict Between Generations---Conflict commonly takes place between immigrant parents and their American-born or American-reared children, due to the radical differences in the early environment, the apperception mass, and the life-organization of the two generations. The parent brings with him a fixed set of habits, values, and ideals; the child does not. Furthermore the child comes into more constant contact than do his parents (especially the mother) with the new environment. In the school (1) and in the play-group, both highly important parts of his life, he learns to know and to feel himself part of the new culture; but these new ways and ideas are often in painful contrast to those of his home and his parents' teachings. A conflict of some sort almost inevitably ensues, varying in intensity inversely as the assimilation of the parents to the new culture.

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- (1) By apperception mass is meant: "the body of memories with which every new item of experience comes in contact, to which it is related, and in connection with which it gets its meaning."---Park and Miller, op. cit., p. 267.
- (2) Sometimes the influence of the school as an assimilative agent may tend to be overemphasized. "It cannot take the place of both birth and home training.....With the growth of localized colonies of a single race, or of several foreign races, the schools in many of our large cities are losing their American character, as far as pupils are concerned, so that the immigrant child finds himself associating with others equally foreign with himself, instead of with children from American families.

"There is a story that in a certain New England city of high scholastic traditions an American lady determined to place her son in the public school, and on taking him down found that he was the only American child in the school. A Russian Jewess edged up to her and remarked confidentially, 'Ain't it a shame, the way the Dagoes are crowding in everywhere these days?'

"Furthermore, a very large proportion of the children of the foreign-born do not receive even such Americanizing influence as the public school exerts, because of the religious prejudices which compel them to attend parochial schools."---H.P. Fairchild, "Immigration," MacMillan Co., New York, 1918, pp. 410-411.

This conflict manifests itself most seriously in disorganization of personality, crime, and delinquency; less extremely in various types of neurosis and maladjustment; and most often in conflict with parents on various relatively minor points. The most common of the latter include divergencies of opinion on the observance of the Sabbath solely as a holy day, the dietary laws, and synagogue attendance. The language difficulty seems relatively slight. These minor conflicts are solved in sundry ways. Many young persons explain that they dispense with the dietary restrictions when away from home, but observe them at home. Some attempt to convince their parents of the futility of these inconvenient rituals; others openly defy them; while some break the laws surreptitiously.

All these minor manifestations of conflict are difficult to measure, and do not, in any case, constitute serious problems. Much more significant in the measurement of serious maladjustment are data on crime and delinquency. Adult crime figures do not indicate, of course, whether immigrant criminals are first, second, or any other generation. The following table shows persons of all religions convicted of indictable offences in Canada, compared with those of Jewish religion, for the years ending September 30, 1929-1935.

Table LVIII. Persons of all religions, and those of Jewish religion, convicted of indictable offences in Canada, showing what per cent the latter form of the total, for the years ending September 30, 1929-1935. (1)

Religion	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
All Reli- gions	24,097	28,457	31,542	31,383	32,942	31,684	33,531
Jewish	470	497	618	687	606	622	807
Per Cent Jews Form of Total	1.95	1.75	1.96	2.19	1.84	1.96	2.41

Since Jews (by religion) formed 1.50% of Canada's population in 1931, these figures show a slight overproportion of convictions in this group. How

(1) Canada Year Book, 1937, p. 1010, Table 8.

many of the persons involved were native born is not given.

But indications of the types of adjustment which concerns us here are best obtained from a study of juvenile delinquency. From the records of the Jewish Probation Officer of the Montreal Juvenile Court (Table LIXA, Appendix), it is seen that there were in 1937 a total of 192 cases, official and unofficial, of whom 141 were boys and 51 girls. In any delinquent group girls are less numerous than boys. Moreover, "it might be expected that in Jewish families, especially in immigrant Jewish families, girls would be very much protected because of the traditional attitudes towards marriage."<sup>(1)</sup> Unfortunately, no such figures for total juvenile delinquency in Montreal are available, so that comparison of the Jewish rate with that of other groups is impossible.

The 192 delinquents mentioned above, ranging in age mostly from ten to fifteen or sixteen years, were charged with 244 offences, classified into sixteen categories. Of these, incorrigibility was the most common for both boys and girls, forming 40.5% of boys' offences and 30.5% of girls'. Dependency and neglect made up 21.3% of the total offences of both sexes, and the miscellaneous category 12.3%. The remaining 28.3% was made up of a scatter over the other thirteen categories, these in descending order of numerical importance being theft, truancy, common assault, Article 33,<sup>(2)</sup> school problems, city by-laws, burglary, desertion, damage to property, out of town inquiry, unmarried mothers, forgery, and gambling.

Statistics on place of residence of these delinquents have not been compiled, the probation officer stating, however, that the concentration lay between Pine Avenue and Van Horne Avenue, and between Jeanne Mance or Esplanade Avenue and City Hall Avenue. This area coincides with the areas of first and second settlement.

No other information was given for this group as a whole; but an

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(1) Elsie Schwarzfeld, "Fifty Problem Children," Montreal School of Social Work, 1938, p. 4. (Typewritten material).

(2) Cases in which adults contributed to juvenile delinquency.

intensive study of fifty of the more serious cases was undertaken by Miss E. Schwarzfeld. <sup>(1)</sup> This study throws some light on one of the most important factors, namely, birthplaces of the delinquents and their parents. 37 out of 47 for whom information was given were Canadian-born (one was American-born), whereas only 9 out of 80 parents were native Canadians. Hence the group was very largely one of second generation immigrants.

Many factors contribute towards delinquency. This study revealed that 24 homes were broken <sup>(2)</sup> and that much disharmony prevailed in the others. At least half the families "were living on very low subsistence level scales"; and some of the children were mentally retarded. But, of these factors the outward physical conditions of poverty, poor housing, and the like are not in themselves the most influential. "The psychic relationships, however, between the child and his human and social environment are of utmost importance." <sup>(3)</sup>

Differences in National Background---As for social distance between Russian Jews and Polish Jews, or Polish Jews and Roumanian Jews, such differences of origin, while not completely ignored, do not make for any serious lines of demarcation within the Jewish community. It is true that at one time they were much more powerful as demarcating agents than they are now: we have seen evidences to this effect in the early period of the history of Montreal Jewry (Chapter VI), and that early lodges, mutual benefit associations and even congregations were formed by groups made up of those who were neighbours in the old land. Many of these, indeed, still retain their original names; but the significance of those names has almost completely vanished.

On the whole, then, it appears that the community which we are treating functions largely as an organism, no one integral part ever achieving complete or even almost complete independence of the others. If there is one area more self-sufficient than the others, it is the fourth area, with

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(1) Op. cit.

(2) I.e., one or both parents separated from the children by death, desertion, divorce, or other causes. Ibid., p. 8.

its local congregations, Jewish cultural and community centres for its own  
(1)  
members, its rather exclusive clubs and organizations. But the independence of this area from the rest of the Jewish community is only relative. It is not complete.

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- (1) The Temple Emanu-El and Shaar Zion congregations are at present constructing such centres, which are to have athletic, recreational, and cultural facilities. The Shaar Hashomayim is already partially equipped along such lines. See pages 126-128.



## Chapter XII. The Relation of the Jewish Community to the Total Montreal Community

Although acting as an organic unit, does this group of some 62,000 persons with a common ethnic background, racial origin, and religion, keep itself cut off from the population and its life of the city as a whole? Obviously not: it could not, even if it wanted to. "Assimilation is thus as inevitable as it is desirable; it is impossible for the immigrants we receive to remain permanently in separate groups."<sup>(1)</sup> But to what extent is the Jewish group segregated in the community; to what extent does it reveal peculiar needs and the means of supplying them? That is, how ethnically distinct, how noticeably different, is it from the rest of Montreal's English-speaking population, and what is its attitude toward such distinction? In a word, how far is it assimilated?

"A foreigner, or the descendant of a foreigner, can be truly said to be assimilated only when the natives around him are conscious of no feeling of alienation on account of his origin, and when the newcomer himself feels no degree of separateness, nor possesses divergent interests or loyalties traceable to the source from which he came."<sup>(2)</sup>

### Institutional Segregation

The methodology of this approach has been set forth in a preceding chapter. Were a graph drawn, showing ritual institutions sacredly bound up with the Hebrew culture at one extreme, and the general secular institutions of the wider community at the other, with segregated Jewish replicas of the latter in the centre, the distribution curve would follow one of two patterns. Either the curve would rise sharply from the ritual to the intermediate group and continue upwards in representing the general type of institution, or it would repeat that pattern except for a decline in the third type. That is, the great majority of institutional services of every description are for the Jew of Montreal not ethnically sacred, but secular.

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(1) Park and Miller, op. cit., p. 308.

(2) Fairchild, op. cit., p. 399.

Whether mingling indiscriminately with non-Jews in such secular institutions, or whether setting up their own replicas, Jews indulge, in the main, in practically the same types of recreational, medical, legal, commercial, educational, athletic, political, and other activities as do the rest of the population. Only a few of their needs are specifically linked with their culture and their particular place in the larger society. The means of serving these needs have been described in detail in Chapter X.

### Occupational Segregation

Although Montreal Jews gainfully employed are clustered in two or three main types of occupation, namely manufacturing, commerce, and the clerical occupations (Table XLV, page 72), they are very far indeed from monopolizing or being segregated in these or any others (Table XLIV, page 71). This table, showing the percentage which Jews form of all persons in Montreal gainfully employed in the branches specified, reveals this. They form 16.2% in commerce, 15.2% in the cleaning, laundering, pressing, and dyeing branch, and 11.4 % in manufacturing. In the thirteen other branches of employment they formed from 0.12% to 6.6% of the total persons so employed.

Hence the Jewish population of Montreal does not seem to be occupationally segregated. Indeed, Rosenberg<sup>(1)</sup> mentions material contributions of Jews to the industrial growth of Canada (not Montreal specifically). "The manufacture of men's and women's ready-to-wear clothing," he writes, "was introduced and developed in Canada by Jews and the majority of the skilled workers in this industry were at one time Jews. The tendency is for Jewish workers in this industry to be forced out by cheaper unorganized workers." And again: "It is the Jewish population of Canada which has converted Canada from a country which was a producer of raw furs for export to other countries into a country which dresses, dyes, and makes up all the furs it requires for its own use, besides exporting its raw surplus to other countries." Jews have entered into the occupational life of the community, then, and helped develop it. Their main segregation, as Rosenberg has

(1) Op. cit.

pointed out, lies in their involuntary exclusion from heavy industries and from positions as employees in many large firms and elsewhere. See page 180 for comment on the employment of Jews by Jewish employers.

### Biological Amalgamation

Intermarriage is not one of the means by which Hebrews assimilate most readily in Canada. In 1926, 3.12% of Jewish bridegrooms married non-Jewish brides, while 1.63% of Jewish brides married non-Jewish grooms. The figures in the Province of Quebec were even lower: 1.98% and 1.11% respectively.

Table LX. Denominations of Brides of Jewish Grooms and of Grooms of Jewish Brides in Canada and Five Specified Regions, 1926 and 1936(1)

Denominations of Brides of Jewish Grooms 1926		Canada	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie Provinces	British Columbia
Total		1,122	16	455	435	202	14
Jewish		1,087	12	446	425	193	11
All Other	No.	35	4	9	10	9	3
	P.c.	3.12	25.0	1.98	2.30	4.46	21.43
Denominations of Grooms of Jewish Brides 1926		Canada	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie Provinces	British Columbia
Total		1,105	13	451	431	196	14
Jewish		1,087	12	446	425	193	11
All Other	No.	18	1	5	6	3	3
	P.C.	1.63	7.69	1.11	1.39	1.53	21.43
Denominations of Brides of Jewish Grooms 1936		Canada	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie Provinces	British Columbia
Total		1,700	30	691	680	272	27
Jewish		1,631	27	678	652	254	20
All Other	No.	69	3	13	28	18	7
	P.C.	4.06	10.00	1.88	4.12	6.62	25.93

(1) Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Vital Statistics of 1926", p.452, Table 39 and, "Vital Statistics 1936", p.392, Table 66.

Denominations of Grooms of Jewish Brides 1936		(1) Canada	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Prairie Provinces	British Columbia
Total		1,657	27	681	664	262	23
Jewish		1,631	27	678	652	254	20
All Other	No.	26	-	3	12	8	3
	P.C.	1.57	0.00	0.44	1.81	3.05	13.04

In the Province of Quebec the rate of intermarriage has fallen lower since that year (Table LX), although the rate for Canada as a whole has risen slightly. In both periods, males married outside their own ethnic group more often than females.

Jewish settlement in Canada is, on the whole, too recent for biological amalgamation on a large scale. It may be expected to increase with social assimilation as time goes by, provided that that natural social process is not retarded by artificial obstacles. "To the degree that racial minorities are not secure in their rights' (as Justice Brandeis puts it), the separate-<sup>(2)</sup>ness <sup>(3)</sup>will continue." "There can be little doubt that race prejudice <sup>(4)</sup>is the greatest single barrier to assimilation."

"If the Jewish problem is ever to be solved, it will have to be done by the Gentiles.....by forgetting that we are Jews.....Let us be, and we shall actually cease to be. Our history proves that. Wherever we have been least hounded, there we have been most prone to disappear. ....The average American Jew has immeasurably more in common with American Gentiles, than he has, for example, with the average French Jew." <sup>(5)</sup>

#### Economic and Social Adjustment

Rosenberg states:

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- (1) Exclusive of Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
  - (2) I.e., marks of ethnic identity.
  - (3) Park and Miller, op. cit., p. 306.
  - (4) Fairchild, op. cit., p. 411.
  - (5) Lewis Browne, "What Can the Jews Do?" in the Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N.Y., April 1939, pp. 75-77.

"Of the 48,724 Jews in Montreal proper in 1931, 20,704 men, women, and children ten years of age and over were gainfully employed. At least 45 per cent of Montreal's Jewish wage earners had been out of work for some time on June 1st, 1931, through long term unemployment, temporary lay-offs, illnesses, or strikes and lock-outs, and if the total number of weeks of unemployment were spread among the total number of Jewish wage earners losing time during the twelve months preceding June 1, 1931, it would have averaged 22 weeks per person for each unemployed Jewish wage earner."<sup>(1)</sup>

There were 296,991 men, women, and children ten years of age and over of all racial origins in Montreal proper at the same time, the total population being 818,577.<sup>(2)</sup> Hence 42.5% of Montreal Jewry and 36.3% of the total population were gainfully employed on June 1, 1931.<sup>(3)</sup> Of the latter gainfully employed group 122,168, or 41.1% lost time during the year ending on that date, the number of weeks lost totalling 2,815,076 or an average of 23 weeks per gainfully employed person. Hence, although a greater relative number of persons suffered employment difficulties among the Jewish group in 1930-1931, the total time lost by them was slightly lower than that lost by the average worker of all racial origins.

Relief---In 1938, 848 Jewish persons received relief in the city of Montreal,<sup>(4)</sup> out of a total relief-receiving population of about 96,000. They thus formed about 0.8% of the total--a figure far below their proportion in the population. Still, public relief does not by any means cover the total number of persons economically unadjusted. It is possible that many Jews

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(1) Op. cit., p. 7.

(2) Seventh Census of Canada 1931, Bulletin IX, "Unemployment among Wage Earners," p. 26, Table I.

(3) This figure in and of itself is of very little value as an index of adjustment, for it does not take into account the age and sex distribution, conjugal condition, state of health and employability, etc., of the two groups concerned.

(4) Information given by the Secretary of the Business Men's Council, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal.

prefer to seek private relief. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, official agency in Montreal for the dispensation of Jewish charity, spends about \$100,000 annually <sup>(1)</sup> on financial assistance of various sorts for those technically ineligible for governmental relief. In 1938 the Family Welfare Department of the Federation "assisted 3,999 families and 1,397 single persons. In addition, the Department gave service and advice to 1,750 applicants where adjustment could be made without material assistance." <sup>(2)</sup>

In addition, certain small unofficial bodies raise money for various forms of relief. The extent of such relief is, of course, negligible in comparison to that dispensed by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

It is desirable, for real insight into the extent of economic and social maladjustment among the Jewish population to know more particulars about the kind of problems which appear; and to compare them with those in other ethnic groups and in the total population of the city. Such intensive investigation is not within our scope at the present time, however.

Crime and juvenile delinquency among the Jewish population, though equally fitting at this point, have already been discussed briefly (pp. 181-184).

#### Self-Consciousness of the Group

We have endeavoured to show how deeply the Jew in Montreal is immersed in the general matrix of the life of the community. One last query remains to be considered. How far has the Jew undergone this immersion in his own mind? How conscious is he of being distinct? What is the self-consciousness of the Jewish group as such?

We have shown that in the areas of later settlement, at least, the life of the average Jew is bound up inextricably with the secular pattern of life of the community. The same is true, to a lesser extent, of his co-

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Twenty-second Annual Report of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of Montreal and Constituent Societies, 1938, p. 25.

religionists in every part of the city. It has been shown that occupationally, commercially, recreationally, and in many social aspects, the Jews depend not on their own cultural heritage alone, but largely on the media indigenous to the cultural milieu in which they are living.

But apart from a few fundamental ritual institutions, which are not germane to American culture, we found that the Hebrew group supported many organizations and services that are virtual duplicates of those supported by the non-Jewish population. This is the clue to the discovery of the extent of ethnic self-consciousness among this group. In the main, they are neither accepted with that completeness which would allow them to forget their racial origin, nor so completely excluded that they feel themselves in a different world entirely. They feel themselves an inalienable part of Canadian society --a Jewish Chinaman and a Jewish Canadian have little more in common than any Chinaman and any Canadian--yet a part that is somehow distinct.

It is not the Jew who wills this. His role in the great drama of acculturation and assimilation is more or less a passive one. It is but to react to the treatment he gets from those about him. "Assimilation is thus as inevitable as it is desirable; it is impossible for the immigrants to remain permanently in separate groups."<sup>(1)</sup> "Being a minority we cannot act; we can only react. All of which means simply this: if the Jewish problem is ever to be solved, it will have to be done by Gentiles."<sup>(2)</sup>

Every time the Jewish individual finds himself discriminated against in some way or other--be it<sup>in</sup> an attempt to secure employment, to enter the University, to join social clubs, to rent an exclusive apartment, or in any other of scores of little ways--he is reminded with a jolt that, although it is not obvious to him, he is part of a group that must be different, since it is set apart from the others. Only one course remains open--to return to his own ethnic group. And this he does, to some extent. But he cannot

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(1) Park and Miller, op. cit., p. 308.

(2) Browne, op. cit., p. 77.



do so entirely, nor does he want to. Hence, he becomes what in more extreme situations Park has designated the "marginal man,"--an individual belonging marginally to two cultures, yet completely to neither.<sup>(1)</sup>

"When, however, the walls of the medieval ghetto were torn down and the Jew was permitted to participate in the cultural life of the peoples among whom he lived, there appeared a new type of personality, namely, a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples, never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused." (2)

"Though the physical walls of the ghetto have been torn down, an invisible wall of isolation still maintains the distance between the Jew and his neighbours." (3)

"Getting out into the world has made the Jew self-conscious." (4)

In extreme cases, this self-consciousness may border on the pathological, the individual suffering "race psychosis", a sort of racial hypersensitiveness or persecution complex.

"The name 'Judenschmerz' has been applied to that attitude on the part of the Jew whose talents would entitle him to participate in the work of the world, but who feels himself hampered, excluded, or merely tolerated by the world at large." (5)

The intensified forms of anti-Semitism which have of recent years manifested themselves in various parts of the world have undoubtedly served to increase the self-consciousness of the Jew, in Montreal as elsewhere.

Thus we find Jews, especially from the more assimilated and adjusted classes, Jews who in many cases would not dream of leaving Canada if they had the chance, supporting the Zionist movement, which "looks to the establishment of a publicly secured, legally assured homeland for the Jews

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(1) See R.E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in the American Journal of Sociology, May, 1928.

(2) Park, op. cit., pp. 891-892.

(3) Wirth, op. cit., p. 118.

(4) Ibid., p. 123.

(5) Ibid., p. 123.

in Palestine,"<sup>(1)</sup> a territory which could hold but a slight fraction of World Jewry.

The last year or two have seen the completion of arrangements for at least three large Jewish spiritual and cultural centres in Montreal,-- two in the western section of the city, and one in Outremont. While the assimilation process is by no means ceasing to operate, self-consciousness too is being kept alive by powerful forces, in the Jewish ethnic group at least.

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(1) Park and Miller, op. cit., quoting from Alexander M. Duskin, "Jewish Education in New York City," p. 36.

Chapter XIII. Summary and Concluding Statement

The Jewish community of Montreal has proved to be a steadily growing, fairly solidly integrated organism, which with its growth has displayed changes in its character as a whole as well as increasing complexity and specialization of its component parts. In the earliest stages, when its size was small, it was also more or less homogeneous, but it was not a complete community in the organic sense. With its growth and development the community influenced and was influenced by the distributive patterns brought about by the ecological forces which were at work in the growth and development of Montreal as a whole. A new "ghetto" area appeared; later areas of Jewish settlement soon emerged, each with its own characteristics; yet all areas were in some way or other still connected with each other.

The complex of relationships to the non-Jewish population underwent corresponding changes as the Hebrew element grew, began to assimilate, and settled down into distinct specialized parts. The emergence of a large ghetto population affected the relation of the long-established, assimilated Jew to his Gentile neighbours; for he was now part of a large Jewish community, and as such had new roles to play.

The community in question shows many attributes which are common to Jewish communities all over Canada and the United States. It is almost independent of the city as a whole as far as the administrative of charity and social services is concerned; <sup>(1)</sup> its birth rate is declining; its traditional attitudes to the sacred aspects of its culture weakening.

At the present moment the future of this group holds many uncertainties. Immigration has been drastically restricted for nine years. General economic depression has wrought widespread changes in the lives and outlook of all for the past decade. War clouds, fanned by the breezes of international, racial,

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(1) "The Hebrews are noted for looking after their own poor."--Fairchild, "Immigration," p. 315.

and class strife and hatred, darken the horizons of Europe and the whole world. What events such a set of circumstances may bring forth no one knows. That drastic social changes are taking place at the present time and will continue to do so in the near future is beyond doubt; and beyond doubt the relations of this minority group in Montreal to the rest of the community would then be affected.

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APPENDIX

TABLE IIA

Population of Hebrew origin in Canada by regions, 1901-1931,  
showing per cent Hebrews form of total population and per cent  
increase by decades (1)

DATE		CANADA	MARI- TIMES	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIE PROVINCES	BRITISH COLUMBIA
1901	Hebrew Pop.	16,131	861	7,607	5,337	1,729	597
	P.c.of total	0 .30	0.10	0.46	0.24	1.41	0.26
1911	Hebrew Pop.	75,681	2,419	30,648	27,015	14,293	1,306
	P.c.of total	1.05	0.26	1.53	1.07	1.08	0.31
	P.c.in- crease	369.16	180.95	302.89	406.18	726.66	118.76
1921	Hebrew Pop.	126,196	3,425	47,977	47,798	25,291	1,705
	P.c.of total	1.44	0.34	2.03	1.63	1.29	0.32
	P.c.in- crease	66.75	41.59	56.54	76.93	76.95	30.55
1931	Hebrew Pop.	156,726	3,328	60,087	62,383	28,197	2,749
	P.c.of total	1.51	0.33	2.09	1.82	1.20	0.39
	P.c.in- crease	24.19	-3.17	25.24	30.51	11.42	61.23
P.c.increase 1901-1931		871.6	286.5	689.9	1068.9	1530.8	360.5

(1) Summary table from information given in  
 Census of Canada 1911, Vol.II. pp.368,370 Tables 12,13.  
 Census of Canada 1921, Vol.I. p.354, Table 23.  
 Census of Canada 1931, Vol.IV. p.90. Table 5.

TABLE IIIA

Birthplace of Hebrew population of Canada by regions 1931 (1)

BIRTHPLACE	CANADA	MARI- TIMES	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIE PROVINCES	BRITISH COLUMBIA
Total Hebrew Population	156,726	3,328	60,087	62,383	28,179	2,749
Canada	68,703	1,757	26,843	26,743	12,207	1,153
British Isles and Possessions	4,139	30	1,422	1,978	501	208
Europe	29,291	1,407	30,309	31,638	14,803	1,134
Austria	2,678	42	1,474	931	188	43
Germany	388	6	202	105	43	32
Hungary	402	3	194	157	39	9
Poland	24,988	338	6,398	15,147	2,816	289
Roumania	7,627	62	4,570	1,536	1,372	87
Russia	40,486	853	16,170	12,909	9,971	583
Ukraine	342	9	196	88	46	3
Others	2,380	94	1,105	765	328	88
United States	4,346	127	1,408	1,945	626	240
All Others	247	7	105	79	42	14

(1) Census of Canada 1931, Vol.IV, Table 5, p.90 ff.

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TABLE IIIA continued

Birthplace of Hebrew population of Canada by per cent for regions, 1931 (1)

BIRTHPLACE	CANADA	MARITIMES	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIE PROVINCES	BRITISH COLUMBIA
Total Pop.	10,376,786	1,009,103	2,874,255	3,431,683	2,353,529	708,216
Total Jews	156,726	3,328	60,087	62,383	28,179	2,749
Per cent Jews in total	1.51	.33	2.09	1.82	1.20	.39
Canada	43.84	52.80	44.67	42.87	43.35	41.94
British Isles and Possessions	2.64	.90	2.37	3.17	1.77	7.57
Europe	50.59	42.28	50.44	50.71	52.53	41.25
Austria	1.71	1.26	2.45	1.50	.66	1.56
Germany	.25	a	a	a	a	.65
Hungary	.26	a	a	a	a	a
Poland	15.94	10.16	10.65	24.28	10.00	10.51
Roumania	4.86	1.86	7.61	2.46	4.87	3.16
Russia	25.83	25.63	26.91	20.69	35.38	21.21
Ukraine	.22	a	a	a	a	a
Others	1.52	a	a	a	a	3.20
United States	2.77	3.81	2.34	3.12	2.22	8.73
All Others	.16	.21	.18	.13	.14	.51

(a) Too small to be significant here.

(1) From Census of Canada, 1931, Vol.IV, Table 5, pp.90 ff.

TABLE VIA

Hebrew Immigrant Population by Year of Arrival, for Regions and Principal Cities, Canada, 1931 (a)

REGION	Before 1901	1901-10	1911-20	1921-30	1931 (5months)	TOTAL (b)
Canada	5,444	26,268	24,612	31,250	373	88,165
Maritimes	187	593	407	379	6	1,572
Quebec	2,495	9,911	8,463	12,191	169	33,288
Ontario	1,974	10,227	10,552	12,722	127	35,711
Prairie Provinces	656	5,112	4,761	5,360	57	15,992
British Columbia	132	425	429	598	14	1,602

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<u>CITY</u>						
Saint John	52	149	81	57	—	339
Montreal(c)	1,716	7,855	7,117	11,039	143	27,919
Toronto (c)	1,235	7,427	8,258	9,676	80	26,736
Winnipeg	382	3,098	2,974	3,416	38	9,924
Vancouver	102	370	372	548	11	1,403

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(a) Includes repatriated Canadians. From Census of Canada 1931, Volume IV, Table 26, p.542.

(b) Includes immigrants with year of immigration not stated.

(c) A more complete picture would be given if figures for Greater Montreal and Greater Toronto were available.

TABLE VIIA

Per cent of immigrant males in Canada gainfully occupied, ten years of age and over, according to period of arrival, in certain occupational groups, 1931 (1)

OCCUPATION	DATE OF ARRIVAL			
	1926-31	1921-25	1911-20	Before 1911
Agriculture	2.22	0.91	1.71	1.82
Manufacturing	38.81	34.34	31.96	27.34
Textile	22.88	20.51	21.07	18.71
Building and Construction	6.75	4.25	3.98	4.26
Trade	28.94	38.62	40.71	45.93
Finance and Insurance	0.78	0.98	1.10	2.72
Service	12.35	12.07	11.11	10.85
Professional	4.81	5.31	4.48	4.61
Clerical	1.49	2.02	2.57	1.85
Labourers and Unskilled Workers	5.58	2.68	3.11	2.12

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(1) From Census of Canada 1931, Vol.VII, Table 17, p.24.

TABLE VIIIA

Period of Immigration of Hebrews, for Regions by Sex, 1931 (1)

PERIOD	MARITIMES		QUEBEC		ONTARIO		PRAIRIE PROVINCES		BRITISH COLUMBIA REGION	
	Male	Female	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Before 1901	111	76	1,365	1,130	1,134	840	397	259	79	53
1901-1910	320	273	5,237 <sup>m</sup>	4,674	5,527	4,700	2,699	2,413	245	180
1911-1920	213	194	4,203	4,260	5,181	5,371	2,405	2,356	236	193
1921-1925	109	121	2,761	3,011	2,830	3,288	1,265	1,550	142	149
1926-1930	83	66	3,077	3,342	3,283	3,321	1,186	1,359	165	142
1931 (5 months)	3	3	80	89	61	66	26	31	7	7

(1) From Census of Canada 1931, Vol.IV, Table 24, p.490.



TABLE IXA

Per cent of foreign-born Hebrews, of all Hebrews, and of the total population ten years of age and over, gainfully occupied, in certain occupational groups, by sex, Canada, 1931 (1)

	Foreign-born Hebrews		Total Hebrews		Total Population 1931	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture	1.6	0.2	1.6	0.11	33.97	3.62
Manufacturing	31.5	46.4	28.8	32.3	10.98	12.71
Trade	40.8	18.8	40.4	21.3	7.97	8.13
Service	11.3	14.3	11.2	12.5	8.82	52.18
Professional	4.7	3.3	5.2	4.5	3.70	17.69
Personal	6.1	10.9	2.25	7.4	3.51	33.02
Clerical	2.0	17.8	3.9	31.0	3.81	17.56
Labourers and unskilled workers (a)	3.0	1.3	3.1	1.2	13.04	1.76
Finance, insurance	1.7	0.1	1.8	0.1	1.11	0.09
Others	8.1	1.1	9.2	1.6	20.27	3.90

(a) Not including those in agriculture, mining or logging.

(1) From Canada Year Book 1937, Table 35, p.142, and Census of Canada 1931, Vol.VIII, Table 20, p. 30

TABLE XIII A

Number of persons of all origins and of Hebrew origin in ten wards and two suburbs of Montreal, 1931, showing the per cent Hebrews form of the total in each ward and of the total Hebrew population (1)

WARD OR CITY	TOTAL POP- ULATION	HEBREW POP.	MALE HEBREWS	FEMALE HEBREWS	P.c.OF MONTREAL	
					P.c.HEBREWS FORM OF WARD	HEBREWS IN WARD
St Georges	13,481	307	195	112	2.27	0.57
St.Laurent	20,545	1,360	752	608	6.62	2.54
St.Louis	17,627	9,671	4,765	4,906	54.86	18.04
St.Jean Baptiste	31,579	10,828	5,343	5,485	34.29	20.20
Laurier	16,078	8,198	4,045	4,153	50.99	15.30
St.Michel	25,582	9,871	4,861	5,010	38.59	18.42
St.Denis	24,774	310	154	156	1.25	0.58
St.Jean	18,278	415	202	213	2.27	0.77
Montcalm	16,458	772	379	393	4.69	1.44
Notre Dame de Grace	46,850	3,299	1,639	1,660	7.04	6.16
Outremont	28,641	6,783	3,359 (a)	3,424 (a)	23.68	12.66
Westmount	24,235	1,780	863 (a)	917 (a)	7.34	3.32
Total (ten wards and two cities)	284,128	53,594	26,557	27,037	18.86	100.00
Total (Montreal proper)	818,577	48,724	24,312	24,412	5.95	90.9

(1) Census of Canada 1931 Bulletin No.XXXVIII, Tables 5,6, pp.22,30.

(a) From Table 34, p.494 ff. Census of Canada 1931, Vol.II

TABLE XVA

Number and per cent of Hebrew population in ten wards of Montreal by country of birth, showing sex distribution for each group. (1)

Birthplace	HEBREW POPULATION		SEX DISTRIBUTION			
	Number	P.c.	Male	P.c.	Female	P.c.
Total	45,031	100.0	22,335	49.6	22,696	50.4
Canada	19,005	42.2	9,448	49.7	9,557	50.3
United States	785	1.7	380	48.4	405	51.6
British	990	2.2	515	52.0	475	48.0
Russia	12,905	28.7	6,377	49.4	6,528	50.6
Poland	5,422	12.0	2,733	50.4	2,689	49.6
Roumania	3,453	7.7	1,659	48.0	1,794	52.0
Austria	1,084	2.4	531	49.0	553	51.0
Other European	1,311	2.9	649	49.5	662	50.5
All Other	76	.2	43	56.6	33	43.4

(1) Computed from unpublished Census material.

TABLE XVIA

Per cent distribution of Hebrew population in ten wards of Montreal, and per cent distribution of each birthplace group in ten wards.(1)

WARD	ALL COUNTRIES OF BIRTH	CANADIAN- BORN	UNITED STATES- BORN	BRITISH BORN	RUSS- IAN BORN	ROL- ISH BORN	ROUM- ANIAN BORN	AUST- RIAN BORN	OTHER EUROP- EAN	ALL OTHERS
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
St.George	.7	0.6	5.0	3.0	.4	.4	.7	.7	1.4	--
St.Laurent	3.0	3.1	5.5	4.4	2.9	2.5	2.4	3.7	4.2	7.9
St.Louis	21.5	18.1	7.5	9.3	22.4	34.0	22.5	21.5	23.7	21.1
St.Jean Baptiste	24.1	21.1	8.8	13.4	26.7	31.8	26.5	23.3	19.5	18.4
Laurier	18.2	19.1	12.0	21.3	18.1	14.9	19.7	15.1	19.8	14.5
St.Michel	21.9	24.4	23.9	29.2	21.5	12.0	21.4	27.5	21.0	25.0
St.Denis	.7	0.7	.6	2.0	.7	.7	.4	.6	1.1	2.6
St.Jean	.9	1.1	.3	.8	1.1	.5	.4	.6	.7	3.9
Montcalm	1.7	2.1	.4	.8	2.0	.8	1.2	.1	.7	1.3
Notre Dame de Grace	7.3	9.7	36.0	15.8	4.2	2.4	4.8	6.9	7.9	5.3

(1) Computed from unpublished material from the Dominion Census 1931 now in the possession of the Social Research Offices, McGill University.

TABLE XVIIIA

Per cent birthplace composition of Hebrew population in ten wards of Montreal 1931.(1).

WARD	TOTAL	CANADA	U.S.A.	BRITISH	RUSSIA	POLAND	ROUMANIA	AUSTRIA	OTHER EUROPEAN	OTHER
Total	100.0	42.2	1.7	2.2	28.7	12.0	7.7	2.4	2.9	.2
St.George	100.0	36.8	12.7	9.8	17.2	6.2	8.5	2.6	6.2	--
St.Laurent	100.0	43.2	3.2	3.2	27.1	9.9	6.0	2.9	4.1	.4
St.Louis	100.0	35.6	.6	1.0	29.9	19.1	8.0	2.4	3.2	.2
St.Jean Baptiste	100.0	37.1	.6	1.2	31.8	16.0	8.5	2.3	2.4	.1
Laurier	100.0	44.3	1.1	2.6	28.5	9.9	8.3	2.0	3.2	.1
St.Michel	100.0	47.0	1.9	2.9	28.1	6.6	7.5	3.0	2.8	.2
St.Denis	100.0	41.0	1.6	6.5	27.4	11.6	4.5	1.9	4.8	.7
St.Jean	100.0	48.2	.5	1.9	34.9	7.0	3.1	1.5	2.2	.7
Montcalm	100.0	52.0	.4	1.0	34.2	5.4	5.6	.1	1.2	.1
Notre Dame de Grace	100.0	55.7	8.6	4.7	16.6	3.9	5.0	2.3	3.1	.1

(1) Computed from unpublished Census material.

TABLE XVIIIIA

Per cent sex distribution of all Hebrews and of Canadian-born Hebrews in ten wards of Montreal, 1931.(1).

WARD	TOTAL		CANADIAN	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Total	49.6	50.4	49.7	50.3
St.George	63.52	36.48	61.1	38.9
St.Laurent	55.3	44.7	53.9	46.1
St.Louis	49.3	50.7	50.5	49.5
St.Jean Baptiste	49.3	50.7	49.6	50.4
Laurier	49.3	50.7	49.9	50.1
St.Michel	49.2	50.8	49.4	50.6
St.Denis	49.7	50.3	48.8	51.2
St.Jean	48.7	51.3	50.0	50.0
Montcalm	49.1	50.9	47.1	52.9
Notre Dame de Grace	49.7	50.3	47.3	52.7

(1) Computed from unpublished Census material.

TABLE XIXA

Percentage distribution of Hebrew population of Montreal by quinquennial age groups, by sex, 1931 (1).

<u>AGE GROUP</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
Total Population	48,724	24,312	24,412
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00
0-4	7.42	7.39	7.46
5-9	9.01	9.29	8.74
10-14	9.77	9.69	9.84
15-19	12.44	11.90	12.97
20-24	13.28	12.20	14.37
25-29	9.42	9.45	9.40
30-34	7.44	7.78	7.09
35-39	7.16	7.42	6.91
40-44	6.21	6.31	6.12
45-49	5.64	5.75	5.53
50-54	4.40	4.68	4.12
55-59	3.05	3.15	2.95
60-64	2.17	2.27	2.06
65-69	1.38	1.47	1.28
70-74	.74	.76	.72
75-79	.28	.29	.26
80-84	.10	.11	.09
85 +	.07	.07	.07
Not given	.02	.02	.02

(1) Calculated from Census of Canada 1931, Vol.III, p.274, Table 19.



TABLE XXA

Percentage distribution by quinquennial age groups of the Hebrew population, by wards of Montreal, 1931. (1).

AGE GROUP	ST.GEORGE	ST.LAURENT	ST.LOUIS	ST.JEAN BAPTISTE	LAURIER	ST.MICHEL	ST.DENIS	ST.JEAN CALM	MONT- CALM	NOTRE DA ME DE GRACE
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-4	2.6	5.8	7.5	8.2	6.5	7.1	11.6	7.2	8.7	7.7
5-9	4.6	5.6	9.1	9.7	8.7	9.3	6.5	9.6	8.2	9.3
10-14	6.5	7.6	9.6	9.8	9.7	10.7	8.4	11.6	11.3	8.7
15-19	7.2	11.5	12.8	12.4	13.4	13.1	11.9	15.4	15.5	8.9
0-19	20.9	30.5	39.0	40.1	38.3	40.2	38.4	43.8	43.7	34.6
25-44	45.2	37.2	28.0	29.0	29.7	29.8	34.9	24.1	20.6	38.3
45-49	10.1	7.3	5.5	5.1	5.8	5.7	3.5	7.5	6.9	5.0
50-54	6.5	4.0	4.3	3.9	4.8	4.2	4.8	5.3	5.6	4.7
55-59	2.9	3.9	3.0	3.2	2.9	2.7	3.2	3.1	4.1	3.4
60-64	2.0	1.6	2.7	1.9	2.1	2.1	↑	2.2	2.6	2.1
65-69	↑	1.3	1.8	1.4	1.0	1.3	2.3	1.7	1.4	1.1
70-74	↑	1.0	.7	1.0	.7	.6	↓	↑	↑	.6
75-79	2.6	↑	.3	.4	.2	.3	↓	1.0	↓	.3
80+	↓	.4	↑	.4	↑	↑	--	--	--	↑
Not given	↓	↓	↓	--	↓	↓	--	--	--	↓
65+ (a)	2.6	2.7	2.9	3.2	2.1	2.3	2.3	2.7	2.3	2.3

(1) Calculated from unpublished Census material.

(a) Includes those not given.

TABLE XXIA

(1)

Percentage distribution of Hebrews in ten wards of Montreal, by age groups, according to birthplace,  
1931.

AGE INTERVAL	TOTAL	CANADA	U.S.A.	BRITISH	RUSSIA	POLAND	ROUMANIA	AUSTRIA	OTHER EUROPEAN	OTHERS
Total	100.0 <sup>(2)</sup>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-19	38.64	75.1	27.7	10.7	9.8	20.1	7.0	4.9	15.5	27.6
25-44	30.23	9.4	45.8	56.6	44.4	42.3	47.9	47.9	41.5	51.4
0-49	87.79	99.6	94.7	90.4	76.1	86.6	74.1	72.4	79.8	93.5
50+	12.02	0.4	5.3	9.6	23.8	13.4	25.9	17.6	20.2	6.5
Not given	.19	a	a	--	0.1	.09	--	--	--	--

(1) Computed from unpublished Census material.

(2) For all Montreal, from Table XIXA.

(a) Too small to be considered.

=====

TABLE XXIIA

Montreal Hebrew immigrant population, by sex and year of arrival,  
1931.(1)

PERIOD OF ARRIVAL	HEBREW POPULATION	P.C.	MALE	FEMALE
Total	27,917	100.0	13,916	14,003
Before 1901	1,716	6.2	934	782
1901-1910	7,855	28.1	4,118	3,737
1911-1920	7,117	25.5	3,502	3,615
1921-1925	5,145	18.4	2,437	2,708
1926-1930	5,894	21.1	2,853	3,059
1921-1930	11,039	39.5	5,272	5,767
1931(5 months)	143	.5	68	75
Year not given	49	.2	22	27

(1) Census of Canada 1931, Vol.IV, p.546, Table 26.

TABLE XXIIIA

(1)

Percentage distribution of immigrant Jews by periods of immigration, for ten wards of Montreal, 1931.

WARD	TOTAL IMMIGRANT POPULATION	BEFORE 1901	1901-10	1911-20	1921-30	1931 (5 months)	Not given
Total	26,061	1,515	7,251	6,616	10,534	110	35
P.c.	100.0	5.8	27.8	25.4	40.4	.4	.2
St. George	194						
P.C.	100.0	19.1	24.2	19.1	32.0	4.6	1.0
St. Laurent	775						
P.c.	100.0	8.9	32.7	22.3	35.2	.4	.5
St. Louis	6,233						
P.C.	100.0	3.1	21.3	23.7	51.2	.6	.1
St. Jean Baptiste	6,819						
P.C.	100.0	3.5	21.6	24.6	49.8	.4	.1
Laurier	4,570						
P.C.	100.0	6.2	33.1	26.2	34.1	.3	.1
St. Michel	5,239						
P.C.	100.0	6.7	35.1	28.5	29.2	.4	.1
St. Denis	183						
P.C.	100.0	4.9	20.8	31.7	42.6	--	--
St. Jean	215						
P.C.	100.0	3.3	36.7	34.4	25.1	--	.5
Montcalm	372						
P.C.	100.0	4.6	47.8	22.9	23.9	--	.8
Notre Dame de Grace	1,461						
P.C.	100.0	21.5	34.1	23.5	20.3	.3	.3

(1) Computed from unpublished Census material.

TABLE XXIVA

Period of immigration, by per cent, of Jews residing in ten wards of Montreal, by country of origin, 1931. (1).

BIRTHPLACE	BEFORE 1901	1901-10	1911-20	1921-30	1931 (5 mos.)	NOT GIVEN	TOTAL
Total	5.8	27.8	25.4	40.4	.4	.2	100.0
Canada (a)	--	48.6	31.4	17.1	2.9	-	100.0
United States	10.0	19.9	30.8	35.8	2.7	.8	100.0
British Isles & Possessions	5.4	36.2	31.0	25.8	.3	1.3	100.0
Russia	5.5	31.4	26.7	36.1	.2	.1	100.0
Poland	2.3	11.4	19.8	65.6	.9	b	100.0
Roumania	8.9	41.8	26.7	22.3	.2	.1	100.0
Austria	14.7	30.8	31.3	23.0	.2	-	100.0
Other European	6.3	18.8	19.0	55.7	.1	.1	100.0
All Other (a)	--	23.7	35.5	39.5	1.3	-	100.0

(1) Computed from unpublished Census material.

(a) Absolute figures very small;percentages therefore not very reliable.

(b) Less than 0.1 per cent.

TABLE XXVA

Nativity in broad classifications of parents of Hebrew population in ten wards of Montreal, by number and percent, 1931 (1).

WARD	TOTAL	BRITISH		BRITISH- FOREIGN (b)		FOREIGN (b)		NOT GIVEN	
		No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.c.
Total	45,031	1,266	2.8	1,796	4.0	41,955	93.2	14	a
St.George	307	44	14.3	13	4.3	250	81.4	--	-
St.Laurent	1,360	87	6.4	54	4.0	1,219	89.6	--	-
St.Louis	9,671	78	0.8	179	1.9	9,414	97.3	--	-
St.Jean	10,828	117	1.1	259	2.4	10,446	96.5	6	a
Baptiste Laurier	8,198	255	3.1	339	4.1	7,598	92.7	6	0.1
St.Michel	9,871	314	3.2	461	4.7	9,095	92.1	1	a
St.Denis	310	25	8.1	36	11.6	249	80.3	--	-
St.Jean	415	12	2.9	16	3.9	387	93.2	--	-
Montcalm	772	5	0.7	24	3.1	743	96.2	--	-
Notre Dame de Grace	3,299	329	10.0	415	12.6	2,554	77.4	1	a

(1) Computed from unpublished Census material.

(a) Less than 0.1 per cent.

(b) Includes American.

TABLE XXVIA

Nativity of parents of Canadian- and British-born Hebrews in ten wards of Montreal 1931, by absolute figures and percentages (1)

WARD	TOTAL BRITISH-BORN HEBREWS	NATIVITY OF PARENTS							
		BRITISH		BRITISH-FOREIGN		FOREIGN		NOT GIVEN	
		No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
Total	19,995	1,222	6.1	1,744	8.7	17,019	85.1	10	0.1
St.George	143	39	27.3	11	7.7	93	65.0	-	-
St.Laurent	631	86	13.6	54	8.6	491	77.8	-	-
St.Louis	3,535	77	2.2	176	5.0	3,282	92.8	-	-
St.Jean	4,152	113	2.7	251	6.0	3,785	91.2	3	0.1
Baptiste									
St.Michel	4,932	306	6.2	447	9.1	4,179	84.7	-	-
Laurier	3,844	239	6.2	331	8.6	3,268	85.0	6	0.2
St.Denis	147	24	16.3	36	24.5	87	59.2	-	-
St.Jean	208	11	5.3	16	7.7	181	87.0	-	-
Montcalm	409	5	1.2	24	5.9	380	92.9	-	-
Notre Dame de Grace	1,994	322	16.1	398	20.0	1,273	63.8	1	0.1

(1) Computed from unpublished Census material.

TABLE XXVIII A

Number of children in 512 Hebrew families in four areas of settlement in Montreal, by per cent, 1938 (1)

Percentage of families having	First Area	Second Area	Third Area	Fourth Area	Total
1 child	8.9	4.3	7.9	5.9	6.8
2 children	19.9	26.2	28.5	35.3	26.0
3 "	26.7	26.2	29.8	25.5	27.3
4 "	18.5	23.2	16.6	19.6	19.5
5 "	11.6	10.4	9.3	5.9	10.0
6 "	4.8	4.9	4.6	3.9	4.7
7 "	4.8	1.2	1.3	-	2.1
8 "	2.7	0.6	-	2.0	1.2
9 + "	.7	1.2	1.3	-	1.0
Not given	1.4	1.8	0.7	1.9	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1-4 inclusive	74.0	79.9	82.8	86.3	79.6

(1) Questionnaire results.



TABLE XXXA

Per cent of mothers, fathers, and both, who have been in America for various quinquennial periods, showing four areas, 1938. (1).

YEARS IN AMERICA		FIRST AREA	SECOND AREA	THIRD AREA	FOURTH AREA	TOTAL
0-4	Mothers	1.4	1.8	-	-	1.0
	Fathers	0.7	1.8	-	-	0.8
	Both	1.0	1.8	-	-	0.9
5-9	Mothers	6.9	6.1	-	-	3.9
	Fathers	4.8	4.3	-	-	2.7
	Both	5.8	5.2	-	-	3.3
10-14	Mothers	21.2	5.5	4.0	-	9.0
	Fathers	21.2	6.7	2.0	-	8.8
	Both	21.2	6.1	3.0	-	8.9
15-19	Mothers	16.5	17.1	6.0	2.0	12.1
	Fathers	15.0	15.9	4.6	2.0	10.9
	Both	15.7	16.5	5.3	2.0	11.5
20-24	Mothers	7.5	12.2	9.3	5.9	9.4
	Fathers	9.6	7.3	8.0	3.9	7.8
	Both	8.6	9.8	8.6	4.9	8.6
25-29	Mothers	17.8	20.7	16.5	7.8	17.4
	Fathers	16.4	21.9	21.2	7.8	18.8
	Both	17.1	21.3	18.9	7.8	18.1
30 +	Mothers	11.0	19.5	33.8	15.7	20.9
	Fathers	11.0	23.8	47.0	35.3	28.1
	Both	11.0	21.6	40.4	25.5	24.5
Born in America	Mothers	6.9	6.7	21.8	60.8	16.6
	Fathers	5.4	7.9	8.6	37.3	10.4
	Both	6.2	7.3	15.2	49.0	13.5
Not Given	Mothers	11.0	10.4	8.6	7.8	9.7
	Fathers	15.7	10.4	8.6	13.7	11.7
	Both	13.4	10.4	8.6	10.8	10.7
Total	Mothers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Fathers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Both	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total	Mothers	146	164	151	51	512
	Fathers	146	164	151	51	512
	Both	292	328	302	102	1,024

(1) Questionnaire results.



TABLE XXXIIA

Number and percent of Hebrew population in each area of settlement who attend the Synagogue, by frequency of attendance for 3 male generations in a sample of 512 families, 1938. (1)

	Frequency of Attendance	1st Area		2nd Area		3rd Area		4th Area		TOTAL	
		No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
SONS	Daily	5	3.4	5	3.0	-	-	1	2.0	11	2.2
	Sabbath	43	29.5	58	35.2	54	35.8	22	43.1	177	34.5
	Holidays	37	25.4	35	21.2	32	21.2	12	23.5	116	22.6
	High Holidays	20	13.7	29	17.6	34	22.5	11	21.6	94	18.3
	Never	5	3.4	6	3.6	13	8.6	-	-	24	4.7
	No Sons	31	21.2	27	16.4	12	7.9	2	3.9	72	14.0
	Not Given	5	3.4	5	3.0	6	4.0	3	5.9	19	3.7
Total		146	100.0	165	100.0	151	100.0	51	100.0	513	100.0
FATHERS	Daily	10	6.8	13	7.9	7	4.6	2	3.9	32	6.3
	Sabbath	39	26.7	62	37.8	34	22.5	5	9.8	140	27.3
	Holidays	52	35.6	54	32.9	51	33.8	20	39.2	177	34.6
	High Holidays	28	19.2	19	11.6	41	27.1	15	29.4	103	20.1
	Never	3	2.1	3	1.9	9	6.0	2	3.9	17	3.3
	No Sons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Not Given	14	9.6	13	7.9	9	6.0	7	13.8	43	8.4
Total		146	100.0	164	100.0	151	100.0	51	100.0	512	100.0
Grandfathers		No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
	Daily	42	28.8	52	31.7	40	26.5	9	17.6	143	27.9
	Sabbath	19	13.0	11	6.7	12	7.9	10	19.6	52	10.2
	Holidays	6	4.1	5	3.1	6	4.0	3	5.9	20	3.9
	High Holidays	3	2.0	2	1.2	5	3.3	2	3.9	12	2.3
	Never	2	1.4	2	1.2	2	1.3	1	2.0	7	1.4
	No Sons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total		74	50.7	92	56.1	86	57.0	26	51.0	278	54.3
TOTALS		No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
	Daily	57	13.0	70	14.2	47	10.4	12	7.8	186	12.1
	Sabbath	101	23.1	131	26.6	100	22.1	37	24.2	369	24.0
	Holidays	95	21.7	94	19.1	89	19.6	35	22.9	313	20.4
	High Holidays	51	11.6	50	10.2	80	17.7	28	18.3	209	13.6
	Never	10	2.3	11	2.2	24	5.3	3	2.0	48	3.1
	No Sons	31	7.1	27	5.4	12	2.6	2	1.3	72	4.7
Total		93	21.2	110	22.3	101	22.3	36	23.5	340	22.1
Total		438	100.0	493	100.0	453	100.0	153	100.0	1537	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.



TABLE XXXIIIA

Number and per cent distribution of area of synagogue attended by persons living in four areas of settlement, by three male generations, 1938 (1)

## AREA OF RESIDENCE

AREA OF SYNAGOGUE ATTENDED	SONS								TOTAL	
	FIRST AREA		SECOND AREA		THIRD AREA		FOURTH AREA		AREAS IN CITY	
	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
First	46	40.0	36	26.1	9	6.5	1	2.0	92	20.9
Second	5	4.4	53	38.4	25	18.0	-	-	83	18.8
Third	7	6.1	20	14.5	66	47.5	1	2.0	94	21.3
Fourth	3	2.6	2	1.4	4	2.9	43	87.8	52	11.8
Not specific	2	1.7	2	1.5	2	1.4	-	-	6	1.4
Not Given	52	45.2	25	18.1	33	23.7	4	8.2	114	25.8
Total	115	100.0	138	100.0	139	100.0	49	100.0	441	100.0

FATHERS										
First	56	38.3	38	23.2	12	8.0	1	2.0	107	20.9
Second	9	6.2	59	36.0	27	17.9	-	-	95	18.5
Third	7	4.8	27	16.5	68	45.0	2	3.9	104	20.3
Fourth	2	1.4	2	1.2	7	4.6	39	76.5	50	9.8
Not specific	5	3.4	2	1.2	2	1.3	-	-	9	1.8
Not given	67	45.9	36	21.9	35	23.2	9	17.6	147	28.7
Total	146	100.0	164	100.0	151	100.0	51	100.0	512	100.0

GRANDFATHERS										
First	31	21.3	17	10.4	11	7.3	1	2.0	60	11.7
Second	4	2.7	25	15.2	14	9.3	-	-	43	8.4
Third	3	2.0	10	6.1	24	15.9	1	2.0	38	7.4
Fourth	1	0.7	-	-	2	1.3	17	33.3	20	3.9
Not specific	1	0.7	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	2	0.4
Not given	106 (a)	72.6	112 (a)	68.3	99 (a)	65.6	32 (a)	62.7	349	68.2
Total	146	100.0	164	100.0	151	100.0	51	100.0	512	100.0

TOTAL										
First	133	32.7	91	19.5	32	7.3	3	2.0	259	17.7
Second	18	4.4	137	29.4	66	15.0	-	-	221	15.1
Third	17	4.2	57	12.2	158	35.8	4	2.7	236	16.1
Fourth	6	1.5	4	0.9	13	2.9	99	65.5	122	8.3
Not specific	8	1.9	4	0.9	5	1.1	-	-	17	1.2
Not given	225	55.3	173	37.1	167	37.9	45	29.8	610	41.6
Total	407	100.0	466	100.0	441	100.0	151	100.0	1,465	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

(a) Includes deceased.

N.B. Grandfathers may even live in a separate household.



TABLE XXXIVA

Families in each area who buy meat, fish, and bread in Jewish stores, showing frequency of purchase, by per cent, 1938.(1)

	<u>MEAT</u>				
	<u>1st Area</u>	<u>2nd Area</u>	<u>3rd Area</u>	<u>4th Area</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	92.4	95.1	90.7	82.3	91.8
Usually	0.7	0.6	4.0	5.9	2.1
Sometimes	1.4	1.2	2.0	5.9	2.0
Total	94.5	96.9	96.7	94.1	95.9
No	--	0.6	2.0	2.0	1.0
Not Given	5.5	2.5	1.3	3.9	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

	<u>FISH</u>				
Yes	88.3	86.6	69.5	43.1	77.7
Usually	0.7	4.3	10.6	19.6	6.7
Sometimes	2.1	4.3	9.9	23.5	7.2
Total	91.1	95.2	90.0	86.2	91.6
No	2.1	2.4	8.0	7.9	4.5
Not Given	6.8	2.4	2.0	5.9	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

	<u>BREAD</u>				
Yes	85.6	76.2	54.3	27.5	67.6
Usually	5.5	11.0	18.5	25.5	13.1
Sometimes	2.7	8.0	17.9	33.3	11.9
Total	93.8	95.2	90.7	86.3	92.6
No	-	2.4	8.0	7.8	3.9
Not Given	6.2	2.4	1.3	5.9	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

TABLE XXXV A

Percent of families in each area who buy food at Jewish stores,  
by area of location of stores, 1938. (1)

MEAT bought in

People living in	Total No.	1st Area	2nd Area	3rd Area	4th Area	Not Given	Kosher food not bought	Total P.c.
1st Area	146	87.7	6.1	0.7	--	5.5	-----	100.0
2nd Area	164	44.5	45.1	2.5	--	7.3	0.6	100.0
3rd Area	151	29.8	20.5	37.1	--	11.3	1.3	100.0
4th Area	51	39.2	----	----	43.1	15.7	2.0	100.0
TOTAL	512	51.9	22.3	11.9	4.3	8.8	0.8	100.0

FISH bought in

People living in	Total No.	1st Area	2nd Area	3rd Area	4th Area	Not Given	Kosher food Not bought	Total P.c.
1st Area	146	85.6	2.7	0.7	--	8.9	2.1	100.0
2nd Area	164	56.7	31.7	1.2	--	8.6	1.8	100.0
3rd Area	151	31.1	14.6	32.4	--	14.6	7.3	100.0
4th Area	51	33.3	----	----	35.3	23.5	7.9	100.0
TOTAL	512	55.1	15.2	10.2	3.5	11.9	4.1	100.0

BREAD bought in

People living in	Total No.	1st Area	2nd Area	3rd Area	4th Area	Not Given	Kosher food Not bought	Total P.c.
1st Area	146	91.1	0.7	---	---	8.2	----	100.0
2nd Area	164	46.3	40.3	0.6	---	10.4	2.4	100.0
3rd Area	151	32.5	20.5	17.2	---	22.5	7.3	100.0
4th Area	51	7.8	3.9	---	56.9	25.5	5.9	100.0
TOTAL	512	51.2	19.5	5.3	5.7	14.8	3.5	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

TABLEXXXVIA

Different types of establishments at which main items of clothing are bought by inhabitants of four areas of settlement, by per cent, 1938. (1).

PLACE OF PURCHASE	FIRST AREA	SECOND AREA	THIRD AREA	FOURTH AREA	TOTAL
A	13.8	18.0	26.8	39.2	20.9
B	5.6	7.2	17.2	20.6	10.5
C	23.5	23.0	14.3	9.8	19.7
D	8.2	9.4	10.5	9.8	9.3
E	19.6	10.8	11.9	9.8	11.0
F	22.5	19.4	11.1	3.9	16.8
G	13.2	9.8	4.1	3.0	8.7
Clothes tailored	-	-	0.3	-	0.1
Not given	2.6	2.4	3.8	3.9	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

CODE

A- Department stores  
B- Wholesalers  
C- Jewish neighbourhood stores  
D- Non-Jewish neighbourhood stores  
E- Small St.Catherine Street stores  
F- Small St.Lawrence Blvd.stores  
G- Clothes made at home.

CONTINUED

LANGUAGE	CHILDREN	MOTHER	FATHER	GRAND- PARENTS	TOTAL
<u>THIRD AREA</u>					
E	15.9	2.0	-	-	4.5
Y	-	0.7	0.7	5.3	1.7
E & Y	28.5	27.8	17.2	12.6	21.5
F & E	5.3	1.3	-	-	1.7
E, F & Y	33.1	23.8	27.1	3.3	21.8
E, Y & H	2.7	1.3	2.6	2.7	2.3
E & H	-	-	-	0.7	0.2
Y & H	-	-	-	-	-
E, F & OTHERS	-	0.7	-	-	0.2
E, Y & OTHERS	1.3	22.5	14.6	8.6	11.7
E, H & OTHERS	-	-	0.7	-	0.2
E, Y, F, & H	-	0.7	-	1.3	0.5
H, Y, & OTHERS	2.6	-	0.7	-	0.8
E, F, Y & OTHERS	2.6	14.6	21.8	1.3	10.1
E, Y, H & OTHERS	-	2.6	5.3	5.3	3.3
E, H, F & OTHERS	0.7	-	0.7	-	0.3
E, F, & H	1.3	-	-	-	0.3
OTHER	0.7	1.3	6.0	7.9	4.0
NOT GIVEN	5.3	0.7	2.6	51.0	14.9
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

FOURTH AREA

E	27.4	11.8	7.8	1.9	12.2
Y	-	-	-	3.9	1.0
E & Y	13.7	31.4	23.5	13.7	20.6
F & E	25.5	5.9	3.9	-	8.8
E, F & Y	23.5	19.6	17.6	-	15.2
E, Y & H	-	-	1.9	3.9	1.5
E & H	-	-	-	-	-
Y & H	-	-	-	2.0	0.5
E, F & OTHERS	-	-	2.0	-	0.5
E, Y & OTHERS	-	13.7	5.9	5.9	6.4
E, H & OTHERS	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0
E, Y, H & F	-	-	-	-	-
H, Y & OTHERS	-	2.0	2.0	-	1.0
E, F, Y & OTHERS	-	3.9	11.8	-	3.9
E, Y, H & OTHERS	-	-	-	-	-
E, H, F & OTHERS	-	-	-	2.0	0.5
E, F & H	2.0	2.0	2.0	-	1.5
OTHER	-	3.9	5.9	-	2.4
NOT GIVEN	5.9	3.9	13.7	64.7	22.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

(2) E - English  
Y - Yiddish  
H - Hebrew  
F - French

TABLE XXXVII A

Languages habitually spoken in homes in four areas of settlement by number and per cent, 1938. (1)

LANGUAGES	1st Area		2nd Area		3rd Area		4th Area		TOTAL	
	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
English	11	7.5	19	11.6	30	19.9	25	49.0	85	16.6
Yiddish	19	13.0	8	4.9	2	1.3	--	----	29	5.7
English, Yiddish	92	63.0	108	65.9	87	57.6	18	35.3	305	59.6
English, French	--	----	1	0.6	3	2.0	4	7.8	8	1.5
Yiddish, English, French	6	4.1	6	3.77	15	9.9	2	3.9	29	5.7
English, Yiddish, Hebrew	2	1.4	4	2.4	1	0.7	-	---	7	1.4
English, French and others	1	0.7	-	---	-	---	-	---	1	0.2
English, Yiddish, and others	6	4.1	9	5.5	3	2.0	-	---	18	3.5
English, Hebrew and others	-	---	1	0.6	-	---	-	---	1	0.2
English, Yiddish, Hebrew, French	-	---	1	0.6	2	1.3	-	---	3	0.6
Other	4	2.8	2	1.2	8	5.3	-	---	14	2.7
Not Given	5	3.4	5	3.0	---	---	2	3.9	12	2.3
Total	146	100.0	164	100.0	151	100.0	51	100.0	512	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.



TABLE XXXVIII A

Percent which each language or language-combination forms of the total languages spoken (fluently) by all members of families, in four areas, 1938. (1).

LANGUAGE	CHILDREN	MOTHER	FATHER	GRAND-PARENTS	TOTAL
<u>FIRST AREA</u>					
E (2)	4.8	0.7	-	0.7	1.5
Y	0.7	6.1	4.8	12.3	6.0
E & Y	54.8	23.3	22.6	6.1	26.7
F & E	0.7	-	-	-	0.2
E, F, & Y	18.5	4.8	8.2	0.7	8.1
E, Y, & H	3.4	1.4	0.7	0.7	1.5
E & H	-	-	-	-	-
Y & H	-	0.7	0.7	1.4	0.7
E, F, & OTHERS	-	-	-	-	-
E, Y, & OTHERS	2.0	30.1	26.0	8.2	16.6
E, H, & OTHERS	-	-	-	1.4	0.3
E, Y, F, & H	0.7	1.4	1.4	0.7	1.0
H, Y, & OTHERS	-	0.7	1.4	0.7	0.7
E, F, Y, & OTHERS	-	4.8	9.6	0.7	3.8
E, Y, H, & OTHERS	-	4.8	5.5	0.7	2.7
E, H, F, & OTHERS	-	-	-	-	-
E, F, & H	-	-	-	-	-
OTHER	-	17.8	13.0	15.0	11.5
NOT GIVEN	14.4	3.4	6.1	50.7	18.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>SECOND AREA</u>					
E	11.6	1.2	2.5	--	3.8
Y	-	3.1	1.2	11.6	4.0
E, & Y	43.3	34.1	25.0	3.0	26.4
F & E	1.2	0.6	0.6	--	0.6
E, F & Y	23.2	6.7	9.2	0.6	9.9
E, Y & H	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.2	1.4
E & H	0.6	-	0.6	-	0.3
Y & H	-	-	0.6	1.8	0.6
E, F, & OTHERS	-	-	0.6	-	0.1
E, Y, & OTHERS	2.4	30.5	20.7	6.7	15.1
E, H & OTHERS	-	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5
E, Y, H & F	3.7	-	2.5	1.2	1.8
H, Y & OTHERS	-	-	-	3.7	0.9
E, F, Y & OTHERS	1.2	4.9	11.6	0.6	4.6
E, Y, H & OTHERS	-	4.3	7.9	3.1	3.8
E, H, F & OTHERS	-	0.6	-	-	0.1
E, F & H	-	-	-	-	-
OTHER	-	6.7	8.5	10.4	6.4
NOT GIVEN	11.6	4.9	6.7	55.5	19.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXXIXA

Per cent which each type of newspaper forms of reading material of three generations, for four areas, 1938. (1).

Type of Newspaper	Children	<u>FIRST AREA</u>			Total	
		Mother	Father	Grand-parents	No.	P.c.
A (2)	35.6	20.6	23.5	3.3	256	23.0
B	5.8	19.9	17.7	14.5	158	14.2
C	9.7	25.4	25.7	21.1	224	20.2
D	3.3	5.2	6.1	3.3	51	4.6
E	24.0	12.0	11.6	1.7	153	13.8
F	6.7	1.7	2.9	1.1	38	3.4
G	6.4	1.4	2.3	-	32	2.9
H	5.2	0.7	0.6	-	21	1.9
I	1.2	2.1	1.6	0.6	16	1.4
J	-	-	-	-	-	-
K	-	-	-	-	-	-
L	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	3	0.3
Not Given	1.8	10.7	7.7	54.4	159	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,111	100.0
Total No.	329	291	311	180		

SECOND AREA

A	30.8	21.9	25.3	5.1	323	23.0
B	7.8	18.0	20.0	18.8	216	15.4
C	7.1	22.2	23.2	19.7	242	17.3
D	4.9	5.9	5.8	3.2	72	5.1
E	24.1	16.8	13.9	2.8	227	16.2
F	7.8	2.8	2.6	0.9	57	4.1
G	12.3	2.0	2.6	-	72	5.1
H	1.6	-	0.3	-	8	0.6
I	1.1	2.0	2.1	0.9	22	1.6
J	0.7	0.5	0.5	-	7	0.5
K	-	-	-	-	-	-
L	-	0.3	0.3	-	2	0.1
Not Given	1.8	7.6	3.4	48.6	154	11.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,402	100.0

( continued on next page)

Table XXXIXA (continued)

Type of Newspaper	<u>THIRD AREA</u>				Total	
	Children	Mother	Father	Grand-Parents	No.	P.C.
A	30.9	28.4	28.2	10.9	425	26.6
B	2.5	7.7	8.9	13.6	117	7.3
C	1.9	11.1	14.1	17.2	161	10.2
D	9.3	13.6	10.2	4.5	161	10.1
E	24.9	20.5	16.3	6.3	297	18.6
F	11.2	6.8	8.0	1.4	123	7.7
G	14.8	4.8	7.0	0.9	125	7.8
H	1.5	-	-	-	7	0.4
I	0.2	1.6	1.3	0.9	16	1.0
J	1.3	2.1	2.8	0.9	30	1.9
K	-	-	0.2	-	1	0.1
L	1.1	1.4	1.5	0.4	19	1.2
Not Given	0.4	2.0	1.5	43.0	113	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	1,595	100.0
Total No.	473	440	461	221		

FOURTH AREA

A	34.8	35.4	32.7	13.8	141	31.4
B	0.7	3.1	2.6	3.1	10	2.2
C	0.7	4.7	4.3	7.7	17	3.8
D	9.9	13.4	9.5	9.2	48	10.7
E	29.1	25.3	24.1	3.1	103	22.9
F	13.5	10.2	11.2	4.6	48	10.7
G	8.5	3.1	5.2	-	22	4.9
H	1.4	-	0.9	-	3	0.7
I	0.7	1.6	1.7	-	5	1.1
J	0.7	1.6	0.9	-	4	0.9
K	-	-	-	-	-	-
L	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not Given	-	1.6	6.9	58.5	48	10.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		449	100.0
Total No.	141	127	116	65		

(1) Questionnaire results.

(2) A- Local English dailies.

B- Local Yiddish daily.

C- New York Yiddish press.

D-Local Anglo-Jewish press.

E- English popular weeklies.

F- English publications of an educational nature.

G- Papers issued by local Jewish organizations.

H- Very light popular reading material.

I- Yiddish papers other than the "Day", "Forward", or "Jewish Eagle".

J- Non-local Anglo-Jewish papers.

K- French papers.

L- Hebrew Papers.

For a fuller explanation of this code, see page 89 of text.

TABLE XL A

Country of birth of parents in each area by number and percent, 1938. (1)

AREA		CANADA	U.S.	BRITISH	RUSSIA	POLAND	ROUMANIA	AUSTRIA	OTHER EUROPEAN	OTHERS	NOT GIVEN	TOT- AL
First	No.	15	4	3	86	70	26	19	18	1	50	292
	P.C.	5.1	1.4	1.0	29.5	24.0	8.9	6.5	6.2	0.3	17.1	100.0
Second	No.	19	6	8	109	76	33	15	25	7	30	328
	P.C.	5.9	1.8	2.4	33.2	23.2	10.1	4.6	7.6	2.1	9.1	100.0
Third	No.	42	6	10	96	28	64	23	29	-	4	302
	P.C.	13.9	2.0	3.3	31.8	9.3	21.2	7.6	9.6	-	1.3	100.0
Fourth	No.	31	18	8	16	7	5	6	5	-	6	102
	P.C.	30.4	17.6	7.8	15.7	6.9	4.9	5.9	4.9	-	5.9	100.0
TOTAL	No.	107	34	29	307	181	128	63	77	8	90	1024
	P.C.	10.4	3.3	2.8	30.0	17.7	12.5	6.2	7.5	0.8	8.8	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

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TABLE XLIA

Birthplace of pupils - Per cent of pupils in each area born in each of nine countries. (1), 1938.

BIRTHPLACE	FIRST AREA	SECOND AREA	THIRD AREA	FOURTH AREA	TOTAL
Canada	76.0	81.7	94.7	84.3	84.2
United States	2.7	2.5	2.0	13.7	3.5
British Isles & Possessions	--	--	1.3	--	0.4
Russia	3.4	1.8	1.3	--	1.9
Poland	11.7	8.5	0.7	--	6.2
Roumania	1.4	0.6	--	--	0.6
Austria	0.7	--	--	--	0.2
Other European	3.4	2.5	--	--	1.8
All Other	0.7	0.6	--	--	0.4
Not Given	--	1.8	--	2.0	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

TABLE XLII A

Movie attendance in four areas showing how often population of each area attends by number & per cent, 1938 (1)

Frequency of attendance	1st Area		2nd Area		3rd Area		4th Area		TOTAL	
	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
More than once a week	29	4.9	26	4.0	53	8.8	24	11.8	132	6.4
Once a week	132	22.6	167	25.5	217	35.9	61	29.9	577	28.2
Over once a month	56	9.6	80	12.2	80	13.2	27	13.2	243	11.9
Once a month	74	12.7	63	9.6	44	7.3	16	7.8	197	9.6
Less than once a month	42	7.2	61	9.3	55	9.1	17	8.3	175	8.5
Never	56	9.6	58	8.8	25	4.1	5	2.5	144	7.0
Not given	140	24.0	159	24.2	111	18.4	50	24.5	460	22.5
Children under age	55	9.4	42	6.4	19	3.2	4	2.0	120	5.9
TOTAL	584	100.0	656	100.0	604	100.0	204	100.0	2048	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

TABLE XLIII A

Frequency of movie attendance of three generations, showing what per cent each frequency forms of the total persons attending, for four areas, 1938, (1)

FIRST AREA

Frequency of movie attendance	Children	Mother	Father	Grandparents	Total
More than once a week	11.6	4.8	3.4	---	4.9
Once a week	34.2	27.4	24.0	4.8	22.6
Over once a month	7.5	13.7	13.7	3.4	9.6
Once a month	2.1	24.6	19.2	4.8	12.7
Less than once a month	.7	10.3	14.4	3.4	7.2
Never	.7	10.3	8.2	19.2	9.6
Not given	5.5	8.9	17.1	64.4	24.0
Children under 16 yrs. of age	37.7	-	-	---	9.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SECOND AREA

More than once a week	7.9	4.9	3.0	---	4.0
Once a week	37.8	32.9	28.7	2.4	25.5
Over once a month	13.4	17.7	17.1	0.6	12.2
Once a month	7.3	14.0	13.4	3.7	9.6
Less than once a month	1.9	12.8	13.4	9.1	9.3
Never	--	6.7	11.6	17.1	8.8
Not given	6.1	11.0	12.8	67.1	24.2
Children under 16 yrs. of age	25.6	--	--	---	6.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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CONTINUED

THIRD AREA

Frequency of movie attendance	Children	Mother	Father	Grandparents	Total
More than once a week	12.6	12.6	8.6	1.3	8.8
Once a week	51.6	42.4	43.1	6.6	35.9
Over once a month	13.2	20.5	17.9	1.3	13.2
Once a month	4.0	11.3	8.6	5.3	7.3
Less than once a month	3.3	9.9	13.2	10.0	9.1
Never	0.7	0.7	3.3	11.9	4.1
Not given	2.0	2.6	5.3	63.6	18.4
Children under 16 yrs. of age	12.6	-	-	--	3.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

FOURTH AREA

More than once a week	27.4	13.7	5.9	--	11.8
Once a week	45.1	41.2	29.4	3.9	29.9
Over once a month	13.7	19.6	17.6	2.0	13.2
Once a month	2.0	9.8	11.8	7.8	7.8
Less than once a month	2.0	9.8	13.7	7.8	8.3
Never	--	2.0	2.0	5.9	2.5
Not given	2.0	3.9	19.6	72.6	24.5
Children under 16 yrs. of age	7.8	-	-	--	2.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.



TABLE XLVIA.

Occupation of chief wage earners of 512 families, by eight occupational groups, showing occupational status, in four areas, 1938. (1)

## STATUS GROUPS (2)

## 1st Area.

Occupational groups	Total No.	E.	O.A.	W.	Not Given	Total P.c.
Managerial	5	--	---	6.4	----	3.4
Professional	7	--	6.7	5.1	----	4.8
Skilled	44	--	28.9	39.7	----	30.1
Unskilled	15	--	----	18.0	7.1	10.3
Clerical	2	--	----	2.6	----	1.4
Commercial	34	22.2	51.1	11.5	----	23.3
Service	2	----	2.2	1.3	----	1.4
Manuf.	7	77.8	---	---	----	4.8
Not Given	30	----	11.1	15.4	92.9	20.5
TOTAL	P.c.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	No. 146	9	45	78	14	

## 2nd Area.

Occupational groups	Total No.	E.	O.A.	W.	Not Given	Total P.c.
Managerial	4	7.7	1.3	3.1	----	2.4
Professional	5	---	2.7	3.1	8.3	3.1
Skilled	52	23.1	25.3	46.9	----	31.7
Unskilled	8	----	2.7	9.4	----	4.9
Clerical	1	----	---	1.6	----	0.6
Commercial	61	30.8	56.0	20.3	16.7	37.2
Service	2	----	2.7	----	----	1.2
Manuf.	5	38.4	---	----	----	3.0
Not Given	26	----	9.3	15.6	75.0	15.9
TOTAL	P.c.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	No. 164	13	75	64	12	

## 3rd Area.

Occupational groups	Total No.	E.	O.A.	W.	Not Given	Total P.c.
Managerial	4	---	1.7	7.7	----	2.6
Professional	6	---	6.6	2.6	16.7	4.0
Skilled	10	4.3	6.7	10.2	----	6.6
Unskilled	1	---	---	2.6	----	0.7
Clerical	--	---	---	---	----	---

Continued on next page.

continued

	Total No.	E.	O.A.	W.	Not Given	Total P.c.
Commercial	88	26.1	81.6	69.2	----	58.3
Service	1	----	1.7	----	----	0.7
Manuf.	33	69.6	----	2.6	----	21.8
Not Given	8	----	1.7	5.1	83.3	5.3
TOTAL	P.c. No. 151	100.0 46	100.0 60	100.0 39	100.0 6	100.0

4th Area.

Occupational groups	Total No.	E.	O.A.	W.	Not Given	Total P.c.
Managerial	7	13.3	5.6	26.7	----	13.7
Professional	4	----	16.7	----	33.3	7.8
Skilled	4	13.3	11.1	----	----	7.9
Unskilled	--	-----	----	----	----	----
Clerical	2	----	----	13.3	----	3.9
Commercial	20	13.3	55.5	53.3	----	39.2
Service	--	----	----	----	----	----
Manuf.	8	46.7	----	6.7	----	15.7
Not Given	6	13.4	11.1	----	66.7	11.8
TOTAL	P.c. No. 51	100.0 15	100.0 18	100.0 15	100.0 3	100.0

All areas.

Occupational groups	Total No.	E.	O.A.	W.	Not Given	Total P.c.
Managerial	20	3.6	1.5	7.1	----	3.9
Professional	22	---	6.1	3.6	8.6	4.3
Skilled	110	8.4	19.2	33.2	----	21.5
Unskilled	24	---	1.0	10.7	2.9	4.7
Clerical	5	---	---	2.6	----	1.0
Commercial	203	24.1	62.6	29.1	5.7	39.6
Service	5	----	2.0	0.5	----	1.0
Manuf.	53	61.5	----	1.0	----	10.3
Not Given	70	2.4	7.6	12.2	82.8	13.7
TOTAL	P.c. No. 512	100.0 83	100.0 198	100.0 196	100.0 35	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

(2) E - Employer

OA - Own Account Worker

W - Wage Earner

- - - - -

TABLE XLVII A

Number and per cent of all gainfully employed, classified by occupational status, for four areas, 1938 (I)

Occupational Status	1st Area		2nd Area		3rd Area		4th Area		TOTAL	
	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
Employer	9	3.8	14	4.9	49	20.3	15	19.0	87	10.3
Own Account	46	19.5	78	27.4	63	26.0	19	24.0	206	24.5
Wage Earner	155	65.7	164	57.5	108	44.6	35	44.3	462	54.9
Not Given	26	11.0	29	10.2	22	9.1	10	12.7	87	10.3
TOTAL	236	100.0	285	100.0	242	100.0	79	100.0	842	100.0

(I) Questionnaire results.

TABLE XLVIII A

Number and per cent in eight occupational groups of all additional wage earners (not chief wage earners), by occupational status, for all areas, 1938. (1).

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	EMPLOYER		OWN ACCOUNT		WAGE EARNER		NOT GIVEN		TOTAL	
	NO.	P.C.	NO.	PC.	NO.	P.C.	NO.	P.C.	NO.	P.C.
Managerial	-	-	-	-	13	4.9	-	-	13	3.9
Professional	-	-	6	75.0	4	1.5	13	25.0	23	7.0
Skilled	-	-	1	12.5	17	6.4	4	7.7	22	6.7
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	26	9.8	-	-	26	7.9
Clerical	-	-	-	-	92	34.6	-	-	92	27.9
Commercial	1	25.0	1	12.5	81	30.4	22	42.3	105	31.8
Service	-	-	-	-	2	0.7	1	1.9	3	0.9
Manufacturing	3	75.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.9
Not Given	-	-	-	-	31	11.7	12	23.1	43	13.0
Total	4	100.0	8	100.0	266	100.0	52	100.0	330	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

TABLE XLIxA

Number and per cent in eight occupational groups of all gainfully employed Hebrews, by occupational status, for all areas, 1938. Summary of Tables XLVIA and XLVIII A. (1).

Occupational Group	Employer		Own Account		Wage Earner		Not Given		Total	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Managerial	3	3.5	3	1.5	27	5.8	-	-	33	3.9
Professional	-	-	18	8.7	11	2.4	16	18.4	45	5.3
Skilled	7	8.0	39	18.9	82	17.7	4	4.6	132	15.7
Unskilled	-	-	2	1.0	47	10.2	1	1.2	50	5.9
Clerical	-	-	-	-	97	21.0	-	-	97	11.5
Commercial	21	24.1	125	60.7	138	29.9	24	27.6	308	36.6
Service	-	-	4	1.9	3	0.7	1	1.1	8	1.0
Manufacturing	54	62.1	-	-	2	0.4	-	-	56	6.7
Not Given	2	2.3	15	7.3	55	11.9	41	47.1	113	13.4
Total	87	100.0	206	100.0	462	100.0	87	100.0	842	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.

TABLE LA

Number of clubs joined by mothers and fathers of pupils in four areas, showing per cent distribution, 1938. (1).

NO.OF CLUBS JOINED	FIRST AREA		SECOND AREA		THIRD AREA		FOURTH AREA		TOTAL	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
None - Mothers	103	70.5	100	61.0	59	39.1	23	45.1	285	55.7
Fathers	99	67.8	89	54.3	68	45.0	29	56.9	285	55.7
1 - Mothers		19.2		22.0		23.9		23.5		21.9
Fathers		27.4		37.8		27.8		21.6		30.3
2 - Mothers		6.8		9.8		10.6		13.7		9.6
Fathers		4.1		6.1		13.3		11.8		8.2
3 - Mothers		2.1		3.0		8.6		7.8		4.9
Fathers		0.7		1.2		4.6		3.9		2.3
4 - Mothers		0.7		1.2		8.6		7.9		3.9
Fathers		-		-		5.3		-		1.5
5 - Mothers		0.7		1.2		2.0		-		1.1
Fathers		-		-		0.7		1.9		0.4
6 - Mothers		-		1.2		2.6		-		1.1
Fathers		-		-		2.0		-		0.6
7 - Mothers		-		-		2.6		-		0.8
Fathers		-		-		1.3		1.9		0.6
8 + - Mothers		-		0.6		2.0		2.0		1.0
Fathers		-		0.6		-		2.0		0.4
Total										
Joining one Mothers	43	29.5	64	39.0	92	60.9	28	54.9	227	44.3
or more clubs-Fathers	47	32.2	75	45.7	83	55.0	22	43.1	227	44.3
Total - Mothers	146		164		151		51		512	
Fathers	146		164		151		51		512	

(continued on next page)

Table LA Continued.

NO.OF CLUBS JOINED BY BOTH	FIRST AREA		SECOND AREA		THIRD AREA		FOURTH AREA		TOTAL	
	No	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
None	202	69.2	189	57.6	127	42.1	52	51.0	570	55.7
1	68	23.3	98	29.9	78	25.8	23	22.5	267	26.0
2	16	5.5	26	7.9	36	11.9	13	12.7	91	8.9
3	4	1.4	7	2.2	20	6.6	6	5.9	37	3.6
4	1	0.3	2	0.6	21	7.0	4	3.9	28	2.7
5	1	0.3	2	0.6	4	1.3	1	1.0	8	0.8
6	-	-	2	0.6	7	2.3	-	-	9	0.9
7	-	-	-	-	6	2.0	6	1.0	7	0.7
8+	-	-	2	0.6	3	1.0	2	2.0	7	0.7
Total joining one or more clubs	90	30.8	139	42.4	175	57.9	50	49.0	454	44.3
Total	292	100.0	328	100.0	302	100.0	102	100.0	1,024	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.



TABLE LIA

by  
Types of clubs joined/three generations in four areas, classified by eight types, by number and  
per cent, 1938. (1).

TYPE OF CLUB	<u>FIRST AREA</u>									
	<u>CHILDREN</u>		<u>MOTHER</u>		<u>FATHER</u>		<u>GRANDPARENTS</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Nationalistic	1	0.9	3	4.9	-	-	-	-	4	1.6
Philanthropic	1	0.8	33	53.2	-	-	3	42.8	37	15.2
Mutual Benefit	10	8.3	15	24.2	35	63.6	3	42.8	63	25.8
Socio-economic	21	17.5	8	12.9	7	12.7	1	14.4	37	15.2
Recreational	78	65.0	-	-	4	7.3	-	-	82	33.6
Fraternal	-	-	1	1.6	2	3.7	-	-	3	1.2
Educational	4	3.3	1	1.6	2	3.6	-	-	7	2.9
Other	5	4.2	1	1.6	5	9.1	-	-	11	4.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>244</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<u>SECOND AREA</u>										
Nationalistic	10	5.9	11	9.3	2	2.1	-	-	23	5.9
Philanthropic	2	1.2	62	52.5	13	13.8	1	12.5	78	20.0
Mutual Benefit	10	5.9	19	16.1	47	50.0	7	87.5	83	21.3
Socio-economic	17	10.0	10	8.5	10	10.7	-	-	37	9.5
Recreational	97	57.0	1	0.9	2	2.1	-	-	100	25.6
Fraternal	1	0.6	4	3.4	5	5.3	-	-	10	2.6
Educational	12	7.1	7	5.9	4	4.3	-	-	23	5.9
Other	21	12.3	4	3.4	11	11.7	-	-	36	9.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>100.0</b>

( continued on next page )



Table LIA Continued.

TYPE OF CLUB	THIRD AREA									
	CHILDREN		MOTHER		FATHER		GRANDPARENTS		TOTAL	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
Nationalistic	13	7.4	64	26.2	18	10.7	2	14.3	97	16.1
Philanthropic	10	5.7	126	51.6	35	20.7	6	42.9	177	29.4
Mutual Benefit	5	2.8	3	1.2	25	14.8	5	35.7	38	6.3
Socio-economic	6	3.4	5	2.1	8	4.7	-	7.1	19	3.1
Recreational	97	55.1	18	7.4	19	11.3	1	7.1	135	22.4
Fraternal	11	6.3	15	6.2	45	26.6	-	-	71	11.8
Educational	9	5.1	10	4.1	7	4.1	-	-	26	4.3
Other	25	14.2	3	1.2	12	7.1	-	-	40	6.6
Total	176	100.0	244	100.0	169	100.0	14	100.0	603	100.0

FOURTH AREA										
Nationalistic	9	8.6	8	13.6	1	2.6	-	-	18	8.5
Philanthropic	12	11.4	24	40.7	1	2.6	9	100.0	46	21.8
Mutual Benefit	-	-	1	1.7	3	7.9	-	-	4	1.9
Socio-economic	1	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.5
Recreational	26	24.8	9	15.2	13	34.2	-	-	48	22.8
Fraternal	15	14.3	9	15.2	11	29.0	-	-	35	16.6
Educational	31	29.5	2	3.4	-	-	-	-	33	15.6
Other	11	10.5	6	10.2	9	23.7	-	-	26	12.3
Total	105	100.0	59	100.0	38	100.0	9	100.0	211	100.0

(1) Questionnaire results.



TABLE LII A

Number and per cent each type of club forms of all those joined, in  
four areas, 1938 (I)

Type of Club	1st Area		2nd Area		3rd Area		4th Area		TOTAL	
	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
1. Nationalistic	4	1.6	23	5.9	97	16.1	18	8.5	142.8	9.8
2. Philanthropic	37	15.2	78	20.0	177	29.4	46	21.8	338	23.3
3. Mutual Benefit	63	25.8	83	21.3	38	6.3	4	1.9	188	13.0
4. Socio-Economic	37	15.2	37	9.5	19	3.1	1	0.5	94	6.5
5. Recreational	82	33.6	100	25.6	135	22.4	48	22.8	365	25.2
6. Fraternal	3	1.2	10	2.6	71	11.8	35	16.6	119	8.2
7. Educational	7	2.9	23	5.9	26	4.3	33	15.6	89	6.2
8. Other	11	4.5	36	9.2	40	6.6	26	12.3	113	7.8
9. TOTAL	244	100.0	390	100.0	603	100.0	211	100.0	1448	100.0

(I) Questionnaire results.

TABLE LIII A

Boys and Girls receiving or having received, and those never having received, a Jewish Education, by 4 different areas of residence, showing number and per cent, Montreal, 1937 (1)

	1st Area		2nd Area		3rd Area		4th Area		TOTAL	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total who answered	No. 1747	1918	1561	1467	998	932	147	144	4453	4461
Receiving or having received Jewish Education	No. 1483	1079	1201	625	849	516	131	125	3664	2345
	P.c.84.89	56.25	76.93	42.61	85.07	55.37	89.12	86.12	82.28	52.57
Never having received Jewish Education	No. 264	839	360	842	149	416	16	19	789	2116
	P.c.15.11	43.75	23.07	57.39	14.93	44.63	10.88	13.19	17.72	47.43

- (1) From answers to a questionnaire distributed in a survey conducted by the Canadian Jewish Congress. Table from a mimeographed pamphlet "Jewish Education - Montreal" issued by the Congress. Dec. 1938, PP. 3-4.
- (2) For the Congress' delimitation of the four areas, based on economic levels of the inhabitants, see P.155 of this text.

TABLE LIV A

Types of Jewish schools being attended by children in 4 areas of residence in Montreal, showing number and per cent, 1937 (1)

Type of School	Description & Curriculum	1st Area (2)		2nd Area		3rd Area		4th Area		TOTAL	
		No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.	No.	P.c.
Talmud Torah	Conventional Orthodox, Jewish Culture (4)	288(a)	24.5	368	26.9	25	3.0	3	1.9	684	19.3
Jewish People's Schools	Progressive, Nationalistic	133	11.3	143	10.4	10	1.2	4	2.5	290	8.2
Peretz Schools	Progressive, Nationalistic, Yiddishistic	114	9.7	48	3.5	11	1.3	3	1.9	176	5.0
Congregational	Conventional, Conservative (b) Jewish Culture (4)	9	0.8	27	2.0	223	26.9	121	76.1	380	10.8
Private Schools (3)	Conventional, Orthodox, Jewish Culture (4)	197	16.7	266	19.4	114	13.8	3	1.9	580	16.4
Sunday Schools	Orthodox, Religious study	9	0.8	15	1.1	26	3.1	3	1.9	53	1.5
Workers' Schools	Progressive	36	3.0	35	2.5	-	--	-	---	71	2.0
Private Tuition	Conventional Jewish Culture (4)	391	33.2	468	34.2	421	50.7	22	13.8	1302	36.8
Total no. attending.		1177		1370		830		159		3536	

- (1) From results of a survey conducted by the Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, 1937. See mimeographed pamphlet issued by the Congress "Jewish Education in Montreal", 1938, p.10.
- (2) For delineation of these areas, based on economic levels of the inhabitants, see p.155 of this text.
- (3) These resemble the Talmud Torah. They are private in the sense that they are run by one or a few teachers, on a small scale. (a) This Number appeared as 228 in the original, -apparently an error, considering the totals - it was therefore deemed permissible to correct it to 288.
- (4) Hebrew language and literature primarily. (b) In the case of Temple Emanu-El, Reform.

TABLE LVI A  
Membership 1935 of Y.M.H.A. (1)

CLASS	AGE	NUMBER (approximately)	FEES (per annum)	ACTUAL MEMBERSHIP (approximately)	
				No.	Per cent
Juvenile	10-12	650	2.00	320	54%
Junior	13-14	300	4.00	117	39%
Intermediate	15-17	500	6.00	450	90%
Senior C	18-19	600	10.00	379	63%
Senior B	20-22	400	12.00	307	76%
Senior A	23 up	1000	15.00	652	65%
Business & ) Professional)		500	20.00	500	66%
Donor			25.00		
Patron		225	50.00	42	18%
Governor			100.00		

(1) From Batshaw, op cit. pp. 10,11.

TABLE LIX A

Offences of Jewish Juvenile Delinquents in Montreal 1937, by sex, classified into 16 categories, showing the number and per cent formed by each. (I)

Offences	Number			Per Cent		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Miscellaneous	19	11	30	10.3	18.6	12.3
Theft	16	1	17	8.7	1.7	7.0
Incorrigibility	75	18	93	40.5	30.5	38.1
Dependency & Neglect	35	17	52	18.9	28.8	21.3
Truancy	10	1	11	5.4	1.7	4.5
School Problem	3	4	7	1.6	6.8	2.9
Common Assault	7	3	10	3.8	5.1	4.1
Article 33 (a)	6	2	8	3.2	3.4	3.3
Damage to Property	2	-	2	1.1	-	0.8
Out of town Inquiry	1	-	1	0.5	-	0.4
Unmarried Mothers	-	1	1	-	1.7	0.4
Burglary	3	-	3	1.6	-	1.2
Desertion	2	1	3	1.1	1.7	1.2
Gambling	1	-	1	0.6	-	0.4
City-by-law	4	-	4	2.2	-	1.7
Forgery	1	-	1	0.5	-	0.4
TOTAL	185	59	244	100.0	100.0	100.0

(1)

From records of the Jewish Probation Officer, Juvenile Court.

(a)

Adults contributing to Juvenile Delinquency.



TABLE LXIA

Per Cent Sex Distribution of Hebrew Population in Canada, for  
Regions and five large Cities, 1931 (1)

<u>REGIONS</u>	<u>P.c.MALE</u>	<u>P.c.FEMALE</u>
Canada	50.5	49.5
Maritimes	52.2	47.8
Quebec	50.1	49.9
Ontario	50.6	49.4
Prairie Provinces	50.6	49.4
British Columbia Region	52.3	47.7

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<u>CITY</u>		
Halifax	49.1	50.9
Montreal	49.9	50.1
Toronto	49.99	50.01
Winnipeg	48.6	51.4
Vancouver	52.1	47.9

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(1) From Census of Canada 1931, Vol.III, Table 16, p.146, and  
Table 19, p.258.

TABLE LXIIA

Age distribution, by per cent, of Hebrew population  
and of total population of Canada, by quinquennial age  
groups, 1931 (1)

<u>AGE GROUP</u>	<u>TOTAL POPULATION</u>	<u>HEBREW POPULATION</u>
All Ages	100.00	100.00
0-4	10.35	7.56
5-9	10.92	9.36
10-14	10.35	10.35
15-19	10.02	12.68
20-24	8.78	12.48
25-29	7.58	8.89
30-34	6.83	7.26
35-39	6.63	7.23
40-44	6.23	6.53
45-49	5.64	5.79
50-54	4.71	4.33
55-59	3.54	2.89
60-64	2.84	2.02
65-69	2.23	1.33
70-74	1.65	0.85
75 +	1.66	0.44
Not given	.04	0.01

(1) Calculated from Census of Canada, Vol.III, Table 16,p.146.

