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CREATING A JEWISH COMMUNITY IN CANADA

A Curriculum Guide by:
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Creating a Jewish Community in Canada

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Creating a Jewish Community in Canada

I. Rationale

This organised Jewish Community, now over 230 years old began in Montreal with the establishment of the first synagogue, and has since grown into the fourth largest community in the Diaspora. The challenges that faced the first settlers in Canada and their experiences in building this community have shaped the identity, character and growth of Canadian Jewry. In order for elementary age children between 5th and 6th grades in day School to begin appreciating the unique quality of the Jewish community in which they live they need to understand the historical realities and sociological factors that influenced the establishment of this community. They must begin to learn about the internal and external forces that effected change, understand the origins of the community, and how the early settlers created a home in Canada.

The diversity of the Canadian Jewish community and the vast experiences that have shaped their identity enables several possible approaches to examining the Canadian Jewish experience and the resulting community. If we examine the migration patterns of Jews within the country, from the East Coast to the West Coast, we would encounter unique struggles, experiences and communities. We could also examine the vastly different nature in which Catholic dominated Quebec, versus the Protestant dominated Anglophone regions of Canada welcomed, accepted and integrated Jews into their midst. The migratory patterns of Jews between the United States and Canada also played significant roles in the identity formation of the overall Jewish community.

1

This curriculum will however, examine how Jews responded to their environment, the obstacles placed in their path, and built a community. By examining the social, political and economic challenges that faced the Jews, we will examine how despite the odds they built and maintained a strong, vibrant and continuously growing community.

Examining the forces behind the Canadian Jewish community will enable Jewish children to better appreciate and understand the past, where Jews did not enjoy political, economic and social freedom; to understand the present, a country where Jews no longer live with quotas, barriers or restrictions; to envision a future, where the paradox of freedom and opportunity will challenge the Jewish community to maintain its own identity and unique qualities while enjoying the freedom this country now offers. Creating an awareness of who they were as a community will enable the future generations to strive for creating and maintaining community, thereby maintaining our past, strengthening our present and creating our future.

II. Goals

1) To enable students to understand the sociological, economic and political factors that enabled and effected the establishment and creation of the Jewish community in Canada.

2) The enable the students to examine their place and interaction within the Jewish community and the wider community in which they live.

3) To allow students to become familiar with some of the essential events and personalities that influenced the growth of the Canadian Jewish community.

4) To discuss the obstacles, barriers and quotas placed upon the Jews living in Canada and the Jews wanting to enter into Canada.

5) To examine how the challenges faced by the founders of the Canadian Jewish community have led us to the realities we live with today, the prosperity the community enjoys, and the future we are building.

6) To enable students to understand the sociological, economic and political factors that enabled and effected the establishment and creation of their local Jewish community.

Note regarding Goal #6:

This particular goal is one that should be incorporated throughout this curriculum by the particular teacher. Students should be continuously made aware of connections that exist between the national scene and their local community. For information regarding your local community contact the Canadian Jewish Congress, the local Jewish Federation or Jewish library.

III. Memorable Moments

The following list contains some of the memorable moments that are built into this curriculum. Each of these activities has the potential to be very powerful and provide an affective experience for the student. However, it is important to keep in mind that many of these moments will require a great deal of work on the part of the student to foster ownership on their part. Many of them are designed to be independent learning experiences that will enable the student to demonstrate their own passions and talents. Many of them can also be affective through the use of groups.

Unit One - Creating Community

1. Creation of a community map / model
2. Art Project creating a ritual object that can be used in either for the class, the school or their home.

Unit Two - The Birth of the Canadian Jewish Community

1. Creating a congregation simulation.

Unit Three - The Immigrant Experience

1. Midrash Tmuna

Unit Four - The Struggle for Equality

1. Creation of a Family Tree
2. Tour of old Jewish Quarter

### Unit Five - What and who make up the Canadian Jewish Community

1. Famous Canadians Project - the making of the life size representation, and the oral presentation in full costume for their parents.
2. Examination of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

Unit Six - My Community

1. Jewish Community Agency Research Project
2. Completion of the model / map begun in Unit One

Unit One
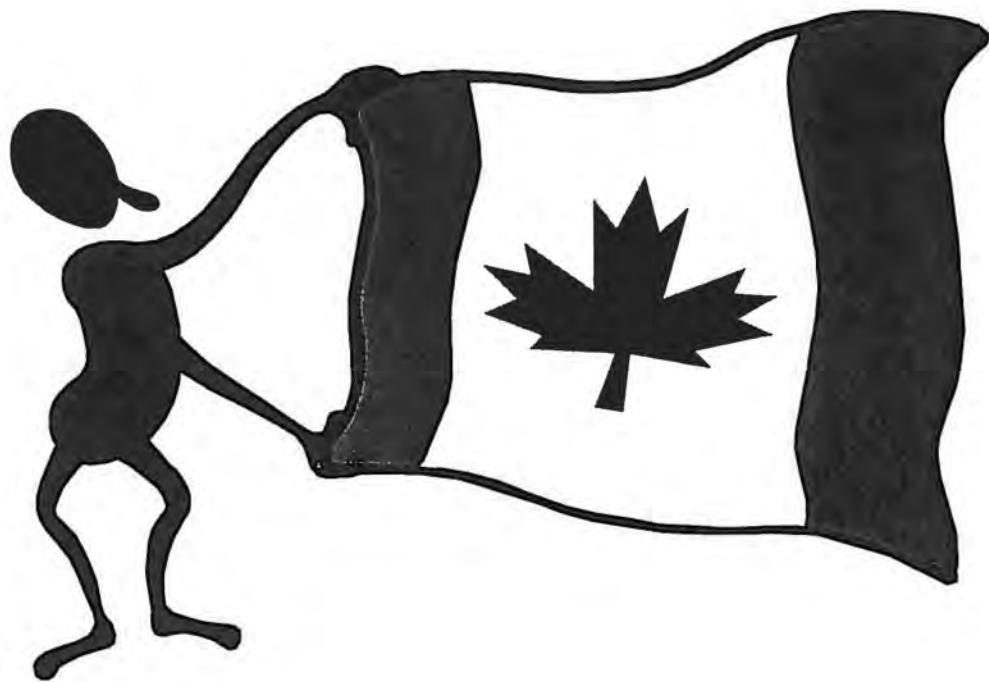
Creating Community

Creating a Jewish Community in Canada

Unit One: Creating Community

Through this unit students will begin to delve into the issues of forming and sustaining community. They will delve into how the needs of a community are met, and how the members interact with the surrounding population and environment. They will begin to examine the overall characteristics of a community and identify these traits within their own community, as well as identifying those characteristics that makes their community unique. They will also begin to examine some of the factors associated with how and why change occurs within a community.

It is important to recognise that when teaching about 'community' there can be two distinct approaches, the first being a sociological examination of the factors needed and inherent in a community. The second is one that is more tangible for the students to grasps. It examines the day-to-day reality of the lives of the students and their own perceptions of their lives and their community. This unit is designed to integrate both views, in that it is requires the students and teachers to analyse what a community is and its characteristics but also examines the daily reality of the people and places that the students interact with.

This unit will require approximately 10 lessons to complete and can be revisited throughout the remainder of this curriculum. This unit is designed to lay the foundation for a better comprehension regarding the history of the Canadian Jewish community and therefore, can and should be reinforced at appropriate moments throughout the curriculum.

Essential Questions to be answered by this unit:

1) What are the various FACTORS necessary within a community, and ho   can and do they differ from one community to the next?
2) How and where do I contribute and belong within my community?

Goals:

1) To expose students to the many factors associated with creating and sustaining community.
2) To expose students to the many factors that are associated with creating and sustaining a Jewish community, and how that differs from the surrounding secular community.
3) To empower students to explain how they interact with and influence their community.

Objectives (SWBAT):

1) Identify and explain the 7 FACTORS of a community, and be able to briefly explain each.
2) Explain the various needs associated with the establishment of a community, and the different needs associated with a Jewish community.
3) To identify various types of communities that exist within a region, province (state), and country.
4) Identify several of the activities that take place in a community (various occupations, professional sports, theatre, music,)

The teacher based upon additional questions being investigated can incorporate further performance criteria into this unit.

Suggested Learning Activities

1) **Community FACTORS** – Introduce the students to the various needs and characteristics of a community through the use of the following acrostic: F.A.C.T.O.R.

   Engage the students in a brainstorming web activity where the students are asked to write down everything that they know and can tell you about "COMMUNITY."
   a) Using the enclosed worksheet, have them work alone and generate a list of items, needs and characteristics of a community.

   c) Have them provide a title for each one of these groupings.
   d) On the board have them provide you the titles of the groups they created. Ensure that this list building leads you to the FACTORS and the names associated with the groups. Have the word FACTOR listed on the side of the board, and if they happen to give you an actual name write it in. Help them also re-name existing groups they created to match the mnemonic device.
   e) Hand out the FACTOR worksheet and have the students fill in the information associated with each of these categories. It is critical for future work that they keep this chart.
   (This lesson is a very helpful way to introduce this unit).

   F – Food
   A – Agriculture
   C – Clothing
   T – Transportation
   O – Occupations
   R – Recreations
   S – Shelter

2) **Collage Making** – Using the FACTORS chart that has already been completed have the students choose one of the FACTORS and create a collage that represents the various items found within each category. Use old magazines, newspapers, the Internet, to find pictures, advertisements and create a colourful and creative collage. Allow the students to work with a partner and ensure that all seven FACTORS are covered. (This activity is a great beginning to a COMMUNITY bulletin board for the classroom).

3) **Worksheets** – Utilising the worksheets enclosed the teacher should become aware of the general information regarding communities found on **pages 4-7 and the FACTORS discussed in the first activity.** Teachers should utilise the activities found on **pages 17-23, 27, 30-36, 41-44, 83-86, and 90.** There are many other possible approaches to this unit, but the pages listed above will help the teacher accomplish the majority of goals and objectives and build a strong foundation for later unit. However, the teacher still needs to determine which sheets are essential to their framing of this unit and what will compliment the various tasks that they have deemed necessary to

to determine which sheets are essential to their framing of this unit and what will compliment the various tasks that they have deemed necessary to ensure that the students understand and are aware of the essential questions.

Additional worksheets dealing with occupation, lifestyle, housing, and industry can be found enclosed within this curriculum guide. They have been taken from, Let's Explore Canada, and include pages, 10-12, 17, 19-21, 24, 31 and 32. These pages can be used as additional supplements to the diversity that is found throughout the various communities within the country and in their cities.

4) **Learning about community differences** – Interview a friend / a parent / a grandparent/ other family member/ teacher / coach / who grew up in a different community than their own. Have them explore and learn about this other community, discovering and identifying the commonalties and differences to their own. Have the students **conduct two interviews**, one of someone who **grew up outside of Canada** and one who **grew up in Canada**.

5) **Special guests** – Invite different people (parent, principal, police officer, fireman, etc.) into the classroom who can explain their daily interactions within the community. Have them discuss their roles and some of the places they go, visit, work, eat, etc… When planning to invite these guests they should in some way reflect the various areas covered in the FACTORS activity.

6) **Interview a classmate** – Interview a fellow classmate and have them learn about their various experiences and encounters they have within the community. Have them chart the similarities and differences to their own encounters. This lesson can be modified into a math lesson by having the students collect data regarding their classmates and graphing the findings This would mean establishing certain criteria for the students to analyse ahead of time.

7) **Creative Writing** – Compose a narrative or poem describing the daily interactions a student has with his/her community. (Integrate this piece into a creative writing or poetry unit).

8) **Letter Writing** – Write a thank you letter to an essential member of their community. Have them thank this person for their contributions to the community, and explain why they think this person is important (police officer, mayor, teacher, fireman, postman, principal, Rabbi, Cantor, Educator, coach, etc).

9) **Community Media** – Research the various forms of media that a community uses to keep its citizens informed on important news and upcoming events (local and city newspapers, magazines, newsletter, and flyers).

10) Synagogue Tour – If the school is affiliated with a synagogue have the Rabbi or a prominent historian of the synagogue enter the classroom, take the students on a tour of the institution, and explain the order in which the infrastructure of the synagogue was established. (If not affiliated with a synagogue, visit a local, fairly large and rather old synagogue with the same purpose in mind). Have the Rabbi (or designated historian) work with the students explaining the reasoning behind why Jewish communities establish cemeteries and schools when planting roots within a community.

Resources:

Encyclopaedia Judaica, "Community," pages 808-853.
  ➢ This selection of the Encyclopaedia is contained within the curriculum guide.

Mauti, Trudy. Let's Explore Canada. Thornhill: Apple Press, 1985.
  ➢ A selection of worksheets can be found within this unit of the curriculum guide. They include pages, 10-12, 17, 19-21, 24, 31 and 32.

Solski, Ruth. What is a Community?
  ➢ This particular curriculum is found contained within the curriculum guide.

Unit One Major Project:

The purpose of this project is to help students examine and become more aware of the community in which they live and interact. They will learn to describe and gather information about the people, places, and buildings that surround them as part of their daily lives. The students will be asked to create and plot at least five (no more than ten) of these essential places, and identifying the people who make them significant (if relevant) on either a model or a map. This project will require three to four class sessions, as well as substantial work at home.

Objectives (TSWBAT):

1) Identify and plot on a map or model five-ten different buildings, places, homes of people that they interact with on a regular basis and are central to their life and their community.
2) Express a personal connection and an overall significance to each of the institutions, places, people, and buildings that they have plotted on their model or map. They can do this either by creating a descriptive legend, a guide or a report that can be used with the map/model. They should be as creative as possible with the presentation of this model and the in providing the necessary background information in explaining the model.

Task: **Develop a model** where the students are asked to plot and identify five-ten important places, buildings, and / or homes in their community that they interact with on a regular basis (school, gym, sports clubs, grandparents home, park, synagogue, etc...). They will need to distinguish between people and places within the model.

The students should also choose one of the various FACTORS of a community discussed at the beginning of the unit. They should be asked to investigate and articulate how they interact and are affected by this particular FACTOR. They should plot locations of importance to this various FACTOR, and be able to describe it. This analysis will also partially be based upon the depth of discussion that occurs using the worksheets in the "What is Community?" curriculum that is enclosed within this guide.

This unit will serve as the basis for the final unit when they will have become more fully aware of their interactions within the Jewish community and be able to articulate and build onto this original model / map creating a more complete picture of their interactions within the community. They will learn about the various institutions and organisations within the Jewish community, and how they interact with them (JCC, Day School, Synagogue, Jewish Library, Federation, Jewish Home for the Elderly, etc). At that point the students will further develop the model to include any Jewish institutions that had been left off the original model. This framing will be done to help the students to better appreciate not only the entire community in which they live, but also their interactions within the overall Jewish community and the role it plays in their lives. These models or maps must therefore be kept, either on display or in storage, but should not be destroyed in any way, as they are to build upon to towards the end of this curriculum.

F - Food

A - Agriculture

C - Clothing

T - Transportation

O - Occupations

R - Recreations

S - Shelter

COMMUNITY

Community FACTORS

Title_____

Title_____

Title_____

Title_____

Title_____

Title_____

Title_____

Community FACTORS

F-	A-	C-
T-	**O-**	**R-**
F - A - C - T - O - R - S -	**S-**	

YH

Canada

ARCTIC OCEAN

Alaska

Baffin Island

ATLANTIC OCEAN

YUKON

PACIFIC OCEAN

Whitehorse

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Yellowknife

NEWFOUNDLAND

BRITISH COLUMBIA

HUDSON BAY

LABRADOR

St. John's

ALBERTA

QUEBEC

SASKATCHEWAN

MANITOBA

Edmonton

Charlottetown

Calgary

Saskatoon

ONTARIO

Quebec

3

2

1

Victoria

Vancouver

Regina

Winnipeg

Halifax

Fredericton

Sudbury

Ottawa

1 NOVA SCOTIA

Thunder Bay

Montreal

2 NEW BRUNSWICK

Toronto

London   Hamilton

United States

3 PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Living in a Cold Land

The northern part of Canada is called the **Arctic**. For much of the year, this land is like a snow-covered desert.

Winter in the Arctic is long, dark, cold and windy. Winter in this land lasts for many months.

Summer in the Arctic is very short. It is warm for only five or six weeks. Then, the days are long and the nights are short. That is why the Arctic in summer is called "The Land of the Midnight Sun".

No trees can grow in the Arctic. Only small bushes and mosses are able to survive. This is because so much of the ground stays frozen all year.

Circle the seven mistakes in the picture.

WINTER IN THE ARCTIC

Winter Clothing in a Cold Land

The Inuit knew how to survive in a cold land. They knew how to make clothing that kept them warm and was easy to move around in.

In the picture, the woman's **parka** is made from caribou skin. The lower front part of her parka is called an **apron**. The long part hanging down the back is the **tail-skirt**. The woman also wears sealskin **leggings**. They look like pants. Her sealskin **boots** keep her feet warm and dry.

Today, many Inuit buy their clothing. Their parkas and leggings are often made of wind-proof nylon or gore-tex.® Many wear down-filled vests. Their boots may be made of nylon and rubber. Their mittens and socks are often made of wool.

What clothing do you wear in winter to keep warm?

_____

_____

_____
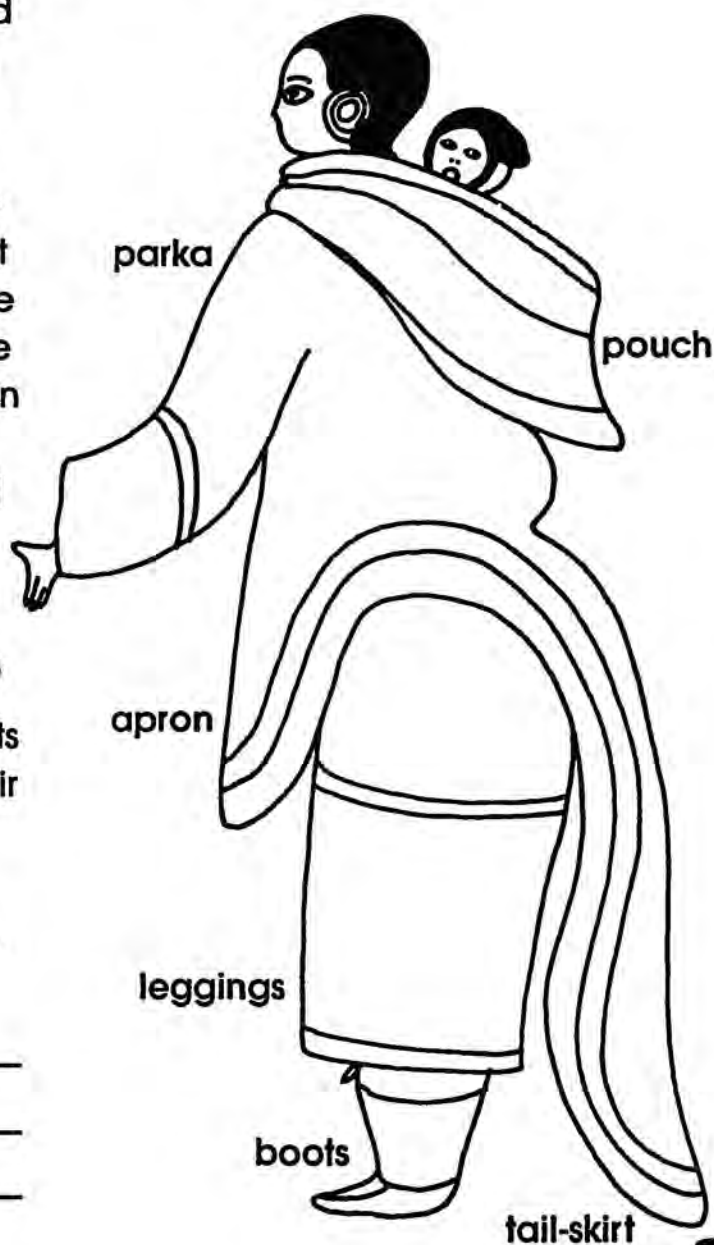
Match the numbers to show the right ending for each sentence.

1	The baby is carried in the
2	The parka is made from
3	The lower front part of the parka is the
4	The lower back part of the parka is the
5	The leggings and boots are made from
6	The leggings look like

☐ tail-skirt
☐ sealskin
☐ pants
☐ pouch
☐ caribou skin
☐ apron

parka

pouch

apron

leggings

boots

tail-skirt

22

Living in an Igloo

During the winter, an Inuit family used to live in a special house. It was made from blocks of snow. The Inuit called these snow houses **igloos**. The picture shows the shape of an igloo. From the top, it looks like a circle.

The picture also shows some things that were kept inside and outside the igloo. Inside, were the sleeping places. These were benches of snow covered with branches and caribou skins. On both sides were other benches made of snow. These were used to sit on when sewing, mending clothes, or even cooking. Meat and clothing were stored on the snow floor.

Outside, some of the animal skins and seal meat hung on poles to keep them away from the dogs. The hunting sled and spears for catching seals were also stored outside the igloo.

Inside the igloo during the long, dark, winter, the family ate, slept, made things, sang songs, or played games. A little soapstone lamp in the shape of a dish was filled with seal oil. It gave some light and only a little heat. The igloo kept the Inuit family safe from the cold winds, blowing snow, and dangerous animals.

1. Circle three words that tell what was **inside** the igloo.
2. Underline three words that tell what was **outside** the igloo.
3. Name three things that **were done inside** the igloo. _____
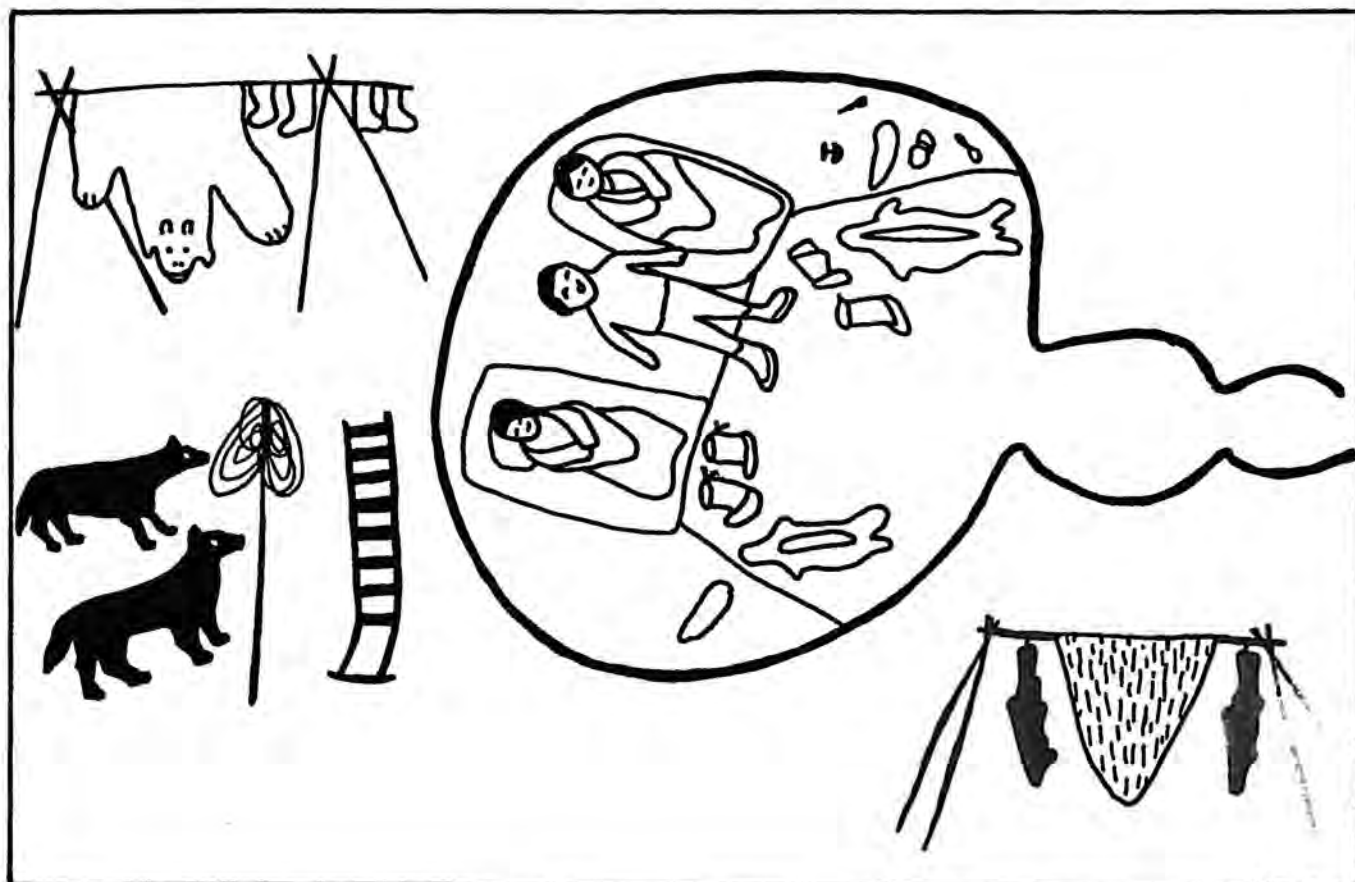
Where the People Live
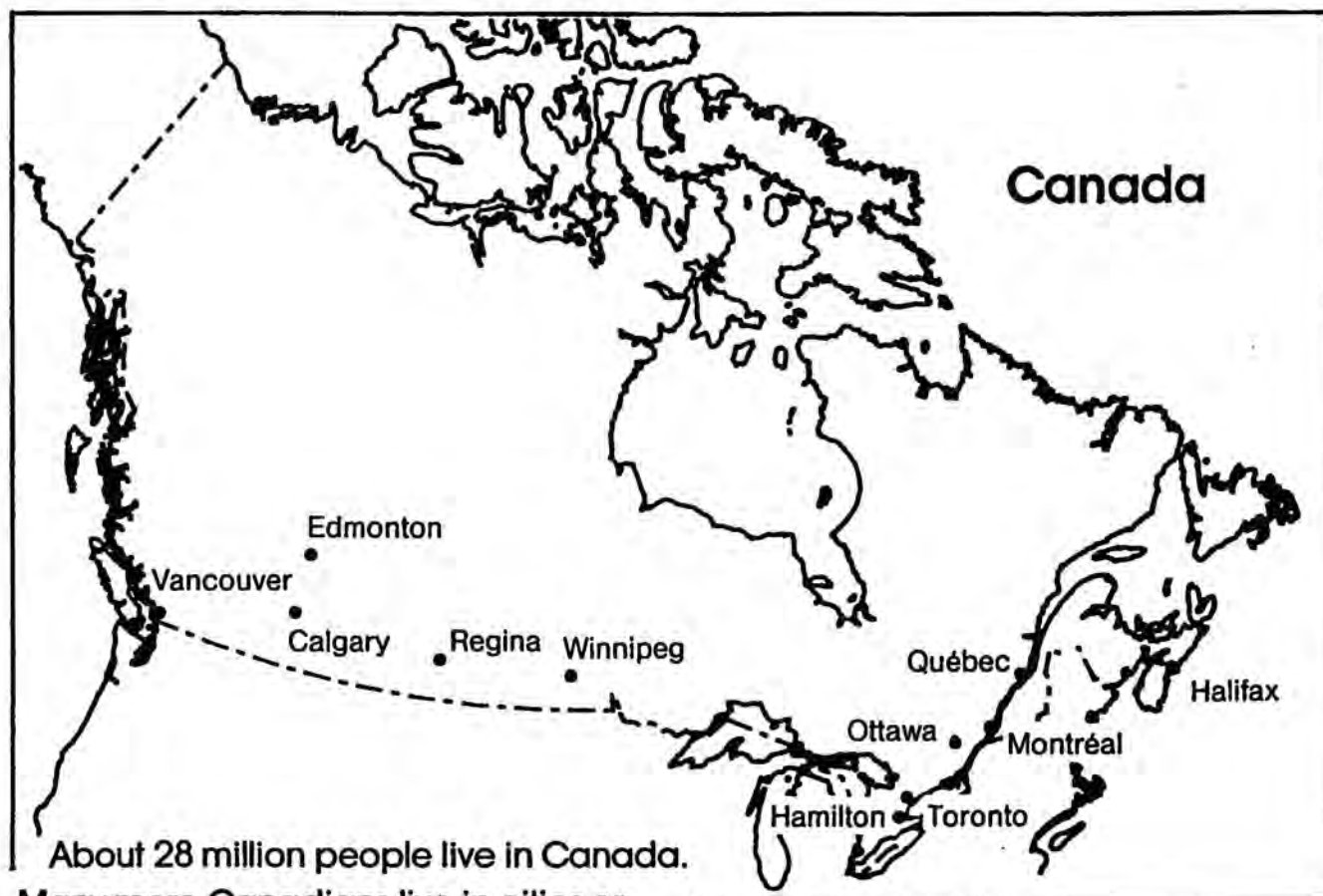
Canada

About 28 million people live in Canada. Many more Canadians live in cities or urban areas than in towns or on farms.

The two largest urban areas are Toronto and Montréal. These two centres are home to nearly six million Canadians! Other large cities are Edmonton, Winnipeg, Calgary, Ottawa, Hamilton, and Québec.

Most Canadians live in the southern part of the country. This is because the best farmland is in the south. Winters, too, are not so long and cold here as they are farther north.

To find the name of the third largest city in Canada, solve the code below. Match each letter to the code letter.

$\overline{E}$ $\overline{Z}$ $\overline{M}$ $\overline{X}$ $\overline{L}$ $\overline{F}$ $\overline{E}$ $\overline{V}$ $\overline{I}$

code letters

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Z	Y	X	W	V	U	T	S	R	Q	P	O	N

N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
M	L	K	J	I	H	G	F	E	D	C	B	A

The Maritime Provinces

The three Maritime provinces are; New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. The word "maritime" means "by the sea". No part of the Maritimes is far from the Atlantic Ocean or the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
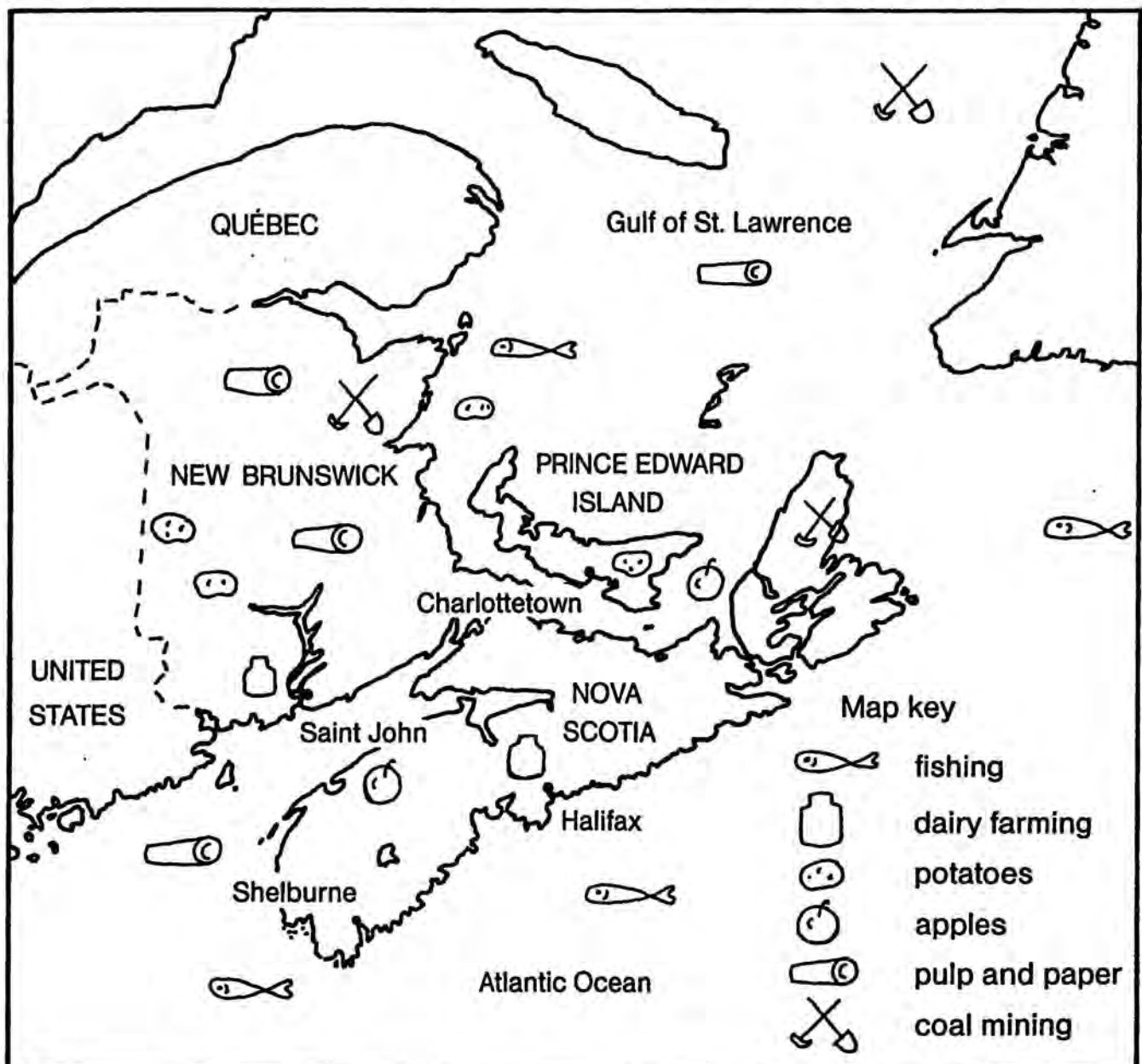
Because this part of Canada is near the sea, fishing is an important industry. People fish for cod, haddock, herring, and sardines. Lobsters are also caught.

Farming and forestry are two other important industries. Many of the trees that are cut in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are used to make paper and cardboard.

The largest cities are Halifax and Saint John. Both cities are seaports.

Colour the map to show the three Maritime provinces. Use different colours.

Find and circle five pictures or symbols that are in the wrong place on the map.

QUÉBEC

Gulf of St. Lawrence

NEW BRUNSWICK

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Charlottetown

UNITED STATES

Saint John

NOVA SCOTIA

Halifax

Shelburne

Atlantic Ocean

Map key

fishing

dairy farming

potatoes

apples

pulp and paper

coal mining

Lobster Fishing in Nova Scotia

Henry and John live near Shelburne, Nova Scotia. Early each morning, they put bait into their lobster traps. They have about 250 traps. They load their traps into their large motor boat. Then they travel out to sea, but not more than 15 km from shore. There, they place the traps in the shallow water.

Henry and John use a rope to lower each trap into the water. A brightly painted float at the end of each line shows them where they have left the traps. After a few hours, they return to take up their traps.

If it is the "lobster time" of year, the men truck their catch to the dock. If it isn't the "lobster time", they put the lobsters into a deep ditch. This is to keep the lobsters fresh. The lobsters are kept there until they are ready to be sold.

Number these sentences in the right order.

☐ The men collect their lobster traps.

☐ Henry and John put bait into their traps.

☐ They bring their catch to the dock or to a ditch.

☐ They lower the traps with a rope.

☐ They put their traps into their motor boat.

☐ They mark their traps with floats.

How many lobsters are there in the picture? ☐

Farming in Prince Edward Island

Gulf of St. Lawrence

PRINCE   EDWARD   ISLAND

Charlottetown
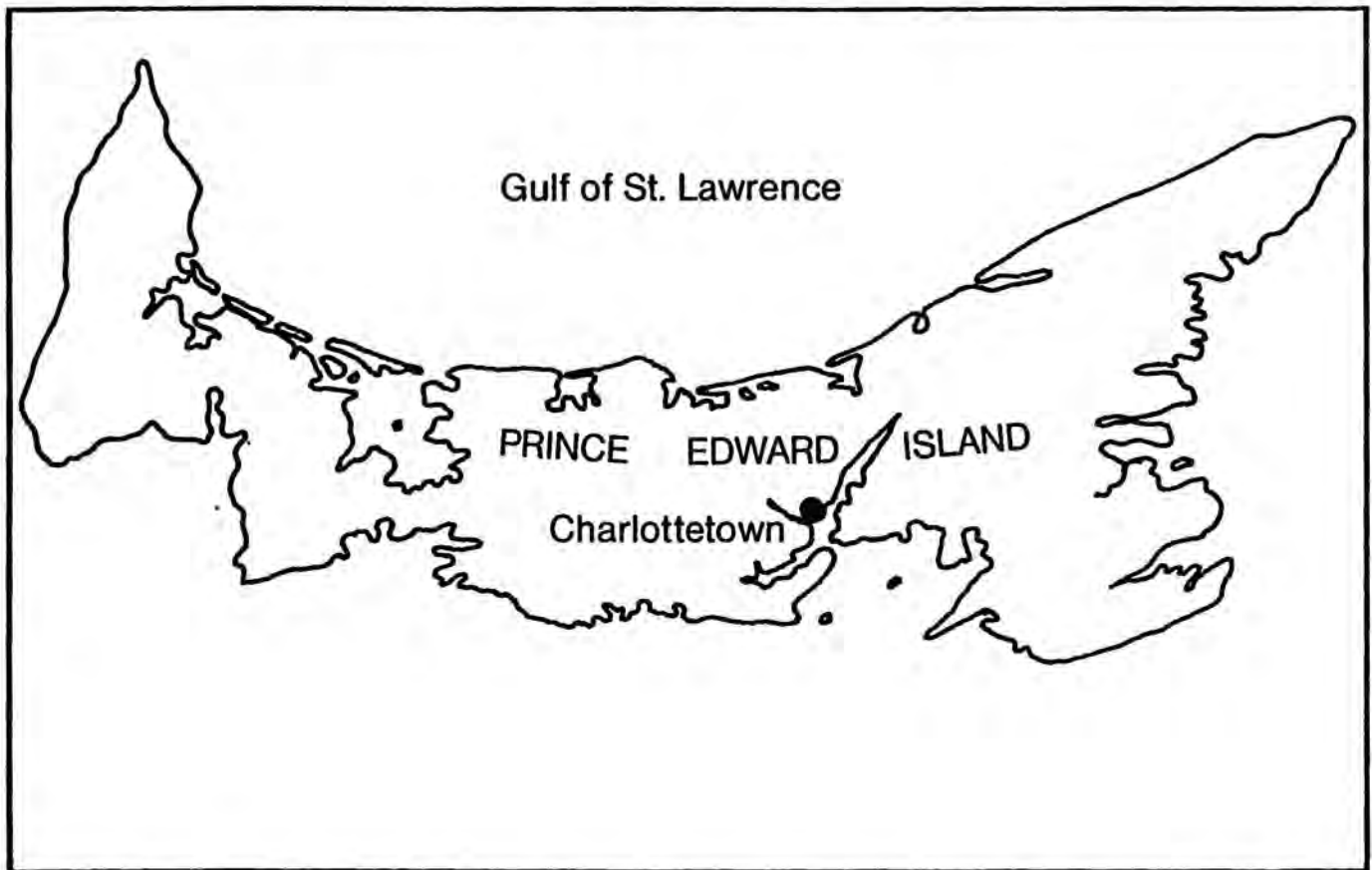
Prince Edward Island is sometimes called "The Garden of the Gulf". It is called a garden because many of the people there live on beautiful, well-kept farms. It is also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. P.E.I. is also called "The Million Acre Farm".

As well as raising animals, many farmers grow fields of potatoes. Potatoes grow well here because the soil is rich. Summers are also warm and wet. The soil is sandy so the water drains away and the potatoes will not rot. The soil is also red. If you buy potatoes from P.E.I., you may see some of this red soil still on them.

Most of the potatoes are grown for table use. They are shipped in bags to Charlottetown, the capital. Some of the potatoes are made into french fries or potato chips. From there, the potatoes are shipped to many places to be sold.

Which sentence has the main idea?

- [ ] 1. French fries are made from potatoes.
- [ ] 2. The soil in P.E.I. is not the same as most other soils.
- [ ] 3. Potatoes are the main crop in Prince Edward Island.
- [ ] 4. Prince Edward Island is an island because there is water all around it.

A Pulp and Paper Mill

Making paper is one of Canada's biggest industries. Many of the large pulp and paper mills are in New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Québec, and Ontario.

A paper mill needs to be near large evergreen forests of spruce and balsam trees. The pulp from the spruce tree makes the whitest paper.

A paper mill also needs to be near a river. The logs can then be floated down the river to the mill. This is the cheapest way to move them. If the water is fast flowing, a power station can be built to make electricity. Power lines carry the electrical power to the mill to heat the pulp and to run the machines. The mill also needs a lot of fresh water. Water is needed for soaking the wood chips and turning them into pulp.

After the wood pulp has been dried and pressed, it is made into paper. The paper is rolled onto large reels. Rail-cars carry the rolls of paper to the cities. Large cities use many products made from paper.

Put the correct word in each box.
Use these words for help: forest   logs   Paper mill   Power lines   Rail-cars
River   Power station
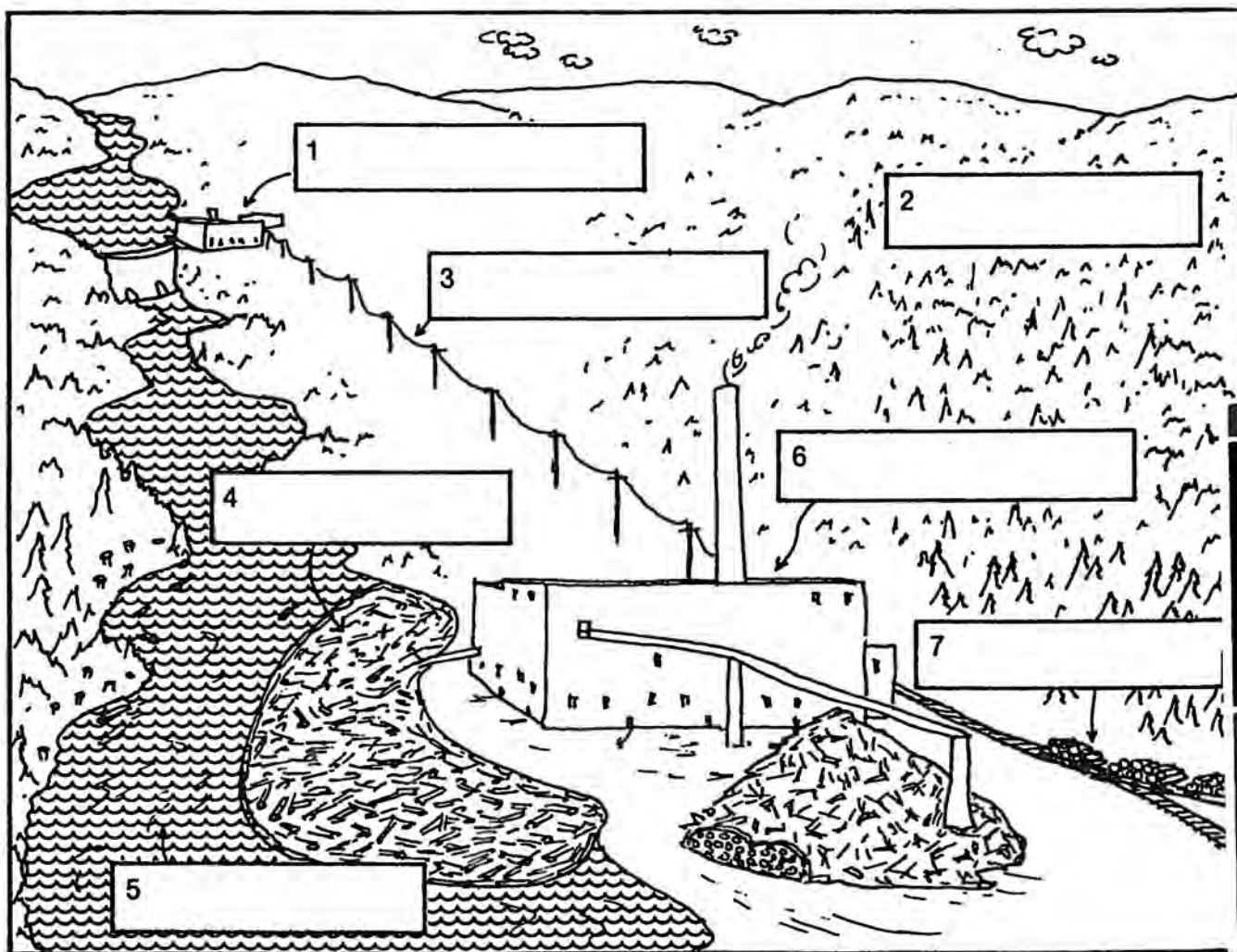
Farming in Southern Québec

Underline the six reasons in the story that tells why southern Québec is good for farming. The first one is done for you.

The southern part of Québec is good for farming. <u>The land is flat</u> and there are few rocks. This makes the land easy to work.

The soil is mostly loam. This is a very rich soil. Hay, corn, and apples grow well in this loam. Plants that are grown on farms are called crops.

About 100 cm of rain and snow fall each year in Southern Québec. There are also over 100 days without frost. This helps the crops grow for a longer time during the summer. The winters are quite cold and snowy. The snow keeps the soil from blowing away.

The best farmland is along the St. Lawrence River and around Montréal. The people who live in the cities like Montréal and Québec cannot grow their own food. Much of the food they eat comes from the farms nearby. This helps the farmer because the people in the cities buy the things from his farm.

These animals and crops can be found on many farms in southern Québec.

apples	corn	hay	potatoes
chickens	cows	peas	pigs

Find and circle each of the above words in the puzzle below.

O	P	E	A	S	B	C	O	W	S
B	U	T	E	A	I	H	I	A	R
H	A	Y	A	T	P	I	G	S	U
E	O	C	H	I	C	K	E	N	S
P	O	T	A	T	O	E	S	U	E
C	O	R	N	U	S	N	O	W	A
T	A	P	P	L	E	S	O	U	R

The Prairie Provinces

A **prairie** is a large grassland. It is too dry for trees to grow, so grass covers the land instead. Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta are called the Prairie provinces. However, only the southern part of these provinces is in the Prairies. The northern part of these provinces is covered in evergreen forest.
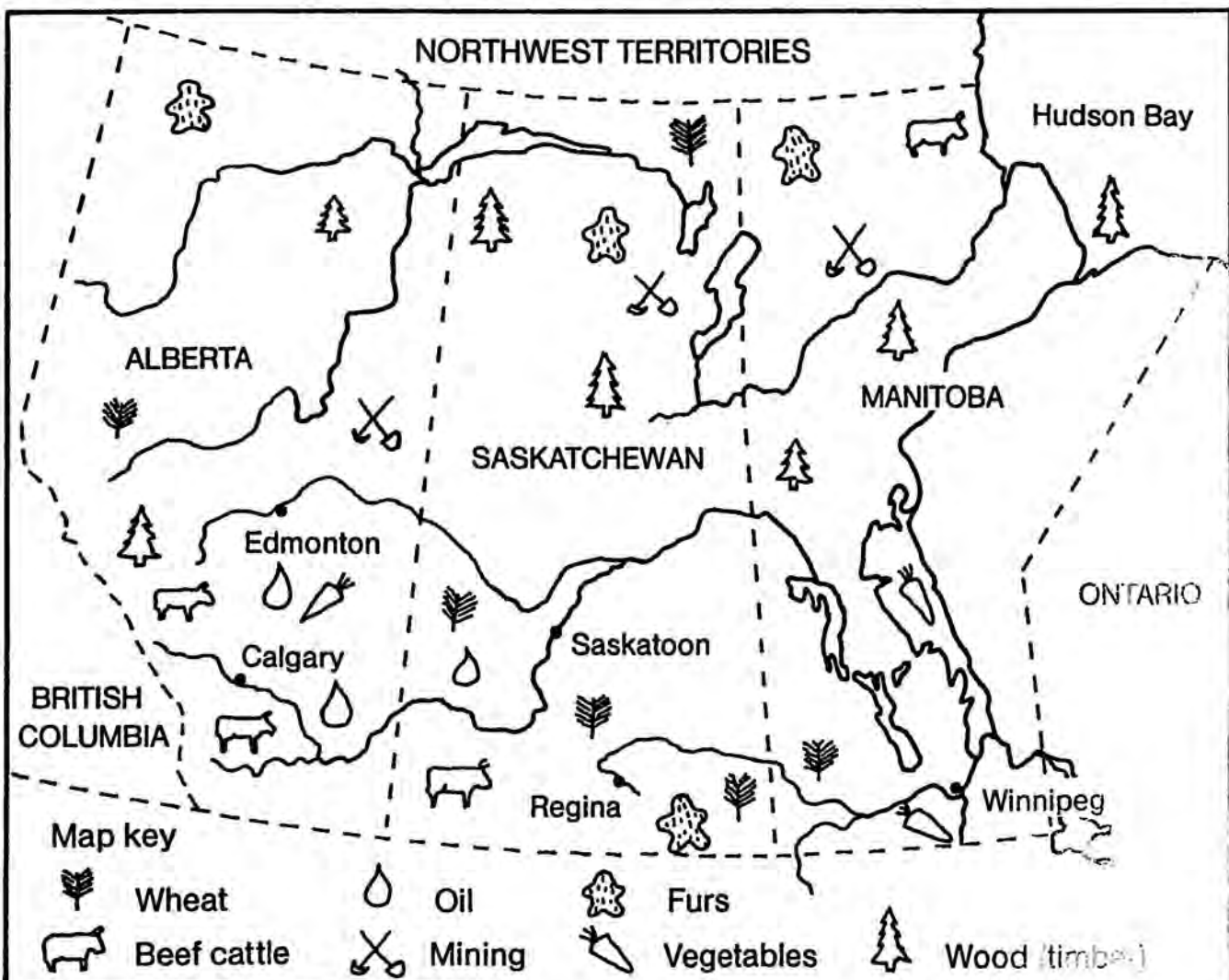
There are large farms on the Prairies. Farmers grow wheat on the flattest parts. In the drier, hilly parts, are large cattle ranches.

The Prairie provinces are rich in minerals. Wells have been drilled deep into the ground to reach the oil and natural gas. In the north, are nickel and copper mines.

Most of the people live in the southern part of the Prairie provinces. The largest cities, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Regina, are all capital cities. Calgary is another large city.

Colour the map to show the three Prairie provinces.
Use a different colour for each province.

Find and circle five pictures or **symbols** that are in the wrong place on the map.

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Hudson Bay

ALBERTA

MANITOBA

SASKATCHEWAN

Edmonton

ONTARIO

Calgary

Saskatoon

BRITISH
COLUMBIA

Regina

Winnipeg

Map key

Wheat   Oil   Furs

Beef cattle   Mining   Vegetables   Wood (timber)

What is a Community?

The unit contains seventy-nine activities that focus on the following areas:

Living in a Community
People in a Community
Community Buildings
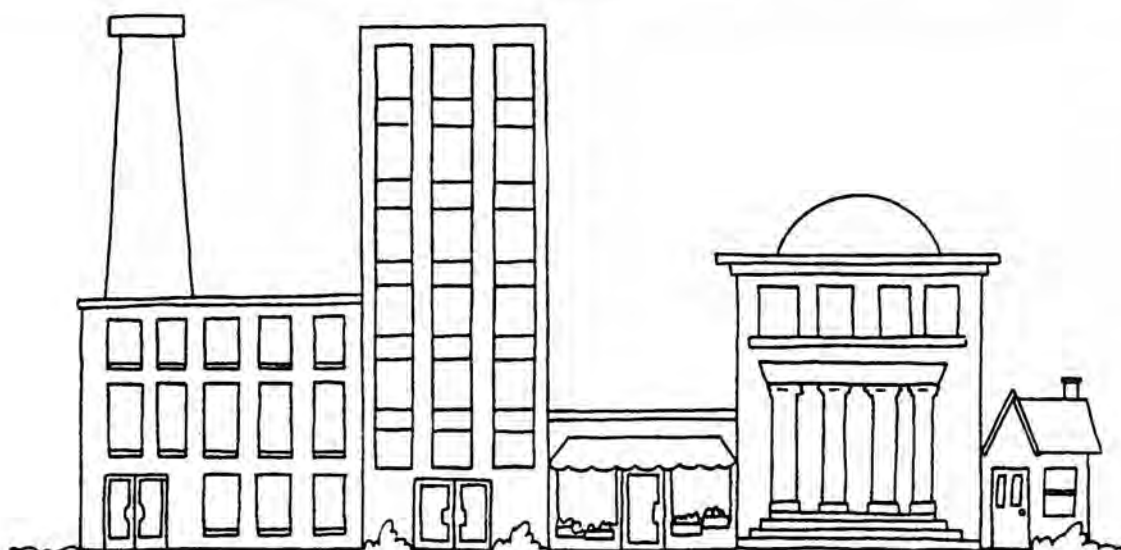Types of Work
Maintaining the Community

Kinds of Communities
Recreation
Transportation
Community History

Written by Ruth Solski

The Solski Group

What is a Community?

Contents

List of Resources

1. Kalman, Bobbie. Crabtree Publishing Company; © 1986

   This Is My World Series

   Fun With My Friends
   I Like School
   People at Work
   People at Play
   I Live in a City

   This is an excellent series to use while studying a community.

2. McKay, Roberta & Hobal, Jackie. Globe/Modern Curriculum Press; © 1982

   Can You Tell Where I Live Series

   Exploring Neighbourhoods
   Exploring Rural Neighbourhoods
   Exploring Town Neighbourhoods
   Exploring City Neighbourhoods

3. Scanlon, Tom. **Exploring Your Neighbourhood.** IS Five Press, Toronto; © 1984.

4. Bolwell, Laurie & Lines Cliff. **How Towns Grow and Change.** Wayland Publishers Limited; © 1985.

5. Bolwell, Laurie & Lines Cliff. **How Towns Work.** Wayland Publishers Limited; © 1985.

6. Knight, Lowry & Richards, Leslie. **Cities are for people.** Oxford University Press; © 1977.

7. Prelutsky, Jack. **The Random House Book of Poetry.** Random House, New York; © 1983.

    In this book there is a section that contains poetry about city life.

8. Moorcroft, Colin. **Homes and Cities.** Franklin Watts; © 1982

9. Arnold, Caroline. **What is a Community?.** Franklin Watts; © 1982.

What is a Community?

List of Vocabulary

Community Words

community, neighbourhood, country, province, state, space, size, roads, streets, courts, crescents, boulevards, highways, freeways, corner, large, small, people, families, helpers, city, town, village, neighbours, bridges, laws, rules, signs

Kinds of Communities

urban, suburban, rural, fishing, farming, mining, lumbering, industrial, ranching, woodlot, pond, jungle, desert, Arctic, ocean, port

Buildings in a Community

homes, houses, apartments, one-storey house, bungalow, two-storey house, townhouse, detached homes, attached homes, condominium, trailer, mobile home, cottage, hotel, motel, factories, store, theatres, skating rink, arena, dome, gas stations, plaza, bowling alley, churches, clinics, hospitals, shopping centres, train station, bus station, town hall, city hall, mosque, synagogue, temple, cathedral, halls, libraries, high-rise, sky scraper, office buildings, warehouses, barns, restaurants, airport, art gallery, museum

Community Transportation

bicycle, walk, car, truck, jeep, bus, subway, street car, trolley, motorcycle, van, tractor, taxi, train, airplane, skidoo, boat, ferry boat, barge,

Community Helpers

police officer, fire fighter, mail carrier, postal worker, doctor, lawyer, dentist, nurse, crossing guard, safety patroller, construction worker, carpenter, contractor, electrician, plumber, locksmith, bus driver, taxi driver, baker, chef, sales clerk, waitress, banker, truck driver, printer, painter, teacher, minister, priest, rabbi. garbage collector, principal, teacher, custodian, mayor

Community Recreation Areas

schoolyard, playground, park, zoo, community centre, pools, arenas, beaches, sports stadium, amusement parks

Community Land Forms

hilly, flat, mountains, forests, woods, ponds, lakes, creeks, streams, ocean, bay, island, desert

Community Communication

telephone, talk, letter, flyers, newspapers, radio, bulletin boards, cards, television, messages, programmes, announcements, loud speakers, computers, fax machine

Things People Do in a Community

work, play, shop, travel, worship, build, tear down, visit, manufacture, grow, plant, sell, help, move, live, co-operate, talk, share

People Who May Live in a Community

Canadian, American, Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, French, German, Japanese, Dutch, Chinese, Korean, Jewish, Italian, Portuguese, Mexican, Spanish, Austrian, English, Irish, Scottish, Egyptian, Indian, Swedish, Finnish, Belgian, Black

What is a Community?

Aims and Objectives

1. To become aware of the different types of communities in a country.

2. To develop an understanding that all communities have similar characteristics.

3. To identify local landmarks.

4. To understand that a community is made up of many ethnic and cultural groups.

5. To locate the local community on a map of the province or state of a country.

6. To become more familiar with one's community.

What is a Community?

Materials to Collect

- maps of the world, country, province or state, local community

- a large globe

- pictures of the local community, famous landmarks, buildings, people, vehicles, homes, factories

- postcards, calendars, buttons, pennants, banners

- brochures, pamphlets, handbooks

- pictures of different kinds of communities
  e.g.   urban, suburban, rural, fishing, mining, lumbering, farming, industrial, ranching, mountain, animal

- pictures and posters of famous cities

- pictures of the local community in the past

- information on the community's history

- information on the different cultures in your community

- information and pictures of the community's flag, crest, coat of arms, motto, flower

- magazines, real estate brochures, newspaper ads containing homes and buildings, food, clothing, ethnic children

- obtain a sand table or a large display table for map making

- books related to living in a community, types of communities, different cultures, food, transportation

- collect local newspapers

- look for songs and recordings that have themes about being neighbours, getting along, ethnic music

- look for stories and poetry about communities, friendship, transportation

- related films, filmstrips, videos

  Make sure that you check with your school teacher-librarian for some of the resources. Some resources may be obtained from your city or town hall, tourist information centres and local historical groups.

What is a Community?

Teacher Input Suggestions

Note:

Many teacher input sessions should be implemented before the students begin working on the activities. Make sure you give your teacher-librarian plenty of notice that you will be doing a unit with your students on the local community. She/He will need time to collect information, books and pictures too. The teacher-librarian may be interested in becoming a partner and can help share the workload and planning.

The following suggestions could be added to your programme.

1. Introduce the topic by displaying pictures of urban, suburban and rural communities on a bulletin board. Discuss the three types of communities.

2. Develop charts about the three types of communities listing their characteristics. Refer to the pictures frequently noting their similarities and differences. Record your students' observations on the three charts.

Urban	Suburban	Rural
- a city - big buildings	-outside a city -mainly homes	-farms -barns

3. Compare the communities under the following headings:

   a) amount of land
   b) buildings
   c) vehicles
   d) kinds of animals
   e) shopping facilities
   f) plants

4. Discuss the following concepts:

   a) What is a neighbourhood?
   b) What is a community?
   c) What is a city?
   d) What is a town?
   e) What is a village?
   f) Why do people live in a community?
   g) What makes a community?
   h) Land forms, bodies of water in the community
   i) Climate - Weather
   j) Community Helpers
   k) Lifestyle in the Community
   l) Recreation in the Community
   m) Shopping Facilities
   n) How the Community is Maintained
   0) Role of the Mayor and the Councillors
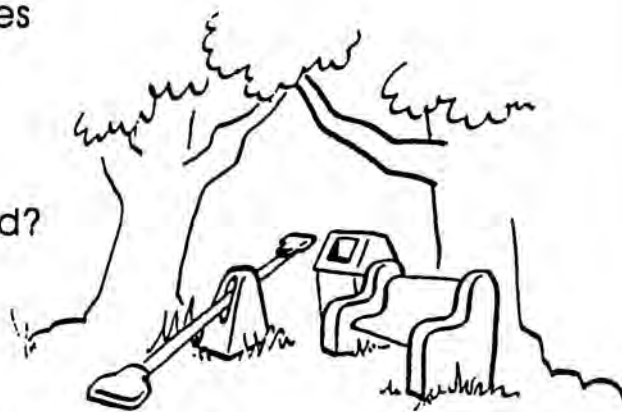
5. Locate your country on a map of the world. Using a map of your country locate the province or state in which you live. On a provincial or state map locate the community in which you live. Using a map of your community locate the streets on which you live. Also locate main streets and discuss the directions north, south, east and west.

   Allow your students to explore the map of the community. They will enjoy finding streets, roads and highways.

   Try to display all the maps in one area so that your students will have a better grasp of the concepts world, country, province or state and community.

6. Explore the immediate neighbourhood surrounding the school on a walking tour. Develop a response sheet for the students. On it they will record things that they see on the tour. Make a summary chart when you return to class.

7. Arrange a bus tour of your community. The teacher and parent volunteers could record the students' observations. If you can, have someone take photographs of landmarks and interesting buildings seen on the tour. When they are developed display them on a bulletin board around the charts on which you have recorded the observations made by your students.

   On the following charts record the observations from the tour.

         a) Buildings We Saw
         b) Kinds of Homes
         c) Stores in our Community
         d) Recreation Areas
         e) Vehicles We Saw
         f) People at Work
         g) Factories in our Community

8. Create a table top or sand table model of the local neighbourhood.

9. Discuss the different cultural groups in the community. Talk about the names of the students in your class and the ethnic origin of their names. Survey the class to find out if any students were born in a different country; if their parents or their grandparents were born elsewhere. List the names of the different countries.

10. Once the cultural background of the class has been established plan a series of cultural theme days with the class.

    Suggested Activities:

    a) Invite resource people from various ethnic cultural groups to make presentations about their customs and costumes.

b) Visit a local ethnic cultural centre, church or store.

c) Display craft items, dolls, costumes, artifacts from different countries.

d) Participate in folk dances and games from other countries.

e) Read ethnic folk tales and legends.

f) Study art, designs and statues from other countries.

g) Prepare foods that ethnic groups eat.

h) Display books and magazines written in the language of ethnic groups.

i) Listen to ethnic music and learn some of the songs.

11. Read poetry and stories on themes of friendship, ethnic groups, communities, helpers, neighbours, pollution

12. The following activities could be added to your centres:

a) Classifying man-made things/natural things.

b) Classifying pictures of communities as rural/suburban/urban.

c) Classifying pictures of things that belong in each community on charts.

d) Paint scenes of community, buildings and homes.

e) Make puppets of community helpers, ethnic children.

f) Make maps of the classroom, school, playground, neighbourhood.

13. The ideas and activities in this unit could be used as an introduction and provide a base for you and your students before studying other communities in Canada and in other countries.

The following units are published by S & S Learning Materials Limited and could be used in your classroom.

A Fishing Community
A Wheat Farming Community
A Mining Community
A Lumbering Community
A Ranching Community
An Inuit Community
Switzerland, A Mountain Community

14. Your local television station may have films or videos of special cultural events that have taken place in your community over the years. Contact them to see if they have anything available pertaining to the community.

15. Perhaps a local historian has slides of famous landmarks that could be shown to the class.

16. Culminate your study of your local community with a community class picnic in a local park. Have your students participate in an ethnic box lunch and a variety of ethnic games and sports.
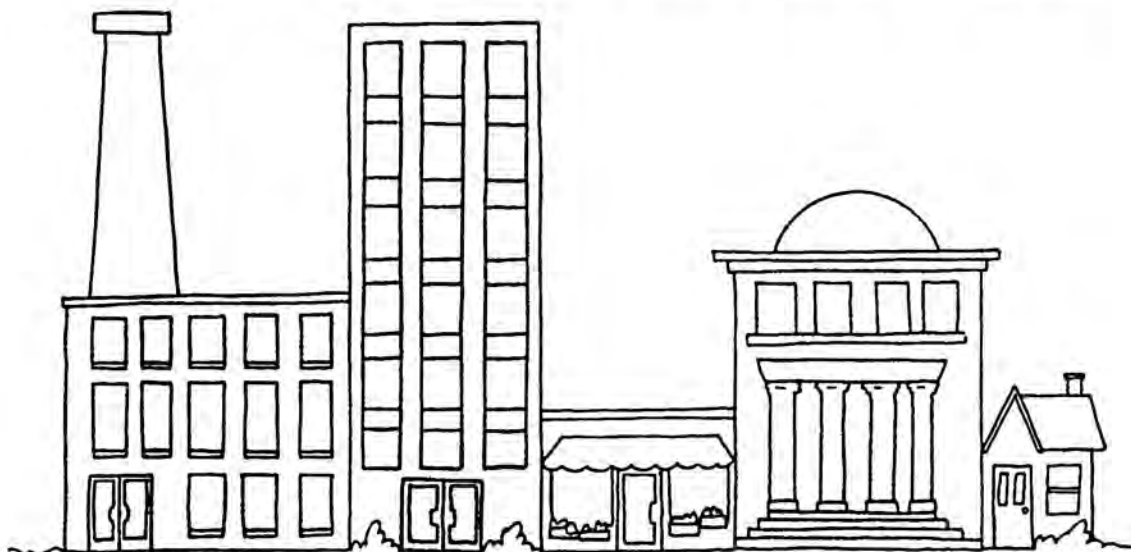
WHAT IS A COMMUNITY?
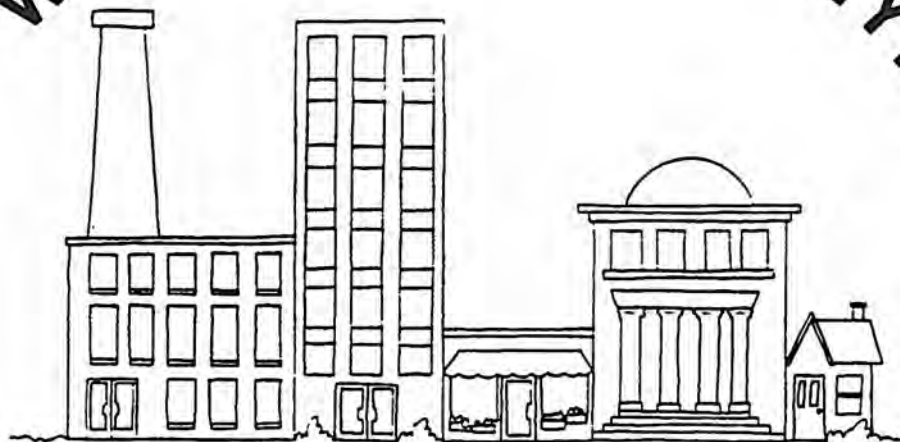
Name: _____

In each box print the number of each activity that you have completed.

Kinds of Communities	My Community
Having Fun In My Community	Keeping My Community Safe and Clean
Community Creative Thinking	Buildings In My Community
Travel In My Community	Working With Community Words
Working In My Community	Researching My Community

Teacher Evaluation Checklist

What Is a Community?

Name of Student: _____ **Date:** _____

The student can/does

Make Comparisons ____	Survey/Graph ____
Note Details ____	Apply Language Skills ____
Apply Learned Knowledge ____	Research a Given Topic ____
Brainstorm on a Given Topic ____	Participate in Class
Think Creatively ____	Discussions ____
Classify ____	Participate in a Group ____

Number of Activities Completed ____

Completion of Activities

Positive Areas of Growth

Areas to Improve

What is a Community?

List of Skill

Kinds of Communities

1. Making Comparisons
2. Noting Details
3. Using Knowledge
4. Evaluating

My Community

1. Brainstorming
2. Evaluating
3. Brainstorming
4. Drawing Conclusions
5. Recalling Information
6. Brainstorming
7. Brainstorming
8. Recalling Information
9. Noting Details
10. Making Comparisons
11. Brainstorming
12. Recalling Information
13. Recalling Information
14. Brainstorming
15. Brainstorming

Having Fun In My Community

1. Brainstorming
2. Brainstorming
3. Evaluating
4. Evaluating
5. Brainstorming
6. Evaluating

Keeping My Community Safe and Clean

1. Recalling Knowledge
2. Brainstorming
3. Brainstorming/Evaluating
4. Expressing an Opinion
5. Brainstorming
6. Creative Thinking
7. Brainstorming

Community Creative Thinking

1. Community Acrostic Poem
2. Writing a Thank You Note
3. Designing a Community Poster
4. Community Book
5. Writing a Letter
6. Designing a Community Flag
7. Designing a Button/Pin
8. Community In the Future
9. Designing a Postcard
10. Good Neighbour Award
11. Evaluating/Expressing Opinion

Buildings In My Community

1. Home Survey/Graphing
2. Brainstorming Types of Homes
3. Brainstorming Types of Buildings
4. Brainstorming Building Materials
5. Classifying Helper to Job
6. Matching Building/Word

Travel In My Community

1. Brainstorming Ways We travel
2. Brainstorming Ways Products Travel
3. Classifying Ways We Travel
4. Surveying Ways We Travel
5. Travel in the Future

Working With Community Words

1. Seeing Relationships
2. Making Words Plural
3. Making Compound Words
4. Syllabication
5. Classifying Words
6. Capitalization/Punctuation
7. Writing Questions
8. Brainstorming Adjectives
9. Brainstorming Verbs
10. Brainstorming Nouns
11. Alphabetical Order

Working In My Community

1. Expressing Opinions
2. Work Survey
3. Researching Parents' Jobs
4. Researching Places of Work

Researching My Community

1. Using a Local Map
2. Using a Local Map
3. Locating Streets
4. Ways People Communicate in a Community
5. Identifying Services
6. Community Flag
7. Community Flower
8. Designing a Community Sign
9. Researching Community History

Kinds of Communities #1

Children who live in an urban (city) community and children who live in a farming community would probably do different things to have fun.

Make a list in each box to compare the things that they do every day.

City Child

Farm Child
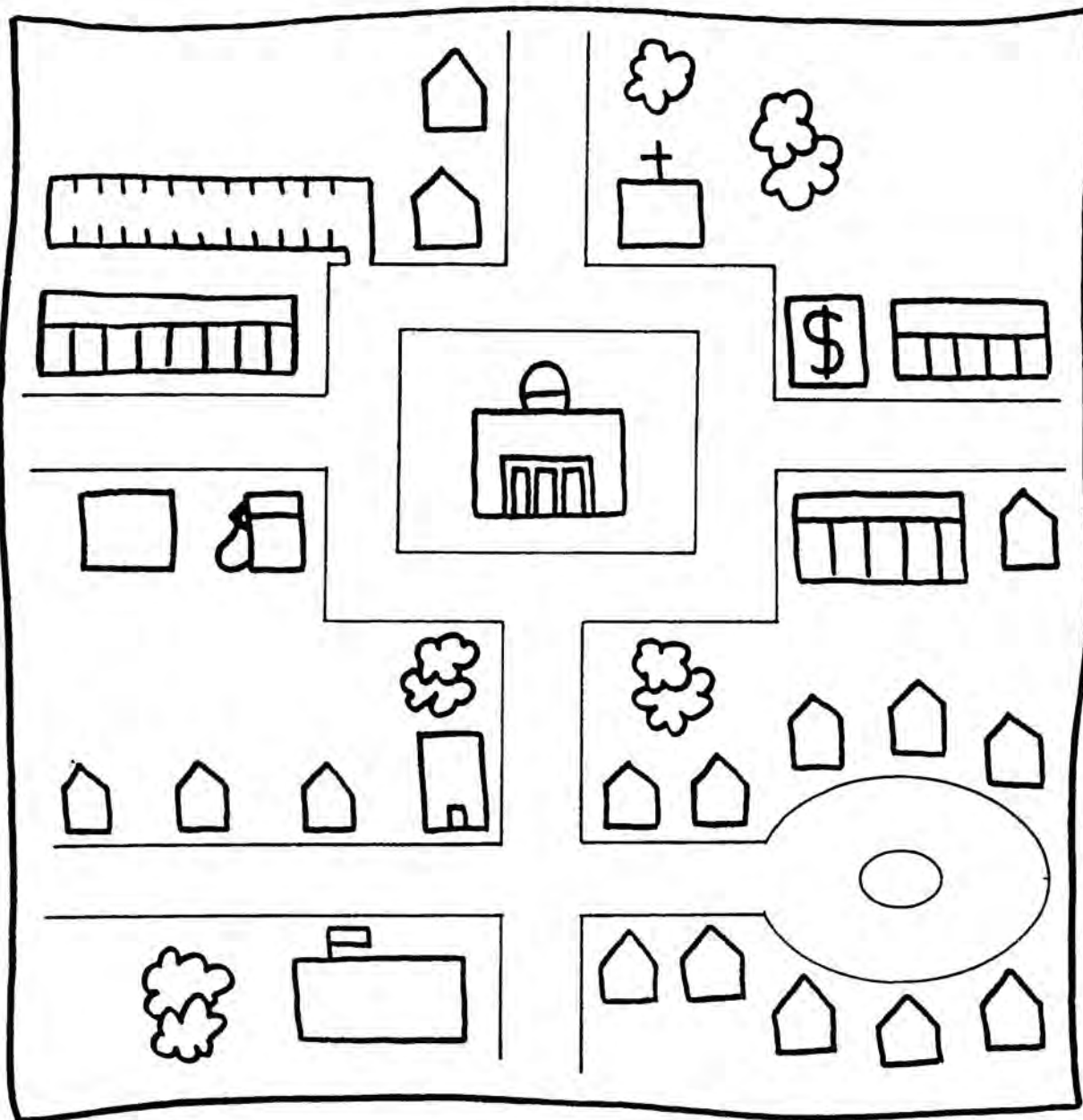
City Community

KEY

🏫	SCHOOL	$	BANK	⬛	SHOPPING
🏠	HOUSE	✝	CHURCH		PARKING LOT
🏢	APARTMENT		GAS STATION		CITY HALL
⬜	OFFICE	🌳	PARK		

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Farming Community
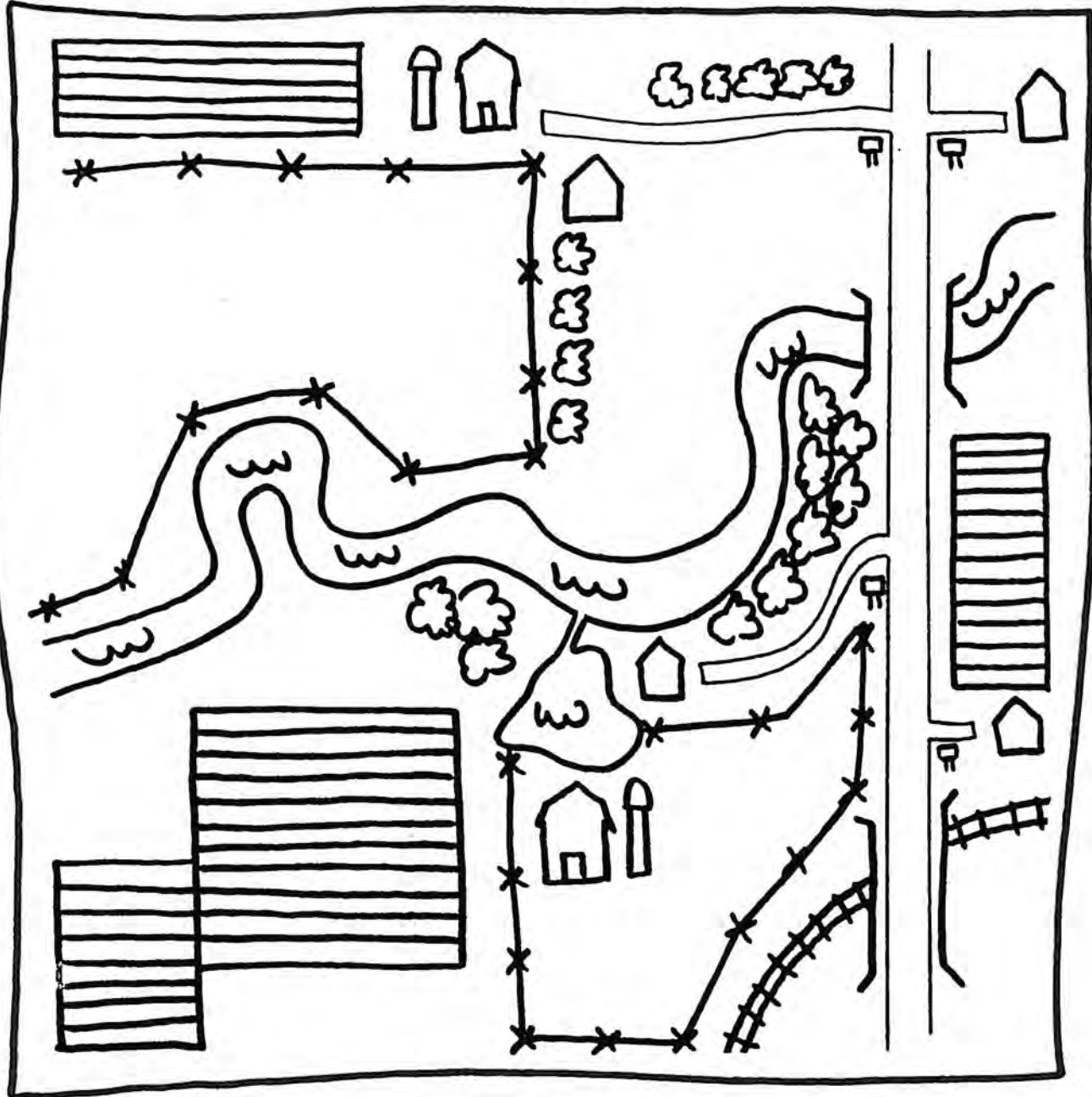
KEY

🏠	BARN	🕇	MAILBOX	)‖(	BRIDGE	
⌂	HOUSE	〜	RIVER	*—*	FENCE	
▤	FIELD	⬭	POND	🯄	SILO	
🌳	TREE	＃‡‡	RAILROAD			
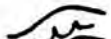
Town Community

KEY
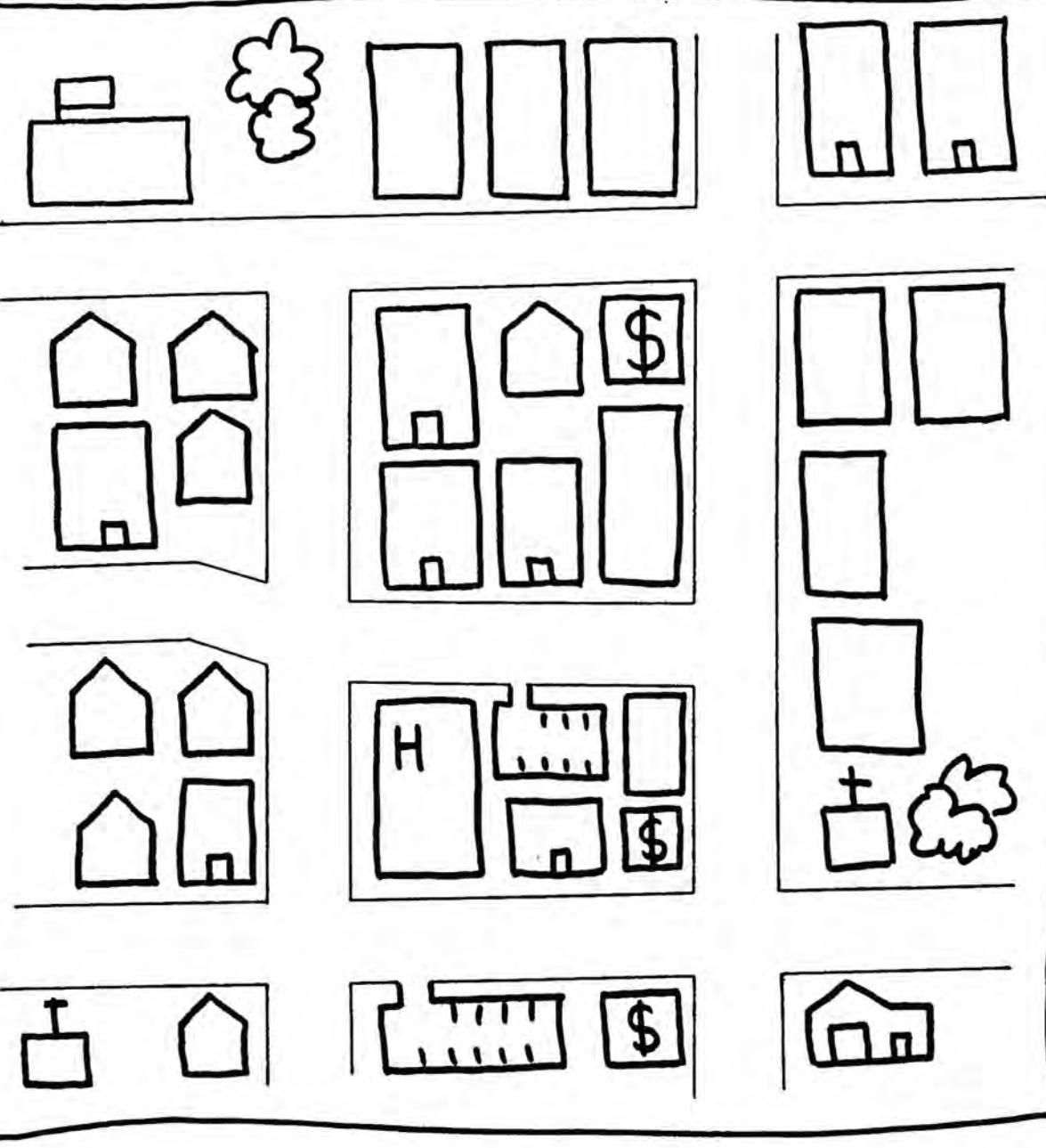
🏫 SCHOOL   💲 BANK   🌳 PARK

🏠 HOUSE   H HOSPITAL   PARKING LOT

🏢 APARTMENT   ✝ CHURCH

OFFICE   FIRE STATION
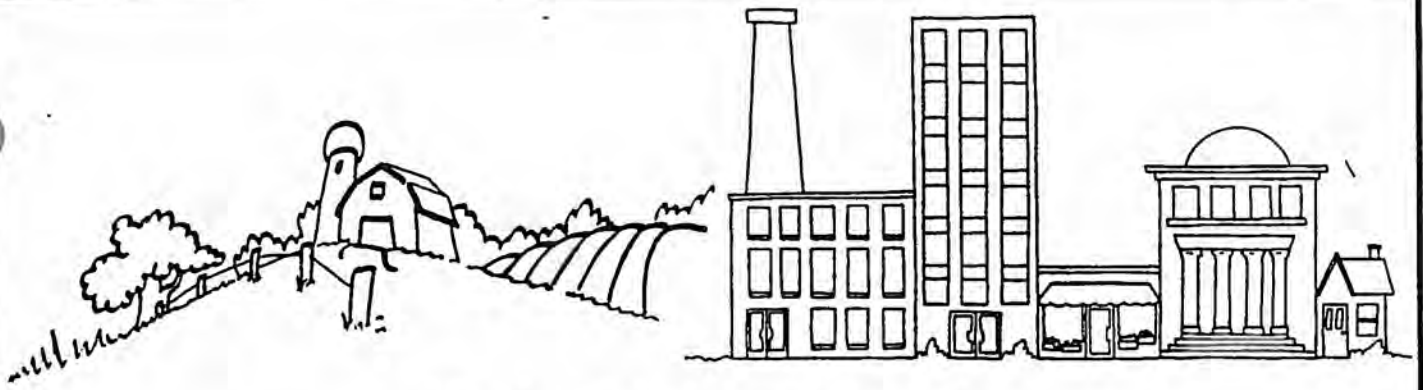
Kinds of Communities #2

Look at the maps of a city, farm and town community.

What can you tell about each community? List the things.

City Community

_____

_____

_____

Farm Community

_____

_____

_____

Town Community

_____

_____

_____
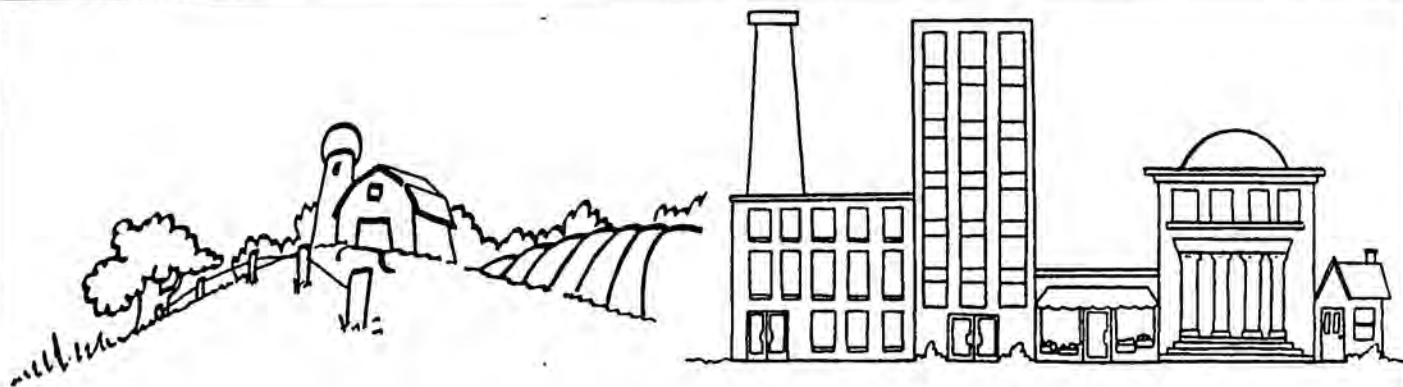
Kinds of Communities #3

There are different kinds of communities in our country.

e.g.   Fishing Community   Mining Community
       Lumbering Community   Ranching Community
       Farming Community   Industrial Community

Illustrate a product that you might use that comes from each community.

Fishing Community	Lumbering Community
Farming Community	**Mining Community**
Ranching Community	**Industrial Community**

Kinds of Communities #4

Animals live in communities as well as people.

e.g.   Pond Community
       Woodlot Community
       Jungle Community
       Desert Community
       Arctic Community
       Ocean Community

Illustrate an animal or animals that live in each community.

Pond Community	Jungle Community
Arctic Community	Woodlot Community
Desert Community	Ocean Community
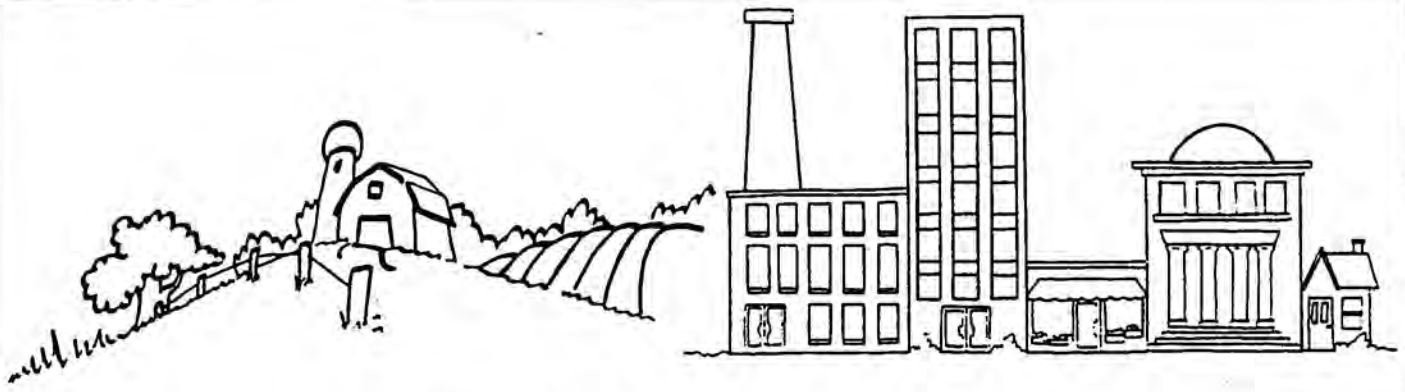
Kinds of Communities #5

Pretend that your family is going to move to another community.

What kind of community would you like it to be? Tell why.

What things would you like your new community to have?

I would like to move to a _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

I hope there are (is) _____

_____

_____

_____

_____
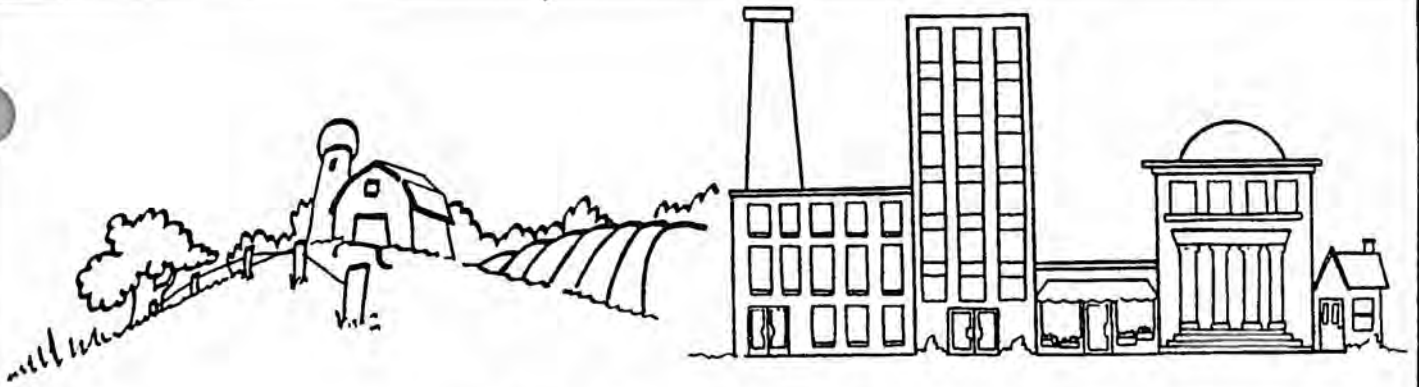
My Community #1

Everyone lives in some kind of a community.

There are often many interesting people, places and things to do in any community.

What would you like to know about your community?

Make up questions that you would like answered.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
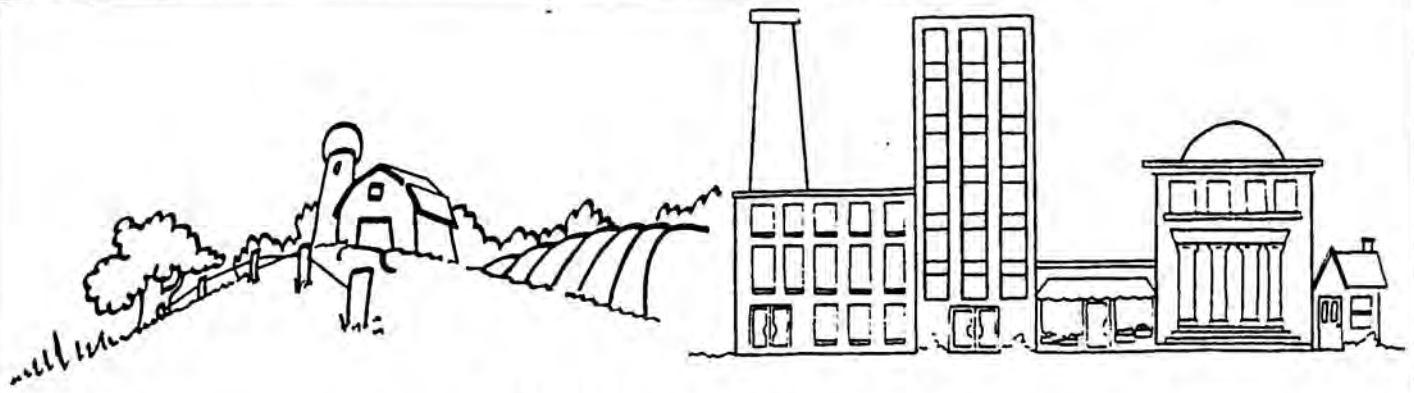
My Community #2

A community is a place where people live together.

Think about your community.

Draw a picture of something that you like about it.

Tell why?

I like the _____

because _____

_____
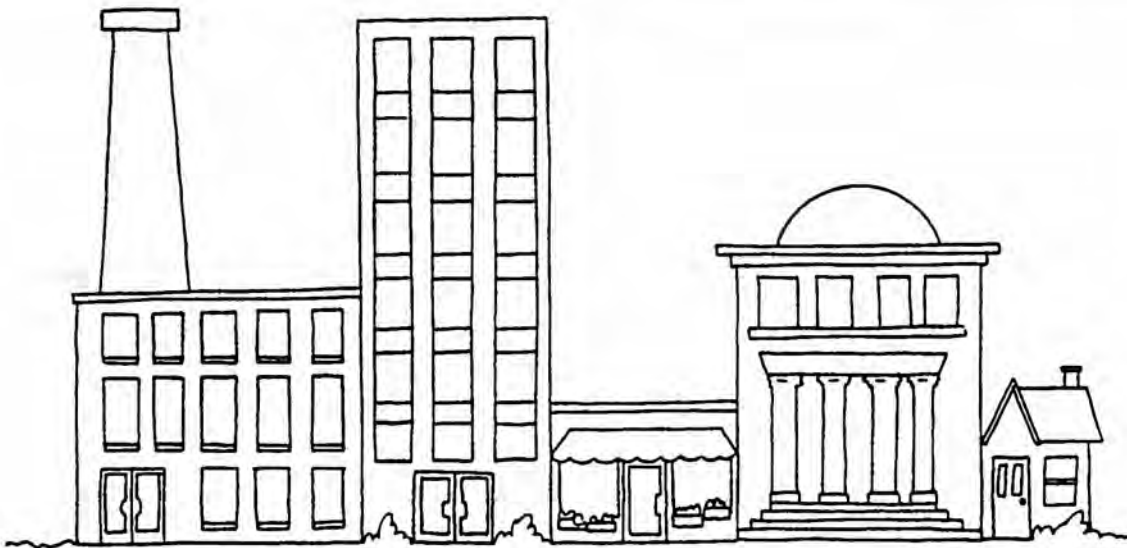
My Community #3

There are many things that make a place a community.

How many things can you think of?

Make a list below.

My community is made up of:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

My Community #4

People live in a community for many reasons.

Tell why you think people live in your community.

Try to give three good answers in sentences.

I think people live in my community because .....

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
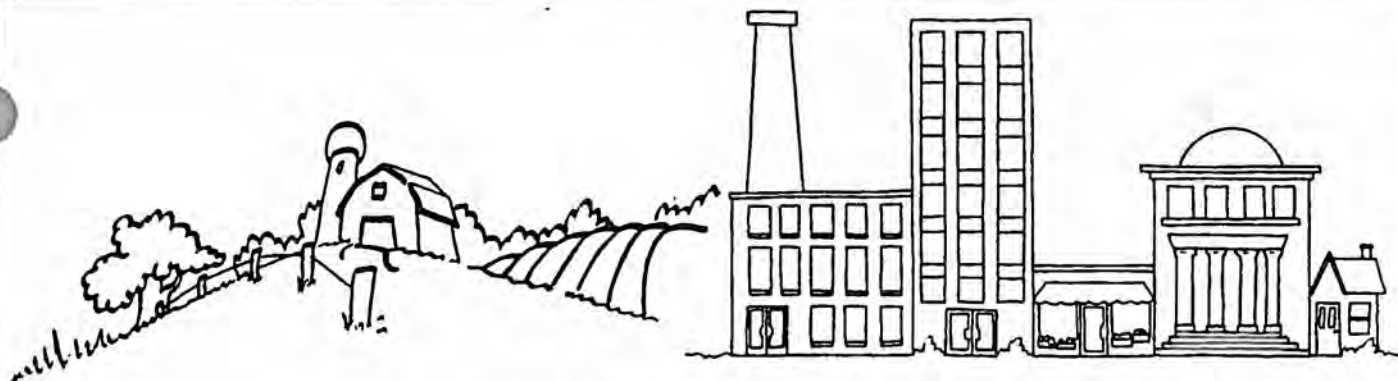
My Community #5

There are many communities in a country. Some are big and some are small.

What do you know about your community?

Tell about as many things as you can.

My community is................

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

My Community #6

A community is used in many different ways.

e.g. for a place to live

Think of ways that your community is used.

Make a list of the ways.

My community is used for . _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
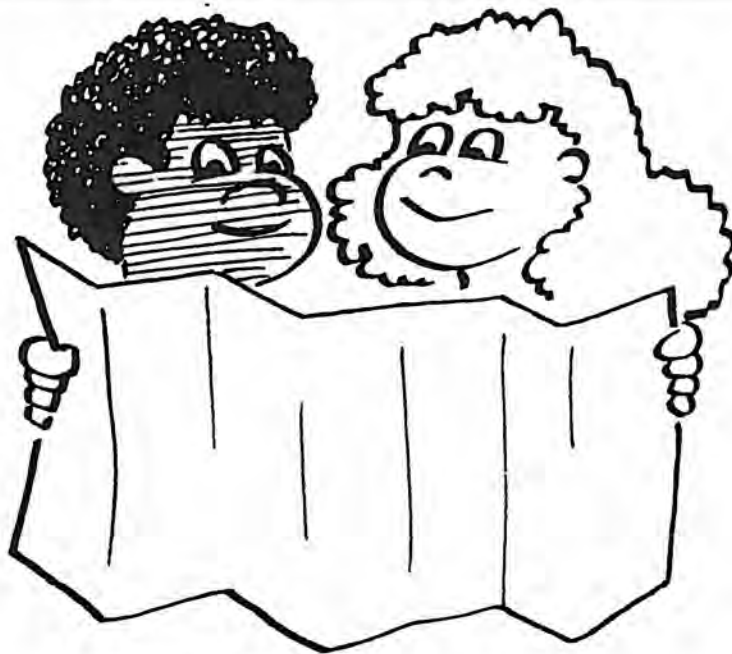
My Community #7

People are an important part of a community.

Some communities have many people while others have only a few people.

How many people live in your community?

What are they like?

Tell all you can about the people in your community.

The people in my community are _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

My Community #8

How well do you know your community?

Can you complete this sheet.

My name is _____. I am _____

years old. I live at _____
(street address)

My community is called _____
(city, town, village)

My community is west of _____.
(name of closest place)

_____ is east of my community.
(name of closest place)

I live in a community that is south of _____.
(name of closest place)

My community is north of _____.
(name of closest place)

My community is located in the province (state) called _____

_____ in the country of_____.

The population of my community is _____.

The mayor of my community is _____.
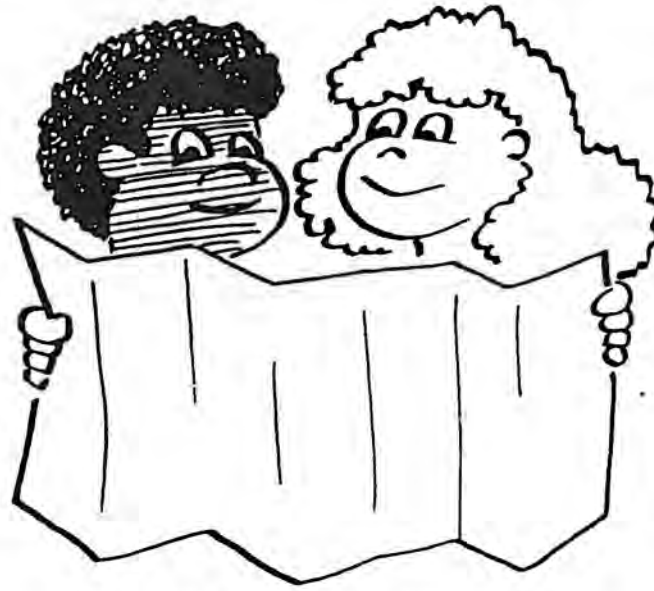
My Community #9

Every community has different land forms.

Some may be near lakes, rivers, streams, mountains or oceans.

What does your community look like?

Does it have a lot of hills?

Is it flat?

Are there any bodies of water near it or running through it?

Are there any mountains and valleys?

What kinds of trees and plants grow there?

Write a story describing the way your community looks.
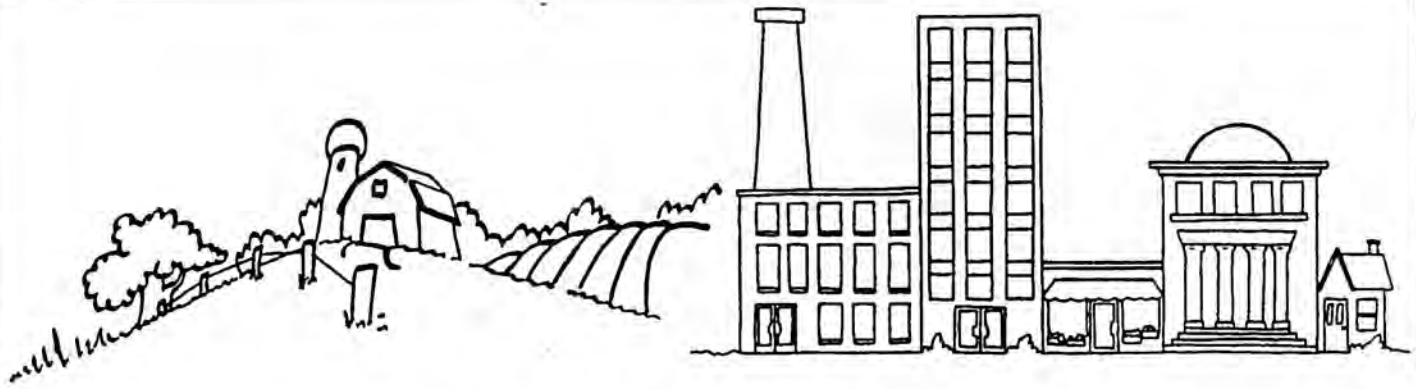
My Community #10

Sounds that you would hear in an urban (city) community would be different than the ones that you would hear in a rural (farming) community.

On a chart like the one below compare the sounds that you would hear in each community.

Sounds Heard

In

An Urban Community	A Rural Community
horns honking	cows mooing
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

My Community #11

Have you ever taken the time to stop and listen to the different sounds that your community makes.

Turn on your ears and listen!

Make a list of all the sounds that you can hear.

Star the ones that are very loud.

The Sounds of My Community

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

My Community #12

Animals live in your community as well as people.

Some are tame while others are wild.

On the chart illustrate and label animals that you have seen living in your community.

e.g.

Animals That Live in My Community	
Wild	**Tame**

My Community #13

Some communities are cold while others are hot.

What is the weather like in your community?

1. Name the months of the year when it is the coldest?

   _____

2. Name the months of the year when it is the hottest?

   _____

   _____

3. When does your community get the most rain? Name the season or seasons.

   _____

   _____

4. Does it snow in your community? Tell when.

   _____

   _____

5. When do plants grow in your community?

   _____

   _____

My Community #14

In some communities people must wear different clothes during the year because the weather changes.

Illustrate how you dress in your community during each season.

Me in the Winter!	Me in the Spring!

Me in the Summer!	Me in the Fall!

My Community #15

During the year your community may show changes in how it looks.

In each circle below illustrate the way your community looks during the

SPRING

FALL

SUMMER

WINTER

Having Fun in My Community #1

During the year you may do different things to have fun.

Illustrate something that you do for fun in the

Spring	Summer
Autumn	**Winter**
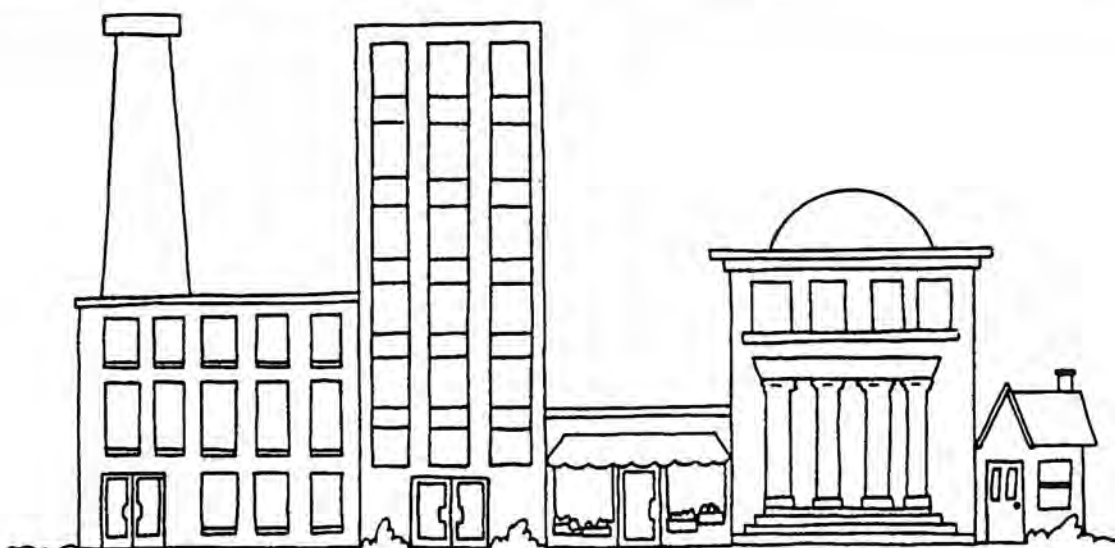
Having Fun in My Community #2

Communities provide people with places where they can enjoy themselves and have fun.

Where do you go to have fun in your community?

In the boxes below draw and label pictures of buildings that you use in your community to have fun.

1. _____	2. _____
3. _____	4. _____
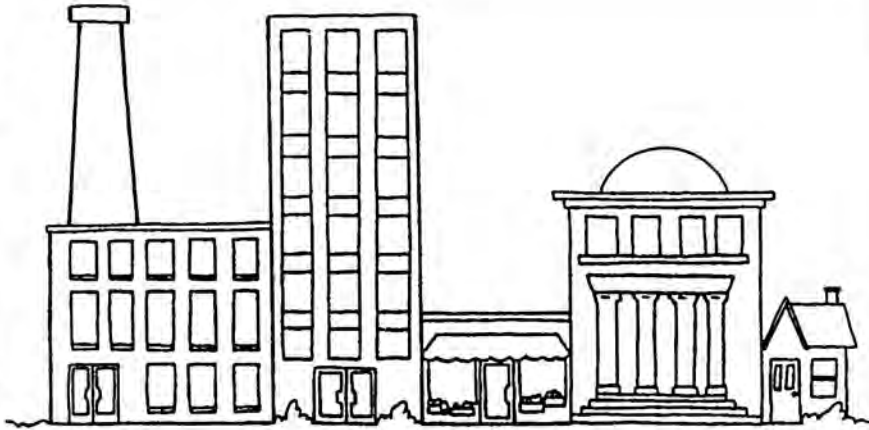
Having Fun in My Community #3

Everyone loves to go out and eat.

Do you have a favourite place to eat in your community?

What foods do you like to eat there?

Draw a picture of your favourite restaurant.

List the foods that you like to eat.
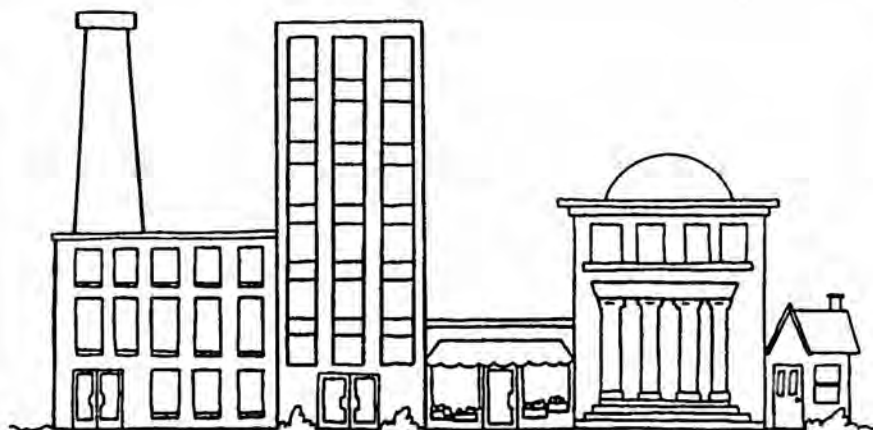
Having Fun in My Community #4

Going shopping in your community can be fun too.

Do you have a favourite store in which you love to shop?

Why is it your favourite?

What kinds of things do you like to buy there?

Illustrate a shopping trip to your favourite store.

Tell all about your trip in a few good sentences.

Having Fun in My Community #5

Where do you like to play with your friends in your neighbourhood?

Is it your   backyard
school playground
neighbourhood park
empty lot?

Illustrate a picture of playing with your friends in your favourite place.

In a few good sentences describe the things that you do.

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Having Fun in My Community #6

Playing safely in a community is very important.

Can you think of places in your community that are not safe for playing?

Design a safety poster warning children to stay away from a dangerous place in your community.

Keeping My Community Safe and Clean #3

Pollution makes a community ugly.

Look for signs of pollution in your community.

Make a list of signs that you have seen in your community.

How can you help to stop pollution in your community?

List the ways.
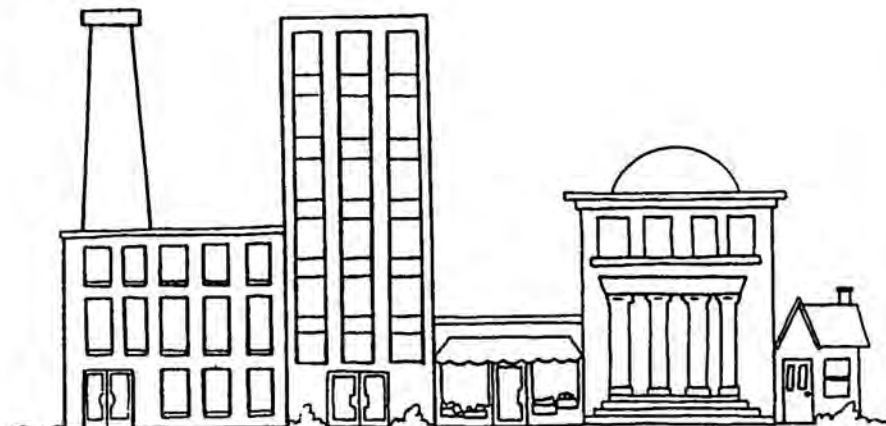
Keeping My Community Safe and Clean #1

Communities have rules called laws.

These rules help to keep our community a safe place to live.

Think of rules that you have in your community.

Write them in a list on the chart.

Rules for My Community

1. Stop when the traffic light is red.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Safety Signs

Keeping My Community Safe and Clean #2

Signs are used in a community to remind people to travel and live safely.

Illustrate signs that you have seen in your community.
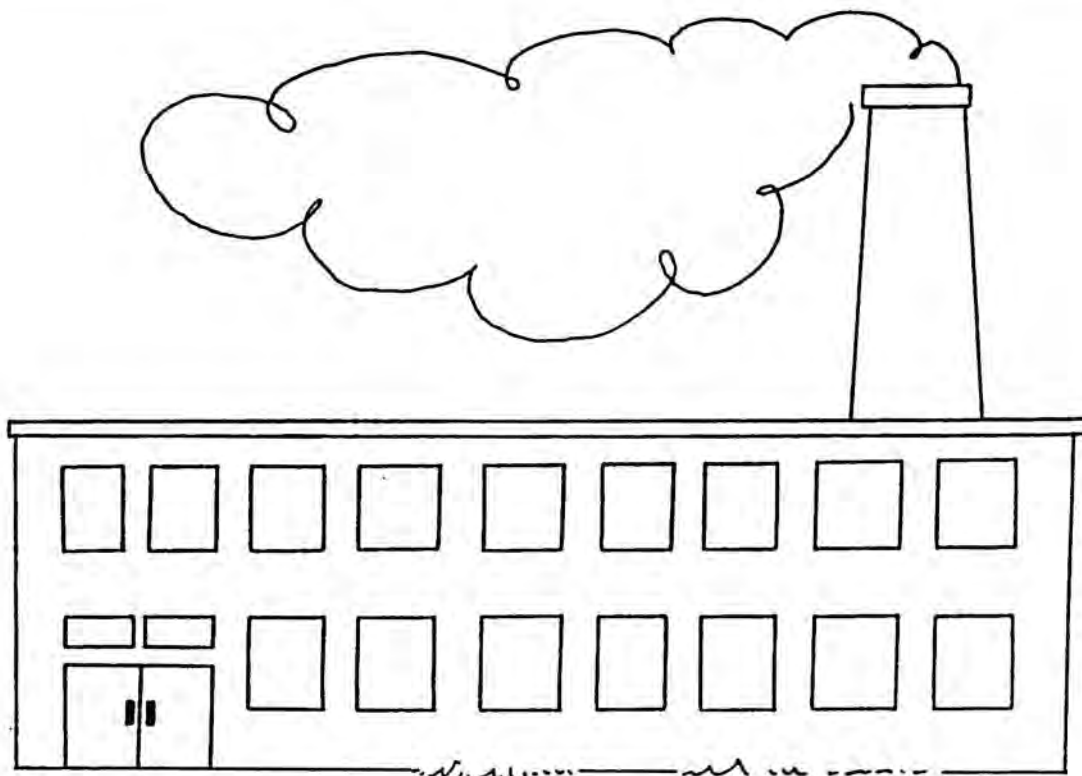
Keeping My Community Safe and Clean #4

The air and water in a community is often polluted by smoke and chemicals that come from factories.

Is there a factory in your community that causes pollution?

If so, write a letter to the factory owner telling him/her how you feel about the pollution.

Send it by mail.

I hope you get an answer.
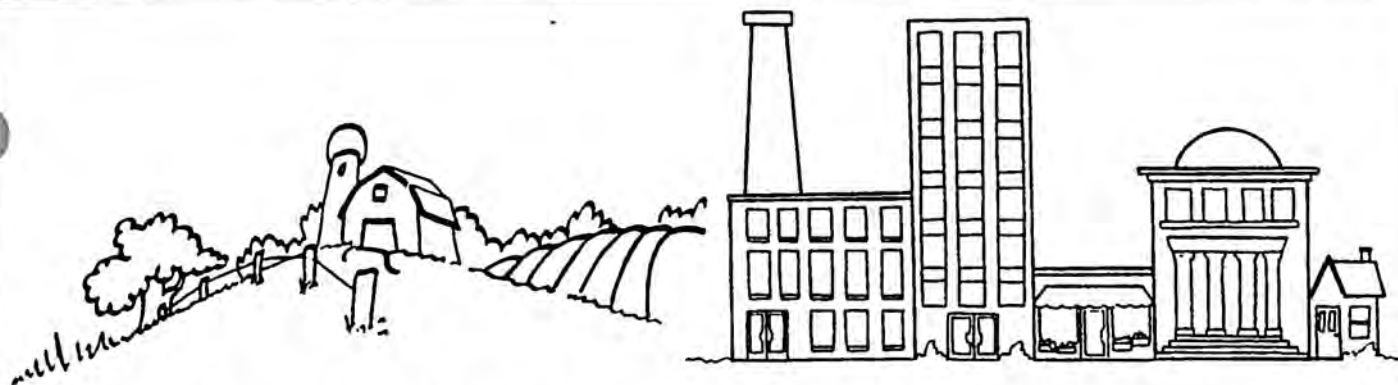
Keeping My Community Safe and Clean #5

All communities have laws or rules.

Think of reasons why they are important to have.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Can you suggest a new law or laws that your community should have?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
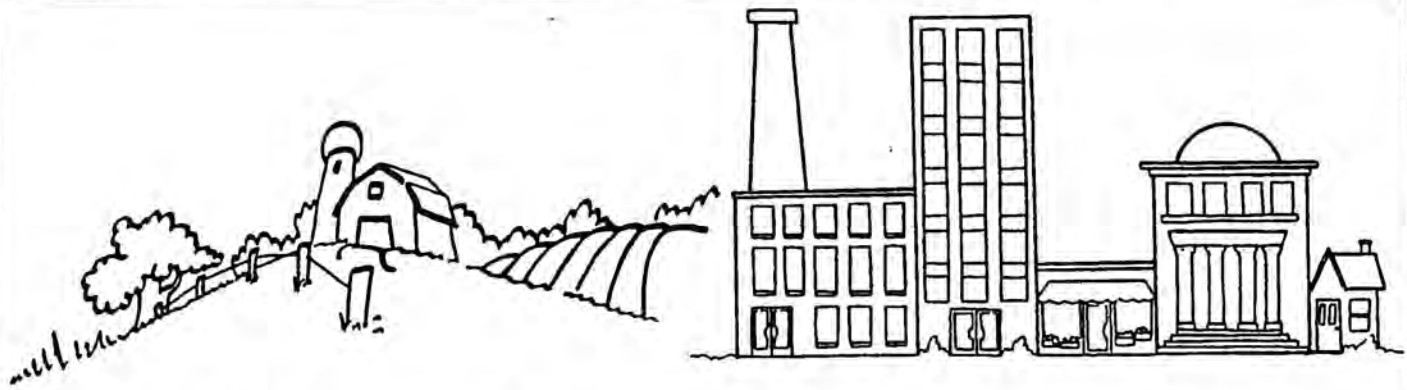
Keeping My Community Safe and Clean #6

A community looks more attractive and inviting when it is kept clean.

Think of ways people in your community can keep it clean.

Design a poster to remind them to help keep their community a better looking place to live.

e.g.

PICK UP YOUR LITTER!

LITTER

Keep Oshawa Clean!
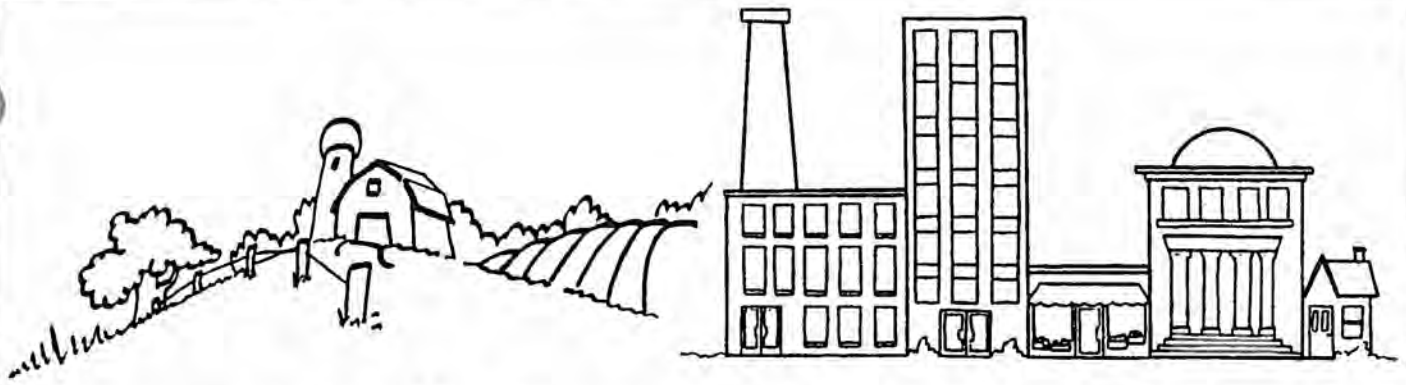
Keeping My Community Safe and Clean #7

Communities have helpers who keep our communities safe and clean.

Some helpers take away your garbage or put out fires or clean the streets.

Who are the helpers in your community?

Illustrate and label as many as you can on a chart.

e.g.

HELPERS IN MY COMMUNITY

The Police Officer
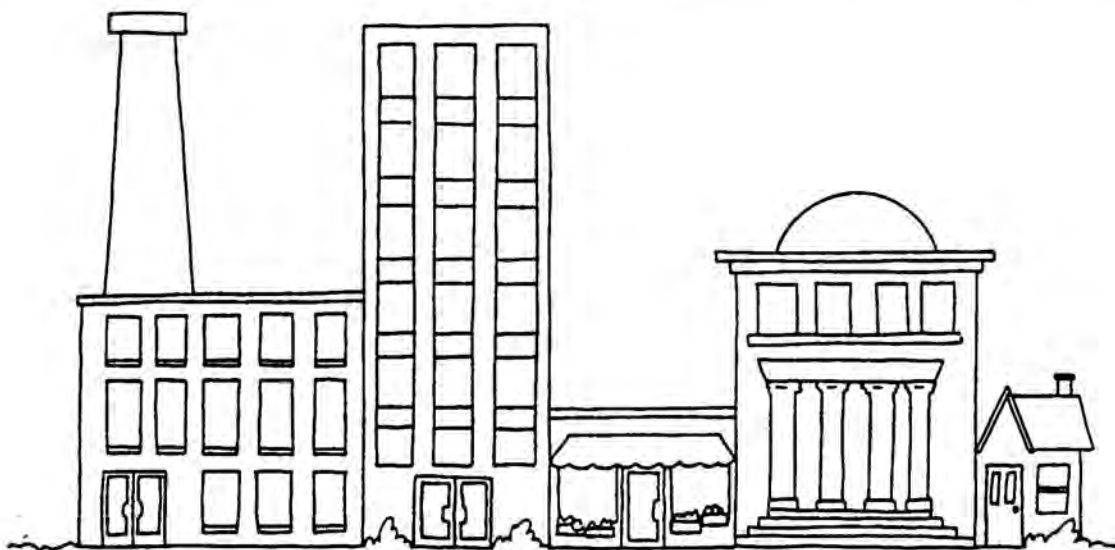
Community Creative Thinking #1

Write an acrostic poem about your community.

Print the name of your community vertically.

Begin each line of your poem with a word that begins with the same letter in its name.

e.g.

> **O**shawa is a city.
>
> **S**teadily growing bigger.
>
> **H**ome of General Motors.
>
> **A**utomobiles are made here.
>
> **W**e are proud of our community.
>
> **A**nd we invite you to visit us.
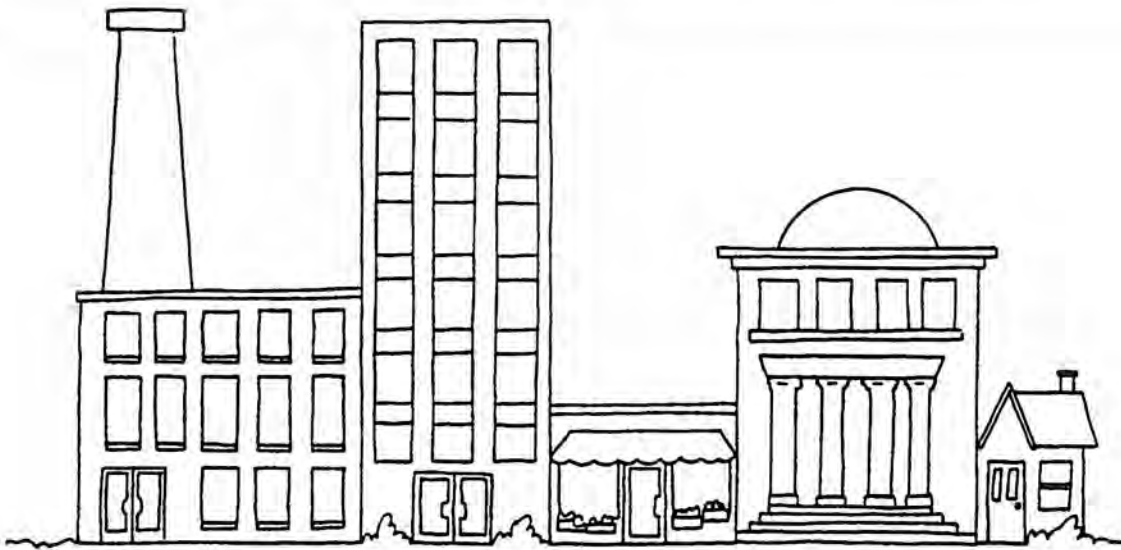
Community Creative Thinking #2

Community helpers work hard to keep our community a safe and clean place to live.

Write a thank you note to any community helper who you feel does a good job.

e.g.

Dear Fire Fighter,

Thank you for keeping my community safe from fire. I know that you are always ready to slide down the pole when you hear the alarm go off. Thank you for teaching me fire safety.

Love

Lisa
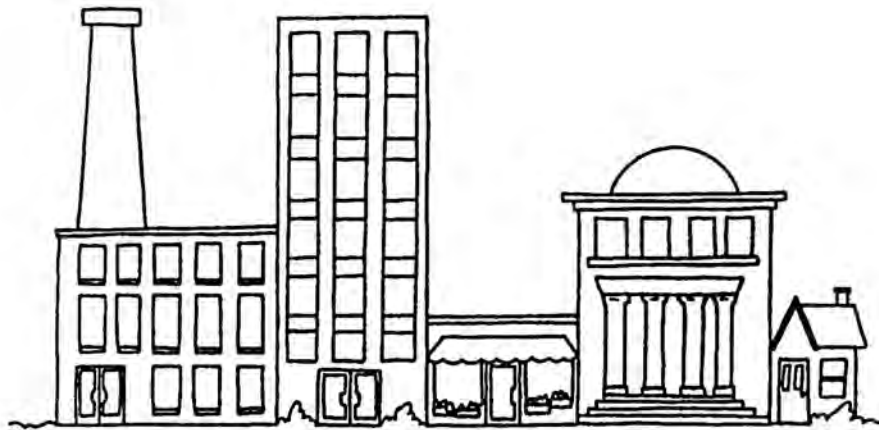
Community Creative Thinking #3

Your community is a great place to live.

Design a poster that you would put up telling people about it.

Print an interesting sentence under the picture.

e.g.

COME TO OSHAWA!
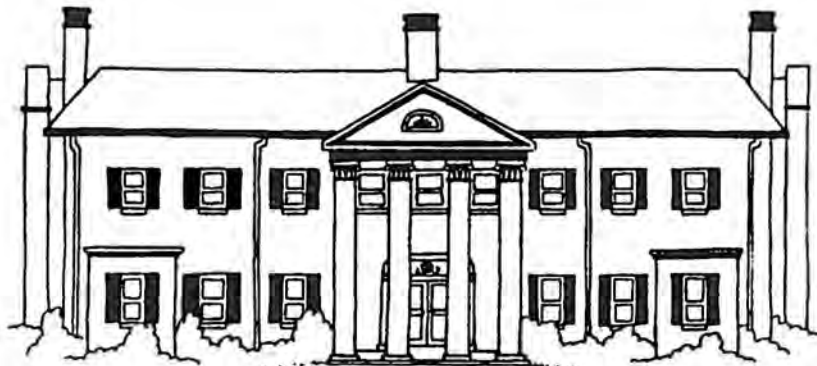
Visit beautiful Parkwood!

Home of Sam McLaughlin

Community Creative Thinking #4

Pretend that you are a local author.

Create a book about your community.

In your book draw pictures of any of the things that you would see in your community.

Write a few sentences about each picture.

Things you could include are:

Important Buildings   **Things People Do**

Places People Work   **Kinds of People**

Famous Places   **Things That You Like**

Community Creative Thinking #5

The mayor of your city is the person people in your community pick to help run it. He or she has a very important job.

Write a letter to your mayor telling him or her how you feel about your community.

Perhaps there are ways that your community could be better.
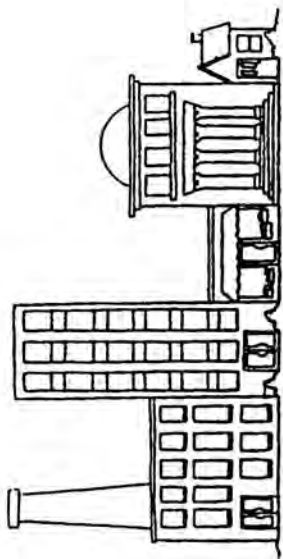
Community Creative Thinking #6

Design a flag for your community.

What colours will you make it?

What symbol can you put on it that will represent your community?

e.g.   **OSHAWA**
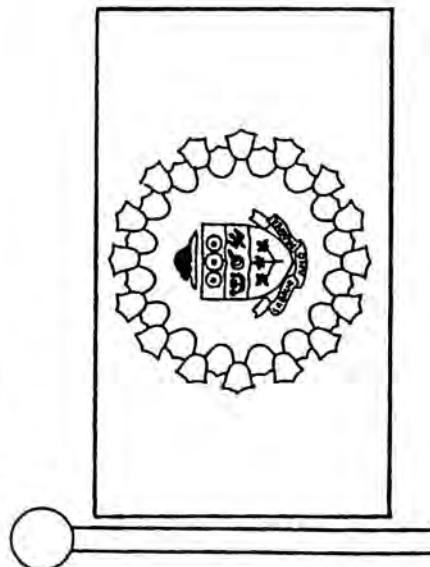
Community Creative Thinking #7

When you visit a different community people will often give out a pin or button that represents it.

Design a pin or button for your own community.

Community Creative Thinking #8

Communities are always changing.

People move away, people move in, buildings are being torn down and new buildings are being built.

Look into the future!

How do you think your community will look in one hundred years.

Paint a picture of your community in the future.

Write a description of it.

Community Creative Thinking #9

Most communities sell picture postcards of landmarks in their community.

Design a picture postcard for your community.

Which important place or building will you illustrate on it?

Attach the instruction cards to envelopes.
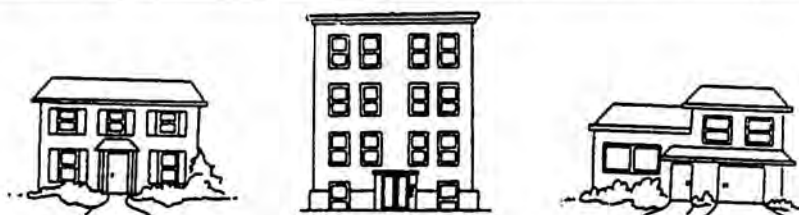
Buildings in My Community #6

In the envelope are some picture cards of buildings that you may see in your community and cards with their names.

Match the picture to its name card.

e.g.

house
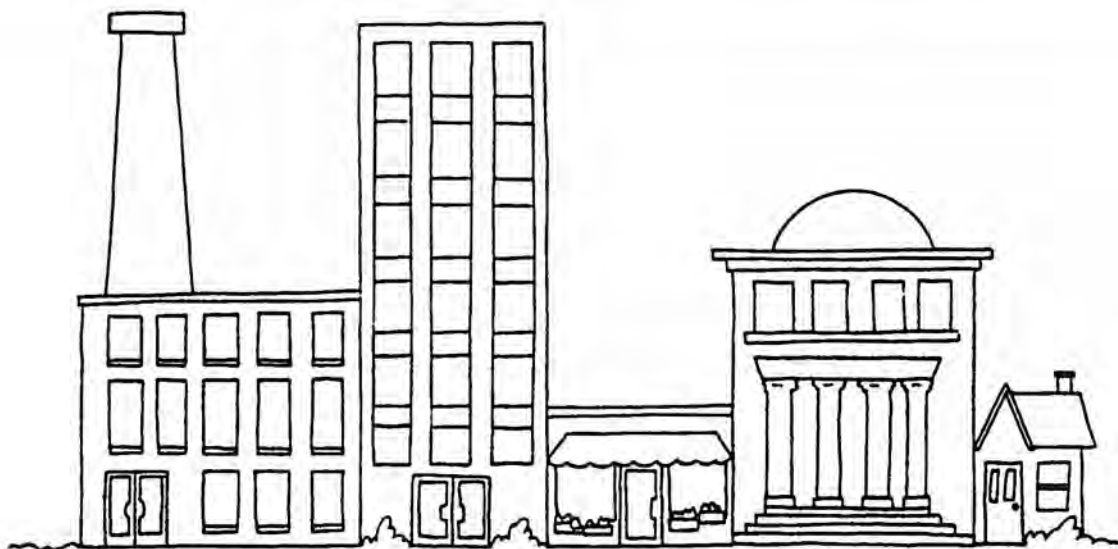
Community Creative Thinking #10

Some people in a community work hard to keep their homes looking nice.

Look around your neighbourhood.

Is there a neighbour who keeps his home and yard in good condition and makes your street look attractive?

Design a certificate to give to that neighbour.

e.g.

Good Neighbour Award

This award is given to Mr. Murphy for keeping his lawn and gardens neat and attractive. Thanks for making our street look so great!

Penny Hampton

Community Creative Thinking #11

People who live in a community are usually proud of it for many reasons.

Are you proud of your community?

In a few good sentences tell why you are proud to live there.

I am proud of _____

because _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
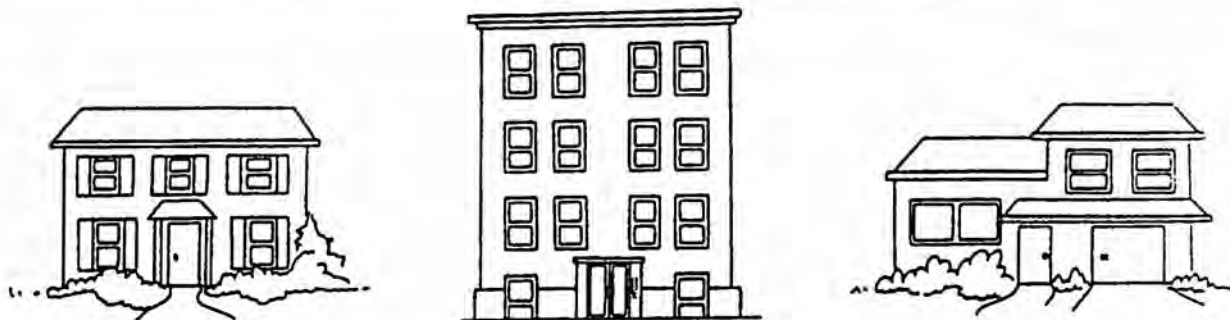
Buildings in My Community #1

People live in different types of homes in a community.

Survey your classmates to find out the kind of house each one lives in.

Kind of Home	Checks	Total
1. One Storey		
2. Two Storey		
3. Town House		
4. Split Level		
5. Apartment		
6. Condominium		
7. Semi-detached		
8. Other		

The most popular type of home in our community is a

_____

Make a bar graph to show the results of your survey.
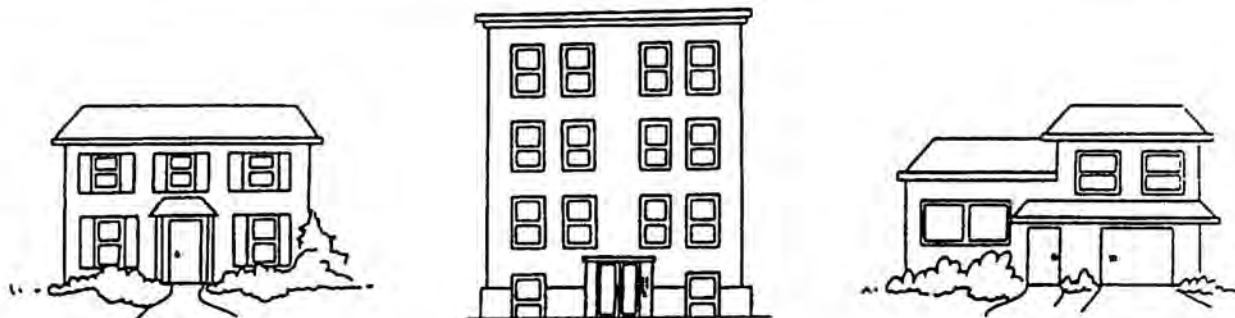
Buildings in My Community #2

Communities can have many types of homes.

e.g.   apartments
        one storey homes
        two storey homes

What kinds of homes do you have in your community?

Illustrate and label as many kinds as you can on a chart.

e.g.

HOMES IN MY COMMUNITY
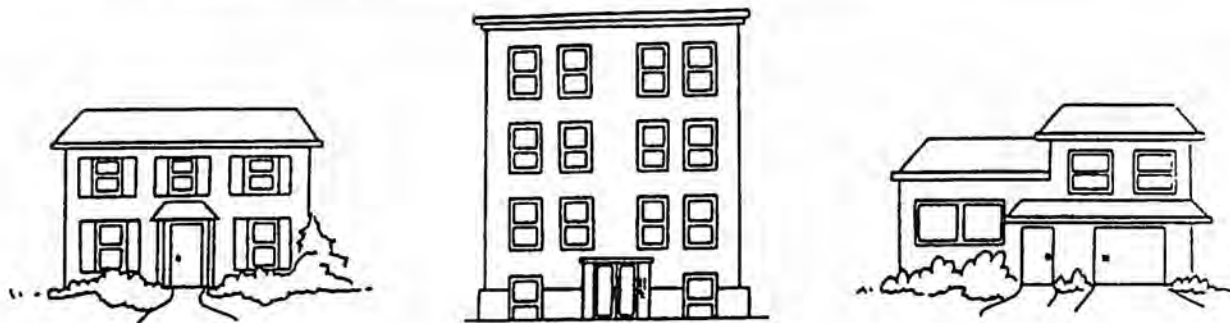
Buildings in My Community #3

Large and small buildings are seen in a community. Some of them are places where people live, work, play or shop.

What kinds of buildings does your community have?

List their names on a chart.

e.g.

Buildings in My Community	
Factories	
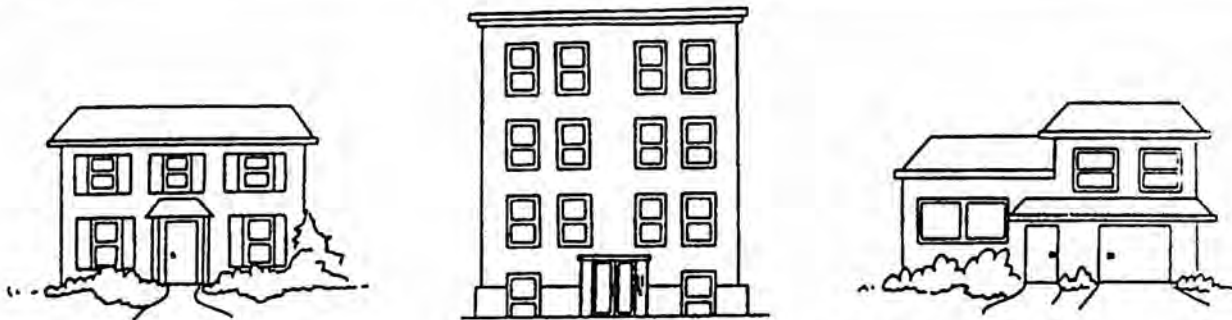
Buildings in My Community #4

It takes many different types of materials to build a building.

What kinds of materials would you need to build a new building in your community?

Make a list of the materials that you would have to buy.

Buildings in my community are made of:

__**wood**__		
__nails__		
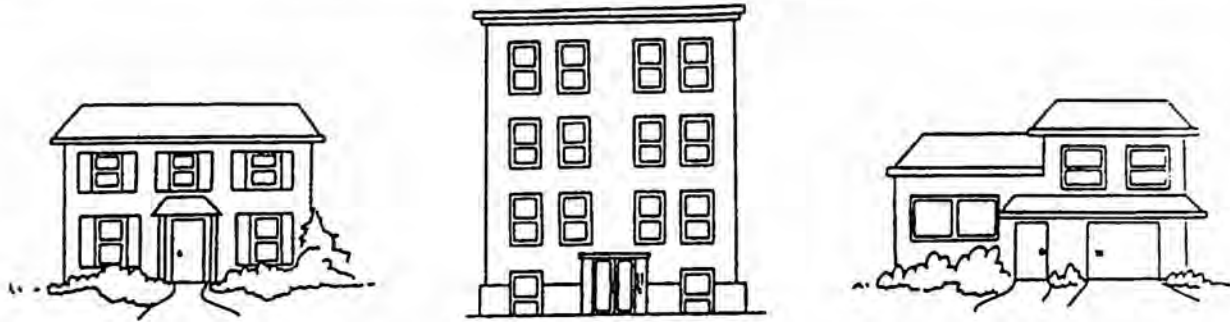
Buildings in My Community #5

It takes many different kinds of workers to build a building or home.

If you were going to build a new building in your community who would you hire?

List the names of the helpers and tell what their jobs would be on a chart.

e.g.

Helpers	Type of Job
Carpenter	builds the frame of the building

Buildings In My Community #6: Colour, cut out and mount the pictures and word cards on a sturdy backing and laminate. Store the cards in an envelope. The student will match the picture to the word.

HOCKEY TONIGHT!

MENU

Hotel
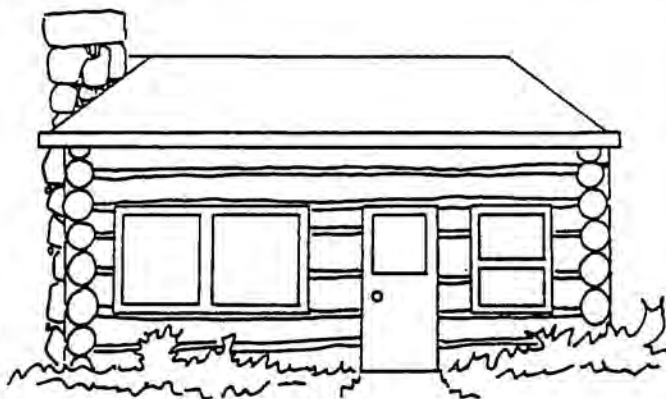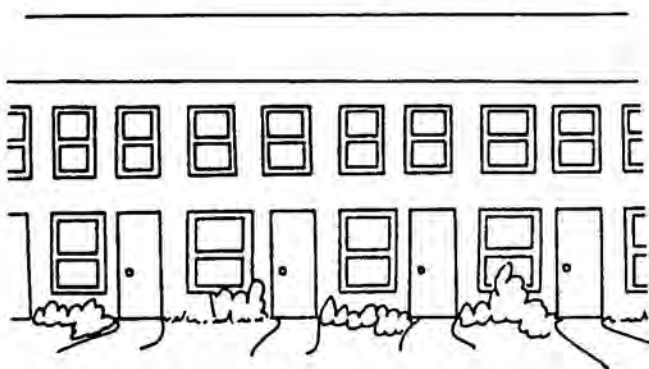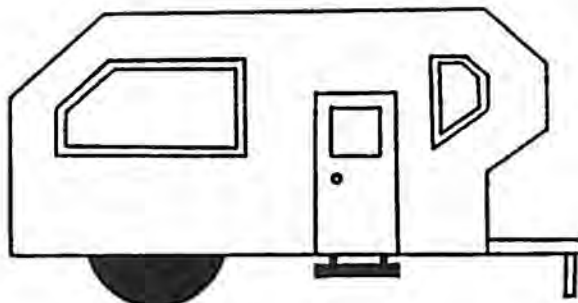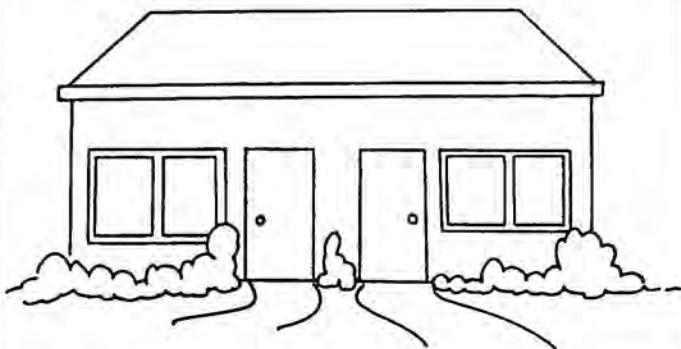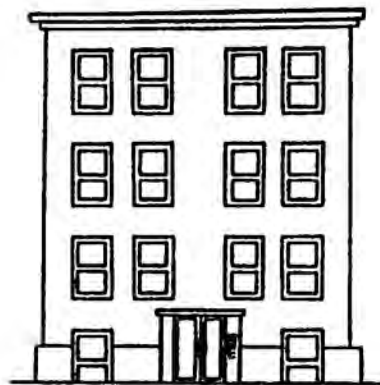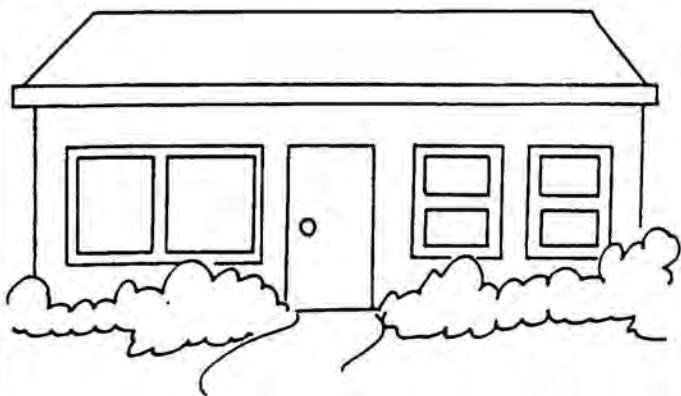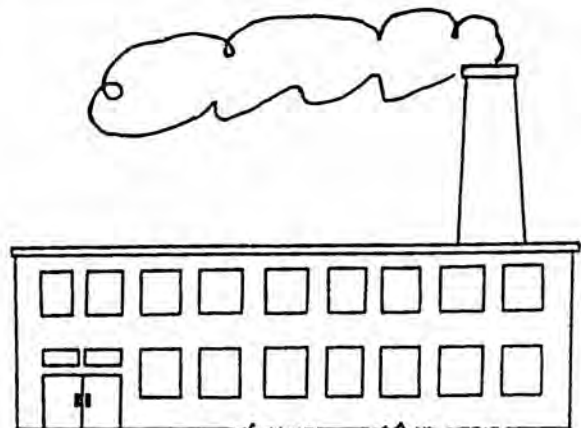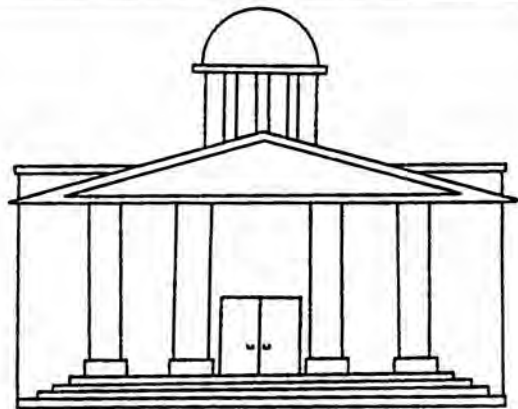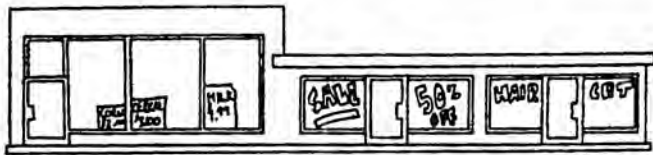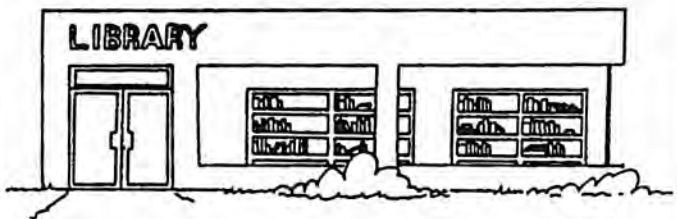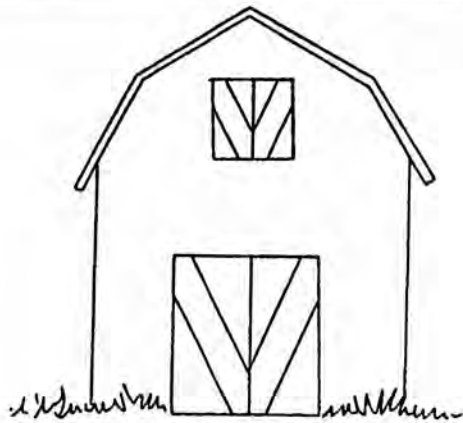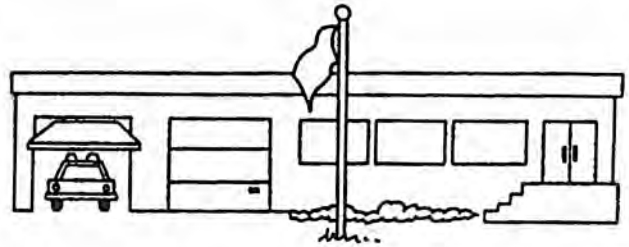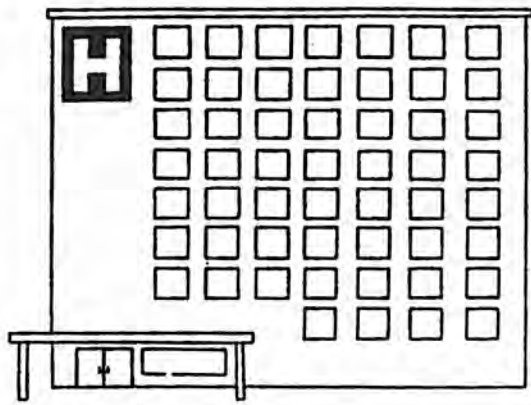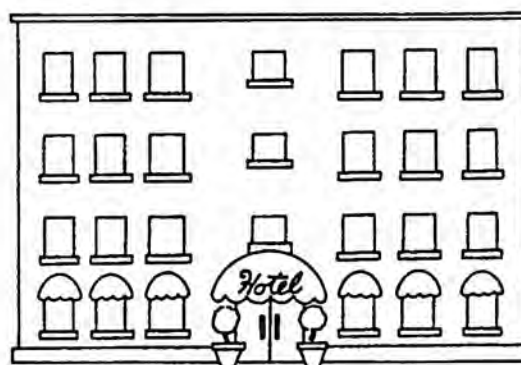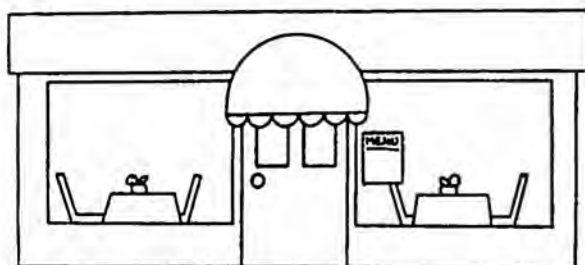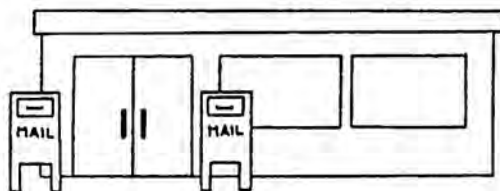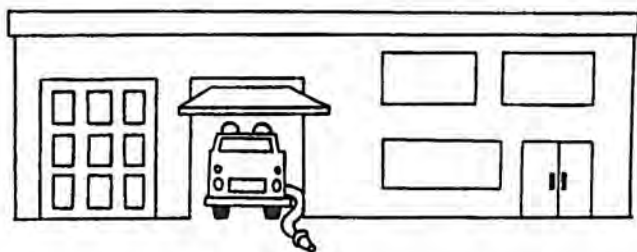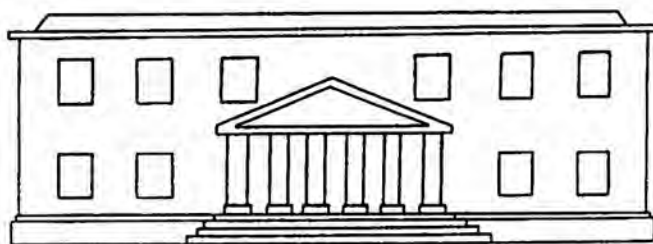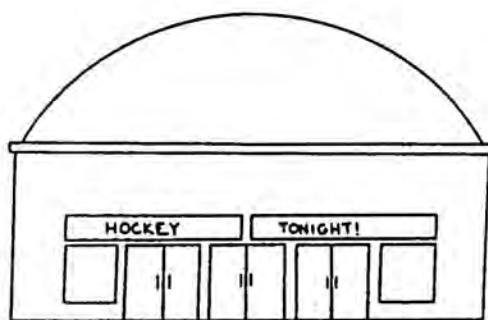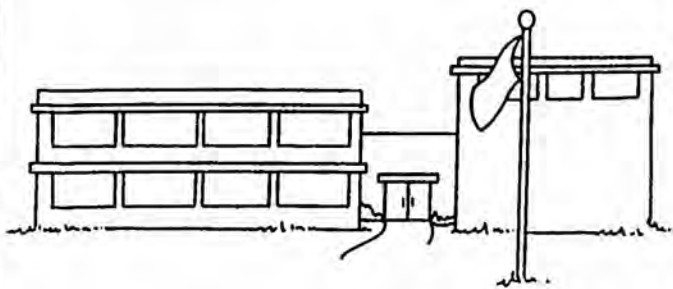
one storey house	two storey house	semi-detached house
townhouse	apartment house	split-level house
mobile home	cottage	hospital
shopping centre	police station	city hall
barn	gas station	library
factory	school	store
fire hall	restaurant	arena
museum	post office	hotel
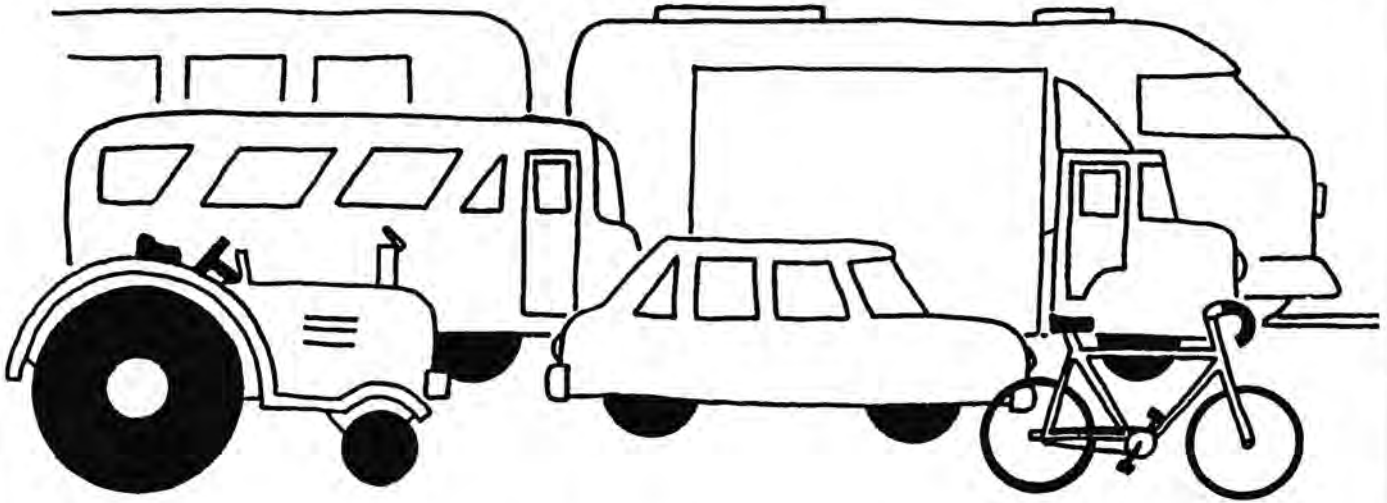
Travel in My Community #1

People in a community travel about in many different ways.

e.g. walk. ride bicycles

How do the people in your community travel?

Illustrate and label as many ways as you can on a chart.

e.g.

Ways We Travel

car
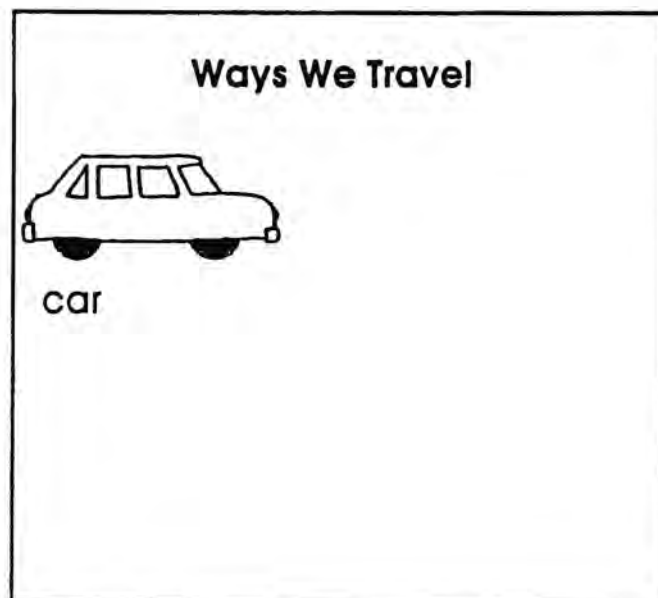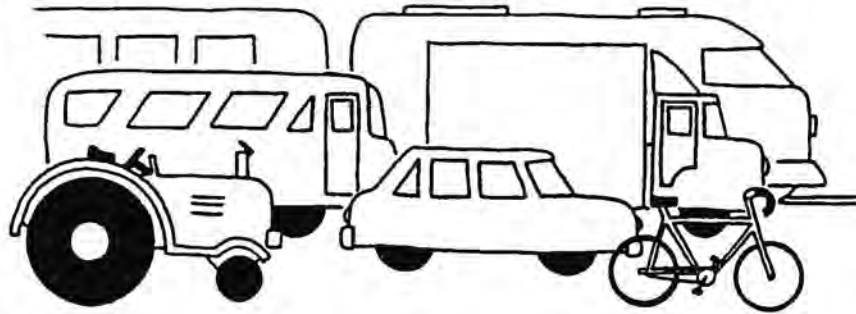
Travel in My Community #2

Everyday products are being brought into a community and also sent out to other communities.

How do products such as food, cars, oil and many others travel in and out of your community.

Make a list of all the possible ways that they are transported.
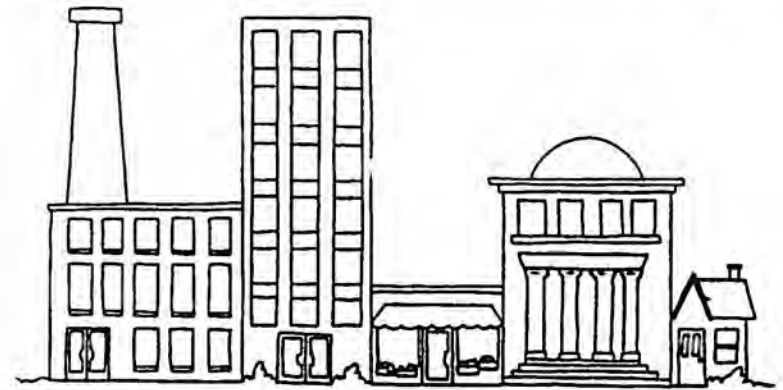
Working With Community Words #3

Match the words in the box to make community compound words.

town	air	ware
high	school	sub
play	air	country
house	port	way
house	yard	ground
plane	side	
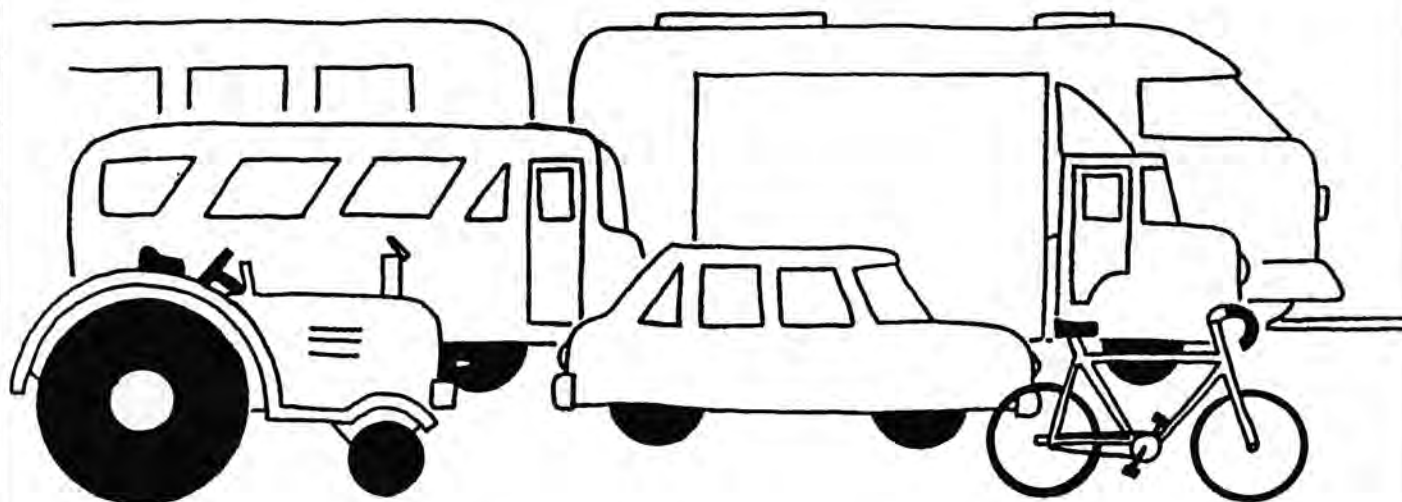
Travel in My Community #3

In a community we can travel on land, on water, underground and in the air.

Classify the following ways that we travel on a chart.

bus	automobile	tractor
truck	helicopter	motor boat
motorcycle	train	van
subway	taxi	balloon
jeep	bicycle	airplane
ferryboat	feet	horse
street car	skidoo	tricycle

e.g.

Land	Air
Underground	**Water**
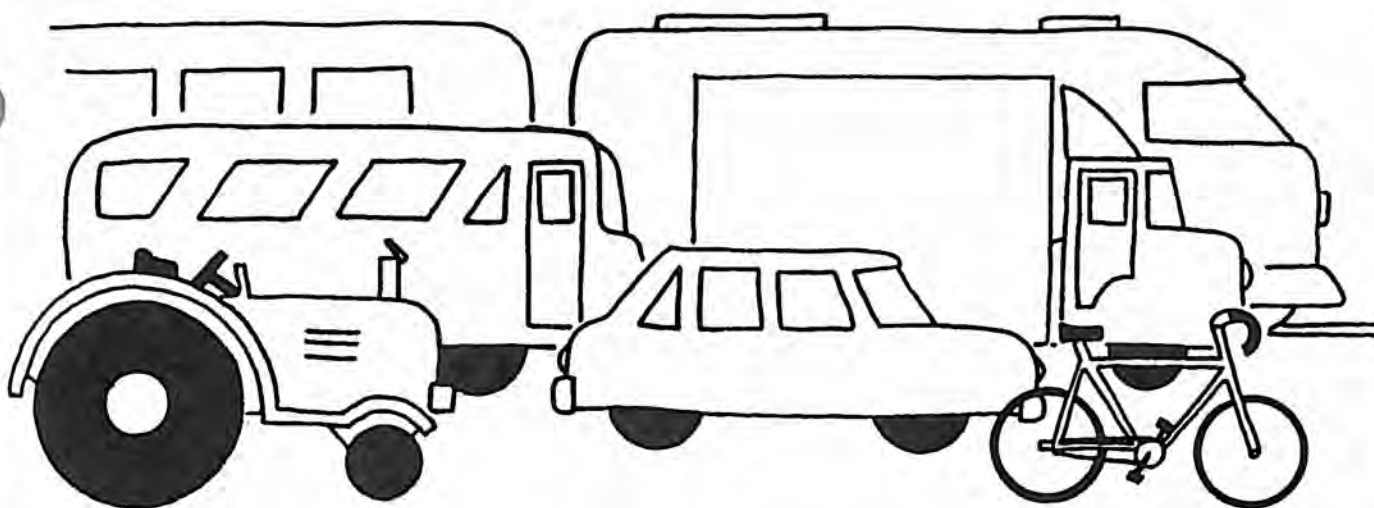
Travel in My Community #4

How do your classmates travel from place to place in your community?

Survey your classmates to find out the types of vehicles they have used.

Vehicle	Checks	Total
1. tractor		
2. automobile		
3. skidoo		
4. bus		
5. subway		
6. street car		
7. truck		
8. Other		

The vehicle used the most was _____ .

Make a bar graph to show your results.
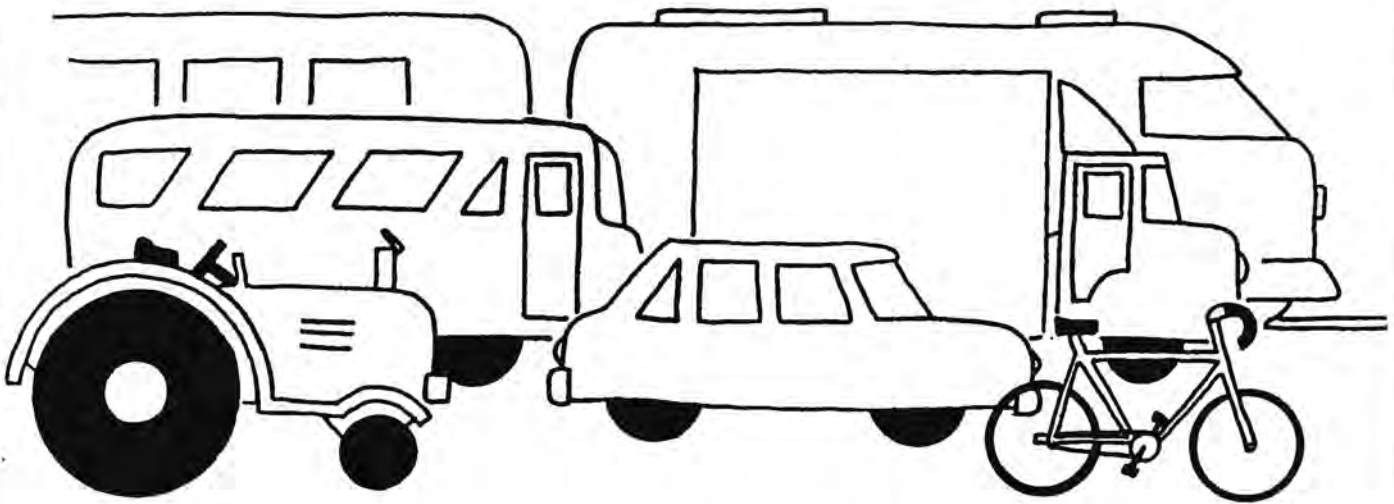
Travel in My Community #5

How do you think the people in your community will travel in the year 2 000?

Design four new ways that you may travel by:

Air	Land
Water	**Underground**
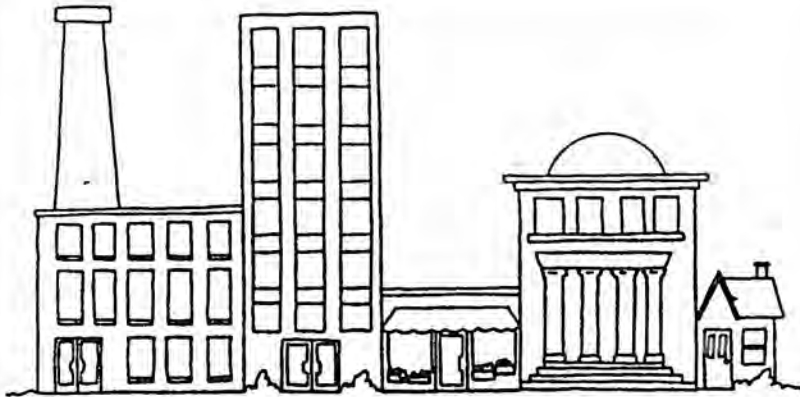
Working With Community Words #1

Copy each group of words below.

Underline the word in each group that doesn't belong.

1. city, town, ocean, village

2. apartment, hospital, house, trailer

3. library, hospital, hotel, bridge

4. car, van, airplane, taxi

5. dentist, doctor, plumber, nurse

6. shop, telephone, store, plaza
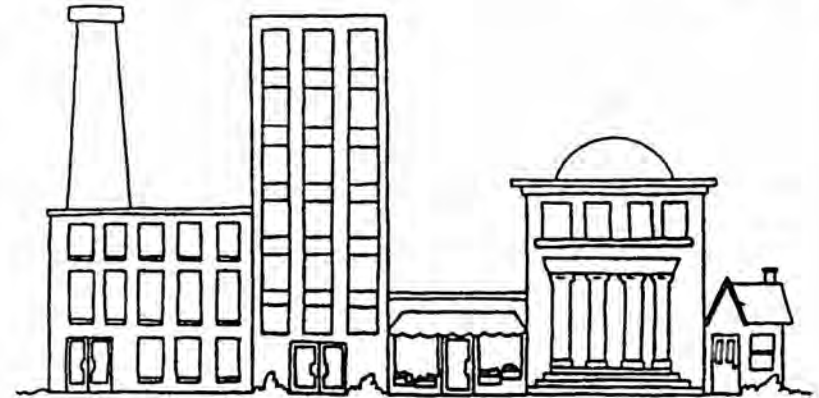
Working With Community Words #2

Large communities have **subways** running under the ground.

The word subways is a plural word.

Copy the words below. Beside each one print its plural.

1. factory
2. community
3. bus
4. church
5. library

6. country
7. taxi
8. city
9. village
10. town
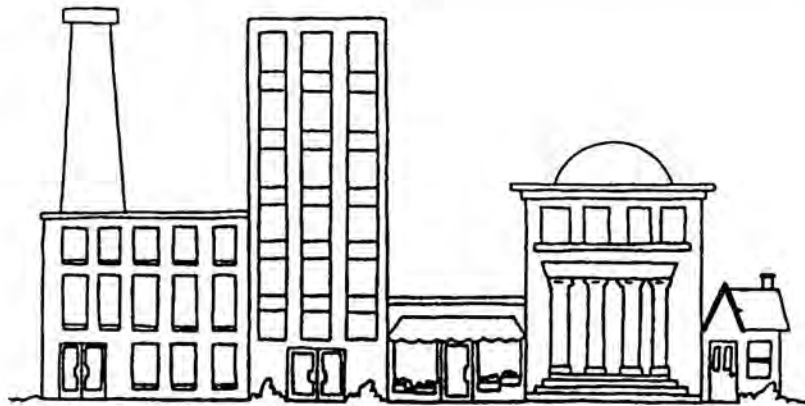
Working With Community Words #4

Community is a four syllable word.

Copy the words below. Beside each one print the number of syllables that you hear.

1. condominium

2. neighbourhood

3. highway

4. motorcycle

5 ferry

6. library

7. park

8. factories

9. streets

10. hotel
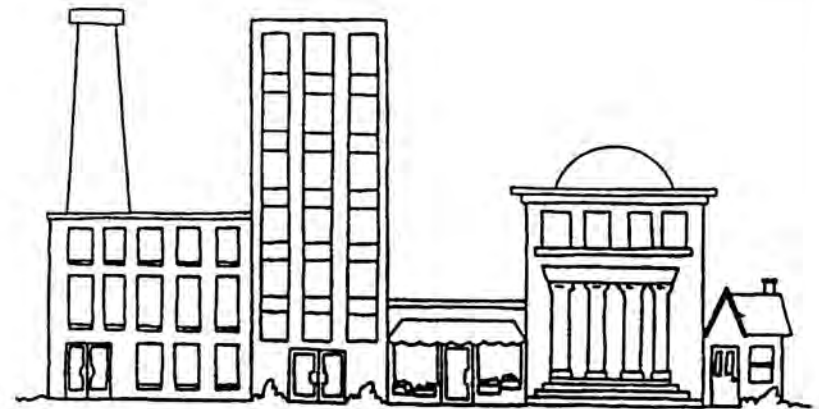
Working With Community Words #6

A sentence is a group of words that tells one idea.

Write three **good** sentences about your community.

Remember:

Begin each sentence with a capital letter and end it with a period.

Try to spell all the words correctly.
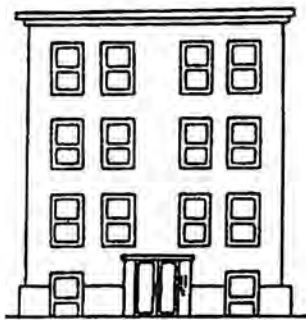
Working With Community Words #5

Classify the following words.

Print **B** for building
V for vehicle
H for helper

apartment _____

police officer _____

electrician _____

barn _____

factory _____

museum _____

van _____

plumber _____

bicycle _____

post office _____

truck _____

transport _____

library _____

city hall _____

automobile _____

fire fighter _____

carpenter _____

cottage _____

warehouse _____

mail carrier _____

store _____

bus _____
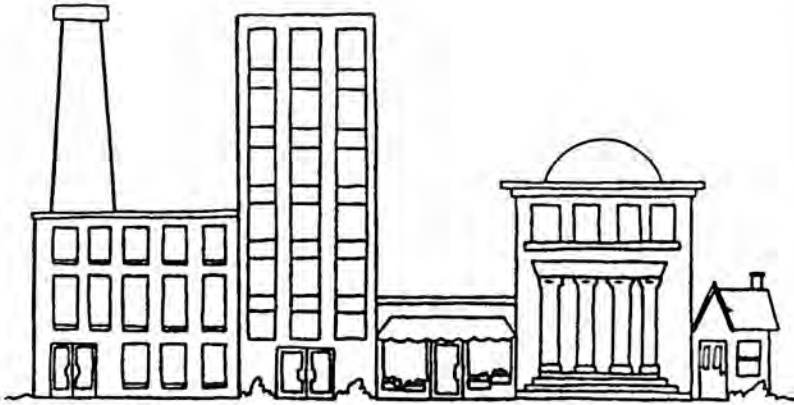
Working With Community Words #7

Pretend that you are going to interview the mayor of your community.

Think of three good questions that you would ask about his or her job.

Write your questions in good sentences.

Remember to put a capital letter at the beginning and a question mark at the end of each one.
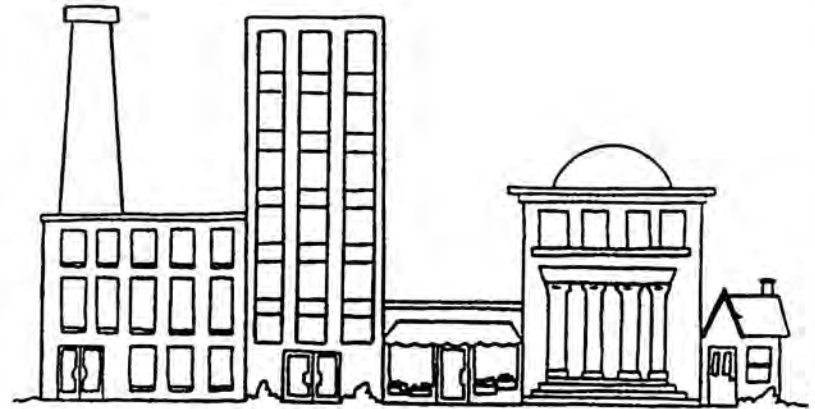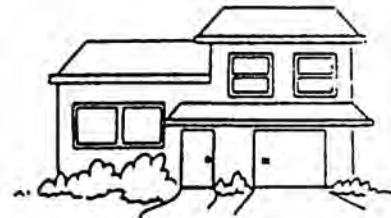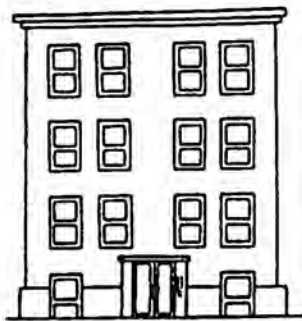
Working With Community Words #8

Some of the buildings in a community are **tall**.

Tall is a word that is called an **adjective**. It describes the buildings.

Think of words that you could use to describe the buildings, places and sights in your community.

Complete this list:

tall		
large		
busy		
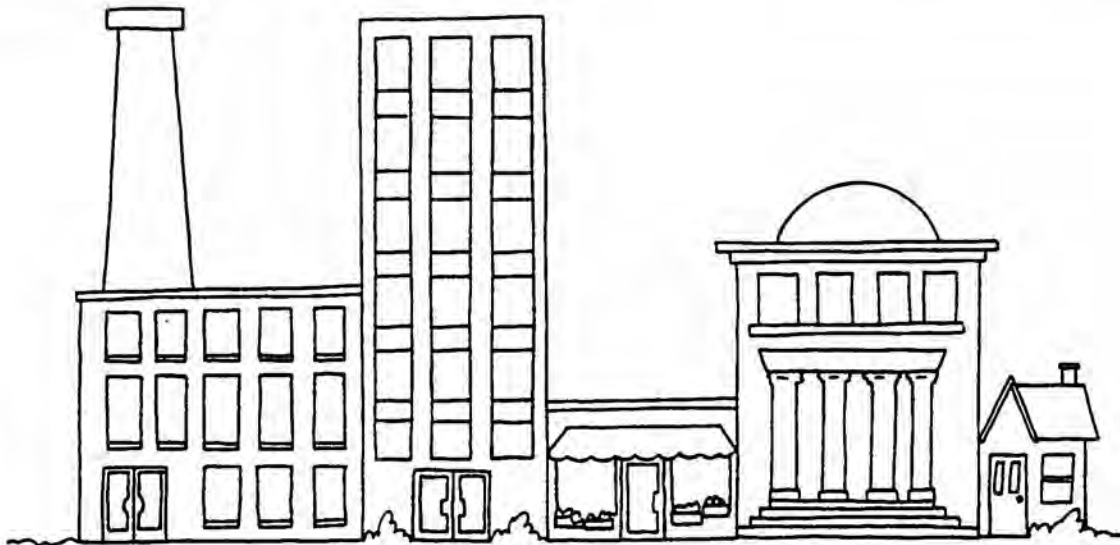
Working With Community Words #9

Some people in a community **ride** to work on a bus.

The word ride is called a verb. A verb is an action word.

Think of ways people and things move about in your community.

Complete this list:

walk	_____	_____
drive	_____	_____
run	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
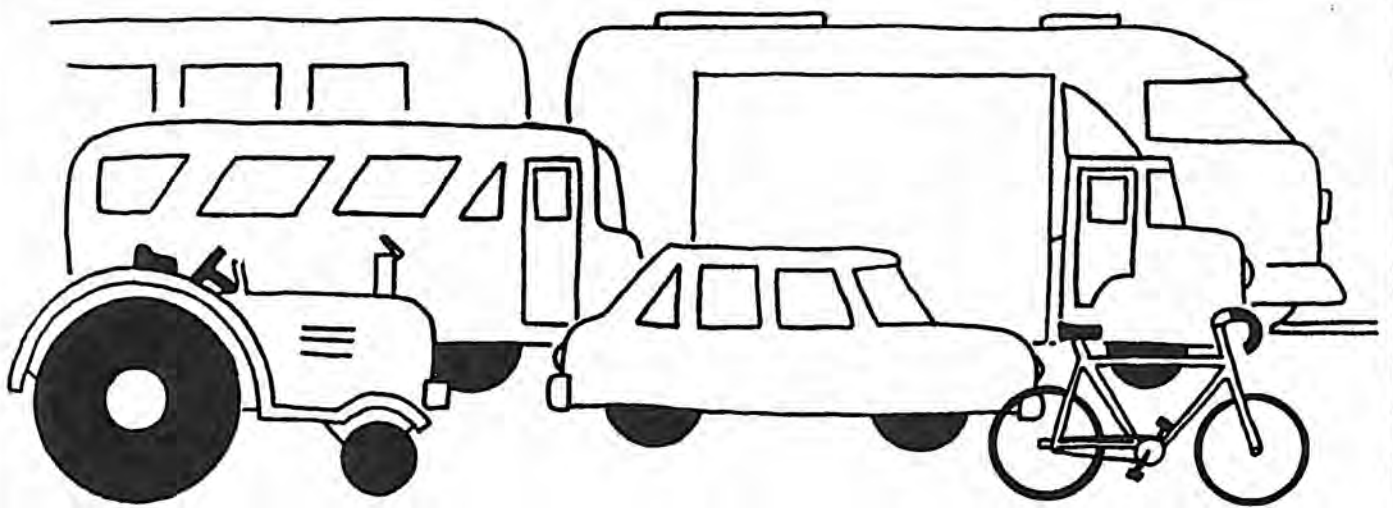
Working With Community Words #10

Trucks and **cars** travel on many community streets.

The words trucks and cars are nouns.

A noun is a word that is a person, place or thing.

In the box below circle all the nouns.

house	bang	river	arena
walk	police	hospital	pollute
ride	bus	honked	hilly
mayor	live	apartment	travel
factory	flat	lake	friendly
town	fly	people	shopping
library	river	crashes	
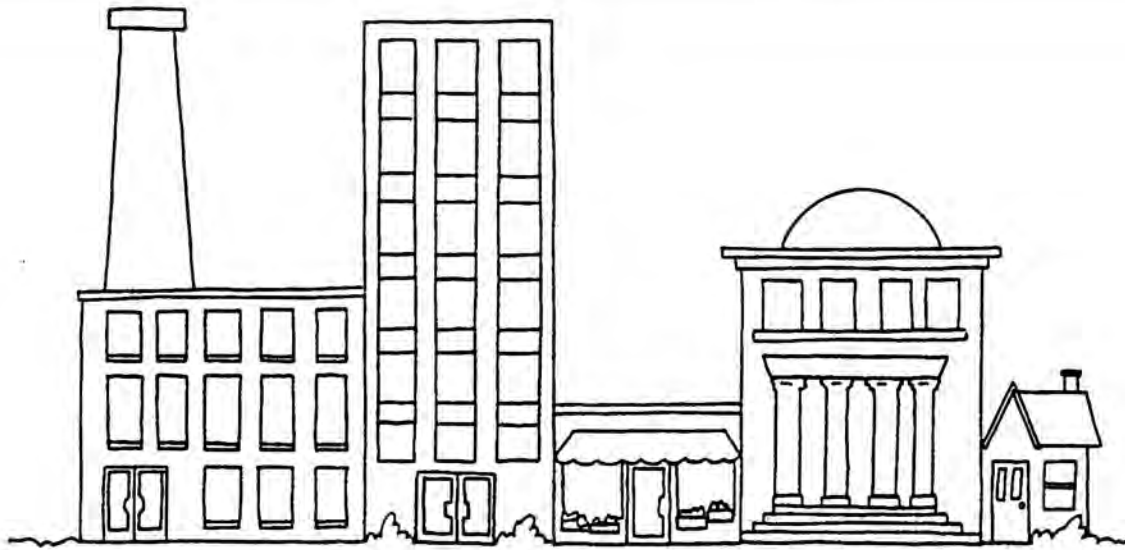
Working With Community Words #11

There are many things to see in your community.

Make your own "Community Alphabet Book".

Illustrate pictures of things that begin with each letter of the alphabet.

e.g.

My Community

A B C

Book

Aa

airport

Bb

buildings
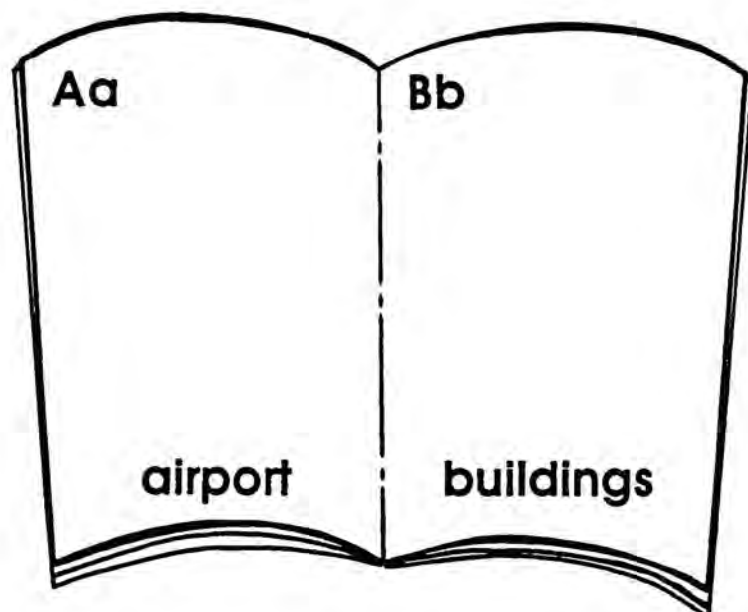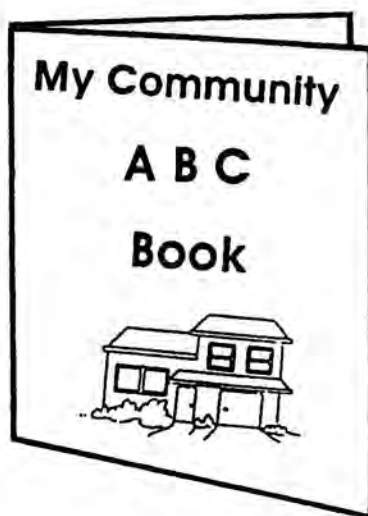
Working in My Community #1

People must go to work for many reasons.

Give some reasons why you think people work.

_____

_____

_____

_____

If people didn't go to work in your community what do you think it would be like? Describe it?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Working in My Community #2

Where do the parents of your classmates work?

Do they work inside or outside of your community?

Survey the class to find out:

Parents Who Work Inside the Community _____

Parents Who Work Outside the Community _____

List the different occupations of your classmates' parents.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Working in My Community #3

What do your parents do everyday at work?

Where do they work?

Do they like their jobs?

Interview your parents to find out more about their jobs or careers.

Would you like to do the same type of work? Explain your answer.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
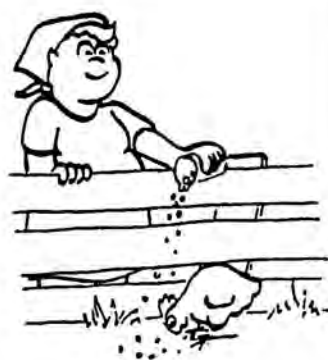
Working in My Community #4

In a community there are many places where people might work.

Look in the Yellow Pages of the telephone book and find out the names of five

Stores	Factories
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
Restaurants	**Other**
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Researching My Community #1

Visit the resource centre (library) and find a map of your community.

Look at the map carefully.

Find the names of ten different streets.

Print them neatly.

Have you ever been on any of them?

Star the ones on which you have travelled.
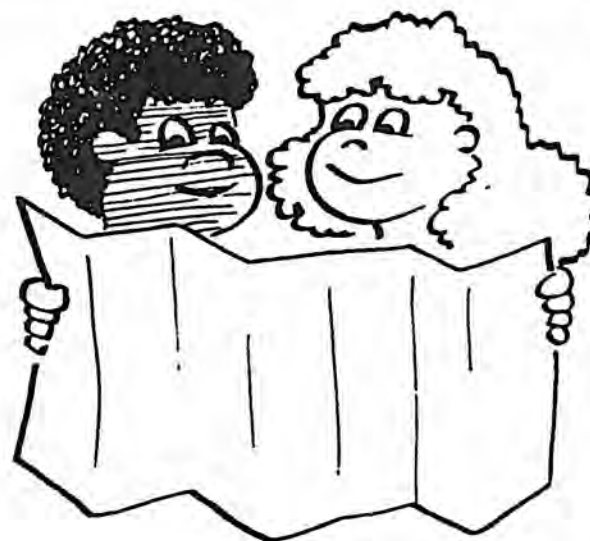
Researching My Community #2

Locate a map of your community in the resource centre (library).

Copy down the names of ten interesting streets.

Rewrite the list in alphabetical order.
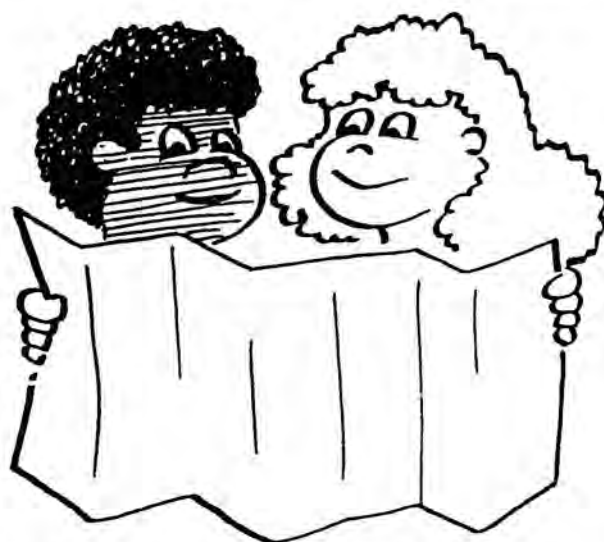
Researching My Community #3

Streets in a community may be named after famous people, animals, flowers, trees and even the weather.

Look at a map of your community.

Try to find a street that is:

1. a royal name _____

2. an Irish name _____

3. named after a saint _____

4. named after an animal _____

5. named after a bird _____

6. a tree's name _____

7. an Indian name _____

8. a girl's name _____

9. the name of a famous person _____

10. the name of a flower _____
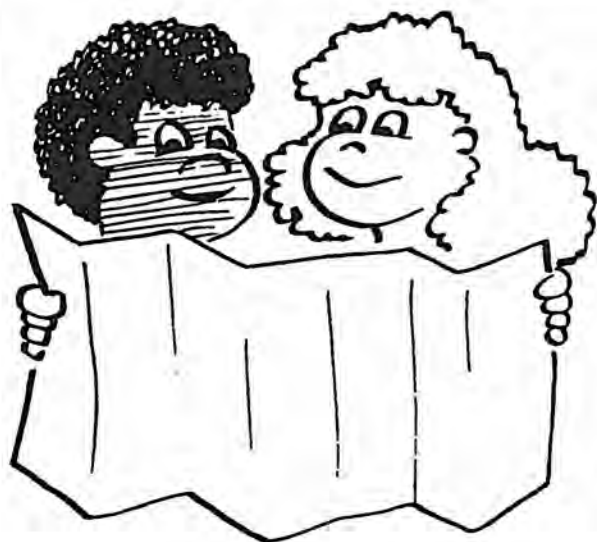
Researching My Community #4

If you wanted to find out about events that are happening In your community, how would you find out?

Research to find out the ways in which people communicate in your community.

List at least six possible ways.

Circle the one that you think is the best way.

Researching My Community #6

Does your community have a flag flying In front of your town or city hall?

If it has, find out what It looks like.

Illustrate your community's flag.

Researching Your Community #5

Find out where you would go in your community If you:

1. needed to buy food_____

2. wanted to eat out _____

3. needed medicine_____

4. broke a leg _____

5. felt sick _____

6. saw an accident_____

7. saw a burning house _____

8. found a stray dog_____

9. needed gas _____

10. wanted to see a movie _____

11. wanted to meet the mayor _____

12. wanted to borrow a book _____

13. wanted to look at old things _____

14. wanted to look at famous
    paintings _____

15. wanted to swim _____

16. wanted to learn to skate _____

17. mail a letter_____

18. had a toothache _____

19. wanted to stay overnight _____

20. had to fly to another
    community _____

Researching My Community #7

Some communities choose a flower for a symbol.

Does your community have a flower as a symbol?

Find out its name and what it looks like.

Illustrate your community's flower.

Researching My Community #8

The city of Oshawa has a motto written on Its city sign.

It says

OSHAWA

The City That

Moto-vates
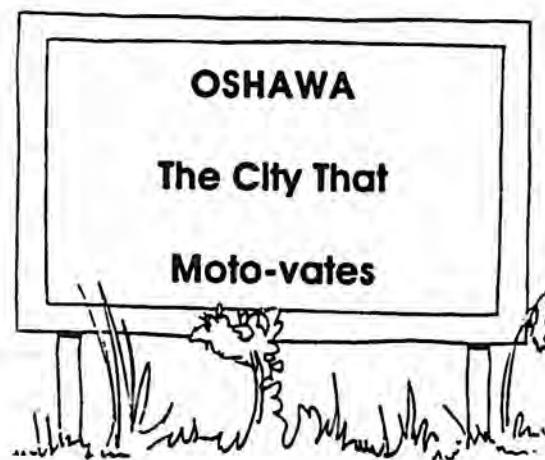
Design a sign for your community.

Make up a motto for it.

Researching My Community #9

Every community has a history.

Try to find out the following things about your community.

1. How old is your community?

2. How did it get its name?

3. Who named it?

4. How has it changed over the years?
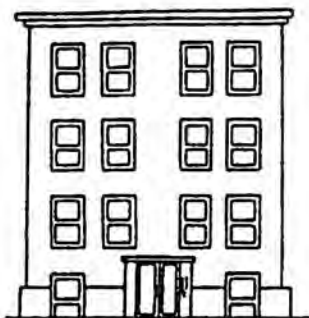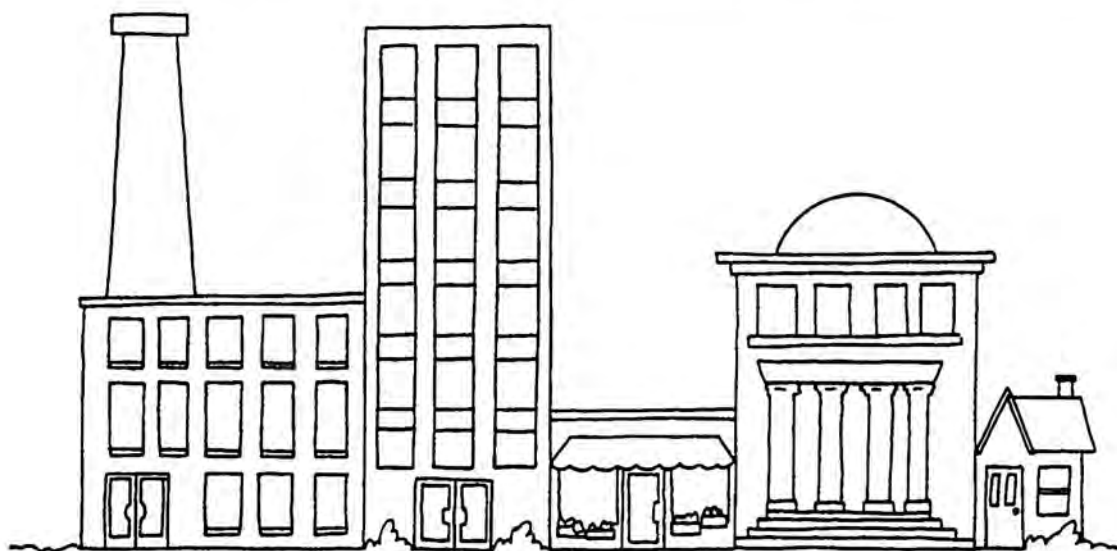
Palestine during 1919, within the extreme left Mifleget Po'alim Soẓialistim (M.P.S.), "Socialist Workers' Party," but it soon disintegrated. Under the British Mandate the Communist Party was outlawed. In 1921 the Palestine Communist Party was organized illegally, by a combination of extreme left splinter groups, and affiliated with the Comintern in 1924. Its entire history was a series of internal splits and secessions, as well as conflicts with Zionism and the British authorities. Its course was always clouded by alternating Jewish-Arab cooperation and friction within the Party.

From 1924 onward, on Comintern orders, efforts were made to "Arabize" the Party, the argument being that the country would always remain Arab, since Zionism was at best utopian, and at worst a servant to British imperialism. Jewish leaders were ousted, but attempts made to recruit Arabs proved largely unsuccessful; the richer Arabs were averse to Communism, while others, if at all politically minded, favored Arab nationalism. Although sympathy with the Russian October Revolution was widespread in the Palestine labor movement, during the 1920s only a splinter group of the *Gedud ha-Avodah broke with Zionism and eventually migrated to the Soviet Union. From 1936 to 1939 the Party openly supported the Arab revolt, including the anti-Jewish terrorism. Still, in 1939 the Party was quite isolated from the Arabs, while its support of the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement jolted the remaining Jewish members. From 1939 it operated in separate Jewish and Arab groups.

Further splits occurred over the Soviet Union's support of a Jewish state in 1948, when some of the Arab members of the party were against the Soviet Union's vote for partition. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the Party reunited under the name of "Maki" (Miflagah Komunistit Yisre'elit-"Israel Communist Party"). It operated legally, but, as an anti-Zionist party in a Zionist state, its influence was negligible. Its following among Jews rose in the 1950s, when mass immigration caused economic hardship and when a leftist splinter group of *Mapam, led by Moshe *Sneh, joined Maki; but it dwindled again with the prosperity of the 1960s. Although the Party always looked for support among Israel's Arabs, it intensified its appeals to the Arabs in this period. In each election to the Knesset, Maki received greater support, proportionally, from Arabs than from Jews, e.g., in 1961 about half of Maki's 42,111 votes came from Israel Arabs, who then constituted only a ninth of the population. Some of the Arabs voted Communist in response to Soviet support of Arab nationalism, while, for precisely the same reason, many Jews refrained from supporting the Party. Tensions on this point were the main cause of the rift in Maki, generally on Jewish-Arab lines, that occurred in the summer of 1965. The Arab-led faction formed the New Communist List (Reshimah Komunistit Ḥadashah, or Rakaḥ), with a more extreme anti-government attitude and complete obedience to Moscow.

At first the Soviet Union tended to endorse Maki and Rakaḥ, but after the 1967 Six-Day War it recognized Rakaḥ only. After the split Maki took a line increasingly independent of Moscow in all matters pertaining to Israel-Arab relations, reflecting the fundamental Jewish nationalism of its membership. This became more pronounced after the Six-Day War, when Maki openly criticized Moscow's anti-Israel attitude and largely endorsed Israel government acts and policy. At its conference in 1968 Maki adopted a program which included not only pro-Israel plans but also, for the first time, a recognition that every Jew, even in a Socialist country, should be

or migration to Israel. Some Communist parties abroad, mainly in the West, but also that of Rumania, continued to maintain "fraternal" relations with Maki, in spite of Moscow's denunciations of Maki's "chauvinism."

Although membership statistics were not publicized, the Party would appear to have had close to 5,000 members in the 1950s and about 3,000 in the early 1960s. In 1961, according to the report of Maki's congress, 74.3% were Jews and 25.7% Arabs; 83.8% had joined after 1948 and 27% after 1957, an indication of the rapid turnover among the rank and file. The leadership, which had changed often in pre-state days, remained fairly constant from 1948 until the 1965 rift. In the late 1960s the Jewish leaders of Maki were Shemuel *Mikunis and Moshe *Sneh, while Meir *Wilner and the Arabs Tawfiq Toubi and Emil Habibi headed Rakaḥ. All five were Knesset members at one time or another.

The Party always stressed continuous, often strident, propaganda. Many joined the V (Victory) League after June 1941, and later, the various friendship societies with the Soviet Union, several of which were front organizations. The Party's written propaganda increased before elections, and it maintained a continuous flow of newspapers and periodicals in Hebrew (*Kol ha-Am* ("Voice of the People")), Arabic, French, Polish, Rumanian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Yiddish. After the 1965 split, both Communist parties continued publishing in Hebrew and Arabic, with Maki publishing in other languages, to reach new Jewish immigrants. [J.M.L.]

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COMMUNITY, the designation of Jewish social units, used for the Hebrew terms *edah, kehillah,* and *kahal.* Ideally the community denoted the "Holy Community" *(Kehillah Kedoshah),* the nucleus of Jewish local cohesion and leadership in towns and smaller settlements. Particularly after the loss of independence, as the Jews became predominantly town dwellers, the community became

more developed and central to Jewish society and history. From the Middle Ages on the community was a "Jewish city," parallel to and within the Christian and Muslim ones.

This entry is arranged according to the following outline:

ANTIQUITY

While the central and centralistic institutions of *kingship, *patriarchs, *prophets, *Temple, *tribe, and academies predominated—each in its time and its own way—there is only occasional mention of local leadership among the Jews. However, in *Shechem it was apparently the *Ba'alei Shekhem* who ruled the town, determining its enemies and friends (Judg. 9, passim). King *Ahab had to turn to "the elders and nobles, which are of his town, who sit with Naboth" (I Kings 21:8) and they passed judgment on Naboth (*ibid.* 11–13). It would seem that this local leadership, which combined preeminence in the town with noble family descent, was a central element in the life of the exiles in *Babylon. For more on community structure in the Bible see *Congregation (Assembly). The Book of *Judith tells of local self-government in the town of Bethulia in the days of Persian influence. The town was led by three men (*ibid.* 26) who had judicial power and the right to lead the defense of the city.

Later, under the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule and influence, Hellenistic institutions began to shape local social life. In the Second Temple period the *Sanhedrin had the function of municipal council of the holy city, Jerusalem, as well as its more central functions in national life. From its foundation *Tiberias was a city with a decisive Jewish majority, structured and organized on the model of the Greek *polis*, with a city council and popular assemblies which sometimes met in the synagogue. At the head of the executive branch stood the archon and supervision of economic life was in the hands of the *agoranomos*. In the Hellenistic-Roman Diaspora the element of *autonomy granted by the non-Jewish sovereigns became a basic constitutive element in the life of the Jewish community,

remaining central to it throughout centuries of Jewish history. In *Alexandria, Egypt, there existed a large Jewish community, which did not however embrace all the Jews living within the city; the synagogue became a center of communal leadership and at the same time a focal point for the emergence of a separate synagogue-community, existing alongside similar synagogue-communities within the same city.

By Ptolemaic times the Jews in Alexandria were already organized as a *politeuma* (πολίτευμα), one of a number of such administrative (non-Jewish) units in the city. At the head of the Alexandria community at first were the elders. In the beginning of Roman rule, the leadership of the Alexandria community was in the hands of an ethnarch; later, in the days of Augustus, the main leadership passed to the council of elders (*gerousia*), which had scores of members. The Berenice (*Benghazi) community in Cyrenaica had nine archons at the head of its *politeuma*. The Rome community seems to have been divided up, and organized in and around the synagogues. In Rome, as in other communities of the empire, there were titles like *pater synagogae*, *archisynagogus*, even *mater* or *pateressa synagogae*, and to a great degree such titles had become formal, hereditary, and empty. An imperial order to the *Cologne community of 321 is addressed "to the priests [*hierei*], to the heads of the synagogues [*archisynagogi*], to the fathers of synagogues [*patres synagogarum*]," thus showing that even in a distant community a wide variety of titles, some of a priestly nature, existed side by side.

Synagogue inscriptions and tombstones attest the importance attached to synagogue-community leadership. Up to the fifth century the patriarchs supervised and instructed this network of communities in the Roman Empire through sages (*apostoloi*). The epistles of *Paul are in a sense evidence of the strength and cohesion of synagogue-community life and discipline. The nascent organization of the underground Christian Church was modeled to a considerable degree on this Jewish community life and organization. Fast-day ceremonies show clear signs of local organization and sense of identity. Sectarian organizational life, like that of the *Essenes or the *Qumran group, reveals the tendency to create a closed community structure and life on principles very similar to those of the holy synagogue-community.

Some methods of communal organization—based on autonomy, the synagogue as the local center, and the synagogue as a separate communal unit within the locality—and some of the titles (in particular the Hebrew ones like *Tuvei ha-Ir*) were carried over into medieval and modern times.   [H.H.B-S.]

MIDDLE AGES

Organized local communities functioning in Babylonia were highly centralized under the control of the *geonim* and exilarchs from approximately the eighth to the eleventh centuries. However, there are many indications that local autonomy was stronger and more active than these centralist institutions. The breakup in centralized authority and the growth of new patterns formed under conditions created by the emerging cities and states, in Christian Europe in particular, brought the local community more and more into the foreground. External and internal factors provided the dynamic force leading to self-perpetuation; among the former were collective responsibility for taxes (royal or seignorial) and ecclesiastical privileges, and the corporate organization of society in general. The inner cohesive forces were equally potent, if not more so. First there were the ancient traditions of Jewish group life as expressed in a variety

of institutions; most powerful of these was the *hala-khah*, the firm rule of religious law. Of paramount importance was the sovereign right of each *kehillah* to adopt its own fundamental communal law as formulated in *takkanot*. The *kehillah* retained its links with the Jews in the Diaspora as a whole through its adherence to tradition and law and shared messianic hope. Probably economic concerns of Jewish artisans and merchants constituted powerful common interests, yet the predominant binding forces were religious and cultural.

Character and Structures. Up to the expulsion from Spain (1492) the pattern of only one community board, or *kahal*, prevailed. It was only in the period of resettlement after the expulsion from Spain and in the modern period that the pattern of a community centered around its own particular synagogue reemerged strongly in many areas and splintered the original community. From the beginning of the 12th century, Western European civic tendencies began to penetrate the life and thought of the adjacent Jewish communities, which attempted to close their doors to newcomers (see *herem ha-yishuv*). Membership in a community was acquired by birth or granted by formal admission. In extreme cases failure to submit to communal discipline could lead to expulsion. These tendencies clashed with the feeling of Jewish solidarity and belief that charity should extend beyond the city walls. As in the gentile city; in the Jewish community too there was a patrician tendency to limit election rights and—through various election clauses—to make the ruling circle a closed and self-perpetuating one. ·Membership of this ruling class depended on riches, learning, and patrician descent, in most cases a combination of all three. This oligarchic system was much more pronounced in the communities of Christian Spain until the expulsion, than in those of northern France or Germany. From time to time pronounced popular dissatisfaction led to reforms in election and tax-assessment methods and community institutions and structures. Different types of voting procedure were employed at meetings and there were rarely secret and fair elections. Some officers, such as judges and charity wardens, were chosen by direct ballot, but the indirect ballot, whereby some half dozen unrelated electors (*borerim*) were drawn by lot, was most popular. They constituted the electoral college which proceeded to select the major officers.

In a very small community a single officer managed affairs. The larger communities had many more elders, who went by a large variety of titles in the vernacular or in Hebrew, such as chiefs (*rashim*), aldermen (*parnasim*), best men (*tovim*), trustees (*ne'emanim*), supervisors (*gabba'im*), and many others. Special officers acted as tax assessors (*shamma'im*), tax collectors (*gabba'ei ha-mas*), morality boards (*berurei averah*), diplomatic spokesmen (*shtadla-nim*), supervisors of the synagogue, of communal schools, charities, weights and measures, and a host of others. The chief officers were sometimes "elder of the month" in rotation. In Germany, Moravia, and western Hungary this *parnas ha-hodesh* was subject to the control of an executive committee; in Poland and Lithuania he later had full authority to act on his own. The community board was called *kahal*. The *shtadlan*, who represented an individual community, a region, or an entire country, was found in the larger cities. He was responsible for interceding with the authorities in defense of Jewish rights and in the alleviation of abuses. He had to know the language of the country and feel at ease with king, bishop, and courtier. As the representative of a subject people in an age when ideas of freedom and equality were hardly understood, he did not fight for Jewish rights; he pleaded for them, or gained his point through bribery. He was either a wealthy Jew who acted for his people out of a sense of civic duty, or he was an official who was paid handsomely for his exacting labors.

The designation of *rabbi (rav)* of the community appears fairly early in Western Europe. By the 12th century it was frequently used, although not then very clearly defined. Many rabbis subsisted on irregular incomes. For a long time learned laymen administered justice in some countries; judges had to be elected. After a long period of uncertainty, the authority of the rabbi gradually became established. Large communities had rabbis who specialized as judges in civil (*dayyan*) or ritual (*moreh hora'ah*) matters, heads of academies, or preachers (*maggid*). Other paid communal officials were the cantor (*hazzan*), sexton (*shammash*), ritual slaughterer (*shohet*), *scribe (sofer)*, or recording secretary, who entered minutes in the *pinkas*. Some of these communal workers possessed executive authority alongside the elected elders. Thus a *shammash* might be empowered to take punitive action against a recalcitrant inhabitant without first consulting the elder of the month. In some communities he was even charged with watching for infractions of the ordinances.

Functions and Duties. The community offered religious, educational, judicial, financial, and social welfare services to its members. It thus made possible a self-determined life for segregated Jewry. The cemetery and the synagogue were the primary institutions in each community. A single dead Jew required hallowed ground and for that reason graveyards were often the first property to be acquired. Ten adult Jews could meet in any private dwelling for public worship, but they soon needed a permanent prayer house. No membership fees were paid; the synagogue largely depended on income from the sale of *mitzvot*, the main one being the honor of being called to the reading from the Torah. Every sizable community had several houses of prayer, whether communal, associational, or private, which served as pivots and centers of communal life (see *Synagogue* and cf. *Bitul ha-Tamid*): these maintained and supervised the abattoir for ritual slaughter, a ritual bath (*mikveh*), the supply of *kasher* foods, and the sale of citrons (*etrogim*).

Though teaching children and adult study were the responsibility of the individual Jew, supervision over schools and the provision of education for the poor were assumed by the community or an association. Special imposts were levied for educational purposes. The number of students per teacher, the quality of instruction, and competition among teachers were regulated. Schoolhouses were built, mainly for poor children and for higher learning. Synagogues and schools were supplied with libraries of sacred books. The adult study groups and the general pervasive character of educational endeavors maintained the Jews as the People of the Book.

Local communities were accorded extensive jurisdiction and discretion. The principle of *herem bet din*, the right of each community to final jurisdiction and its security against appeals to outside authorities, was established in northern France from the 12th century. However, appeals to outstanding rabbinic luminaries outside the community were not entirely ruled out. At first knowledgeable elders ruled in disputes; soon ritual, civil, and criminal law became the province of properly trained rabbinic judges, and court proceedings were speedy and efficient. Excommunication—religious, social, and economic ostracism—was widely applied. Capital punishment was inflicted on *informers in Spain and in Poland. In some countries execution was left to state authorities. Other penalties included expulsion, the pillory, flogging, imprisonment, and fines. The community was the fiscal agent of

the ruler and the bearer of collective responsibility for the collection of taxes from the Jews. It had to treat with the ruler on the type and amount of taxes, distribute the burden among its members according to its own principles, and to collect the sum. Thus it imposed direct and indirect taxes, import and export duties, tolls, and taxes in lieu of military service or forced labor. The prevailing method of tax collection was assessment by elected officials. Tax exemptions were sometimes granted by the state to influential individuals and some scholars and community officials also enjoyed tax immunity. The fiscal system worked tolerably well in the Middle Ages when communal controls were effective, but broke down with emancipation of the individual in the modern period.

The Jewish community regulated the socioeconomic life of its members. The principle of *hazakah had wide applications in such areas as rent control, the acquired right of an artisan or a merchant to retain his customer (*ma'arufiyya), or the right of settlement. Lavish dress and sumptuous festivities were strictly regulated, a rule more often observed only in the breach. Polygamy was combated by communal action until it was eradicated in Christian lands and sexual morality was stringently regulated: there were ordinances against mixed dancing, gambling, and improper family life. Communal and individual charity provided for the impecunious; food, money, clothing, and shelter were dispensed. Itinerant beggars were kept on the move from one community to another. The sick were comforted by visitation, care, and medicines. Some towns maintained a *hekdesh, a hospital for the ailing poor which only too often, as usual at the time, was insanitary. Orphans and widows were provided for. "Redemption of *captives," the ransoming of victims of imprisonment, captives of war or of pirates, was ranked first among charities. Special chests for relief in Erez Israel (*halukkah) were maintained.

[I.L.]

Individual Centers. THE MUSLIM CALIPHATE IN THE EAST. By unanimous Jewish testimony the first caliphs were sympathetic toward the representatives of the supreme institutions of the Babylonian Jewish community. Following the stabilization of Arab rule in the mid-eighth century, which did not interfere with the internal affairs of non-Muslims, a state of peaceful coexistence developed between the Muslim authorities and the leaders of the autonomous institutions of the non-Muslims, so that the Jews were able to reconstitute a system of self-government. The head of the "secular" autonomous administration was the *exilarch, an office originating in Parthian times and continuing under the Sassanids. The exilarch was of Davidic stock, and the office was hereditary. After a period of instability, *Bustanai b. Haninai was recognized as exilarch during the rule of Omar I (634–44) and transmitted the office to his sons. The hereditary and elected representatives of Babylonian Jewry were charged with the administration of all taxes levied on Jews, with the representation of Jewry before the Muslim rulers, with autonomous judicial functions, the enactment of communal regulations, and the supervision of the yeshivot, etc. The traveler *Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad in about 116?, gives an eyewitness account of the honor and splendor surrounding the exilarch Daniel b. Hisdai (1150–74) at the caliph's court. He was received in official audience by the caliph every Thursday, when all Muslims and Jews had to stand before him; he sat beside the caliph while all the Muslim dignitaries remained on their feet. Another Jewish traveler, *Pethahiah of Regensburg, reports that the heads of the Jewish community in Mosul punished offenders even if the other party to the case was a Muslim

(there was a Jewish prison in the city). Pethahiah also notes that the Jews did not pay taxes directly to the caliph, but paid one gold dinar per annum to the exilarch. When the Mongol khan Hulagu conquered Baghdad (1258), he harmed neither the Jewish community nor the exilarch, Samuel b. David. Jewish leaders of the House of David continued to reside in Baghdad until the days of Tamerlane (1401). During the decline of the Abbasid caliphate, when control was passing to the Seljuks (c. 1030), minor governments sprang up in Mosul, Damascus, and Aleppo; settling in these cities, scions of the families of the Babylonian exilarch obtained important positions which were confirmed by the governments. So dear to the people was the memory of the Davidic kingdom that the descendants of David were received everywhere with great honor: they were given the title *nasi, and their dynastic origin placed them automatically at the head of the community as its recognized representatives. This fragmentation of the exilarchate into different territorial units began in the 11th century. The nesi'im collected tithes, poll tax, and other imposts, appointed communal officials and judges, and sat in judgment themselves. In contrast to their silence about other religious communities generally, and the Jews in particular, Arab sources frequently mention the exilarch. Alongside the "secular" autonomous administration was the "spiritual" administration, the *geonim, heads of the two famous academies of Sura and Pumbedita, who also were empowered to appoint dayyanim in their respective districts and to supervise the administration of justice. Each of the two Babylonian academies had a bet din gadol ("high court") attached to it, headed by a president (av) who acted as deputy to the gaon and sometimes succeeded him after his death. Litigants from other countries could, by mutual consent, bring their cases before the geonim for an opinion. Moreover, by means of the responsa, the geonim exerted great influence over the organization, procedure, and uniformity of jurisdiction of the law courts. Characteristic of the management of the Jewish community in the medieval Muslim East (Babylon and its dependencies) was the bipolarity in the division of functions and powers between essentially central secular and essentially central religious and academic authorities; this generally persisted until the beginning of the 11th century. Afterward it was not an infrequent occurrence that the secular head (exilarch) was called upon to lead the academy and the great bet din attached to it as well; but on occasion the gaon also assumed the functions of the exilarch.

THE MUSLIM COUNTRIES IN THE WEST (EGYPT AND THE MAGHREB). More is known about the forms of organization of Egyptian and North African communities, which were different from those in the East. For political reasons the Fatimid caliphs in Egypt did not want the Jewish communities in their domains, which extended as far as present-day Morocco, to be subject to Jewish authorities outside their realm. Like the Umayyad rulers of Spain and part of Morocco, they therefore encouraged the severance of local Jewry from dependence on the Babylonian center. The several extant versions of letters of appointment of negidim in Egypt show that the *nagid's functions were partly similar to those of the exilarch in Babylonia in later times: he represented all the Jews and was their religious guide and judge; he drew up deeds of marriage and divorce and saw to it that prayers were said while facing Jerusalem, in contrast to Samaritan custom; and he was responsible for the implementation of the special measures applying to the *dhimmis (non-Muslims given protected status). Among the best-known negidim were the descendants of Maimonides—five generations in all—who were the government-

appointed secular leaders of Jewry in Egypt and its dependencies, and, at the same time, spiritual leaders consulted on all matters of religion and law. The Egyptian *negidim* were also in charge of the fairly large Karaite and Samaritan communities. Palestinian and Syrian Jewry was headed by a local *nagid*, subordinate to the *nagid* in Cairo, whose deputy he was and without whose permission he could not be appointed. Apart from the *nagid*, two other functionaries represented the community: the minister *(hazzan)* and the prayer leader *(sheli'ah zibbur)*. The office of *nagid* existed in Egypt until the Turkish conquest in 1517. A special situation prevailed in Egypt under Ottoman rule, when the *nagid* was appointed and sent to Cairo by the government authorities in Constantinople. In the middle of the 16th century, after 30 years of Ottoman rule, the rabbi of the Egyptian community excommunicated the *nagid* for having slighted him; the *nagid* complained to the Muslim governor, which shows that he was not empowered to anathematize him, but the dispute ended with the expulsion of the *nagid* from Egypt. Sambari, the 17th-century Egyptian chronicler, concludes: "From that day onward, he [the Muslim ruler] made it a law in Israel that no Jew who came from Konstantina [Constantinople] should be called *nagid*, but that he should be called *chelebi*; and this has been the law for Israel to this day" (Sambari, in Neubauer, Chronicles, vol. I, pp. 116–7). Later sources indicate that the titles *chelebi*, *bazirgyan*, and *mu'allim*, still in use in early 19th-century Constantinople, were given to a prominent Jew who performed the function of official intercessor by virtue of his position in the financial and economic administration of the Egyptian rulers. Jewish dragomans in seaport towns similarly had influence with the authorities and used it for the benefit of their coreligionists.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTH AFRICA. From the 16th century onward regulations, chronicles of Fez and responsa written by the rabbinical authorities of Morocco mention the *nagid*, Jewry's official representative and spokesman at the court of the ruler. The *nagid* was probably chosen by the ruler, by agreement with the Jews, from among the persons who had dealings with the court. The office was frequently hereditary. Beside the *nagid* in Fez (or sometimes in Marrakesh, the original capital of the Sa'di's), there was a *nagid* in Meknès during the reign of Maulay Ismā'īl, who rebuilt the city and made it his capital. Other *negidim* resided at Sefrou and Salè. Sefrou was chosen as the seat of the *nagid* because it was close to Fez, where activities were frequently suspended because of the many disturbances which occurred there. The *nagid* in Salè (Rabat) was probably Jewry's representative to the independent sheikhs and pirates in control there. Presumably there were *negidim* in other cities as well. In addition to the *nagid*, there were usually seven notables *(tuvei ha-ir)* concerned with the manifold needs of the community. Regulations required the consent of the rabbinical courts and the entire community. Although the influence of the refugees expelled from Spain is usually evident, there were certain changes resulting from political conditions and from the need to establish a system which was also acceptable to the veteran Jewish residents.

The autocratic status of the dey of Algeria affected the position of the *muqaddim*, the Jewish representative at his court. In Spain, before the expulsion, this title was borne by a member of the community's leadership, and it seems that in Algeria, too, there were at first several *muqaddimūn* who looked after the affairs of the community; they are mentioned in a *shar'ia* document of the early 18th century in connection with the purchase of land for a cemetery. In 1735 a change was introduced in the leadership of the community, and from then onward increasing reference is made to the *muqaddim* as the community's sole representative before the dey. Henceforth, the position became a monopoly of two or three families: *Bouchara, *Busnach and *Bacri (who were related), and the famous *Duran family. Their activities at the dey's court were internationally noted, especially from the early 19th century onward. After the conquest of Algeria by the French in 1830, one of the military administration's principal measures with respect to the Jews was the curtailment of the powers of their communal courts. This was done systematically by several decrees, issued between 1830 and 1842, which gradually restricted their jurisdiction in matrimonial matters to the holding of merely symbolic ceremonies and the offering of advice and written opinions; most matters were transferred to the jurisdiction of the French civil courts. The French policy makers were assisted in their efforts by the influence, encouragement, and cooperation of the leaders of Jewish religious institutions in France and French-Jewish citizens who settled in Algeria. Throughout the French era, until they regained full independence in 1962, Algerian Muslims jealously guarded their position as an autonomous community, not subject to French law in matters of personal status. The fate of the *muqaddim*, described by Christian writers as "king of the Jews," was similar to that of the rabbinical courts. On Nov. 16, 1830, Jacob Bacri was appointed *muqqadim* and empowered to supervise all Jews in town, execute judgments, and collect taxes. In the following year he was given three advisers, and after him Aaron Mu'atti was appointed head of the Jews. However, after five years the title of the *muqaddim* was changed to deputy mayor for Jewish affairs; he became a French official, drawing a salary from the government.

The head of Tunisian Jewry, known as the *qā'id*, was in a very strong position, since as tax collector and toll gatherer—and, in the capital Tunis, treasurer as well—he played an important part in the bey's administration. H. J. D. Azulai, in his *Ma'agal Tov* (1921–34), gives some idea of the wealth, prestige, and autocratic ways of the *qā'id* Joshua Tanūjī. Some of the other *qā'ids* he mentions belong to the class which ruled supreme in both religious and wordly affairs of the community. The dependence of the office of the *qā'id* on the bey sometimes resulted in its becoming hereditary. Mutually independent sources attest that the powers of the *qā'id* as head of the community were very broad and that all matters of religious leadership, in addition to the management of communal property, were decided by him. These powers were not appreciably curtailed until the second half of the 19th century. From personal observation D. Cazès (*Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de Tunisie*, 1888) states that the *qā'id* represented the government authorities vis-à-vis the Jews, and that he proposed to the authorities, or himself appointed, the *dayyanim*, the seven notables, the men in charge of certain departments, the notaries, and the scribes. His signature appears first on official documents, even before that of the chief rabbi. Nothing was done in the community without his consent because he had a veto on all decisions of the *dayyanim*, the seven notables, and the leaders of the community. Every document, whether public or private, had to bear his signature or the notification that it had been drawn up with consent. The *qā'id* was also in charge of the administration of justice among the Jews, on whom he might impose fines, whipping, and imprisonment. The city authorities were obliged to lend him their assistance, and the chief of police had to carry out his judgments. A decree of 1876 concerning the organization of the Tunis Relief and Charity Fund (the official designation of the body in Tunisia which carried out the

functions of the community in the spheres of religious services and social welfare) prescribed that it should be headed by the *qā'id* and that the chief rabbis should be subordinate to him. After long negotiations between subjects of the bey and persons under consular protection—on the distribution of the income of the abattoir among the needy—it was agreed that the committee dealing with the distribution should be headed by the *qā'id*. A decree of the bey confirmed the agreement, of which one copy was delivered to the *qā'id* and another to the French consul. Decrees issued by the bey up to 1898 concerning various communal matters still reflect the status and powers of the *qā'id* as they evolved during the course of many generations. Only after the death of R. Elie Borgel in 1898 did a fundamental change occur in the powers of the head of the community. A decree of 1899 concerning the organization of the Tunis Relief and Charity Fund mentions (in article 4) a president elected annually by the members of the board.

It may be assumed that, as in all the other eastern countries, the community of Tripoli (North Africa) was headed by a *sheikh* (an elder or chief), whose functions resembled those of the *qā'id* in Tunisia. Nevertheless, it is not known if the *sheikh* performed the same functions—financial agent and treasurer—at the court of the pasha in Tripoli as the *qā'id* in Tunisia or the *muqaddim* in Algeria. The only source of information is that supplied by a late chronicler on the basis of ancient material. According to him, the names of the leaders of the Jews, "both the new ones and the old ones," were not mentioned with the names of the *dayyanim* in the prayer for the dead on the eve of the Day of Atonement because they were not scholars. "Only a rich man, who was not a scholar, was elected to be the intermediary between the Jews and the government, and on his order the *bet din* would inflict the punishment of whipping on evildoers. He would, moreover, send to prison those who refused to accept his judgment or failed to pay their share of the poll tax." In another instance he notes: "The *sheikh* collects the money of the poll tax from the Jews for transmission to the government treasury. He receives no remuneration for this labor except that he is exempt from poll tax. Nevertheless, people go to enormous expense in order to obtain that office because they are ambitious, for the *sheikh* imposes and releases from imprisonment; he also has a fixed place among the governors in the council chamber where he is consulted like the other notables, and in most cases his advice is taken." The creation of the post of *hakham bashi* in the second half of the 19th century no doubt impaired the powers of the *sheikh* and lowered the latter's prestige with the authorities. From then onward the *hakham bashi* was recognized as the intermediary between local Jewry and the provincial governor and his assistants.

The duties of the recognized leaders of the community in the Maghreb, especially those of the *qā'id* and *muqaddim*, were not easy. There is reliable evidence that these leaders included men of high moral caliber, anxious to be of service to their brethren. As regards those accused of abusing their position, it should be remembered that all communal leaders in these countries—especially in Algeria—were agents of the local rulers, in whose name and for whose benefit they engaged in a variety of dealings, sometimes dubious. All were the first target of the anger of the ruler or of incited mobs who held them responsible for every injustice in connection with taxes and toll duties, farming of government monopolies *(iltizam)*, and various transactions with foreign states at the expense of the populations; particularly shocking was the fate of the *muqaddimūn* of the Busnach-Bacri family in the early 19th

century (see **Bacri**, **Busnach**). Moreover, their position in relation to their coreligionists was not an easy one. They were responsible for the collection of the poll tax, whether it was imposed on each individual separately or whether an aggregate amount was fixed for the community, leaving it to the latter's representatives to apportion it among its members. They also had to ensure the payment of every fine or special charge the ruler saw fit to collect from the Jews. To protect themselves against serious personal loss, they made the community promise in writing to bear those disbursements. It was, of course, an unpleasant duty to have to impose internal taxes to finance the requirements of the community, although the necessary means of enforcement were available. The commonest tax of this kind was the *gabella*, an excise duty on meat, wine, etc. In Tripolitania this name was given to an internal tax (at the rate of 2–3 per mil) on imported goods. This latter impost, known also as *khāba*, served to maintain children of destitute parents at religious schools.

The wide jurisdiction of the secular authority was an outstanding feature of the Maghreb. The secular functionary appointed the *dayyanim*, or if they were elected by the people confirmed their election (incidentally, the people's right to elect *dayyanim* was limited, since according to hallowed tradition religious offices were hereditary and were limited to a few families). The *nagid* in Morocco and the holders of similar positions in the other Maghreb countries were responsible for conducting the community's relationships with the outside world.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. Very little is known about the religious and secular administration of the *Musta'rab Jewish population in the East. Ottoman rule was extended over the Near East and Europe in the 15th and the 16th centuries. According to Sambari, Sultan Muhammad the Conqueror (1451–81) assigned three seats on his imperial divan (council) to official religious functionaries: the mufti, the patriarch, and the rabbi. The aged rabbi Moses *Capsali was appointed head of the Jews for certain purposes. Sambari continues: "And Sultan Muhammad imposed taxes on the whole country in the manner of kings: *kharāj*, *'awarīd*, and *rab aqchesi*. And all the Jewish communities were assessed for tax by the said rabbi, and it was collected by him and delivered to the treasury. And the sultan loved all the Jews" (Neubauer, Chronicles, vol. 1, 138). The *rab aqchesi* tax ("the rabbi's asper"), i.e., the tax of one "white" (*lavan*, silver coin) for the right to have a rabbi, contains an indirect recognition of the autonomous nature of Jewish organization. Its imposition is confirmed by Turkish archival sources.

Conforte, a contemporary of Sambari, also states that Moses Capsali was appointed rabbi and chief of the *dayyanim* of Constantinople: "He was rabbi of the *Romaniots, who were resident in the city in the time of the Greeks, and exercised jurisdiction over all Jews of the city by the sultan's command. And the *hakhamim* of the city in his generation were all submissive to him because of fear of the authorities and they had no power to speak to him about any matter or any decision he gave that did not commend itself to them" (*Kore ha-Dorot*, ed. Cassel, 28b). The common assertion in historical works and encyclopedias, that Capsali was appointed *hakham bashi*, resulted from a combination of these two reports. The title *hakham bashi* is not mentioned in any form in the Hebrew or Turkish sources of that period and it is nowhere stated that Capsali was given jurisdiction over all Jews in the Ottoman Empire and appointed chief of all *dayyanim* and *hakhamim*. Thus, Sambari and Conforte cannot be quoted as evidence for the early establishment of the office of a *hakham bashi* for the whole empire. The silence cannot be accidental, for the

same situation is reflected in the sources dealing with Elijah *Mizraḥi, who succeeded Moses Capsali after his death. Sambari exaggerates when he speaks of the three seats reserved on the imperial divan for the representatives of the three religions. In point of fact, even the *shaikh al-Islam* ("grand mufti of the empire"), who was equal in rank to the grand vizier, was not a member of the divan. Nevertheless, it seems that the Orthodox patriarch was given the honorary rank of "pasha with the rank of vizier" and it may be assumed that Capsali was granted similar status; at any rate, Sambari, drawing on the analogy of the Christian representative, believed this. Sambari's statement that Capsali was the recognized head of the then small Jewish community and was responsible to the authorities for its affairs and especially for the payment of taxes appears to be a true reflection of events.

After the capture of Constantinople (1453), Muhammad the Conqueror granted recognition to the *millet* (the religious communal organizations of non-Muslims in his state) and conferred broad powers on its religious leaders. This does not contradict the assumption that a Jewish communal organization was already in existence for some time in the areas occupied by the Turks in the 14th and early 15th century. Capsali's wide and exclusive powers as chief of the *dayyanim* met with opposition from the Ashkenazi and Italian rabbis in Constaninople, who requested the intervention of a noted rabbi in Italy in the matter of a judgment which they believed erroneous. (This took place considerably earlier than the expulsion from Spain.) According to the sources and his own testimony, Capsali's successor, Elijah Mizraḥi (d. 1526), had jurisdiction "over the whole city of Kostantina" for more than 40 years.

The settlement in Greater Constantinople of *ḥakhamim* expelled from Spain—who were unwilling to accept Mizraḥi's authority—led to tension between Romaniots and Sephardim, who also did not recognize the manner of authorizing rabbis which was practiced in Constantinople. Since the Spanish *ḥakhamim* refused to recognize the leading Romaniot rabbi's claim to be the chief *dayyan* of Constantinople, the position lapsed after Mizraḥi's death.

The Jewish settlements in the cities and towns of the Muslim Middle East were far from being united communities. In accordance with old traditions, every new wave of settlers continued its separate life in its own *kahal*. In North Africa the newcomers from Majorca and Catalonia (1391), Spain and Portugal (1492–97), and Leghorn (17th–18th centuries) had their own synagogues and charitable institutions (see *Gorni, *Tuansa, *Maghrebi). In the East the situation was even more complicated. Besides the Mustaʿrabs, Maghrebis, Romaniots, Italians, and Ashkenazim, there were numerous separate congregations in the large cities of the Ottoman Empire, e.g., in Safed (1555–56) 12 congregations and in Istanbul (16th century) almost 40. In Salonika the situation was yet more complex: some congregations formed by groups who came from the same city or country were divided into sections and factions—majority and minority—which quarreled, seceded, built new congregations, and so on. Every congregation, small or large, had its own rabbi, synagogue, charity funds, and burial society; each had an independent status, was a "town" in and of itself and no rabbi or lay leader was permitted to interfere with the prerogatives of another. Although unity was achieved when a common danger faced the whole community, or funds had to be raised to redeem captives, maintain the Jews in Erez Israel, etc., the rivalries between the congregations weakened the community. The situation lasted for centuries, continuing after the introduction of

reforms in the organization of the *millet* in the 19th century, and surviving into the mid-20th century. After a prolonged delay caused by friction within the community, the draft of the "organizational regulations of the rabbinate" (*ḥakham-khāne nīzām nāmesi*) was submitted (1864) to the Ottoman authorities in Constantinople. The confirmation took place in May 1865. The regulations fall into five sections: (1) The status of the *ḥakham bashi* as the head of Jewry in the empire; his qualifications and election (clauses 1–4). (2) His powers and his replacement in the event of resignation or removal from office (clauses 5–15). (3) The general committee (*majlis ʿumūmi*), its election, and powers. It consisted of 80 members, presided over by the permanent deputy of the *ḥakham bashi*. Sixty secular members were elected by the inhabitants of Constantinople according to city districts, and they, in turn, elected 20 rabbinical members. These 80 members elected the seven rabbis who formed the spiritual committee (*majlis rūḥānī*) and the nine members of the secular committee (*majlis jismānī*). The elections required the approval of the Sublime Porte. At the time of the election of the *ḥakham bashi* for the empire, the general committee was temporarily reinforced by 40 members summoned from eight districts, where each officiated as provincial *ḥakham bashi* (from Adrianople, Brusa, Izmir (Smyrna), Salonika, Baghdad, Cairo, Alexandria, and Jerusalem; clauses 16–19). It should be noted that clause 16 failed to prescribe the committee's term of office: only in 1910 was it fixed at ten years. (4) The powers of the spiritual committee: the seven rabbis were to concern themselves with religious and other matters referred to them by the *ḥakham bashi*; the committee was not to prevent the publication of books or the spread of science and art unless it was prejudicial to the government, the community, or religion; it must supervise the activities of the city-district rabbis (*mara de-atra*) who acted under its instructions: it was headed by a president, who was also the head of the rabbinical court: he had two deputies (clauses 20–38). (5) The powers of the secular committee as regards the management of communal affairs and the carrying into effect of government orders: it apportioned the communal impost and ensured the integrity of the property of orphans and endowments (clauses 39–48). The regulations remained in force for the duration of the Ottoman Empire; under the republic they lapsed, without being officially replaced.

[H.Z.H.]

WESTERN EUROPE. At the same time the communities of the north—France, Germany, England, and northern Italy, which had been under Christian rule and out of touch with Muslim-ruled Babylonia—became the focus of experiment in community living. Lacking the solid basis of long experience, they had to build from the foundation up. Great debates ensued among the handful of renowned scholars who valiantly strove to find precedents in talmudic law for solving communal problems. As they found little to go by in the Talmud, considerable activity ensued. Most influential were the *synods of scholars and leading laymen convoked mainly in Cologne on days when the fairs were held. The influential scholars were *Gershom b. Judah, *Meshullam b. Kalonymus. Joseph b. Samuel *Bonfils (*Tov-Elem*), and *Rashi and his followers. It was understood that the final decision on their *takkanot* would rest with the local community. Justice, too, was localized by the *ḥerem bet din*. Finally, the principle was accepted that the elders were empowered to enforce communal decisions. The legality of a majority forcing its will upon a minority elicited much debate. Jacob b. Meir *Tam disagreed with it (c. 1150). The right to vote was granted only to *meliores* (*mehugganim*, "respected persons").

More specifically, the scholars in France and Germany tended to vest considerable powers in the local community and to define the rights of the individual. In religious matters the authority of the community remained undisputed. To prevent breaches of Jewish law its authority extended beyond its borders to the neighboring communities. An individual had the right of appealing to a higher court in private cases, or of suing his own community. In general, however, the community remained independent of outside interference. Each community was conceived as the Jewish people in miniature, having sovereign rights, no longer dependent on Palestinian ordination or exilarchic-geonic appointment. *Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg, the 13th-century talmudic scholar in Germany, further elaborated the principles of community government in an intricate array of judgments. A majority could enact regulations on religious or public matters, in pursuit of their primary aim of strengthening the authority of the community over the individual.

The autonomous Jewish community in Europe developed during the period of the growth of towns. However, when burghers succeeded in obtaining for themselves supremacy as members of a *cummunitas*, of a *coniuratio* of autonomous rule, they swore an annual oath of allegiance within the community. The Jews, however, did not follow this practice since each of them was assumed to be bound by the covenant at Sinai to follow God's law and community regulations.

Figure 1. Title page of the *Pinkas ha-Takkanot* of the community of Altona, containing the statutes and regulations of the community, 1726. Jerusalem, C.A.H.J.P.

While the Central European communities were rather small in the 13th to 15th centuries and needed only the guidance of one scholar or of a few leaders, in the following

Figure 2. Double page from the *Matricula*, the register of members of the community, Buttenheim, Germany, 1768–70. Jerusalem, C. A. H. J. P.

three centuries they expanded considerably, thereby requiring a more complex structure of public institutions. Social stratification within the community based on wealth and learning also became more differentiated.

SPAIN AND RESETTLEMENT COUNTRIES. Until the persecutions of 1391 the struggle between the higher and lower social echelons was pronounced; frequent changes of leadership resulted, but in spite of this one family might rule in one locality for a century or more. Strife developed over methods of allocating taxes, the elite preferring the officers of the *kahal* to act as assessors, and the masses opting for each taxpayer's declaring his income. Sporadically contending factions had to resort to the king or governmental authorities to resolve their conflict. In general, the Spanish *kahal* was engaged in the broad function of regulating the social, economic, intellectual, and religious life of local communities.

Until the expulsion from Spain there was only one *kahal* in a community, but a new phenomenon developed in the countries of resettlement. In Holland, France, and England the Spanish refugees formed a separate congregation of Sephardi Jews if there was already an Ashkenazi community in existence, and centered their communal affairs on it.

[I.L.]

EASTERN EUROPE. The communities of Poland-Lithuania followed a way of life and experienced problems which were a kind of amalgam of Ashkenazi and Sephardi patterns (see *Councils of the Lands). Medieval forms of Jewish community organization persisted far into modern times in those countries where emancipation was delayed. In Russia the autonomous institutions of the *kahal* remained vigorous despite a tyrannical absolutist government which sought to harness it in the service of its oppressive designs. In addition to the usual burdens of collecting taxes, the *kahal* was charged with providing recruits for military service. Internally the age-old traditions of self-government retained their vitality into the 20th century. Even after the *kahal* was officially abolished by the government, the associations carried on the time-honored services. While it lasted, the *kahal* followed the procedures inherited from earlier ages, with the system of indirect elections from among the taxpayers continuing the oligarchical rule of the medieval community. The control of religious behavior and of the economic and social life of the individual by the *kahal* was powerful: the judiciary was firmly in Jewish hands and

resort to non-Jewish courts was rare indeed. Many of these traditions survived up to the Revolution of 1917.

MODERN VARIATIONS

Introduction. By the middle of the 18th century signs of decline and disintegration of the autonomous Jewish community became evident. The central agencies gradually dissolved. In Germany the Jewish communities were increasingly controlled by the state (see *Landesjudenschaften). The *kahal* in Russia was officially abolished in 1844. Internally there was economic ruin, oligarchic mismanagement, class struggle, rationalist enlightenment, and judicial independence of the individual. The communities had amassed stupendous debts by deficit financing which kept transferring fiscal burdens to coming generations. Wealthy Jews gained exemption from taxes by special state privileges; the central and regional boards shifted assessments onto provincial communities without affording them due representation; tax burdens became unbearable. The small urban unit with its intimate knowledge of everyone's finances was gradually replaced by the anonymity of the larger city. The imposition of heavy responsibilities on lay leaders by governments and the inherent social structure fostered oligarchic oppression. Emergent social consciousness sharpened the class struggle of the poor and the guilds. Individualistic tendencies militated against the social control of the *kahal*. The *Haskalah* movement in Central and Eastern Europe became religiously iconoclastic and anti-traditional, launching its most venomous onslaught on "the forces of darkness" in control of the *kahal* and on its despotic rule. The increasing complexity of business relations after the Industrial Revolution did away with the simpler transactions of the pre-capitalist era when Jewish civil law was adequate for judges to make decisions based on talmudic law. The old ban against gentile courts was increasingly disregarded; the Jewish civil judiciary shrank. Finally, the force of religious values, which underpinned medieval social control, gave way to secularist and humanist attitudes.

These factors must be viewed in the light of the emergence of the united modern state in central and southern Europe on the one hand, and the economic and political decline of Poland (which ceased to exist as an independent state in 1795) and the Ottoman Empire on the other. The French Revolution dissolved the estates and the corporations; in their stead the state dealt directly with the individual citizen in matters of taxes and other civic responsibilities. Count *Clermont-Tonnerre, a liberal deputy and friend of the Jews, stated in 1789 in the French National Assembly: "To the Jews as a nation we owe nothing; to the Jews as human beings we give everything." All this implied the dissolution of all communal, corporate, self-governing institutions, to be replaced by an emancipated, equal citizenry. Individualism was further stimulated by early capitalism. Competition in new methods of production and distribution, private initiative, and the end of the guild system and of economic regimentation dissolved the social control of self-governing groups. The individual Jew was catapulted into gentile society, where his own institutions were of little avail. Enlightened absolutism in German-speaking areas further dissolved the corporative structures. In some countries, rabbis and religious functionaries became state officials. The ghetto community, as one of the autonomous corporate bodies, fell under the heavy blows of state control. The process of disintegration of the *kehillah* was long and tortuous; its demise was nevertheless inevitable under modern conditions.

Western Europe. In modern times, until World War II, Western Europe followed the consistorial (see *Consistory) pattern established by Napoleon in France and her conquered territories. In Paris there were Orthodox, Liberal, and Sephardi congregations. The East European Jews had their own Federation of Societies. In the Netherlands, the consistory of 1808 was replaced in 1814 by the former Ashkenazi and Sephardi organizations. In 1817 a Central Commission on Jewish Affairs was established, consisting of seven members, to work with local rabbis and elders, but it was abolished in 1848 by the new constitution which offered churches state subventions. In 1870 a new central commission was formed for ten districts, each with its independent rabbi and government subsidies. In 1917 their rights were narrowed. In Belgium the consistorial system existed from the days of Napoleon and was renewed in 1835 when membership in the community was made compulsory. In 1873 the state offered subsidies to Jewish communities. Membership was made voluntary in 1892. In 1933 a Council of Jewish Organizations was established to coordinate nationally both religious and secular institutions.

Under French occupation during the Napoleonic wars Italy introduced the consistorial system. When the old order was reestablished, it varied in the several states. In united Italy central regulation ensued. The law of 1857 applying to Piedmont and later extended to most of the country provided for community membership in the place of domicile, unless otherwise declared. The community's religious and educational activities were tax-supported. In 1911 the Jewish communities were united in the Consorzio fra le Comunità Israelitiche Italiane. Under Fascist rule, by a law of 1931, membership was made compulsory, and the central union was guided by a consultative committee of three rabbis.

The 24 Jewish communities of Switzerland organized in 1904 the Union of Swiss Jewish Communities to regulate their external and internal affairs. In Great Britain there were several national synagogue bodies. One body, largely based on synagogue representation, served as the official voice of British Jews in external matters —the *Board of Deputies of British Jews founded in 1760. The Ashkenazi congregations clustered around the *United Synagogue headed by the chief rabbi. Other congregations were affiliated with the Federation of Synagogues, the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, and Liberal, Reform, and Spanish-Portuguese congregations. There was also a Jewish Board of Guardians and welfare. In the British Commonwealth, Canada has a central representative agency, the *Canadian Jewish Congress. South Africa, too, has a Board of Deputies and a Board of Jewish Education. Australia has an Executive Council of Australian Jewry as well as State Boards of Deputies.

Central Europe. The Jewish communities of Central Europe, especially in Germany, were highly organized and enjoyed much power. Each settlement had only one community organization to which each Jewish inhabitant belonged and paid internal taxes. The government recognized this organization by law, and in some cases helped subsidize its activities. Unions or federations of local units were formed for entire territories. The legal status of the Jewish community in Prussia was defined by a law of 1750 which made affiliation and taxation compulsory and under state control. In 1876 resignation from the community was permitted without renunciation of the Jewish faith. The Weimar constitution of 1919 relaxed government control, thus offering full autonomy to the community. Election procedures were made democratic, giving the franchise to women and providing for proportional representation. In 1921 a territorial union of communities (Preussischer Landesverband juedischer Gemeinden) was granted public

Figure 3. Last page of the Insterburg (E. Prussia) community book, begun in 1860. This final entry, dated April 14, 1941, is a farewell message from the head of the community to its members on the eve of their deportation by the Nazis. Jerusalem, C. A. H. J. P.

legal status. Its function was to further religious life, to help financially weak communities, and to act as liaison with the government. Bavaria, Saxony, and Wuerttemberg also formed such unions. In Baden, where they were governed by a supreme council, the Jews had the power to tax members for religious needs.

In Austria, which did not have a uniform law till 1890, the situation varied. In Galicia the rabbis contested the right of laymen to control community life. Bohemia boasted a central representation of Jews, the Landesjudenschaft, while in Moravia 52 autonomous communities had their separate municipal administration and police. In the German-speaking provinces of Austria proper, mainly Vienna, Jews were empowered in 1792 to collect *Buechelgeld* for religious purposes. The law of 1890, which regulated the life of all the communities in the empire and remained in force in the republic after World War I, provided for compulsory membership and taxation, and one *kahal* in each locality to control all Jewish public activities.

In Hungary the medieval form of organization of the community was left undisturbed by *Joseph II's decree of 1783 regulating Jewish life. Until 1871 there was a struggle between Liberal and Orthodox leaders for control of the community, finally resolved by government approval of a threefold division of independent community unions consisting of Liberal, Orthodox, and "status quo," that is, those who were not involved in the struggle. Czechoslovak Jewry formed a supreme Council of the Federations of Jewish Communities in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, which were later governed by the Austrian law of 1890. In the eastern provinces Slovakia had both *Neolog and

Orthodox communities, but Carpathian Ruthenia was entirely Orthodox. In 1920 a state-recognized Organization of Orthodox Jewish Communities was established.

Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe the old forms of community government were the most tenacious. As in most of Europe they persisted despite adverse government legislation. After World War I the concept of *minority rights was briefly favored and a number of countries helped maintain Jewish schools. Secularization of Jewish life produced a variety of political parties each seeking to gain a decisive voice in communal affairs. Despite oppressive government legislation in Russia, Jewish community life retained its vigor into the 20th century. When the *kahal* was abolished (1844), the government handed over Jewish affairs to the police and the municipalities; yet the Jewish communities were still saddled with the two most burdensome responsibilities—state tax collecting and army recruiting (see *Cantonists). In 1835, government-appointed rabbis, who did not have to be ordained, were introduced to take charge of registration and other official requirements. In 1917 democratic Jewish communities were established by the provisional government. When the Bolsheviks seized power they put an end to Jewish community organization and formed a "Jewish commissariat," only to dissolve it in 1923. The *Yevsektsiya, the Jewish section of the Communist Party, was formed in 1918 and lasted until 1930. It helped suppress all traditional Jewish institutions and sought to develop a Yiddish press and Yiddish-speaking schools. In the meantime a committee (the Yidgezkom), supported by the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, coordinated the vast relief activities of a number of previously existing social welfare organizations. In the short-lived, quasi-independent Ukraine wide autonomy was projected in 1917 with a minister of Jewish affairs and a national council. Bolshevik occupation put an end to these efforts.

Congress Poland (see *Poland) abolished the *kahal* in 1822, replacing it by a synagogue board (*Dozor boznicy*) consisting of a rabbi, his assistant, and three elders, whose task was limited to religion and to social welfare. After World War I the German patterns of community government were established in large parts of the new Polish state. Taxes were levied, and religious and other needs were provided for. In the sphere of social welfare the Joint Distribution Committee played an important role. Jewry became divided into factions—Orthodox, Zionist, *Po'alei Zion, *Bund, and others—each vying for a share of community control.

In the Baltic countries, the Lithuanian republic established in 1918 a Ministry of Jewish Affairs and a National Council to take charge of religion, education, social welfare, and other autonomous Jewish affairs. In 1924 these national agencies were dissolved. Autonomy granted in Latvia in 1919 extended only to Hebrew and Yiddish schools, often subsidized from municipal taxes, with a Jewish department in the Ministry of Education. In Estonia the National Cultural Autonomy Act of 1925 was the most liberal. Jewish schools received subsidies from state and municipal treasuries.

The Balkan countries exhibited a variety of attitudes to Jewish group existence. Some extended wide autonomy, especially under the provisions for *minority rights; others curtailed it. Under the *hakham bashi*, until the abolition of the caliphate and the separation of church and state, Turkish Jewry had considerable autonomy and standing in the imperial court. In 1923 Turkey refused to honor the minority rights promised in the Treaty of Lausanne and Jewish autonomy was restricted to purely religious matters. In Greece Jews were permitted to levy compulsory taxation and were granted government subsidies. The presence in

some areas of local courts backed by the authorities and of central democratically elected bodies was another outstanding feature.

Rumania had largely voluntary associations until 1928 when Jews were required to belong to the local community, except for the Sephardim in Moldavia and Walachia and the Orthodox in Transylvania. The government contributed toward Jewish institutions. The chief rabbi represented the Jews in the senate. In Yugoslavia conditions differed according to regions. Croatian and Slavonian communities dealt with religious and charitable affairs. In Zagreb an executive committee of 36 controlled the synagogues and other institutions. In Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia there were chief rabbis and religious-educational activities. In 1929 a law united the communities of Yugoslavia and offered subventions. Control was in the hands of a council. The chief rabbi of Belgrade was accorded the same rank as a bishop and had a seat in the senate. Wider autonomy was enjoyed by Bulgarian Jewry. Even before 1920, when national minority rights were granted to them, the Jews could impose taxes; their chief rabbi was paid his salary by the state. Thereafter each community was governed by a council; the larger communities had religious courts whose decisions were executed by the authorities. Centrally they were governed by a legislative congress and an executive, democratically elected Consistoire Central. [I.L.]

Developments in North Africa from the 19th Century. In Tunisia, owing to the influence of Algeria to the west, changes were introduced in the powers and structure of Jewish religious courts even before the country became a French protéctorate. The bey, Muhammad al-Ṣādiq, who organized civil courts for all his subjects, restricted the authority of the rabbinical courts to matters of personal status. In 1898 he ordered the composition and jurisdiction of the Jewish religious court in Tunis to be reorganized. The new composition of the court was as follows: the chief rabbi of Tunisia, honorary president; one rabbi, presiding judge; two *dayyanim;* two deputy *dayyanim;* and one clerk. The sessions of the court were held in public under the chairmanship of the presiding judge, with two *dayyanim* or deputy *dayyanim* as assessors. The jurisdiction of the court was extended over the whole country, and it was possible to bring any matter, from anywhere, directly before it or to appeal to it against a judgment given by a *dayyan* in a provincial town. On the other hand, the court was denied the right to deal with matters concerning the personal status of Algerian Jews, since these were French nationals, or concerning persons under the protection of a foreign state. The salaries of the rabbi, of all the *dayyanim* belonging to the court, and of the clerk were paid from the bey's treasury. The chief rabbi of Tunisia was at first given wide powers over communal organization and religious life. According to the decrees of the bey concerning the organization of the committees of the Caisses de Secours et de Bienfaisance Israélite—the official designation of the Jewish communities in Tunisia— in several provincial towns, the chief rabbi proposed the members of some of them and submitted their financial reports to the prime minister. Elsewhere this right was reserved to the *contrôleur civil,* i.e., the district governor. The chief rabbi granted *kabbalot* (certificates of competency) to ritual slaughterers and licenses of communal notaries. These powers extended over the entire country, except for the towns where they were vested expressly in the local rabbi. The chief rabbi presided over the rabbinical council attached to the chief rabbinate and the examining board for notaries. The rabbinical council set up under a beylical decree of 1922 consisted of six members appointed by the prime minister, on the recommendation of the chief rabbi, for a period of one year (the appointment was renewable). The council was to advise on all religious matters concerning Tunisian Jewry. Its meetings were attended by a government representative, who acted as an observer.

A law promulgated by the president of the Tunisian republic, Ḥabib Bourguiba, in July 1958 dissolved the community council of Tunis. On the same day the Department of Justice summoned eight Jewish notables in order to appoint them as a "Provisional Committee for the Management of the Jewish Religion." The main task of the committee was to prepare elections for the leadership of the religious society, which was to take the place of the Tunis community council. The law provided that "religious societies" of a district should be managed by an administrative council elected by all Jews of either sex of that district who were Tunisian nationals and were above 21 years of age. Every administrative council was to consist of five to 15 members, depending on the size of the society. Each district was to have not more than one religious society, and there might be one society for several districts. The provisional committee, replacing the Caisse de Secours et de Bienfaisance Israélite in the Sfax district, was appointed by the district governor in November, and the one for Gabès in December 1958.

A different development took place in the Jewish community of Algeria, which from 1830 was a part of France. A decisive role was played by the Jews of French nationality who began to stream into the country after the occupation. As mentioned, they did not content themselves with the restriction of the powers of the rabbinical courts and the abolition of the office of *muqaddim,* but wished to organize the community on the model of the consistory, the political and religious body of French Jewry established by Napoleon I and based on the principle of the priority of obligations toward the state. In 1845 the regulations for the organization of the Algerian consistory were published; their functions were defined as: (1) to ensure the orderly conduct of communal affairs; (2) to supervise the school attendance of the children; (3) to encourage Jews to engage in useful crafts; and (4) to supervise endowments and charitable funds. After the regulations came into force, consistories were established in Algiers and Oran in 1847 and in Constantine in 1848. A decree issued in 1867 imposed the authority of the Consistoire Central, the supreme religious body of French Jewry, on the three Algerian consistories. From that time on, and especially after the promulgation of the *Crémieux Decree conferring French citizenship on the Jews of the three northern departments of Algeria (Algiers, Oran, and Constantine) in 1870, the status and organization of the Jews inhabiting these areas resembled more and more those of the Jews in France. The Crémieux Decree did not apply to the military region in the south; consequently, the Jewish communities in Mzab and several other oases retained their traditional structure and organization. This split had an influence on the religious life of Algerian Jewry, which developed along two different paths.

Morocco retained its sovereignty until 1912. The events of World War I slowed down France's military efforts to gain control of the interior and of the south of the country (where the occupation and the subjection of the free tribes were completed only in the mid-1930s). Nevertheless, the French administration drafted two decrees (ḍahīr) which were published in May 1918—in the name of the Moroccan ruler and with the signature of the French high commissioner. One of them dealt with the organization of the Jewish communal courts and the other with the organization of the Jewish communities. At first seven rabbinical courts (tribunaux) of first instance, each consisting of three

dayyanim, were set up in Casablanca, Fez, Mogador, Meknès, Marrakesh, Oujda, and Tangiers. In 1953 a court of this nature began to function also in Rabat. Simultaneously, a High Court of Appeal was established in Rabat with a bench of three: the chief rabbi as president and two judges. The dispersal of the Jewish population over a wide area necessitated the appointment of *rabbins-délégués* for provincial towns where no courts existed. Their powers were less than those of the full-scale courts. During the 1960s, when the Jewish population of Morocco dwindled to one-fifth of its previous size (about 50,000), many communities disappeared completely and numerous posts of *rabbins-délégués* ceased to exist, as did—in 1965—the High Court of Appeal.

The second decree issued in May 1918 dealt with the organization and powers of Jewish community committees in Moroccan towns. These committees were to consist of the president of the rabbinical court, the *rabbin-délégué*, and notables who were chosen by the grand vizier from a list submitted by the communities and whose number varied according to the size of the Jewish population; in 1945 this choice of notables was replaced, in theory, by the election by secret ballot of candidates from among whom the authorities were to select the members of the committees. The term of office of the members was four years. The functions of the committees were: to maintain religious services; to assist the needy; and to administer endowments. A decree promulgated in 1945 established a council of Jewish communities, which had to coordinate the activities of the communities. It consisted of the heads of the various communities and met once a year in Rabat under the chairmanship of a representative of the Directorate of Sherifian Affairs. These meetings dealt with matters of budget, housing, education, and hygiene. The question of permanent representation of the communities was also mooted. In the early 1950s a permanent bureau was set up under a secretary-general. The bureau was to guide the community committees in preparing budgets, operating services, and providing education in *talmud torah* institutions and evening classes. Most of the revenue of the communities came from charges on ritual slaughtering and the sale of *mazzot*, as well as from the management of public endowments, which were not many, since most endowments were family ones. The council sent six delegates to the Moroccan (natives) Committee of the Council of Government. It published a four-page monthly under the title *La Voix des Communautés*. Upon the reinstatement of Sultan Muhammad V in 1958 and the rise to power of the nationalist Istiqlāl party, the composition of the community committees was changed by appointing persons acceptable to the ruling group. With this change in policy they lost what little independence and initiative they had possessed and became tools of the government.

[H.Z.H.]

United States. U.S. Jewry, with its frequent waves of immigration from a large variety of countries, has launched many and ambitious forms of community organization. Until late in the 19th century these remained for the most part purely local in character. Wherever they settled in sufficient numbers the original Sephardi immigrants to the United States formed burial societies, benevolent and charitable associations, hospitals, synagogues and Hebrew schools, rabbinical courts, etc., all patterned originally on similar institutions in the Old World. The German immigration of the mid-19th century created a parallel series of institutions, as did the large Eastern European immigration of the years 1880–1920. In addition the immigrants from Eastern Europe originated the *Lands-

manshafts, organizations which consisted of members hailing from the same town or region and which offered sick and burial insurance, free loans, poor relief, a place to pray, and perhaps, above all, conviviality and a sense of belonging in the New World. Thus, at the end of the 19th century the American Jewish community was largely composed of a proliferation of local synagogues and organizations, frequently formed along lines of national origin and often duplicating each other's efforts with little or no coordination between them. On a local level the first attempts at centralization began to appear late in the 19th century and continued with increasing scope into the 20th. The first city-wide Jewish welfare federation in America was established in Boston in 1895; the first municipal bureau of Jewish education, in 1910. An attempt under J. L. *Magnes to establish a *kehillah* in New York lasted for about a decade before breaking up. Local YMHAs and YWHAs developed into Jewish community centers offering a wide range of educational, social, and recreational activities in many American cities. In 1970 such local Jewish federations, community councils, and welfare funds, whose function it was to coordinate Jewish communal life and regulate the disbursement of funds to it, existed in one form or another in 300 cities in 43 states in which were concentrated at least 95% of the Jewish population of the United States. The center of local community life for the average Jewishly active individual, however, continued to be the synagogue. Far from serving exclusively or perhaps even primarily as a place of worship, the synagogue, especially in suburban areas, provided such varied services as Jewish education for children

CONSTITUTION

CONGREGATION

שארית ישראל

As ratified by the Members thereof, at a Meeting held on the twenty-sixth day of סיון in the year

תקסה לבק

Corresponding with the 24th June, 1805.

NEW-YORK,

PRINTED BY S. H. JACKSON,

161 Chatham-Street.

1805.

Figure 4. Title page of the constitution of the New York congregation Shearith Israel, 1805. Ardmore, Pa., Sigmund Harrison Collection.

and adults, men's clubs, sisterhoods, youth and sport groups, social service, and catering private social affairs. Organization on a nation-wide level in American Jewish life originated with the German immigration of the mid-19th century. In the course of the 20th century such a consolidation has created an overall hierarchical structure of organization embracing practically every area of American Jewish life. Among the most prominent of such national organizations are the Jewish Welfare Board (the national coordinating body of community centers, 1917), the Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds (1932), the United Jewish Appeal (1939), and the American Association for Jewish Education (1939). By the second half of the 20th century few local Jewish organizations were not affiliated directly with one or another such national group, a fact that undoubtedly owed much to the general American aptitude for centralized and efficient organization. At the political level the organization of American Jewry remained relatively unstructured, a reflection of the traditional reluctance, if not inability, of the American Jewish community to identify itself as a distinct political bloc. On the whole, those Jewish organizations that have assumed political functions did so originally to defend specifically Jewish rights and interests against discrimination and prejudice both in the United States and abroad. The first organization of this type was the *Board of Delegates of American Israelites (1859–78). It was followed by the American Jewish Committee (1906), which was controlled by a wealthy elite of German Jews. In reaction to it the more representative and militant American Jewish Congress was first established in 1918 and refounded in 1930. Other such national organizations to be formed were the Zionist Organization of America (1897), many other Zionist bodies, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (1913), and the *Jewish Labor Committee (1934). Conflicting outlooks and ideologies have for the most part restricted these groups' common action, but the principal organizations concerned with Jewish defense and kindred matters have established the National Community Relations Advisory Council for Coordination. Another body, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, established in 1954, serves as a roof organization for 22 national Jewish bodies. The Conference has issued joint declarations and has lobbied nationally for Jewish interests both at home and abroad, especially in connection with Israel. In the course of the 1950s and 1960s there was an increased tendency on the part of many major Jewish organizations to take political positions on issues not directly related to the Jewish community as such, but ones that concerned the whole country, such as civil rights, the war in Vietnam, and so forth. [ED.]

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION SINCE WORLD WAR II

Introduction. Jewish communal organization has undergone many changes since the inception of the Israelite polity somewhere in the Sinai Desert, but none has been more decisive than those which have affected it in the past four centuries, and none more significant than those of the period since the end of World War II. The inauguration of the modern era in the 17th century initiated a process of decorporatization of Jewish communal life that gained momentum in the following two centuries. Jewish corporate autonomy, a feature of Diaspora existence in one form or another since the Babylonian exile, never even took hold in the New World, whose Jewish communities were all established in the modern era. Developments after World War I weakened that kind of autonomy in Europe, where it had been on the wane for two centuries. Only in the Muslim countries did the old forms persist, until the nationalist revolutions of the post-World War II period eliminated them.

The process of decorporatization—perhaps denationalization is a better term—brought with it efforts to redefine Jewish life in Protestant religious terms in Western Europe and North America and in socialist secular ones in Eastern Europe and, somewhat later, in Latin America. In Europe, the process was promoted both from within the Jewish community and without by Jews seeking wider economic and social opportunities as individuals and by newly nationalistic regimes seeking to establish the state as the primary force in the life of all residents within its boundaries. In the Americas, it came automatically as individual Jews found themselves with the same status and opportunities as other migrants to the New World.

Table 1. Total Jewish Population and Its Distribution by Continent (in thousands)

Year Continent	1840 Total	%	1900 Total	%	1939 Total	%	1969 Total	%
Europe (incl. Russia)	3,950	87.8	8,900	80.9	9,500	56.8	4,019	29.2
Asia	300	6.7	510	4.6	1,030	6.2	2,544	18.5
Africa	198	4.4	375	3.4	625	3.7	196	1.4
North and South America	50	1.1	1,200	10.9	5.540	33.1	6,952	50.4
Australia	2	¹	15	0.2	33	0.2	75	0.5
Total	4,500	100	11,000	100	16,728	100	13,786	100

1 less than 0.1 percent

Out of decorporatization came new forms of Jewish communal organization on the countrywide and local levels: (1) the consistory of post-revolutionary France (which spread to the other countries within the French sphere of influence in Europe), an attempt to create a Jewish "church" structure parallel to that of the French Protestant Church; (2) the 19th-century Central European *kehillah*, essentially a ritual and social agency chartered and regulated by the secular government as a means of registering all Jews and binding them to some "religious" grouping; (3) the united congregational pattern of England and her overseas colonies and dominions, whereby Jews voluntarily organized synagogues which then banded together to create a board to represent Jewish interests to the host country: (4) the radically individualistic organizational pattern of the United States, whereby individual Jews banded together locally (and sometimes nationally) to create whatever kind of Jewish association they wished without any kind of supralocal umbrella organization even for external representation; and, early in the 20th century, (5) separate communal associations based on the *Landsmanshaft* principle, which became the basis for voluntary affiliation of the Jewish immigrants to Latin America. The common denominator of all these different forms was their limited scope and increasingly voluntary character.

While these organizational changes were taking shape, a two-pronged demographic shift of great importance began. In the first place, the live birth and survival rate among Jews rose rapidly, causing the number of Jews in the world to soar. In the second, the Jews began to migrate at an accelerating rate to the lands on the Western world's great frontier: the Western Hemisphere and southern Africa and Australia in particular, but also, in smaller numbers, to east Asia, initiating a shift in the balance of Jewish settlement in the world. Finally, the modern era saw Jewish resettlement of the Land of Israel. The first to go to the land as founders of entirely new settlements began to arrive in the 17th century and continued regularly thereafter, pioneering new communities of a traditional character within the framework of the Ottoman Empire's millet system. They were followed, in due course, by the Zionist pioneers who created new forms of communal life, beginning in the late 19th century as part of the last stage of the modern transformation of the Jewish people.

World War II marked the culmination of all the trends and tendencies of the modern era and the end of the era itself for all of mankind. For the Jewish people, the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel were the pair of decisive events that marked the crossing of the watershed into the "postmodern" world. In the process, the entire basis of the Jewish polity was radically changed; the locus of Jewish life shifted and virtually every organized Jewish community was reconstituted in some significant way.

The Jewish world that greeted the new State was no longer an expanding one which was gaining population even in the face of "normal" attrition through intermarriage and assimilation. Quite to the contrary, it was a decimated one (even worse—for decimated implies the loss of one in ten; the Jews lost one in three) whose very physical survival had been in grave jeopardy and whose rate of loss from defections came close to equalling its birthrate. Moreover, the traditional strongholds of Jewish communal life in Europe (which were also areas with a high Jewish reproduction rate) were those that had been wiped out. At the end of the 1940s, the centers of Jewish life had shifted to a decisive extent away from Europe to Israel and North America. Continental Europe as a whole ranked behind

Table 2. World Jewish Communities in Rank Order, 1968

Country	Jewish Population (thousands)	Percent of Total Jewish Population
1. United States	5,870,000	
2. Soviet Union	2,594,000	82.7
3. Israel	2,436,000	
4. France[1]	535,000	
5. Argentina	500,000	10.5
6. United Kingdom	410,000	
7. Canada	280,000	
8. Brazil	140,000	
9. South Africa	115,000	4.6
10. Rumania	100,000	
Total	12,980,000	97.8

1. Includes influx of over 300,000 North African Jews in the early 1960's.

Latin America, North Africa, and Great Britain as a force in Jewish life. Its Jews were almost entirely dependent upon financial and technical assistance from the United States and Israel. Except for those in the Muslim countries (that were soon to virtually disappear), all of the major functioning Jewish communities had acquired sufficient proportions to become significant factors on the Jewish scene only within the previous two generations. Many of the shapers of those communities were still alive and in many cases still the active communal leaders. The Jewish world had been thrown back to a pioneering stage, willy-nilly.

The organization of Jewish communal life reflected these shifts and their consequences wherever Jews were found. Thus in the late 1940s and 1950s reconstruction and reconstitution of existing communities and the founding of new ones was the order of the day throughout the Jewish world. The Jewish communities of Continental Europe all underwent periods of reconstruction or reconstitution in response to wartime losses, changes in the formal status of religious communities in their host countries, migration to Israel, and the introduction of new regimes. Table 3 summarizes these changes.

The Jewish communities in the Moslem countries were transformed in response to the convergence of two factors: the creation of Israel and the anticolonial revolutions in Asia and Africa. The greater portion of the Jewish population in those countries was transferred to Israel, and organized Jewish life virtually came to an end in all of them except Morocco. The changes in their situation are summarized in Table 4.

The English-speaking Jewries and, to a somewhat lesser extent, those of Latin America were faced with the more complex task of adapting their organizational structures to three new purposes: to assume responsibilities passed to them as a result of the destruction of European Jewry, to play a major role in assisting Israel, and to accommodate

Table 3. Postwar Changes in Continental Jewish Communities

Country	
Albania	Disappeared as an organized community after the Communist takeover.
Austria	Reconstructed and reconstituted with a substantially different population consisting, in the main, of World War II refugees concentrated in Vienna.
Belgium	Reconstructed and reconstituted as a consequence of a significant influx of Eastern European refugees. Brussels and Antwerp are the two major communities.
Bulgaria	Limited reconstruction after extensive emigration to the newly established State of Israel.
Czechoslovakia	Partially reconstructed and reconstituted under the Communist regime. Emigration increased after 1968.
Denmark	Reconstruction along pre-war lines with the return of the pre-war Jewish population.
Finland	Reconstituted and somewhat enlarged by the addition of a refugee population.
France	Reconstructed and reconstituted with a substantially new population from Eastern Europe immediately after World War II and subsequently further reconstituted in the wake of the North African influx of the early 1960's. Jewish population formerly concentrated in Paris and a few other major cities is now spread throughout the country to an extent unequaled since the Middle Ages.
Germany (Federal Republic)	Reconstructed and reconstituted with substantially different population including Eastern European refugees and "repatriates."
Gibraltar	No significant constitutional change or population shift.
Greece	Partially reconstructed and reconstituted around remnant population after World War II. Center of Jewish life moved from Salonika to Athens.
Hungary	Underwent partial reconstruction and limited reconstitution under the Communist regime. Flight of refugees in 1956 reduced the Jewish population somewhat but the community remains one of the largest and strongest in Eastern Europe.
Italy	Partially reconstructed after formal restoration of pre-war constitution. Jewish life divided between Rome and northern Italian communities.
Liechtenstein	Jewish community slowly disappeared through emigration.
Luxemburg	Reconstructed and reconstituted with little change in scope of communal activity.
Malta	No significant change; some population decline.
Monaco	Primarily a refugee community organized during and after World War II.
Netherlands	Partially reconstructed and reconstituted with remnant population as a far weaker community than before the war. Ashkenazi community is numerically dominant.
Norway	Reconstructed with addition of some refugees.
Poland	Extremely limited reconstruction under Communists with successive emigrations of surviving Jews culminating in the virtual expulsion of those born Jewish who had faithfully served the new regime.
Portugal	Reconstituted to include remnants of wartime refugees but essentially the same small well-integrated community.
Rumania	Largest Jewish community in Eastern Europe outside the Soviet Union; underwent limited reconstitution under Communist regime after substantial emigration to Israel. Community organized on strictly religious lines.
Spain	Gained formal status as community by stages between 1931 and 1968 when it was officially recognized as a legal religious body. Wartime refugee settlers founded communal institutions in Madrid, Barcelona and Malaga.
Sweden	Reconstituted with addition of a substantial number of refugees and following the abolition of state-required community membership.
Switzerland	Reconstituted to include the few wartime refugees allowed to settle permanently.
Soviet Union	Virtually disappeared as an organized community, after World War II in the wake of the Stalin repression (1948–1952).
Yugoslavia	Reconstructed and reconstituted as a strictly ethnic community under Communist regime after substantial emigration to Israel.

internal changes in communities still becoming acculturized. Their responses are summarized in Tables 5 and 6.

Many of the smaller Jewish communities in Asia and Africa were actually founded or received organized form in this period, while others, consisting in the main of transient merchants or refugees, were abandoned, as shown in Table 7. Finally, all but a handful of the Jewish communities in the contemporary world have had to adjust to the n realities of voluntary choice, which, on one hand, gave Jews greater freedom than ever before to identify as Jews or not and, on the other, encouraged a wide variety of options for Jewish identification within each community.

Types of Contemporary Jewish Communities. According to the World Jewish Congress and the *American Jewish*

Year Book, Jews are known to reside in 122 countries, classified by type in Table 8. Eighty-three of those countries are sites of permanent, organized communities. At least three and as many as 12 others have communities in which a relative handful of Jews have custody of the institutions that survive in the wake of the emigration of the majority of the Jewish population. Transient communities, where American or Israel Jews temporarily stationed in some Asian or African country create such basic Jewish institutions (e.g., religious services, schools) as they need, can be found in 14 more. Only 22 countries with known Jewish residents have no organized Jewish life.

It is possible to group the organized Jewish communities into seven major categories based on their structural and cultural differences. All seven were conceived in the modern era and have since taken on more or less new forms in the "postmodern" world. One of these categories—independent Jewish existence—is *sui generis,* applying only to Israel, which presents special and unique problems as a Jewish community. Here we shall be concerned with the remaining six, those that encompass Diaspora Jewry. Table 8 indicates the pattern of Jewish organization according to the seven major categories into which the Diaspora communities may be further divided and presents a tentative arrangement of the countrywide Jewish communities of the world by then.

STATE-RECOGNIZED COMMUNAL STRUCTURES. Jewish communities officially recognized as such in the law of their host countries (commonly known as *kehillot* or, in German, *Kultusgemeinden*) are distinguished by their very clear-cut, formal structure, which is itself officially established by special legislation. In both a formal and a real sense, the *kehillah* organizations are the recognized Jewish communities in their countries for both internal and external affairs. State-recognized communities are essentially survivals from an earlier era. The three traditional *kehillot*—all in the Middle East—acquired their basic communal structures before the modern era, while the ten modern *kehillot*—all of Central Europe or areas influenced by Central European culture before World War I—were granted theirs in the course of 19th-century efforts to adapt Jewish communal organization to the new conditions of Emancipation in countries where the commitment to the structured integration of minority groups into the body politic was of first importance.

Even these 13 communities have undergone basic constitutional changes in recent years: the three traditional *kehillot* in response to the modernization movements in their respective host countries and the ten modern ones in light of the drastic changes wrought by two world wars. The latter have, by and large, lost their power to compel all Jews to be members and must now build their membership on a voluntary basis. This usually means that all known Jews are automatically listed on the community's rolls but have the right to opt out if they choose to do so. Structurally, the *kehillah* communities remain neat and all-embracing. All

Table 4. Postwar Changes of Jewish Communities in Moslem Countries

COUNTRY	
Aden	Entire community emigrated before Aden received its independence.
Afghanistan	Majority of the Jews emigrated leaving a small oppressed community behind.
Algeria	Virtually all the Jews fled the country in wake of the French evacuation, moving to France and Israel and essentially ending Jewish communal life.
Egypt	Successive oppressions and migrations to Israel after 1948 virtually ended the community's existence.
Iran	Community was reduced in size by emigration to Israel but continues to function as in the past with minor adjustment.
Iraq	Mass migration to Israel reduced the community to a tiny oppressed minority which lives under severe government restrictions.
Lebanon	With the help of a sympathetic government, the community weathered the Arab-Israel conflict until 1967, but is now (1970) in the process of self-liquidation through emigration, mostly to Latin America and Europe.
Libya	Migration to Israel accelerated after each Arab-Israel crisis and after the 1967 war the community finally ceased to exist as an entity.
Morocco	The community's slow decline through emigration to France and Israel after 1948 accelerated after Morocco received independence and picked up momentum after 1967 war.
Pakistan	Most of the small community emigrated leaving a very small group to carry on minimal communal life.
Syria	Oppression after 1948 led to migration of a majority to Israel and Lebanon; government pressure increased against the remnant after the 1967 war.
Tunisia	Despite official attempts to convince the Jews to stay, most migrated to Israel in successive waves after Tunisia's independence.
Turkey	Almost half of the Jewish population left for Israel after 1948. The remainder were effectively reconstituted as a religious community with very limited powers and under strict governmental supervision with the restoration of Moslem influence in Turkish politics.
Yemen	All but a tiny handful left for Israel immediately after the establishment of the state. The few remaining Jews emigrated during the 60s'.

Table 5. Postwar Changes in Major English-Speaking Jewish Communities

Country	
Australia	The postwar influx of refugees substantially enhanced Jewish life and necessitated changes in its communal structure, both locally and countrywide, to encompass the widened scope of Jewish activity and the more intensely "Jewish" Jews.
Canada	Pressures of "Americanization", suburbanization and the general homogenization of Canadian society have led to a weakening of traditional Canadian communal structure and the introduction of American-style "religious pluralism".
Ireland	Little significant constitutional change even though a native born generation came to the fore.
New Zealand	The continued emigration of the younger generation has decreased the Jewish population and weakened the community structure.
Rhodesia	The concentration of Jews from other countries of black Africa has increased the size and importance of the Rhodesian community while the separation of Zambia and the Rhodesian secession has increased its self-contained character.
South Africa	Changes in the regime and the rise of a native born generation within the community have shifted the emphasis of the communal institutions and the dominant mode of Jewish identification, weakening what had become the traditional structure.
United Kingdom	The rise to power of the last wave of immigrants and a native born generation has challenged the communal status quo from both left and right, weakening traditional institutions and strengthening new ones that reflect the community's greater diversity.
United States	The destruction of European Jewry transferred world Jewish leadership decisively to the American Jewish community. This plus the rise of a new generation and the disappearance of immigrant ideologies have led to significant organizational changes to meet demands while also enabling American Jewry to become more rooted in the "religious pluralism" of the general society.

legitimate institutions or organizations function within their overall framework, except where the state has allowed secessionist groups to exist. The modern countrywide *kehillot* are generally organized along conventional federal lines with "national" and "local" or "national," "provincial," and "local" bodies, each chosen through formal (and usually partisan) elections, linked constitutionally to one another with a relatively clear division of powers. In their modern local counterparts, authority remains within the local community, perhaps with some loose confederal relationship uniting the various localities. Their greatest source of strength lies in their power to tax or to receive automatically a portion of their members' regular taxes from the authorities.

The state-recognized community, once the basis of Jewish life, is losing ground in size and importance in the Jewish world at the same time as it is losing its compulsory character. All are declining communities, reduced by war, emigration, or assimilation, and many are afflicted by serious discrimination as well. According to the 1969 *American Jewish Year Book*, only 262,150 Jews lived in such communities; 131,150 in modern ones and 131,000 in traditional ones. Numerically speaking, this category is the smallest of any of the basic forms of Jewish communal organization. Moreover, a small but increasing number of Jews may be opting out of community membership (and the taxes that go with it).

STATE-RECOGNIZED RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES. A second pattern of community organization that has survived from the 19th century is that of the state-recognized religious structure, usually known by its French name *consistoire*. It, too, has undergone substantial changes since World War II and is presently under severe structural and ideological stress. The original consistory was essentially a Napoleonic innovation designed to encompass "Frenchmen of Jewish faith" within a structure that could be held accountable to the French government, as all groups and institutions had to be in centralized France. The consistory pattern spread (with some variations) to countries within the orbit of French culture in Europe and Africa. Today the consistory has a certain legal status as a religious body and its officials are often supported by government funds, but affiliation with it is entirely voluntary. It is further distinguished from the state-recognized communal structure in two fundamental ways: by its even greater emphasis on the exclusively religious nature of Judaism and its centralized structure. For all its development as a response to modernism, the *kehillah* or *Gemeinde* idea implicitly recognized the existence of the extra- or suprareligious components of Jewish life, which the consistory idea rather explicitly avoids or rejects.

One consequence of this has been the virtual loss of centrality and diminution of the scope of the consistory as the keystone of Jewish communal life in the countries employing that pattern since the end of the modern era. In

Table 6. Postwar Changes in Latin American and Caribbean Jewish Communities

1. Communities entrenching, adjusting, and moving toward greater internal unity:

Argentina	Guatemala
Brazil	Mexico
Chile	Panama
Costa Rica	Uruguay
El Salvador	Venezuela

2. Communities of emigration and decline:

Bolivia	Haiti
Columbia	Honduras
Cuba	Nicaragua
Dominican Republic	Paraguay
Ecuador	Surinam

3. Communities undergoing "Americanization" through expansion of American business and leisure interests in the Caribbean:

Barbados	Jamaica
Curacao	Trinidad and Tobago

Table 7. Postwar Developments in Asian and African Jewish Communities

1. Communities founded or given new form:

Hong Kong	Ryukyu Islands
India	Taiwan
Japan	Thailand
Philippines	

2. Communities abandoned or substantially reduced in size:

Angola	Cyprus
Burma	Indonesia
China	Malaysia
Congo Republic	Singapore
	Uganda

3. Communities essentially unaltered:
Kenya
Zambia

effect, it is a casualty of the growing pluralism within the Jewish community. The refugees from Eastern and Central Europe who became a major—if not the dominant—force in the consistory communities after World War II found the consistory pattern with its western emphasis on "religious" identification not only unfamiliar but positively foreign to them. The growth of secularism among the new generation of Jews made Jewish identification through a state-recognized religious structure increasingly incongruous and—to logical French minds, at least—too contradictory to be borne. At the same time, the new, extremely Orthodox congregations created by some of the refugees could not tolerate the laxity of the official "Orthodoxy" of the state-recognized structures. Finally, the rise of the State of Israel generated demands for mobilization of Diaspora resources that went beyond the capabilities of the consistory or of its century-old cousin charged with such tasks, the *Alliance Israélite Universelle. In a larger sense, the times themselves conspired against the old system, as concerned Jews the world over rediscovered the national-political aspects of Jewish existence.

The decline began when the tasks of communal

Table 8. Geographic arrangement of countries showing type of community organization. Numbers refer to Jewish populations in 1968

1. The Canadian Jewish Congress should be viewed as a Board of Deputies with a North American name.
2. Though Mexico is included among the neo-kehillah communities of Latin America, its lack of any overall structure uniting its region-of-origin communities in even the strictly formal sense really places its somewhere between the common Latin American model and the pattern of its great neighbor to the north.
3. Poland is rapidly becoming a remnant community.
4. There is no organized Jewish life in the Soviet Union, except for services in a few synagogues.
5. The extent to which the Jewish communities of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania are actually subjugated varies from time to time but the basic fact of their total dependence upon the decisions of the Communist leadership places them in this category. All are officially organized as modern kehillot.
6. All these communities are formally traditional kehillot.
7. Though in part subject to the condition of the modern subjugated communities, Yugoslavian Jewry has essentially perpetuated the kehillah pattern with formal government recognition.
8. Officially, Bulgarian Jewry is organized in a consistoire.
9. Lebanon, Morocco, and Tunisia do not officially restrict Jewish community life but in fact the communities are closely regulated.

reconstruction in the aftermath of the war proved too great for the local communities to handle alone. When individual memberships dropped and many of the best congregations and organizations simply never affiliated with their countrywide bodies, new countrywide organizations began to emerge, particularly in the social, political, and fund-raising fields, to reach those elements which were otherwise unaffiliated with the official community. In the process, they began to assume the functions of "roof" organizations to the extent that their local situation encourages such organizations and within the context of an emerging pluralism in Jewish communal life. Today the communities with the state-recognized religious structures contain 606,800 Jews and are second from the bottom in the ranking of categories. In fact, if France had not received the large migration from North Africa (which stands outside the consistory, by and large), the above figure would have been 50% smaller. Those communities are also losing ground, relatively and absolutely, with the possible exception of a rejuvenated France.

TACITLY RECOGNIZED COMMUNAL STRUCTURES. The transplantation of Jews with East and Central European backgrounds to Latin America, primarily in the 20th century, has given rise to a third pattern of Jewish communal organization—a replica of the European *kehillah* that does not enjoy the same official status but is tacitly recognized by Jews and non-Jews alike as the organized Jewish community. These communities have a distinct public character but are not directly recognized in public law. In the last analysis, they must rely entirely on the voluntary attachment of their members. In sum, they function in an environment that provides neither the cultural nor the legal framework for a European-model *kehillah*. Characteristically, these communities have emphasized the secular rather than the religious side of Jewish life. Founded in the main by men who considered themselves secularists (regardless of the level of their personal religious observance), they were developed in the mold of secular Diaspora nationalism, a powerful ideology at the time of their creation.

The Latin American communities have been relatively successful in their attempt to maintain European patterns primarily because the great social and cultural gap between the Jews and their neighbors aided in giving the Jews a self-image as a special and distinct, indeed superior, group, which in turn helped keep them apart in a corporate way as well as individually. This fact has important implications for the character of their community organization. In the first place while the communities themselves were all founded in the modern era, they are located in essentially homogeneous societies whose social structures originated before the beginning of that period. Moreover, they were founded by people coming for the most part from still-modernizing societies of a different kind in Europe. As a result, assimilation into the host society was far more difficult than in other countries of migration, while, at the same time, the Jewish founders were able to build their institutions upon a far stronger sense of communal self-government than that which prevailed among more emancipated Jews. The community-wide "roof" organizations they have created have thus been able to attract and keep virtually every Jewish organization and affiliated Jew within their structures on a formally voluntary basis, while gaining informal governmental recognition as the "address" of the Jewish community.

The same phenomena also contributed to the dominant pattern of organizing the Jewish immigrants according to their countries of origin. Just as the Jewish immigrants did not assimilate into their host societies, so, too, they did not assimilate among one another, following a pattern not uncommon in pre-Emancipation Jewish history by which Jews who settled in new lands frequently attempted to preserve the special cultural nuances of the lands of their birth. In the course of time, these communities loosely confederated with one another to deal with common problems that emerged in their relations with their environment, i.e., essentially those of immigration, anti-Semitism, and Israel. At the same time, each country-of-origin community retained substantial, if not complete, autonomy in internal matters and control over its own institutions.

In three of the large Latin American countries (including Argentina and Brazil, the largest), the indigenous federal structures of the countries themselves influenced the Jews to create countrywide confederations based on territorial divisions (officially uniting state or provincial communities which are, in fact, local communities concentrated in the state or provincial capitals). In the other 21, the local federation of the city containing the overwhelming majority of the Jewish population became the countrywide unit, usually with the designation "council of communities." The community councils of the six Central American countries (total Jewish population 5,650) have organized the Federation of Central American Jewish Communities to pool resources and provide common services.

With the revival of open Jewish settlement on the Iberian Peninsula, Jewish communities similar to the "council of communities" took shape in both Spain and Portugal, for many of the same reasons. Similarly, the small Jewish community of Monaco found that same pattern most suitable.

None of the tacitly recognized communal structures has been in existence for more than two generations, and the communities themselves originated no more than three or possibly four generations ago. Most of the smaller ones were in the 1970s entering their second generation, since they were created by the refugees of the 1930s and 1940s. Indeed, all gained substantially as a result of Nazism and the Jews' need to leave Europe before, during, and after World War II. Consequently, many, if not most, were still in the process of developing an appropriate and accepted community constitution.

The great postwar adjustment that has faced the Latin American communities centers on the emergence of a native-born majority in their ranks. This new generation has far less attachment to the "old country" way of life with its ideologies and country-of-origin communities making the whole community structure less relevant to them. Moreover, they are already beginning to assimilate into their own countries of birth, or at least into the local radical movements, in familiar Jewish ways. For them, the *deportivo*, or community recreational center, often seems the most relevant form of Jewish association. On the other hand, the host countries, whose aim is the cultural assimilation of all minorities into a common mold, are not particularly receptive to the perpetuation of communities built on a Diaspora nationalist ideology. At the same time, they are committed, at least theoretically, to guaranteeing full freedom of religion for all legitimate groups, thereby pushing Jews toward at least a formal religious identification in order to maintain their communal identity while conforming to local mores. Both developmemts are encouraging a trend toward a kind of associational Jewishness in place of the organic pattern of the founding generation. It is not surprising, then, that the organizational structure that at first reflected and then came to reenforce the interests of the founding generation is becoming increasingly obsolete, creating a constitutional crisis of first magnitude in the

Figure 5. The community's display at the Buenos Aires Hebrew Book Month, 1966. Courtesy Community Archives, Buenos Aires.

ranks of organized Latin American Jewry. To the degree that a territorially based communal structure has emerged, with its accompanying substructure of association activities whose participants are drawn in for reasons of interest rather than simply descent, this constitutional crisis is being overcome.

The tacitly recognized community structures of Latin American Jewry have become important forms of Jewish communal organization in modern times with 809,400 Jews living within their framework (more than in all of non-Communist continental Europe even after the arrival of the North Africans). While immigration is no longer a factor in their growth, they continue to be growing communities, at least by contemporary Jewish standards. At the same time, they are all located in very unstable environments, which do not necessarily encourage pluralism. Consequently, Latin American Jewries are also more closely tied to the State of Israel as a surrogate homeland (*madre patria* is the Spanish term they use) than any others. Their attempt to create a unified communal structure on a voluntary basis under such conditions bears close examination.

ENTIRELY VOLUNTARY COMMUNAL STRUCTURES. While it is true that all but a handful of the aforementioned communities are, strictly speaking, voluntary, in the sense that no Jew is forced by law to join them, in most of them the objective conditions of life in the host countries or among the Jews themselves are sources of great pressure toward affiliation. These pressures are substantially less in the group of communities here termed "entirely voluntary." While there are variations among them (from South Africa on one hand to the United States on the other), characteristic of them all is the sense on the part of both the community and the larger society that Jewish attachment is a form of "religious affiliation" and that an individual's choice of religious affiliation (or whether he wants to affiliate at all) is free, open, and entirely his own. Moreover, most of the countries in which these communities are located offer serious possibilities for individual assimilation: an attractive environment that offers great opportunities to Jews (and others) and is culturally compelling as well, many growing opportunities for *intermarriage, and a continually expanding range of serious personal contacts with the non-Jewish world. In fact, regardless of the intensity of their Jewish attachments, the overwhelming majority of the Jews in these countries have culturally assimilated into the majority's way of life. Thus the associational aspects of Jewish affiliation are far more important than the organic ones, and the community structure is built around associational premises from top to bottom.

The communities themselves have no special status in public law. At most, their "roof" organizations (if such exist) are tacitly accepted as the "address" of the Jewish community for certain limited purposes, and their subsidiary institutions are occasionally accorded government support (along with similar non-Jewish institutions) for specific functions. Neither do the communities have any strong tradition of communal self-government to call upon. All are entirely products of the modern era, so their founders were either post-Emancipation Jews or Jews seeking the benefits of Emancipation and desirous of throwing off the burdens of an all-encompassing corporate Jewish life. The larger communities in this category, at least, were created by successive waves of immigration, the greatest of which arrived after the mid-19th century. Thus the history of their present communal patterns does not go back more than three or four generations, if that. As in Latin America, their present leaders are sons of immigrants, if not immigrants themselves.

There are three kinds of entirely voluntary communal structures. The 11 communities with representative boards are characterized by their umbrella or roof organizations, usually called boards of deputies (or some variation thereof) in the British manner. These communities are all creations of Anglo-Jewry and are all located in what was once the British Empire. Structurally, they somewhat resemble the Latin American communities, with the representative boards, in most cases, formally embracing virtually all the other Jewish institutions and organizations in the community. What makes them different is the cultural content that infuses their structure and gives them life. Having integrated into pluralistic societies, the Jews in those communities are less prone to accept the "umbrella" role of their representative boards. Instead, they tend to create other organizations, which, although nominally associated with the board, are for all practical purposes independent of and even equal to it in stature and influence. The board, in such cases, tends to be pushed in the direction of becoming the ambassador of the Jewish community to the outside world, rather than its governing body (which some of its leaders would like it to be) or even its central forum (which is the role generally conceived for it). This tendency has been accelerated since World War II by the "coming of age" of the last great wave of immigrants and the consequent diminution of the monolithic character of most of the communities. The increase in competing interests, the decline in religious concern, and the growth of assimilatory tendencies have all contributed to this decline.

Communities with representative boards are also constructed on federal lines, though less formally so than the Latin American communities. The combination of the British and Jewish traditions encourages the use of federal principles, especially along associational and territorial lines. At the very least, the boards become federations of

institutions and organizations, and in the federal or quasi-federal countries they become territorial federations as well.

The United States, with over half of all the Jews in the Diaspora, stands in a category (as well as a class) by itself, one which may be termed American pluralistic. A very large, fully modern society, built from the start on individualistic principles—pluralistic in the full sense of the word, settled by several significantly different waves of very adventurous Jewish immigrants who shared one common commitment, that of seeking new lives as individuals—was not conducive to the development of sufficient homogeneity to permit the emergence of a neat communal structure. Consequently, every effort to create even so much as a single nationwide "address" for United States Jewry has failed.

In the earliest period of Jewish communal life in the United States, the small and relatively homogeneous Jewish population managed to achieve unity at the local level through a system of local congregations not dissimilar to those described in the following pages. The wave of immigrants from Central Europe that arrived in the 19th century put an end to that kind of unity. A larger and more complex American Jewish community then experimented with a representative board. Whether it would have succeeded or not became a moot point when the mass migration from Eastern Europe created the largest and most diverse Jewish community in history, scattered over the largest area ever considered as embracing a single countrywide community. Even local communities lost whatever features of unity they might have had under the impact of the new migrants. Their own efforts to impose community structures on the European model failed as fully as the earlier efforts to introduce the Anglo-Jewish model.

At the same time, the new immigrants brought with them, or stimulated by their arrival, the beginnings of a system of Jewish communal life more suited to the American environment. Such a system had its origins in the closing years of the 19th century but is essentially a 20th-century development. The basic principles of Jewish communal organization in the United States, as they have evolved, are worth noting.

The American Jewish community is built entirely upon an associational base; that is to say, not only is there no unavoidable compulsion, external or internal, to affiliate with organized Jewry, but all connections with organized Jewish life are based on voluntary association with some particular organization or institution, whether in the form of synagogue membership, contribution to the local Jewish Welfare Fund (which is considered to be an act of joining as well as contributing), or affiliation with a *B'nai B'rith Lodge or *Hadassah chapter. Even such organic entities as the family frequently take on an associational character in American Jewish life, namely the development and spread of the "family circle," a formal association of relatives. Indeed, the usual pattern for affiliated Jews is one of multiple association, with memberships in different kinds of associations reenforcing one another and creating a network of Jewish ties that binds the individual more firmly to the community. Without that associational base there would be no organized Jewish community at all; with it, the Jewish community attains the kind of social, and even a certain legal, status that enables it to fit well into the larger society.

The associational basis of American Jewish life is manifested in a wide variety of local and national organizations designed to suit every Jewish taste. While these organizations may be confined to specific localities or may reflect specific interests, classes, or types on a strictly supralocal basis, the most successful ones develop both countrywide and local facets. B'nai B'rith, a countrywide (and now worldwide) federation of multistate districts and local lodges, and Hadassah, a countrywide organization that emphasizes the role of its local chapters (which are often further divided into groups), are thus the two most successful mass Jewish organizations in the United States. The key to their success is that they provide both an overall purpose attuned to the highest goals of Jewish life and local attachments based on the immediate social needs of the individual Jew in such a way that people can be members for either or both reasons. Moreover, all large national Jewish organizations have found that their survival is contingent upon developing some sort of serious local dimension to accommodate the very combination of American and Jewish penchants for organizational arrangements based on federal principles. In both civilizations, mobilization of human resources rests to a substantial degree on promoting the individual's sense of participation.

While certain of its organizations sometimes succeed in developing from the top down, the institutions of the American Jewish community are essentially local and, at most, loosely confederated with one another for very limited purposes. The three great synagogue movements—the real custodians of Jewish affiliation in the United States since the end of World War II—are excellent cases in point. All three are essentially confederations of very independent local congregations, linked by relatively vague persuasional ties and a need for certain technical services. The confederations function to provide the requisite emotional reenforcement of those ties and the desired services for their member units. As in the case of the other great countrywide organizations, such as the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds or the Jewish Welfare Board, it is the combination of countrywide identification based on essentially local considerations and attachments that makes the synagogue movements successful. With the exception of a few institutions of higher education (and, in the past, a few specialized hospitals, now nonsectarian), all Jewish social, welfare, and educational institutions are local in name and in fact; some are loosely confederated on a supralocal basis, but most are not.

What have emerged to unite all these very independent associations are a number of overlapping local and supralocal federations designed for different purposes. The most powerful of these are, respectively, the synagogue confederations and the local federations of Jewish agencies whose own countrywide confederation, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (like the synagogue confederations), has been growing in strength since World War II. They are the only ones that are able to claim near-universal membership and all-embracing purposes, though none of them can really claim the position of authority of an overall, countrywide "roof" body. Other federative arrangements tend to be limited to single functions and rarely have more than consultative or accreditation power. What is important to note is the consistent use of such arrangements to achieve any kind of unity in the community. One result of this is that power in the community is shared among different loci through consent, and such sharing is only possible when the ultimate power of the local community is recognized.

American Jewish unity on a confederative basis is very different from unity on a hierarchical one. What emerges is not a single pyramidal structure, not even one in which the "bottom" rules the "top," as in the case of most of the communities with representative boards, but a three-dimensional matrix consisting of a bundle of institutions and organizations tied together by a crisscross of memberships,

shared purposes, and common interests, whose roles and powers vary according to situation and issue. The demands placed upon the American Jewish community beginning in the late 1930s led to a growing recognition of the need to reconstitute the community's organizational structure at least to the extent of rationalizing the major interinstitutional relationships and generally tightening the matrix. These efforts at reconstitution received added impetus from the changes in American society as a whole (and the Jews' place in it) after 1945. They signaled the abandonment of earlier chimerical efforts to create a more orthodox organizational pyramid in imitation of foreign patterns which would have been quite out of place, given the character of American society as a whole.

Eleven small communities, only one of which (New Zealand) has over 1,000 Jews, are organized primarily as local congregations. All but one are offshoots of English and American Jewry and share the characteristics of the native communities, namely full voluntarism and identification primarily through religious institutions. The limited size of the communities and the low level of interest of most local Jewish residents keep their organized Jewish life within a more or less neat framework that may mask grave weaknesses of morale and commitment. As these are all weak communities, almost by their very nature, the postwar changes have affected them somewhat less than the larger communities. While the process of assimilation has been hastened, the rise of Israel has provided a previously lacking focus for their Jewish interests, which they cultivate assiduously.

All told, the 22 entirely voluntary communities contain 6,781,150 Jews, or approximately half of the total Jewish population. For them, the problem of Jewish community organization has taken on a new dimension rooted entirely in the modern and "postmodern" worlds. As such, they are in the vanguard of the development of new patterns of Jewish life in the Diaspora today and are, willy-nilly, pointing out the direction that communities with older forms of communal organization give every sign of following, for better or for worse. Thus each in its own way is pioneering on the frontiers of Jewish communal existence.

SUBJUGATED COMMUNITIES. In a far different situation are the 17 Jewish communities that must try to maintain their existence under conditions of subjugation that range from open and intense to indirect and subtle. Nine of these communities are located in Arab countries and are in effect the remnants of what were, until the rise of Israel, flourishing traditional *kehillot*. Their state of subjugation dates from their host countries' attainment of independence or the establishment of Israel and thus reflects another kind of postwar reconstitution. The nature of the subjugation varies from virtually complete suppression of all communal and private Jewish activities (Iraq) to government appointment of puppet leadership to manage the community's limited affairs (Morocco). In every case, the situation deteriorated after each Israel victory, and the number of Jews remaining in the communities decreased. Since emigration from the larger of these communities is not permitted, it seems clear that they are fated to disappear or to become no more than very small remnant communities. In the meantime, communal life proceeds within the permitted limits in each of them, which means some form of religious life, increasingly limited opportunities to provide children with a Jewish education, and some limited social services.

Eight other subjugated communities are located in Communist countries. At the very least, they are subjugated in the way all potential rivals for the citizens' interest are curbed in totalitarian societies. This is the case in Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania. Jewish communities in the latter three actually have legal status similar to that given their sister communities in other continental European countries and, within the limits imposed upon them, function through state-recognized communal structures. At worst, all possibilities for Jewish communal life are destroyed, and the Jews themselves become special victims of a harsh policy directed against them, as in the U.S.S.R. and Poland. In any case, whatever organized Jewish life there is exists on sufferance of the authorities, who are fully willing to intervene in Jewish communal affairs in every way as a matter of ideology and policy. Again, with the exception of the U.S.S.R., all these communities became subjugated after World War II. Soviet Jewry, subjugated since the October Revolution of 1917, virtually lost the last remnants of its organized life during the "black years" of Stalin's rule in the aftermath of World War II. All have found conditions worsened after each Israel victory. They, too, are remnant communities (though larger than those in the Arab countries), most of whose earlier residents either died in the Holocaust or emigrated to Israel. Because of the great number of Jews in the U.S.S.R. who are unable to leave, even if they wish to do so, close to three million Jews (2,902,900) live in the subjugated communities. (Their number is probably much greater since the Soviet census figures are widely contested as an underestimate of about one million Jews.) Yet outside the U.S.S.R. and two or three other countries these are remnant communities which the Jews are abandoning as rapidly as they can—if they can.

QUASI-COMMUNITIES. The other remnant communities (whose Jewish populations have virtually all left for other countries) can be categorized with two other groups as quasi-communities. That is to say, they are Jewries with some attributes of an organized community, but with no permanence. Most of these quasi-communities are outposts established by Israel and American Jews in the course of missions throughout the postwar world.'·Six of these communities, all but one in the Far East, were established or given organizational form by Jews serving in the American armed forces. The five Far Eastern quasi-communities have existed since an American "presence" was established there after World War II. They are generally built upon military religious facilities provided through the military chaplaincy. American Jewish chaplains and soldiers with religious and communal interests have even managed to mobilize the indigenous Jewish civilian populations wherever any exist and, in some cases (Japan, Okinawa, Taiwan), have been instrumental in transforming quasi-communities into permanent ones. Still, the survival of existing quasi-communities appears to depend upon the continued presence of the American Jews.

Eight of the quasi-communities, two in South Asia and the rest in Africa, have been created by Israelis serving in the host countries on diplomatic or technical assistance missions. They are generally built around the provision of educational facilities for the Israelis' children. Since they are located in countries with virtually no other Jews, they are even more dependent upon transients than the American outposts. No population figures are available for most of these communities since their numbers are constantly fluctuating, but the total cannot exceed 2,000.

Twenty-two countries have permanent Jewish residents (several hundred in a few cases) and no organized Jewish community life. In eight of them there was once a significant number of Jews who have since left. On their departure, organized Jewish life came to an end. The other 14 simply have too few Jews or have attracted people born

as Jews but do not care about maintaining their Jewish ties. Perhaps 1,500 Jews are scattered throughout these countries.

Community Structure in a Voluntaristic Environment. Whatever the form of community organization, the primary fact of Jewish communal life today is its voluntary character. While there are some differences from country to country in the degree of actual freedom to be Jewish or not, the virtual disappearance of the remaining legal and even social and cultural barriers to individual free choice in all but a handful of countries has made free association the dominant characteristic of Jewish life in the "postmodern" era. Consequently, the first task of each Jewish community is to learn to deal with the particular local manifestation of this freedom. This task is a major factor in determining the direction of the reconstitution of Jewish life in this generation. The new voluntarism extends itself into the internal life of the Jewish community as well, generating pluralism even in previously free but relatively homogeneous or monolithic community structures. This pluralism is exacerbated by the breakdown of the traditional reasons for being Jewish and the rise of new incentives for Jewish association. At the same time, the possibilities for organizing a pluralistic Jewish community have also been enhanced by these new incentives and the "postmodern" breakdown of the rigid ideologies that divided Jews in the latter third of the modern era. Certainly the creation of the State of Israel has given the Jewish people a new and compelling focus that enhances the Jewish attachments of virtually all Jews. The state's crucial role as a generator of Jewish ties, regardless of other differences, was decisively demonstrated at the time of the *Six-Day War (1967).

Pluralism organized into more or less permanent structural arrangements leads to federalism, and federalism has been the traditional way in which the Jewish people has maintained its unity in the face of the pressures of diversity. This is one tradition that is not being abandoned today. The previous sections have suggested the wide variety of federal arrangements that presently exist in the organized Jewish communities of the world. In each case, the Jewish community adapts itself to the environment of the host country so that its own structure reflects local conditions while facilitating (as far as possible) the achievement of the main purposes of corporate Jewish life. In virtually every case, the structure that emerges from the adaptation is based on federal principles and uses federal forms. The pluralistic federalism of the voluntaristic community substantially eliminates the neat pattern of communal organization usually displayed as the model by those who concern themselves with rationalizing Jewish community life. Though smaller communities in different cultural settings are not likely to conform completely, more and more the seemingly anarchistic American pattern is revealed as the paradigm of their development, if not the vision of their future. Certainly the model of a hierarchic organizational structure does not offer an accurate picture of the distribution of powers and responsibilities in any Jewish community today. Even in the more formally structured communities of Central Europe and Latin America, the institution that appears to be at the top of the pyramid is really dependent upon and often manipulated by the institutions and organizations that would be placed farther down on the structure. The local community that "should" be on the bottom is, in fact, often the real center of power. For communities like the United States, even the modified model is useless. Nor is there a central governing agent in most communities that serves as the point at which authority, responsibility, and power converge. Even in the communities ostensibly dominated by a consistory, the

erstwhile central body has been shunted aside to become just another specialized institution in an oligopoly of such institutions.

The structure of contemporary Jewish communities is best understood as a multidimensional matrix (or mosaic) that takes the form of a communications network; a set of interacting institutions which, while preserving their own structural integrity and roles, are informed by shared patterns of culture, activated by a shared system of organizations, and governed by shared leadership cadres. The character of the matrix and its communications network varies from community to community, with particularly sharp variations separating the six basic types. In some cases, the network is connected through a common center, which serves as the major (but rarely, if ever, the exclusive) channel for communication. In others, the network forms a matrix without any real center, with the lines of communication crisscrossing in all directions. In all cases, the boundaries of the community are revealed only when the pattern of the network is uncovered. The pattern itself is perceptible only when both of its components are revealed, namely its institutions and organizations with their respective roles and the way in which communications are passed between them.

The pattern itself is inevitably a dynamic one; that is to say, there is rarely a fixed division of authority and influence but, rather, one that varies from time to time and usually from issue to issue, with different elements in the matrix taking on different "loads" at different times and relative to different isues. Since the community is a voluntary one, persuasion rather than compulsion, influence rather than power are the only tools available for making and executing policies. This also works to strengthen its character as a communications network since the character, quality, and relevance of what is communicated and the way in which it is communicated frequently determine the extent of the authority and influence of the parties on the communication.

Community and Polity. The discussion in the foregoing pages has been more or less restricted to the matrix of institutions and organizations that form a community on the countrywide plane. The Jewish polity as a whole, however, functions on several planes. The federal connections between local and countrywide communities and between Jewish communities around the world have also undergone important changes since World War II, and the feedback has begun to have a significant effect on the countrywide and local communities involved.

Before the modern era, although there were no formal organizations that functioned on a worldwide basis to unite the various Jewish communities, the common allegiance to halakhic Judaism and reliance upon traditional Jewish law gave the Jewish people the constitutional unity it needed. During the modern era, this unity was shattered, and nothing comparable developed to replace it. By the end of the 19th century, all that there was in the way of an organized worldwide Jewish polity was an informal alliance and organizations of Jewish "aristocrats" in the Western world who had taken it upon themselves to try and defend Jewish interests and protect the rights of individual Jews, so as to aid in their emancipation. These inadequate arrangements effectively perished in World War I, when the world which encouraged that mode of community action came to an end.

Meanwhile, tentative steps in the direction of a reorganization more appropriate to the 20th century were beginning to be made. The World Zionist Organization and its member organizations, the *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the B'nai B'rith, and later the *World

Jewish Congress began to offer more routinized and less elitist means of tying Jews together on a worldwide basis. All together, they began to create an infrastructure for a new Jewish confederation in the making.

Since World War II, the structure of the Jewish confederation has been undergoing further adaptation. This strengthening of the organizational aspects of the worldwide Jewish polity is partly a consequence of the changes taking place in its constituent communities. The other crucial factor is the State of Israel. The organizational implications of the existence of the state are just beginning to be felt, but the trend is clear: the concentration in Israel of the major decision-making organs of the Jewish confederation and the organizations that serve it and the routing of their decision-making procedures through Jerusalem. This trend has become particularly noticeable since the Six-Day War, after which the Israel government began to take very explicit steps to reorganize and strengthen the institutions and organizations of world Jewry by tying them closer to the state. Israel's greater ability, as an independent state, to deal with political matters and its great stake in strengthening the worldwide Jewish confederation have led it to assume this role. It is aided by the fact that it has become the focal point of Jewish identification, the one Jewish phenomenon whose crucial importance is accepted by virtually all Jews and that has the ability to mobilize widespread public efforts in what is, after all, still a voluntary polity. Perhaps paradoxically, at the very moment that free individual choice in the matter of Jewish attachment has reached heights never previously attained, there has been a rediscovery of the Jewish polity, i.e., of the special political character of the Jewish community. Its implications for Jewish communal organization are just beginning to be felt.   [D.J.E.]

See also Communal *Amenities; *Autonomy; Judicial *Autonomy; Autonomous Jewish *Finances; Territorial *Federation of Communities; *Foundations (Community Federations); *Consistory; *Councils of the Lands; *A.M.I.A.; *DAIA; *Kultus Gemeinde; *Status-Quo; *Millet; *Landesjudenschaften; *Jewish Quarter; *Chief Rabbi; Ḥakham Bashi; *Muqaddim; *Takkanot; *Shtadlan; *Pinkas; *Exilarch; *Herem; *Herem ha-Yishuv; *Herem Bet Din; *Minority Rights; *Synagogue. For communal organizations in the various countries, see entries for the respective countries.

Bibliography: Bi-Tefuẓot ha-Golah (Eng. ed., In the Dispersion; 1958–); S. Federbush, World Jewry Today (1959); Institute of Jewish Affairs, New York, Jewish Communities of the World (1959); J. Katz, Tradition and Crisis (1961); O. Janowsky (ed.), The American Jew: A Reappraisal (1964); JYB; AJYB.

COMMUNITY TOKENS, internal Jewish currency. The special conditions under which Jews lived in the Diaspora before Emancipation and in Ereẓ Israel especially up to World War I led to a kind of community similar to a miniature state. In order to preserve the character of the community, whose members did not enjoy the privileges of other citizens, Jews were obliged to create and provide for their own institutions, such as synagogues, rabbinic courts, schools, hospitals, homes for the aged, soup kitchens for the poor, etc. All these institutions were administered by the community and financed by its members through ordinary and extraordinary contributions. In order to cope with these tasks, the communal leaders at times resorted to issuing tokens of their own, with an internal value only and not generally acceptable outside the community. In order not to raise the suspicion of the authorities, they were often cast in a style that distinguished them from legal tender. Many communities issued tokens in metal or paper, and much information about them has been lost. Whenever a new kind of token is discovered, a fresh investigation has to be carried out.

Diaspora. Perhaps the oldest Jewish metal tokens are those issued by the community of Rome in the ghetto period. These were given to the shoḥet for the slaughter of a small chicken (1½ baiocchi) and a large one (3 baiocchi) and the proceeds went to the talmud torah fund. The Sephardi immigrants in *Constantinople had their own community centers and synagogues. They issued 5 para brass tokens on which the origin of the community is mentioned, such as Araico (Sarajevo), Shirigis (Saragossa), and Cordoba. The community of Beirut issued a brass charity token for the sick (Bikkur Ḥolim) in 1904. During World War I and in the first years after, many communities in Russia and Poland issued paper tokens. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire at least two metal tokens were issued: one in the Austrian community of *Mattersdorf with the initials I.G.M. (Israelitische Gemeinde Mattersdorf) and an equivalent abbreviation in Hebrew; and the other issued by the Hungarian community of *Satoralja ujhely in German and Hungarian (Cultussteuer der israelitischen Gemeinde S. A. Ujhely). In the 1830s the Jewish merchants of Belgrade obtained from Prince Milosh recognition of their custom of minting their own small change. Private issues were not uncommon; various Jewish enterprises issued their own tokens. Julius *Popper, owner of the gold mines in Tierra del Fuego, issued in El Paramo two gold coins of 1 and 5 grams respectively in his name: "Popper-Tierra del Fuego." The numismatic dealer Henry Seligmann, of Hannover, Germany, in 1921 issued porcelain tokens in the denominations of 25 and 50 Pfennig. Various Jewish enterprises in the United States, especially restaurants, circulated their own tokens.

Ereẓ Israel. Under Turkish rule in the 19th and 20th centuries, the communities in Ereẓ Israel issued a considerable number of tokens. A brass Ẓedakah token was issued in Jerusalem by the Torat Ḥayyim yeshivah, which also put out a small stamp-shaped paper token of ¼ para and different kinds of paper currency in denominations of 1, 5, and 10 gold Napoleons. Other communities in Jerusalem, such as the various kolelim, also issued their own paper currency, as did Hebron yeshivah (in Jerusalem) during the British Mandate. There were other brass tokens, such as a square one bearing the legend שְׂכַר שְׁחִיטָה דַקָה ("fee for the slaughter of a sheep or goat"), a rectangular one inscribed צְדָקָה תַּצִּיל מִמָּוֶת ("charity saves from death"), a round one with the legend קרש ("grush" = piaster = 40 para), and another round one with the abbreviation צל"ע, צְדָקָה לַעֲנִיִּים, "charity for the poor"). Turkish copper coins were also issued, countermarked with the same abbreviation. In the 1880s the colony of Zikhron Ya'akov and the agricultural school of Mikveh Israel issued brass tokens of 1, ½, and ¼ (presumably piaster), which, however, were declared illegal by the Turkish authorities. Another more primitive brass token was issued by the colony of Reḥovot, which also issued paper tokens inscribed in Hebrew and French in denominations of ½, 1, 3, 6, 13, and 26 piasters. The colony of Petaḥ Tikvah issued zinc tokens of 1 and 2 (undefined denominations), and in the early 1920s also issued paper tokens in denominations of ½, 1, and 10 Egyptian piasters, then the legal currency in Palestine. In 1916 the city of Tel Aviv put into circulation paper tokens of ¼, ½, 1, and 1 beshlik and 1 franc as an emergency measure. However, this was prohibited by the Turks and had to be withdrawn. To overcome the lack of currency from 1914 to 1916, the Anglo-Palestine Co., the forerunner of the Anglo-Palestine Bank and today's Bank Leumi, issued checks in denominations of 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 francs which were accepted by the yishuv as legal tender. In the early 1950s, during another shortage of small change, the Tel Aviv municipality issued paper tokens in denominations of 50 and 100 perutah respectively. The ½ mil of kofer ha-yishuv was a brass token that served as a self-imposed security tax during the British Mandate (from 1939) to meet the requirements of the Haganah. Paper tokens were issued by various bus companies in aid of the Magen David Adom. During the British Mandate there were private issues of small paper, mainly by restaurants.

Bibliography: B. Kisch, in: HJ, 15 (1953), 167–82; Y. Shachar, in: The Holy Land Philatelist, 64–65 (1960), 1306–07; H. Feuchtwanger, in: Israel Numismatic Bulletin, 5 (1963), 2ff.; A. Kindler, in: Museum Haaretz Bulletin, 7 (1965), 66ff.; see also pls. x–xv.
[A.K.]

Unit Two
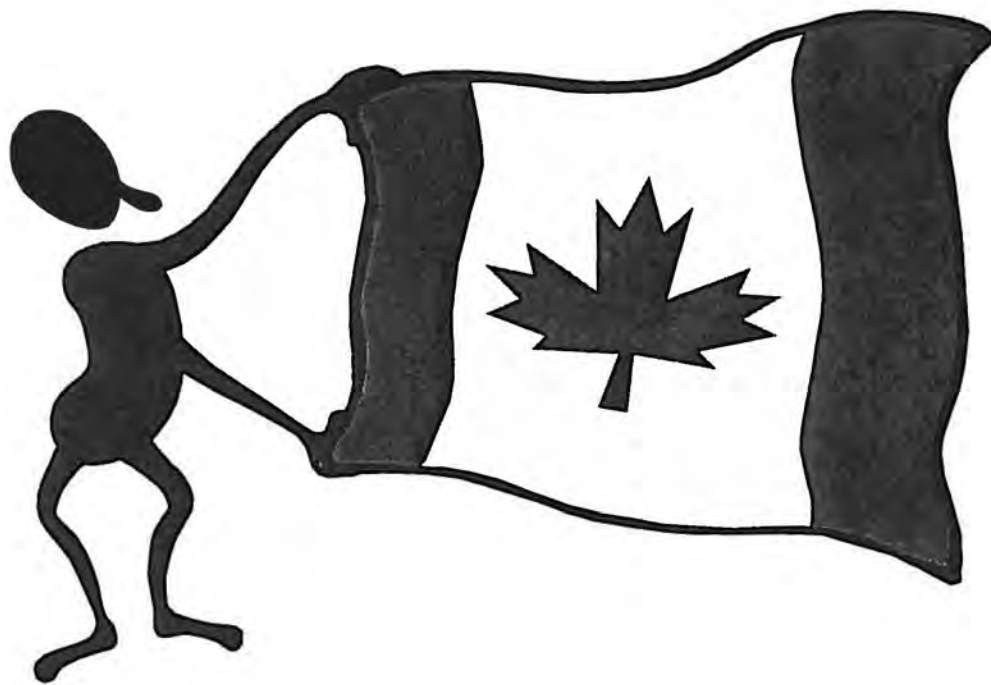
The Birth of the Canadian Jewish Community

Unit Two: The Birth of the Canadian Jewish Community

In this unit students will begin to explore the sociological issues that existed in Canada during the late 1700's and early 1800's (1760 to 1846) when Jews were settling, largely in Lower Canada (Quebec). They will examine the face of the community of the early Jewish settlers, and the varied experiences that shaped this Jewish community.

This unit will require 5-8 lessons to complete.

<u>Essential Questions to be answered by this unit:</u>

1) Who were the Jews that immigrated to Canada during the late 1700's and early 1800's?
2) Where did they settle and what were their experiences in creating a new life and a new community for themselves?

<u>Objectives (SWBAT):</u>

1) Identify the various countries from where Jews immigrated to Canada on a world map.
2) Identify on a map of Canada the region of Lower Canada (Quebec) and Halifax, Nova Scotia where the Jews settled.
3) Identify several of the various areas of work Jews found themselves upon settlement.
4) Identifies reasons for the influx of Jews to Canada.

The teacher based upon additional questions being investigated can incorporate additional performance criteria into this unit.

<u>Suggested Learning Activities</u>

1. **Map Work** – Use a world map and have the students identify where Jews came from and where they settled in Canada – In Lower Canada (Quebec) and Halifax, Nova Scotia (have them plot route and location). Have them explore the various regions of the world where Jews left (Spain, Portugal, Holland, Britain, Germany, The Thirteen Colonies, etc), and hypothesise over some of the factors behind their emigration.

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> In cooperation with a teacher librarian or the use of a library have the students in either groups or with a partner, research these various countries and determine possible reasons why Jews might have left. Use encyclopaedias, Jewish history books, Encyclopaedia Judaica, Atlas, etc… (Catholic Spain and Portugal who no longer wanted Jews in the country, Thirteen Colonies due to loyalty to the British Empire and increased opportunity as trade merchants in Lower Canada).

> For map please see: http://www.eduplace.com/ss/ssmaps/ (A web-site dedicated to providing outline maps for use in the home, classroom).

2. **Jewish Professions** – Have the students use the Internet to research the various areas of work that the Jews found, and eventually have them role-play these various professions. Identifying the key elements of the work. Work with the librarian in the school to determine what resources are available that deal with historical occupations and jobs in Canada. Additional resources can include general Canadian history textbooks, pictures, and encyclopaedias. It is also important for the students to explore where in Canada these occupations primarily took place and where these Jews lived.

Use the following web site to investigate:
http://www.cmcc.muse.digital.ca/cmc/cmceng/canp1eng.html (Canadian Museum of Civilization – Clickable maps can take you on a tour of Canadian history from 1000 – 1890).

Also enclosed in this guide is a copy of a chapter from **The Canadian Jewish Mosaic**, **pages 27-48, by M. Weinfield** that among other things deals with Jewish occupational patterns in Canada.

Possible Job Areas Include:
> Trade Merchants in fur, liquor, animals
> Importers of manufactured goods
> Land owners (bought, leased and selling of property)
> Ship owners
> Farming (when they began moving into the Prairies)

Activity one and two should be taught one after the other, and include lessons by the teacher based upon the settlement of Jews into both Halifax and Quebec weaved throughout. A large number of Jewish traders arrived into Halifax during the 1750's and there settled and founded a strong Jewish presence (for more information see enclosed sheets from Gerald Tulchinsky,

Taking Root, pages 82-83 and Irving Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours*, pages 7-8 – enclosed). The same lessons should take place about Quebec and other areas of settlement. For more information please consult the Tulchinsky and Abella books listed in the resource section of the guide.

3. **Chevra Kadisha** – Visit the local funeral home and discuss the history of the chevra kaddisah and why they were immediately formed when a Jewish community was established. If a trip is not possible invite a guest who can discuss with the students the essential pieces needed in a Jewish community.

4. **Jewish Museum** – Visit the local Jewish museum or the city Jewish archives that can help paint a picture of what the Jewish community looked liked during its formative years.

5. **City Hall** – Visit the city hall / city archives if they are able to help paint of picture of what they Jewish community looked like during its formative years.

6. **Creating a Congregation** – Have the students imagine that they are going to be starting a new congregation in Montreal during the late 1760's. Discuss and research the history of the Montreal Jewish community and Congregation Shearith Israel in 1768 (the first synagogue established in Canada), help them identify some of the initials steps that this community took to establish themselves. Discuss the bond this trade merchant community had with tradition in laying Jewish roots even though the majority of them were transient. Have the students create a list of needs for the establishment of their community keeping in mind what they know about the Montreal Jewish Community and the synagogue that was established.

The teacher should create a simulation where the students will be given a designated amount of money to purchase those items they feel are necessary for the establishment of their Jewish community. Each item will cost a certain amount of money, but the students should in the end not be able to purchase everything that they would like for the community. They will need to prioritise and chose those elements and items they most desire.

The following is a potential list of items and buildings that either need to built and / or purchased to establish a Jewish community.
   a) Land for a cemetery
   b) Day school.
   c) Synagogue.
   d) Torah Scroll

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e) Kosher butcher shop
f) Kosher Foods store
g) Mikveh
h) Siddurim for the synagogue

i) Jewish Community Centre
j) Kosher Bakery
k) Etc... (more items should be added by the teacher).

➢ The students need to determine what are the most important pieces of a new community and what they want to see built and bought for their community. Once they have used all of the money to build and purchase they will need to write a plan of what steps they will take, what will be built or purchased first and why. They will need to explain the items they have chosen and why they feel these are the most important first steps to be taken, and how they will help the Jewish Community grow and flourish and continue to grow.

7. **Time Line** – Begin the classroom time line that will highlight key events from throughout Canadian Jewish history. See Additional Learning Activities for a full outline of this project.

8. **Quebec Act** – Discuss and analyse the Quebec Act of 1774. See the '*Additional Learning Activities*' section for a complete description of this activity.

Resources

1. Abella, Irving. <u>A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada</u>. Toronto: Key Porters Books, 1999.
   (See chapters 1 and 2 for historical information related to several of the suggested activities).

2. Tulchinsky, Gerald. <u>Taking Root: The origins of the Canadian Jewish Community</u>. Toronto: Stoddart, 1992.
   (See chapters 1 and 2 for historical information related to several of the suggested activities).

3. http://www.cmcc.muse.digital.ca/cmc/cmceng/welcmeng.html
   ➢ An internet site for the Canadian Museum of Civilization
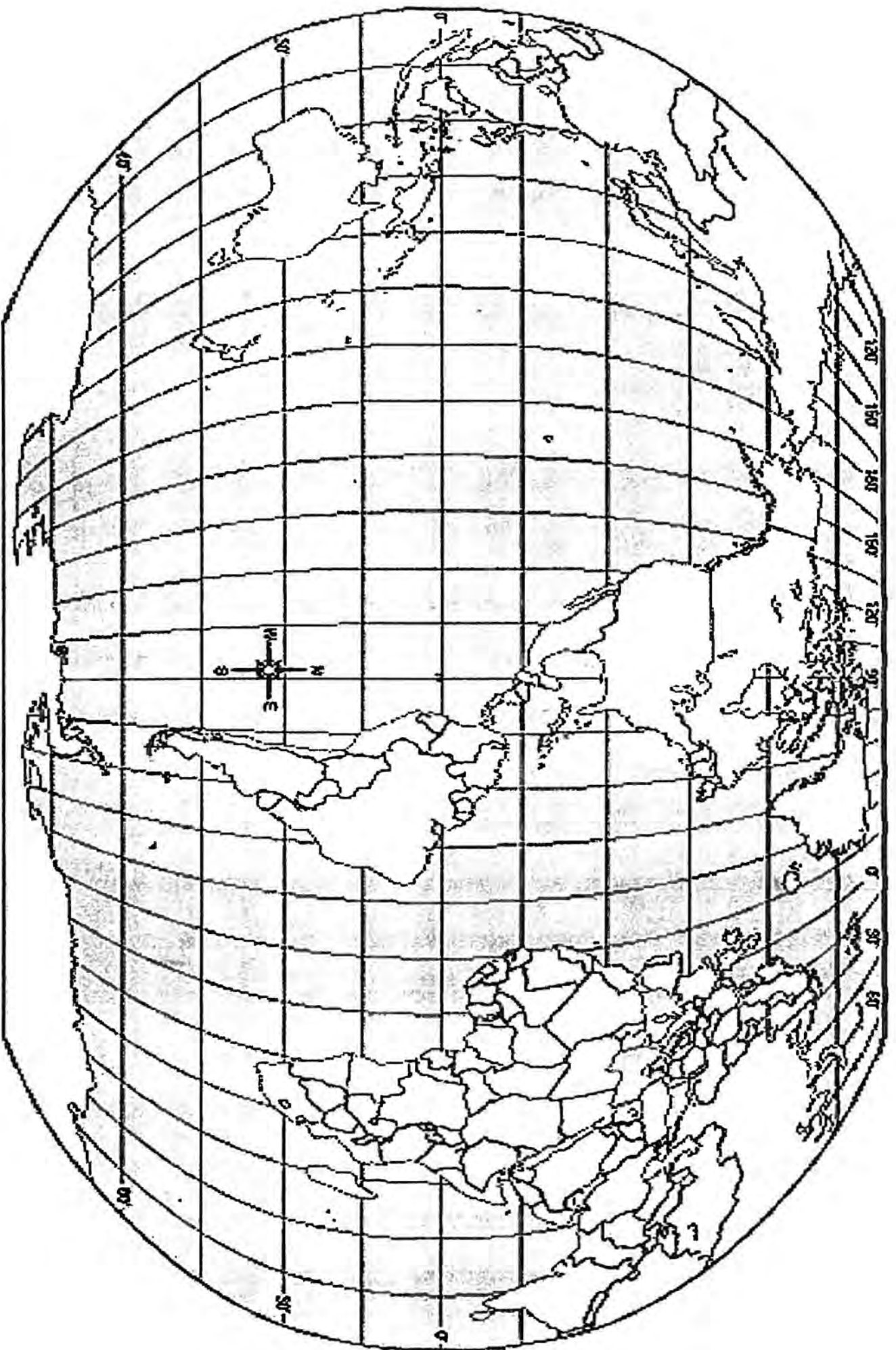
North America

Ontario

Mauti, Trudy. Let's Explore Canada.
Thornhill: Apple Press, 1985.
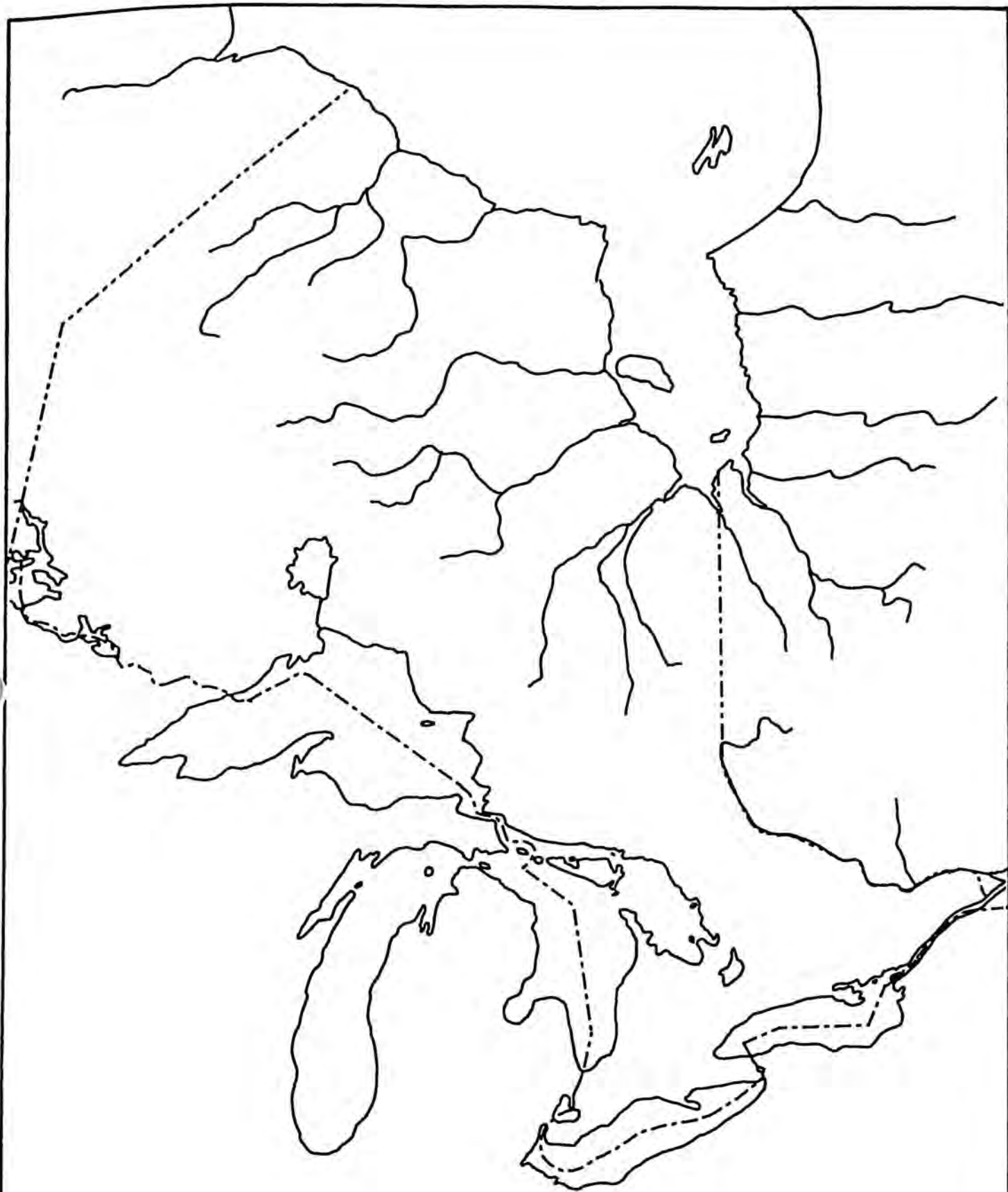
Québec and Atlantic Provinces

Mauti, Trudy. Let's Explore Canada.
Thornhill: Apple Press, 1985
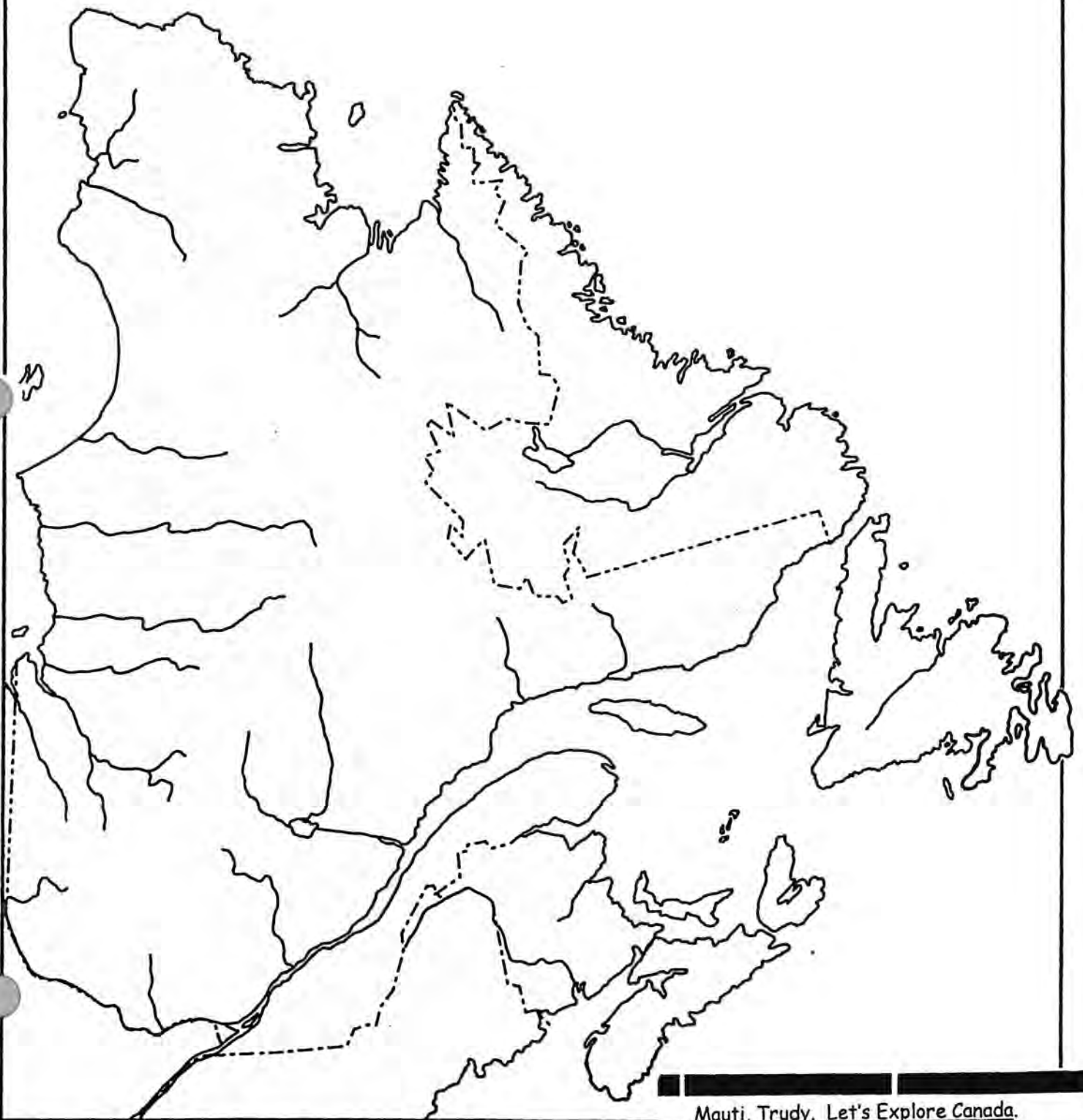
Able and Willing to Work:
Jewish Immigration and Occupational Patterns in Canada

by Joseph Kage

Where does an immigrant settle when he or she arrives in a new country? Many personal and social factors determine the answer, among them a desire to settle near friends or relatives. Or, if the immigrant has no close connections in the receiving country, he or she often heads for a community where previous immigrants from the homeland have already settled.

Often, too, the immigrant's destination is determined by his occupation, especially if opportunities for employment of his skills are restricted to or most plentiful in certain areas. If he has no training that is of immediate use in the new country, he is likely to be particularly open to settling near friends or compatriots who can help him. Thus, we see that there are direct, if complex, connections between immigrants' employment in their new homes, their numbers, place, and circumstances of origin, and their numbers, place, and circumstances of resettlement. These connections are likely to be particularly strong if the impetus for emigration came from persecution or other problems that made earning a living difficult or impossible in the old country.

Jewish immigration to North America is a case in point. Many Jews decided to come to Canada or the United States because prejudice or outright persecution in Europe made earning a livelihood difficult if not impossible. Once on this continent, their patterns of settlement and their occupational profiles were greatly influenced by their desire for employment, the skills they brought with them, their willingness to adapt to available opportunities, and, as the years went on, the existence of Jewish communities ready to help them. The connections are so strong that it is possible to sketch the history of Jewish immigration to Canada in relation to the occupations Jews entered after their arrival.

Jewish Immigration to Canada: An Overview

Jewish immigration to Canada can be seen as a series of waves resulting from circumstances and policies both in the countries of emigration and in Canada (and the colonies that preceded it). Each presented specific sets of socio-economic circumstances — and correspondingly different patterns of settlement and employment.

In this view, the first period may be defined as running from the years of early British colonization until 1841. The individual Jews involved were few in number and came not as penniless refugees but as alert businessmen seeking new economic horizons. Most seem to have come from the United States or Britain.

The period from 1841 through the rest of the nineteenth century was a time of very rapid growth in Canada, with the overall population increasing nearly fivefold. It was also the time of the great outpourings of Jewish immigration from continental Europe to North America. The first of these, from the German states and other Western European nations in the 1840s, barely touched Canada. The second, however, from Central Europe and Russia after about 1880, coincided with the move to fill the vast open land of the young country, and a sizable number of Jews — mostly young, hungry, and eager for any kind of work — were among the many immigrants who were attracted to Canada during the last two decades of the century.

It was the third period of immigration, from the end of the nineteenth century through the 1920s, that brought the tidal wave of Jews to the Dominion. As the situation in Eastern Europe deteriorated, Jews poured into Canada by the thousands. During the period 1900 to 1920, the overall Canadian population increased by about two-thirds, but the Jewish population grew by some 750 per cent. On arrival, the immigrants were often in desperate straits, but many were skilled labourers or artisans and they settled relatively quickly into the growing industrial economy.

Soon after the First World War, however, Canada sought to staunch the flow of newcomers; the eventual result was the restrictive Revised Immigration Act of 1927, which shut the doors on most would-be immigrants. Despite conditions in Europe, few Jews were able to enter the country until late 1946, when the regulations were changed, partly in response to humanitarian pleas but partly in recognition of the fact that many Holocaust survivors had useful job skills. During the last thirty-five years, similar dual considerations seem to have marked the admission of several other significant waves of immigrant Jews, especially those from North Africa, Israel, and the Soviet Union.

Thus, we see that although the first Jews came to Canada around 1760, most of the country's present Jewish population is not descended from these early settlers. Rather, the vast majority are either immigrants themselves or second- or third-generation descendants of persons who migrated to Canada within the last eighty years.

Early Jewish Settlement: 1760–1840

The French colonies of early Canada seem to have had no Jews. Certainly, the charter of the Company of New France, granted in 1627, stipulated that the colony should be populated by Catholics of French stock. This policy applied, of course, to Jews as well as Protestants, so the former were limited to incidental contact with New France and its people.

The early English settlements in Canada do not appear to have included any Jews, either. There is, however, evidence that

some Jewish merchants from Newport, Rhode Island settled in Halifax, Nova Scotia soon after its founding in 1749, although the duration of their community is questionable. Reports of occasional — and occasionally prominent — Jewish settlers turn up in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth histories of several other Maritime centres, but they seem to have settled as individuals. There are no records of organized congregations.[1]

Thus, the beginning of permanent Jewish settlement in Canada is usually given as the time New France came under British rule. The Conquest removed the colony's previous bars against non-Catholic settlers, and the first Jews to make their homes there were members of Major-General Lord Jeffrey Amherst's forces, including his commissary officer. This handful of Jewish military men was soon augmented by other Jews from Britain and the thirteen colonies. There were not many of them. The first official census that recorded Jews in Canada was taken in 1831 and showed 107 Jewish residents; a decade later, almost eighty years after the Conquest, the number had only grown to 154.

These first Jewish immigrants were atypical not only in their small number but in their backgrounds and occupational levels. They belonged to the middle class, possessed fine social and educational backgrounds, and were engaged in trade, commerce, and industry, often very successfully. Their adjustment to their new environment apparently did not pose many problems, certainly no more than were faced by British settlers of similar status. A small group, generally well-to-do, and brought up in the prevailing language and culture, they appear to have been well accepted by the middle and upper classes of contemporary Canadian society. In Montreal, which was the centre of the early Jewish community, Jews were among the guests regularly invited to attend the governors' levees. They often participated in the gatherings of such groups as the Saint George's Society, the Saint Andrew's Society, and the Saint Patrick's Society. They were members of the Whist Club and the Hunt Club, and their homes were frequently centres of social gatherings. The governors invited young Jewish men to take up commissions in His Majesty's militia, and many did so. Jews were among the comfortable Montrealers who participated in the colony's various charitable and philanthropic endeavours as well as in its political life.

Aaron Hart is a good example of the heights to which some of these early Jewish settlers rose. Born in England in 1724, he came to Lower Canada as commissary officer to Amherst's troops and remained to become prominent in the fur trade and other enterprises. It has been suggested that he, more than any other individual, was responsible for the growth of Trois Rivières as a vital trading centre. When he died in 1800, contemporary English newspapers spoke of him as one of the wealthiest British subjects living outside the British Isles.

Henry Joseph, born in England in 1775, came to Canada at the close of the eighteenth century. After serving with the military commissariat, he became engaged in business and initiated considerable freight traffic over the inland waterways. Eventually, with his brother-in-law, Jacob Franks, and his father-in-law, Levy Solomons, he established one of the largest chains of trading posts in Canada through the then wild and thinly populated Northwest. He also owned and chartered so many ocean-going ships for freight traffic between England and Canada that some feel he virtually founded the Canadian merchant marine.

Joseph's son, Jesse, established the first direct steamship line between Canada and Belgium, served for many years as Belgian consul-general in Canada, was one of the founders of the Montreal Gas Company, the City Passenger Railway of Montreal, and the Montreal Telegraph Company, and served as a director and officer of a number of other commercial enterprises.

Many additional examples could be cited of Jews who played prominent roles in crucial areas of early Canadian life. Though few in number, they contributed substantially to the colonies' expanding economic growth, and their success provided a base for future Jewish immigrants.

Land, People, and Immigration: 1840–1900

The 1840s marked the beginning of the decades of intensive Jewish immigration to North America. Indeed, the phenomenon was

not peculiar to Jews but coincided with and was very much related to a large influx of immigrants into the Americas generally. Europe was crowded and torn by war, revolution, and prejudice; the New World was underpopulated and needed newcomers to underwrite its expansion with their labour.

For Jews, the move across the Atlantic began in continental Western Europe and resulted in thousands upon thousands of German Jews pouring into the United States. Because of various factors, however, proportionally few of these migrants came to Canada, and many of those who did come arrived only after a stay south of the border. A few decades later came a tidal wave of immigration to North America from Russia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania, and parts of Austria and Hungary. This movement had considerably more effect in Canada, although the great period of Jewish immigration to the country was yet to come.

The European migrations of the late nineteenth century coincided with a period of very rapid development in Canada. Its total population grew from 3.7 million in 1871 to 5.4 million in 1901. Much of this growth was the result of immigration, which the government was fostering as a means of filling the country, particularly the sparsely settled West.[2] How many of the immigrants who reached Canada were Jewish? It is estimated that the total was about 15,000 between 1840 and 1900. Certainly the census figures on Jews for this period show considerable growth over the tiny numbers of previous years, a growth that increased towards the end of the century.

The same records show how the growing Jewish population began to spread out across the country, penetrating into newly developing areas. In 1851, Jews resided in nine urban centres (the word is a census term for all nonrural areas and is used for villages and small towns as well as cities). Twenty years later, it was twenty-nine, all but two in Quebec and Ontario. But by 1901 the number of Canadian communities with Jewish residents was 113, and they were found in every province. This widespread distribution of Jewish settlers from coast to coast points up the fact that Jewish immigrants, although mostly from urban backgrounds,

participated in opening up the country and accelerating its development. Their pioneering spirit, when unhampered by the shackles of residential and social restrictions, is further suggested by the fact that of the over one hundred communities in which Jews lived in 1901, the vast majority — eighty-eight — had a Jewish population of less than thirty-five individuals.

The Immigrants' Occupations

Immigrant groups generally experience a fairly high degree of occupational change after resettlement. Some are not trained for specific kinds of employment because of personal circumstances, lack of opportunity, or economic conditions in the old country. Many others have skills but they are not transferable — the immigrants are not able to use them in the new country because its prevailing methods of work are different, because there is an initial handicap of not knowing the dominant language, or because there are few markets for these skills. Social and personal reasons may also prompt a change of occupation.

What was the occupational profile of the Eastern European Jewish immigrant? Again, the question is somewhat difficult to answer because Canadian authorities kept no records of the ethnic origin of the gainfully employed until 1931. United States immigration authorities did, however, make some efforts at recording the occupational classifications of the Jewish immigrants they processed. Because the sources of Jewish immigration to the two countries were the same, we may assume that the American information is valid for Canada. It shows that Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe between 1870 and 1900 were mostly artisans, unskilled labourers, small merchants, and clerical workers; a considerable proportion had no specific occupation.

This information is confirmed by what we know about the occupational profile of Jews in contemporary Eastern Europe. In the middle of the nineteenth century, about 40 per cent of the Jews in the Russian Empire were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, about 32 per cent in commerce, and about . per cent in farming. The clothing industry employed about one

third of the Jewish population. Jews played an equally important part in the preparation of food products, in the building trades, and in the metal, wood, and tobacco industries. The Jews of Rumania, Austria-Hungary, and Poland were, in their occupational profile, very much like those of Russia. For example, a substantial proportion of Rumania's glass, clothing, furniture, and textile industries was managed and worked by Jews.

In brief, Central European Jews were engaged as middlemen, businessmen, industrialists, and entrepreneurs. They also made up a large percentage of watchmakers, tinsmiths, tailors, glaziers, painters, bookbinders, shoemakers, joiners, carpenters, bakers, and other artisans and skilled labourers. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century though, Russian Jewry experienced a mass transition from middlemen occupations to labour, especially to handicrafts. This was particularly evident among the members of the younger generation, the primary prospects for emigration.

Because of the lack of records, our best clues to the occupational adaptation of the Jewish immigrants to Canada can be obtained from contemporary sources such as newspaper chronicles and various types of social reports. For example, the Winnipeg *Free Press* recorded the following in 1882. The account is revealing in its detailing of the new arrivals' skills and in its emphasis on their willingness to work.

> Jewish refugees from Russian persecution, who were stated in a late number of the Free Press to be on the way to this province, arrived yesterday. The party consists of fifteen men and the wives of four of the number, making in all nineteen; besides four in charge of baggage have not yet arrived. Accommodation was provided for them at the Government Immigration buildings on Fonseca Street, West. There is among the men three carpenters, one blacksmith, one cabinet maker, one painter and one dryer, the remainder of the number being farmers. They are all young, none of them being over 30 years of age, and they are stalwart looking and evidently intelligent. They are able and willing to work and

ready to avail themselves of any opportunity that may be afforded them of earning an honest livelihood. The members of the Jewish community here are doing all in their power to provide for the immediate wants of the people, as they are entirely without means; but, as the community is small, embracing only eight families, they would be glad of the assistance of any who may be able to help, especially in finding immediate employment for the strangers.[3]

Another group of Jewish immigrants arrived in Winnipeg a few days later, and according to the next morning's newspaper:

> Supper was furnished by the Jewish residents of the city, and it was clear to the spectators who happened to be present that the kindness was well-timed. The travellers ate as if famished, and their evidently destitute condition touched the sympathies of those who saw them. Scarcely had they finished eating when the men were informed that if they liked to go to work immediately and work all night, they might all do so, and that their wages would be paid at the rate of 25 cents per hour. This noble offer was made to them by the firm of Jarvis and Berridge, and the work with which the immigrants began their experience in Manitoba consisted in unloading two rafts of lumber which had just been brought down from Emerson by the SS Ogema. It is said that the people almost wept when the offer was interpreted to them. With the promptness of a company of soldiers, they fell into line and marched to the bank of the Red River, a little south of Broadway Bridge, where they soon were at work. At a late hour, thirty-seven of them were labouring industriously and showing that they were neither averse nor unaccustomed to work. They impressed their employers and others who saw them, very favourably, were regarded as intelligent looking and of good, strong physical constitutions, and were thought to give promise of making hard-working and valuable settlers of this new country.[4]

reasons for this development. First, the garment trade of the day was a rapidly expanding industry that demanded a large supply of low-paid workers. Moreover, its extensive division of labour for production made it possible for a novice to acquire a fair degree of skill within a relatively short time. Therefore, many immigrants who had nontransferable or no previous occupational skills tended to gravitate to "the needle trades".

A second factor of considerable importance was the garment industry's concentration in the larger cities, where the Jewish immigrants tended to settle. The work was there, and they tended to accept the first available jobs because they had to support themselves practically from the first day they came to the new country. (It is estimated that the amount of money the average immigrant brought was only about ten dollars.)

A third aspect, also important, was the fact that some established Canadian Jews were already active in the garment industry, some of them as manufacturers, and were able to select or suggest new employees. The numbers of Jews in the trade grew quickly as friends and relatives introduced newcomers to the same occupation. A fourth factor was the illusion of independence that the garment trade gave its workers. It offered possibilities of obtaining piece work to be done at home; thus a man's wife and children could contribute to a family's meagre income and an Orthodox Jew could observe the Sabbath.

Much of the information we have about the employment of early twentieth-century immigrants, in the garment industry and elsewhere, comes from verbal accounts and memoirs by persons who experienced some of these situations. For example, I. Medres described life and work in Montreal's Jewish community in the early years of this century.

> The main problem of the newly arrived immigrant was how to get a job which would provide a livelihood and in time an opportunity for advancement. If the immigrant came to a relative who was already settled, then the matter was not too difficult. The immigrant secured the assistance of the rela-

tive in finding work. There were, however, many immigrants who had no relatives or whose relatives were not in a position to help. Then help was sought from 'landsleit' — people who came from the same community as the immigrant. Various kinds of advice were given, such as suggestions to learn some phase of the needle trade and work in a factory, becoming a customer peddler or assistant peddler (klapper), or general work. . . . At that time many Jews were employed at the C.P.R. as locksmiths, carpenters, tinsmiths, etc. . . .

> Many immigrant Jews sought jobs at the Montreal port. There were Jewish longshoremen and Jews were also employed in various other jobs. . . .

> Most of the Jewish immigrant workers were in the needle trade. There were also many without specific occupations who worked as day labourers. Many Jews worked at construction either as skilled tradesmen or as labourers. The earnings were small, and many worker families were in poverty, especially families with children. Because of poverty and need, children would go to work at 13–14 years of age.[5]

As the immigrants to the cities adapted their occupations to the requirements of their new country, the relative few who had resisted the pull of compatriots and urban life to the major centres often found that their skills also suited them for a particular role in the opening West. They became middlemen and country storekeepers. According to one account:

> The Jewish country storekeeper who conducted the genera stores in many of the hamlets and villages of Manitoba Saskatchewan and Alberta in the period from 1901 to 193' played an important and practically indispensable role in th development of the country north of the C.P.R.'s main lin

> The population which streamed in to clear and cultiva the land in that area were mainly from the peasant stocks Eastern and Central Europe. Few of them knew any Englis

and many could not understand the language of their neighbours of different ethnic origin. Merchants of Anglo-Celts origin from Eastern Canada, the U.S.A. or Great Britain who understood English only, could not have served the needs of the immigrant settlers who differed so widely in ethnic origin, language and folk ways, even if they had been willing to make their homes amongst them.

The Jewish merchant conducting the general store in the hamlet or village had himself come from Czarist Russia, Poland, Austria or Rumania, and was no stranger to the needs, language and customs of the settlers who, like him, had come to make their new home in Canada. He soon acquired a knowledge of English and could often make himself understood in German, Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian. If he did not know these languages upon arrival, he made it his business to pick up a speaking knowledge of them, and if there was an Indian Reservation in the neighbourhood he soon acquired a smattering of one or two Indian dialects for good measure.

He often opened a store before the railway actually reached the community and freighted his supplies by wagon team from the railhead. His store was usually the community meeting place in the early days of settlement. He sold groceries, shoes, clothing, yard goods, fur coats, household remedies, harness and hardware. He bought butter and eggs, hides and raw furs from farmers, and knew the name of each article in several languages. He was not only the merchant, but also letter writer, translator, advisor and friend to his customers.[6]

Meanwhile, the concentration of so many new Jewish immigrants in a few cities began to revolutionize the Jewish community of Canada. The Jews from Eastern Europe had brought with them a rich tradition and cultural background, both secular and religious. In the new, friendlier environment of Canada, Jewish communal-life began to assume a different shape, partly because of the immigrants' increased social and occupational mobility. Patterns of social and cultural status changed, an active social and intellectual life sprang up, the old forms of communal organization and social intercourse were adapted or entirely replaced to meet the needs of the new environment.

One important such aspect of this era was the rise of the Jewish labour movement. Conditions in the needle trades and other predominantly Jewish industries were poor at the beginning of the twentieth century, with frequent seasonal unemployment, low wages, poor working conditions, and the sweat shop system. This situation, however, radically improved during the first two decades of the century. The clothing industry became the centre of the growing move to unionization and the mainstay of the Jewish labour movement. The latter developed with the dual aims of protecting the Jewish worker and raising the cultural level of the Jewish working people. The impact of this development spread throughout the community in diverse spheres.[7]

Immigration since the 1920s.

The flood tide of immigration to Canada was cut off in the late 1920s when new government regulations virtually prohibited the admission of most would-be new Canadians. The restrictions particularly affected immigration from Eastern Europe, an area of extensive Jewish dislocation after the war and an area of growing anti-Semitism. Thus, at a time when the need for emigration and resettlement was most urgent, immigration opportunities decreased. To Jews already in Canada, the issue of immigration assumed an additional dimension — it became a task of rescue. They needed an instrument to influence Canada's immigration policy, as well as an organization to help Jews who managed to gain entrance. The Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Canada (JIAS) was created as such an instrument.

Even today, immigrants to Canada can be divided into two categories: those admitted under normal immigration procedures and those admitted as a result of specific projects created through special legislation or orders-in-council. The Jewish condition has often demanded the latter either for individual cases or for groups,

and successful requests for such intervention have created a series of minor immigrant waves from various countries.

Unfortunately none of them occurred until after the Second World War left Europe in ruins and Jewish life devastated. The European Jewish population of about 9.5 million at the outbreak of the war was reduced to some 2.8 million in 1950; most of those who had perished died in the ghettos, the concentration camps, and the gas chambers. Those who survived the Holocaust were left uprooted physically, socially, and psychologically. German and Austrian Jews, for example, were actually refugees in their home countries. Many survivors from Eastern European nations could not return to their countries of origin for fear of oppression for religious, ethnic, social, or political reasons. This mass displacement was so great that it has been described as having "eclipsed all previous human floods created by War".[8]

The survivors became known as Displaced Persons or DPs, and the task of resettling them was urgent. The three Rs of Jewish immigration work during the postwar period were rescue, resettlement, and rehabilitation. When the state of Israel was established in 1948, it became the most significant country of Jewish immigration and received more postwar refugees than any other. In Canada, many Jewish immigration efforts were launched as soon as the war was over, but though action was needed immediately, the Dominion was ready to open its gates only after a waiting period.

The horizon became brighter towards the end of 1946, when federal government authorities agreed to introduce emergency measures to admit a certain number of refugees and DPs from European camps. In 1947, additional measures provided for the admission of immigrants under the Group Movement Plan. This device meant that immigrants, rather than waiting to be nominated individually by Canadian citizens, could be selected by labour teams in Europe; the criteria were chiefly based on the needs of Canadian industry. (Permission was, however, also given for the admission of over 1,000 Jewish orphans.) Subsequently,

the provisions were extended to include projects for milliners dressmakers, and domestics and to increase the number of skille workers allowed to come to Canada. Between April 1947 an March 1950, the country granted admission to 98,057 DP Almost half were admitted under the various group movement the rest were close relatives of people already residing in Canad Jews ranked third in the number of admissions, exceeded only b Poles and Ukrainians.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the trends in Jewish immigr tion to Canada have usually followed the general pattern of th country's admission policy. Although immigration regulatior have undergone a number of changes, mirroring what has bee called a "swinging door" approach to admission controls, the general pattern has been predicated on several factors — popul tion growth, needs of the labour market, reunion of relatives, ar humanitarianism — with the relative weight given to each var ing with the contingencies of the time. The most recent chang were in 1978; Jewish immigrants, like all immigrants to Canad can be admitted either as part of the family class (parents, spous or minor children) or as independents by virtue of their qualific tions as immigrants under selective criteria.

Under general or special rules, Jewish immigrants came Canada between 1960 and 1980 from some twenty countri including Latin American nations and the United States. Speci movements have included: a continuation of the immigration th started in the mid-1950s from the lands of North Afri especially Morocco; immigration from Eastern Europe (Ruman Czechoslovakia, Poland, and so on); admission of a number Jewish immigrants from Israel, India, and Lebanon and Iraq, a the arrival of Jews from the Soviet Union. Each of these gro has required special efforts and consideration in terms of b admission and integration. Numerically, the most signific movements have been those from Morocco, Israel, and the So Union. Each had special connotations that makes it worth scribing more fully.

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The Jews of North Africa

The movement of Jews from the lands of North Africa began after the Second World War, as it became clear that various French colonies there would become independent. Most of the Algerian Jews were able to move to France, where they were received as French nationals. Most of those from Tunisia also gravitated to France, but some went to Israel and other countries, including Canada. The Moroccan Jews, whose civil emancipation was relatively new and who had no history of previous migration in recent centuries, were suddenly placed in the position of seeking compatible new homes. The vast majority went to Israel. The next largest group came to Canada.[9]

The admission to Canada of Jewish immigrants from Morocco (and some from Tunisia) was a pioneering effort in that it was the result of the Canadian Jewish community's expressed readiness to accept them. Moreover, prevailing conditions in Morocco required extensive cooperation among the community, the government, and the individual immigrant during the immigration process. Since complete individual interviewing of the potential immigrants was not always possible, much had to be done by correspondence or through various cooperative sources. Only after a certain number of documented cases had accumulated would a Canadian immigration mission visit Morocco to interview the applicants. The process also necessitated intensive cooperation among various voluntary and government agencies in order to provide the immigrants with transportation, reception, housing, and help in integration.

Even today there is considerable confusion regarding the size of the North African immigrant group, confusion accentuated by many people referring to it as the "Sephardim" or the "French-speaking Jews". Although the majority of the Jews from North Africa are French-speaking, not all French-speaking Jewish immigrants are from North Africa (they may be from France, Belgium, Rumania, and so on). Moreover, some Jews who were born in North Africa immigrated to Canada from France or Israel and were recorded as citizens of those countries. Finally, the group's Canadian-born children may properly be designated as Moroccan

(or Sephardic or French-speaking), but they are certainly not immigrants. One set of statistical data, that of JIAS, shows that some 10,000 North African immigrants (mostly from Morocco) came to Canada between 1957 and 1980. Conceivably, there may have been others who did not register with JIAS, but their number is undoubtedly very small. About 75 per cent of the immigrants from Morocco were sent to Montreal, most of the rest to Toronto. (Generally, unilingual Francophones and large families were assigned to Montreal, partly because of their language, partly because that city had the most comprehensive JIAS reception, social services, and integration facilities.)

The Moroccan immigrants generally brought with them experience in various office, business, sales, and teaching situations or in occupations such as barbering, hairdressing, mechanics, and jewellery manufacture. Many of the women were trained as couturiers, hairdressers, steno-typists, and so on. Nevertheless, in order to make their skills marketable, the majority required some retraining to teach them North American methods and terminology. The JIAS Vocational Bursary Fund arranged courses at such institutions as Ecoles des Hautes Etudes Commerciales; most were scheduled in the evening so the immigrants could hold jobs during the day. The effort seems to have paid off since members of the community have since exhibited substantial economic mobility.

Immigrants from Israel

An estimated 22,000 immigrants from Israel live in Canada today, most in Montreal and Toronto but some in communities such as Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver. The majority of them were not born in Israel. Many who came during the 1950s and 1960s are of European origin; some are of North African descent as already discussed. Israeli-born immigrants have recently become more numerous, primarily as a result of 1978 changes to Canada's immigration regulations.

Most of the immigrants from Israel arrived as part of the reunification of families. Others first came to the country on tem-

porary visas and later applied for admission as permanent residents because they had found mates, employment, or other congenial personal circumstances here. The process of integration has generally been eased by the fact that such a large percentage of immigrants from Israel came to join relatives or had already made local connections. Moreover, many of them, because of their origin, arrived with a knowledge of French, English, or Yiddish, in addition to Hebrew. Today, they are represented in many fields of economic endeavour — as entrepreneurs, as teachers in Jewish schools, and so on.

The arrival of immigrants from Israel has created a certain anxiety within some segments of the Jewish community. On one hand, the Canadian Jewish community is committed to Israel's cause, and some of the immigrants themselves have guilt feelings about having left Israel. On the other hand is the deep-seated tradition of helping fellow Jews in need. Although ambivalent attitudes are inevitable and likely to continue, it has been agreed that the community should not be asked to use a double standard — a declared one for Jews who are not from Israel and another for immigrants from the Jewish homeland. Thus, when individual immigrants from Israel seek community aid for integration into the Canadian situation, they receive it. Moreover, it has been aptly observed that the presence of immigrants from Israel with their knowledge of Hebrew, Jewish history, Middle Eastern politics, and so on may prove to be an important asset to the Canadian Jewish community.

Jews from the USSR

Postwar Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union to Canada is a relatively recent phenomenon. The first substantial number of these immigrants came in 1973, but the movement has continued at a sustained pace. It is estimated that some 8,000 Jewish immigrants arrived from the USSR during the 1970s, the peak years being 1975, when 1,149 registered with JIAS, and 1979, when the number was almost identical.

The Soviet Jewish immigrants have several specific characteristics. One is their diverse destination-patterns in Canada. In 1979, for example, some twenty-five Jewish communities received immigrants from the Soviet Union. Another is their high level of educational and vocational qualifications; many are technically trained in various occupations. A third is their having grown up with almost no knowledge of Judaism as a religious or ethnic heritage and with no experience of Jewish communal structures. In a number of larger communities, they have now formed their own associations, but these may be of a transitory character since there is a definite trend of Soviet immigrants entering the mainstream of Jewish community life. This process will no doubt accelerate as the newcomers learn the country's languages, integrate socially, and gain a better understanding of the nature and functions of the existing communal institutions and services.

The Emerging Pattern

Despite the fact that Israel has become the major destination for Jewish immigrants today, Canada continues to play a vital role in receiving them. As long as they continue to arrive, the established Jewish community must provide programs to meet both the needs of immigrants in normal times and the contingencies of any crises that arise. That it will do so seems likely, if only because most Canadian Jews are not far removed from the immigrant generations.

The success of those generations is reflected in the success of Canadian Jews in the past quarter century. As individuals, Jews have entered the mainstream of Canada's growth and become integrated into its economy. Yet a closer analysis indicates that in some respects the Jewish economic structure is characterized by an unusually high degree of upward occupational mobility. This fact showed clearly at least twenty-five years ago. One study based on the 1951 census ranked 343 occupations into seven classes. The highest class comprised only 0.9 per cent of the labour force, but 2.9 per cent of the Jewish ethnic group were in it, followed by 1.3 per cent of persons of British origin. Classes one and two combined (11.6 per cent of the labour force) included 38.6 per cent of Jews and 13.1 per cent of the British group.[10]

During the modern period, the bulk of the Jewish working population has concentrated in industry, commerce, the professions, and clerical services. In trade, Jews are engaged as small businessmen, retailers, and sometimes as wholesale merchants or owners of larger businesses. In such professions as medicine, law, dentistry, pharmacy, social work, and clerical employment, they are represented well out of proportion to the general population. To some degree, these trends reflect Jews' eagerness to better themselves economically — and to provide educational opportunities for their children. However, avoidance of employment discrimination also partially explains Jewish occupational patterns.

In brief, the economic structure of Canadian Jews is a product of political and economic conditions in this country and the Old World over the last 150 years. The Jews came to North America in great numbers at the time when certain areas of economic activity began to expand at a faster rate than others. In the future, as in the past, economic success for Canadian Jews will depend directly on the economic opportunities the country has to offer and on the effectiveness with which access to the job market is kept free from religious or ethnic discrimination.

"The Line Must Be Drawn Somewhere": Canada and Jewish Refugees, 1933–39

by Irving Abella and Harold E. Troper

On 15 May 1939, 907 desperate German Jews set sail from Hamburg on the luxury liner *St. Louis*. Like many who had sailed on this ship before, these passengers were — or at least had been — the cream of German society: distinguished, well-off, educated, cultured. Most had contributed much to their native land. All were now penniless. They had been stripped of their possessions, hounded out of their homes and businesses and now their country. Their most prized possession was the entrance visa to Cuba each carried on board.

For the Jews of Germany life had become impossible. The Nazis were anxious to empty Germany of its Jews — but where could they go? The nations of the world were clanging shut their
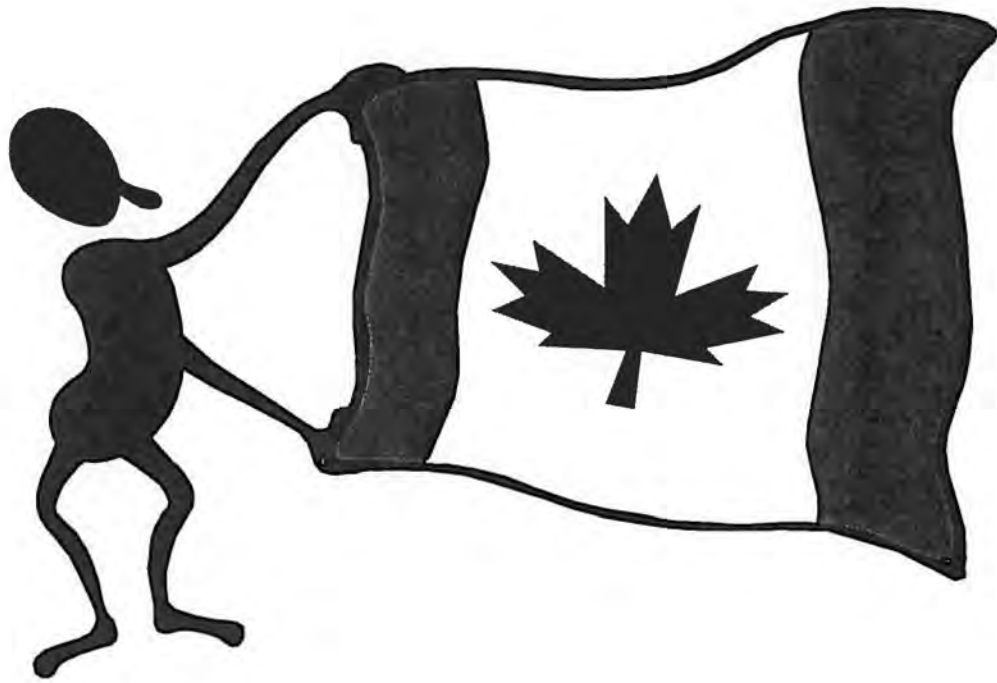
Unit Three

The Immigrant Experience West of Ontario

Unit Three: The immigrant experience West of Ontario

This unit will highlight some of the struggles that Jews faced upon settling in the Prairie Provinces from the 1840's onward. The students will explore some of the challenges and opportunities that awaited Jews, the new lifestyle and the adjustments to a new life that the Jewish community made.

The focuses for the unit will surround:
   a. 1847 to 1900 (Settlement West of Ontario)

Essential Questions:

1) What was it like for Jews to live in the Prairies from the late 1800's onward (the barriers, restrictions and boundaries that Jews faced)?

Objectives (TSWBAT):

1) Identify various regions West of Ontario where Jews settled.
2) Identify several reasons why Jews settled in the Prairies.
3) Describe the relationship between the Jewish and non-Jewish populations in the various communities that Jews settled.
4) Describe the various differences that exist between the life that the Jews knew in Russian and Eastern Europe versus their new life living in the Prairies.

Suggested Learning Activities

1. **Map Work** – Have the students plot the migration patterns of the Jewish community into the Prairie Provinces where they created farm colonies (See enclosed map). Use this activity as a way to make sure that students know the capital cities of the three Provinces and can also identify some of the major Jewish settlements in these Provinces (see enclosed map).

2. **Farm Life** – Discuss with the students the characteristics of a farming community. Use the resources provided in Unit One and the pages from Ruth Solski's curriculum, "What is a community," (Pages 19, 26, 28, 39). You can

also use the enclosed worksheets from Let's Explore Canada, by Trudy Mauti on life and occupations in the Prairie Provinces.

3. **Traditional Jewish Life** - Discuss with the students the differences in lifestyle for the Jews who immigrated to Canada from Russia and Eastern Europe and made up a large percentage of the immigrants to the Prairie Provinces. Use the video mini-course "**The Shtetl**", by Behrman House to discuss life in Russia and Easter Europe in the late 1800's. (Teachers guide enclosed, video must be obtained from Behrman House).

The purpose of integrating pieces of this mini-course into this unit is to help the students have a better understanding of the lifestyle and occupations of Jews in Russia and Europe before immigrating to Canada. The teacher should use this mini-course as a way to compare and contrast lifestyles and occupations, and highlight some of the struggles that the Jewish community might have encountered when forced to settle in the Prairies.

4. **Picture Analysis** (*Midrash Tmuna*) - Using the pictures found in this unit (taken from Branching Out and A Coat of Many Colours, pgs. 81, 92 96 and 97), as well as any additional ones supplemented by the teachers, have the students analyse and interpret what it is they are seeing. Have them write a narrative that describes what they see, think is going on, whom they think the people are, and what they think their life might have been like. This is a powerful activity and should take place after the students have studied what life was like in the Prairies Provinces and how the Jews became farmers.

5. **Publicity Poster** - Create a poster that might have been used by the Canadian government to attract European immigrants to settle in the Prairie Provinces (new life, farming, land, freedom of religion, etc).
   ➤ You could also use this activity in Unit Four, attracting people to join the garment industry of the late 1800's and early 1900's.

6. **Letter Writing** - Have the students write a letter to relatives in Europe that describes life as a Jew in Canada during the late 1800's, early 1900's (either as a farmer or resident of a major city). Make sure to include how life as a Jews has been affected. Discuss the essential religious measures taken by the community to build a synagogue, purchase the land for a cemetery, and maintain a minyan.

Resources

Abella, Irving. <u>A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada</u>.
　　Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1990, pgs. 91, 96, 97, 81, and 92.

Mauti, Trudy. <u>Let's Explore Canada</u>. Thornhill: Apple Press, 1985, pgs. 30-33.

Shtetl – A Video mini-course by Behrman House.
➢   This mini course and the video can be ordered through Behrman House, 1-800-221-2755.

Tulchinsky, Gerald. <u>Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish</u>
　　<u>Community</u>. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited. 1998, pgs. 82-83.

The Prairie Provinces

A **prairie** is a large grassland. It is too dry for trees to grow, so grass covers the land instead. Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta are called the Prairie provinces. However, only the southern part of these provinces is in the Prairies. The northern part of these provinces is covered in evergreen forest.

There are large farms on the Prairies. Farmers grow wheat on the flattest parts. In the drier, hilly parts, are large cattle ranches.

The Prairie provinces are rich in minerals. Wells have been drilled deep into the ground to reach the oil and natural gas. In the north, are nickel and copper mines.

Most of the people live in the southern part of the Prairie provinces. The largest cities, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Regina, are all capital cities. Calgary is another large city.

Colour the map to show the three Prairie provinces.
Use a different colour for each province.

Find and circle five pictures or **symbols** that are in the wrong place on the map.

Cattle Ranching in Alberta

In the southern and western part of Alberta, there are many cattle ranches. The land is hilly. It is also too dry for growing crops like wheat. These hilly grasslands are good places for raising beef cattle. Some of the ranches in this part of Alberta have more than 1000 cattle.

Spring is the busiest time for the rancher. This is the time when most of the calves are born. The rancher checks to see that all the new-born calves are strong and healthy. When the calves are young, their horns are taken off. This is so that they will not hurt each other later on. The young calves are also branded with a special mark to show who owns them.

In the spring, the cowboys take the cattle herds to places where they can eat grass. Such a place is called a **pasture**. The cowboys must make sure that the cattle have enough water to drink. After the cattle have eaten the grass in one pasture, they are driven to a new pasture.

The rancher also plows some of his land and seeds it with a special grass. In the summer, the rancher cuts this grass and stores it in barns or sheds. During the winter, the cattle eat this dried grass, or hay.

In the fall, the cowboys drive the herds back to the ranch. Some of the cattle are sold before winter comes. The rest are kept in sheds near the ranch during the cold, winter storms.

Put the correct number in the circle to show when these things are done.

○ Calves born
○ Feed cattle hay
○ Sell some cattle
○ Cattle in pastures

SPRING 1   SUMMER 2   FALL 3   WINTER 4
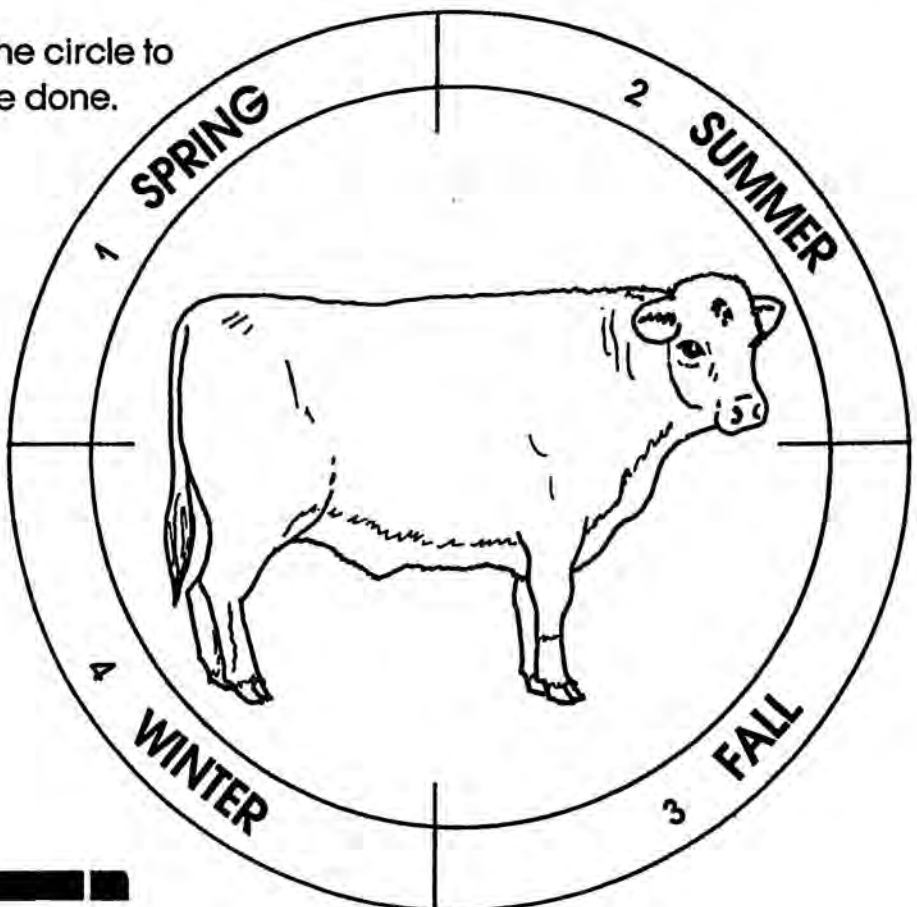
Wheat Farming in Saskatchewan

Much of the wheat that is grown in Canada is grown in Southern Saskatchewan. Here, the land is flat. There are few stones in the rich, dark brown soil. This makes it easy for the farmer to use large machines on the land.

Early in May, the farmer plows the land. He uses a large machine to plant the wheat. It is called a **seed drill**. Soon the wheat **sprouts**. The long, warm, sunny summer days help it to grow and ripen. Most of the rain falls during the summer. This also helps the wheat to grow. Many crops need a lot of rain, but wheat does not.

By the middle of August, the wheat has turned golden yellow. Now it is ready to be harvested. First, the wheat is cut and left in the fields to dry. then, it is harvested with a large machine called a **combine**. The combine separates the grains of wheat from the straw. This is called **threshing**.

The combine loads the wheat onto a truck. Then, the wheat is taken to a grain **elevator** to be stored. Later, it is loaded into rail-cars and taken to sea ports. Large ships carry the wheat to many countries around the world.

Cross out the sentence below each picture that does not belong.
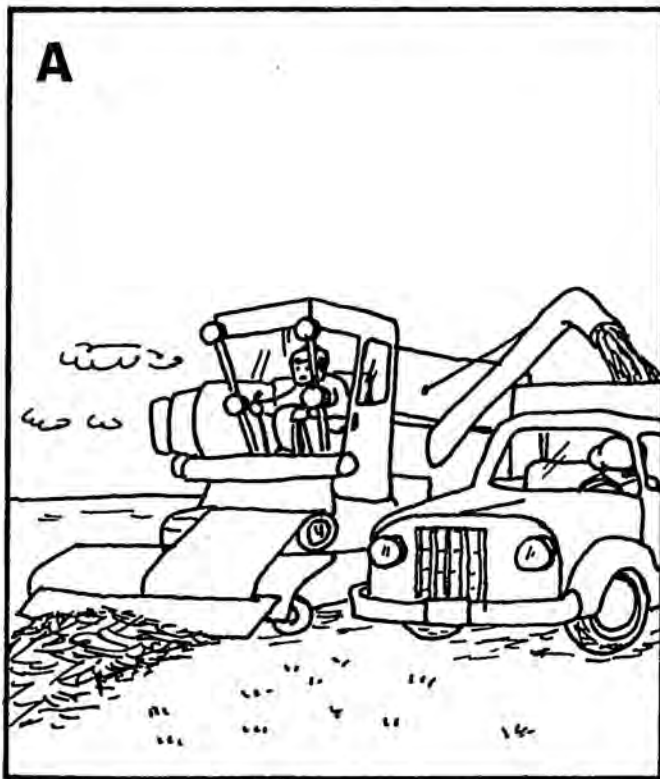
1. A seed-drill plants the wheat.

2. A combine threshes the wheat.
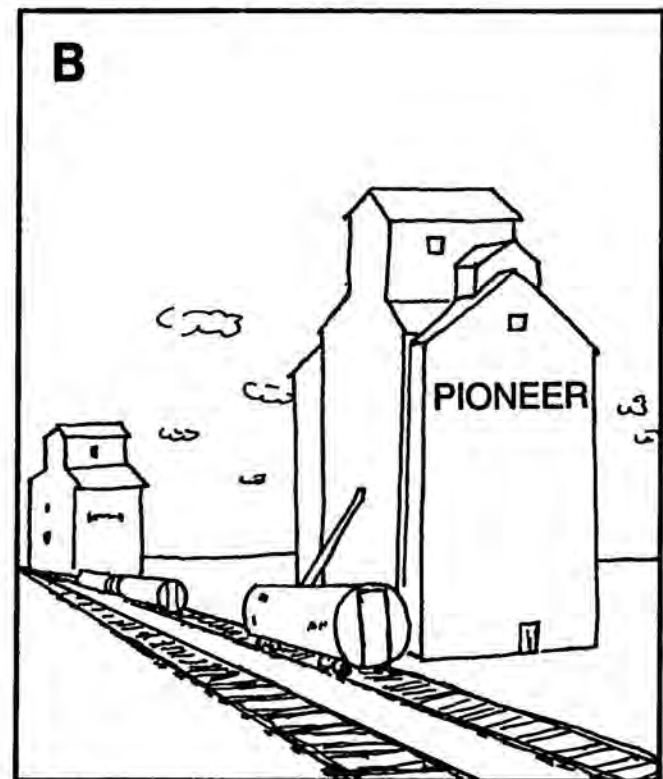
1. Rail-cars unload wheat into large ovens to dry.

2. Rail-cars are loaded with wheat from a grain elevator.

Food From Grain

Grain is a special kind of grass. The seeds of such grasses are used for food. Different kinds of grain are grown in the Prairies. Each is used to make special things.

Wheat is the most important grain. Grains of wheat are ground into brown or white flour. Brown flour has not been bleached. White flour has been bleached. Wheat flour is used to make bread, pastry, spaghetti, puffed wheat, bran, and animal feed. Some of the wheat is made into wheat germ.

Another grain is oats. Oats are made into porridge and animal feed. Barley is a grain that is made into malt. Whiskey and beer are made from malt. Barley is also put into soups, and into certain medicines. It is also used for animal feed.

Dark flour is made from rye. Biscuits, bread, and animal feed are made from rye grain.

A. Choose the best words from the list to complete the sentences.

Wheat, oats, barley, and _____ are different kinds of

_____. Many kinds of _____ for people and

_____ are made from grain.

| food |
| rye |
| grass |
| grain |
| animals |

B. One word is missing from the list beside each picture. Find what it is and write it in the correct box.

A WHEAT	**B** OATS
brown flour	porridge
white flour	
wheat germ	
spaghetti	
puffed wheat	
bran	
animal feed	

C BARLEY	**D** RYE
malt	dark flour
whiskey	animal feed
beer	
medicine	
animal feed	

33

Mauti, Trudy. Let's Explore Canada.
Thornhill: Apple Press, 1985.

Prairie Provinces

Mauti, Trudy. Let's Explore Canada. Thornhill: Apple Press, 1985.

MANITOBA

ALBERTA

EDMONTON

SASKATCHEWAN

☀RUMSEY/
TROCHU

7

CALGARY

6

PRINCE
ALBERT

EDENBRIDGE

☀
ALSASK

SASKATOON

LIPTON☀

8

WAPELLA

4   ☀

2

QU'APPELLE
MOOSE JAW

MOOSOMIN

☀ 1

REGINA

☀

☀HIRSCH

SONNENFELD

5

3

ESTEVAN

10

9   12

15

14 13 11

WINNIPEG
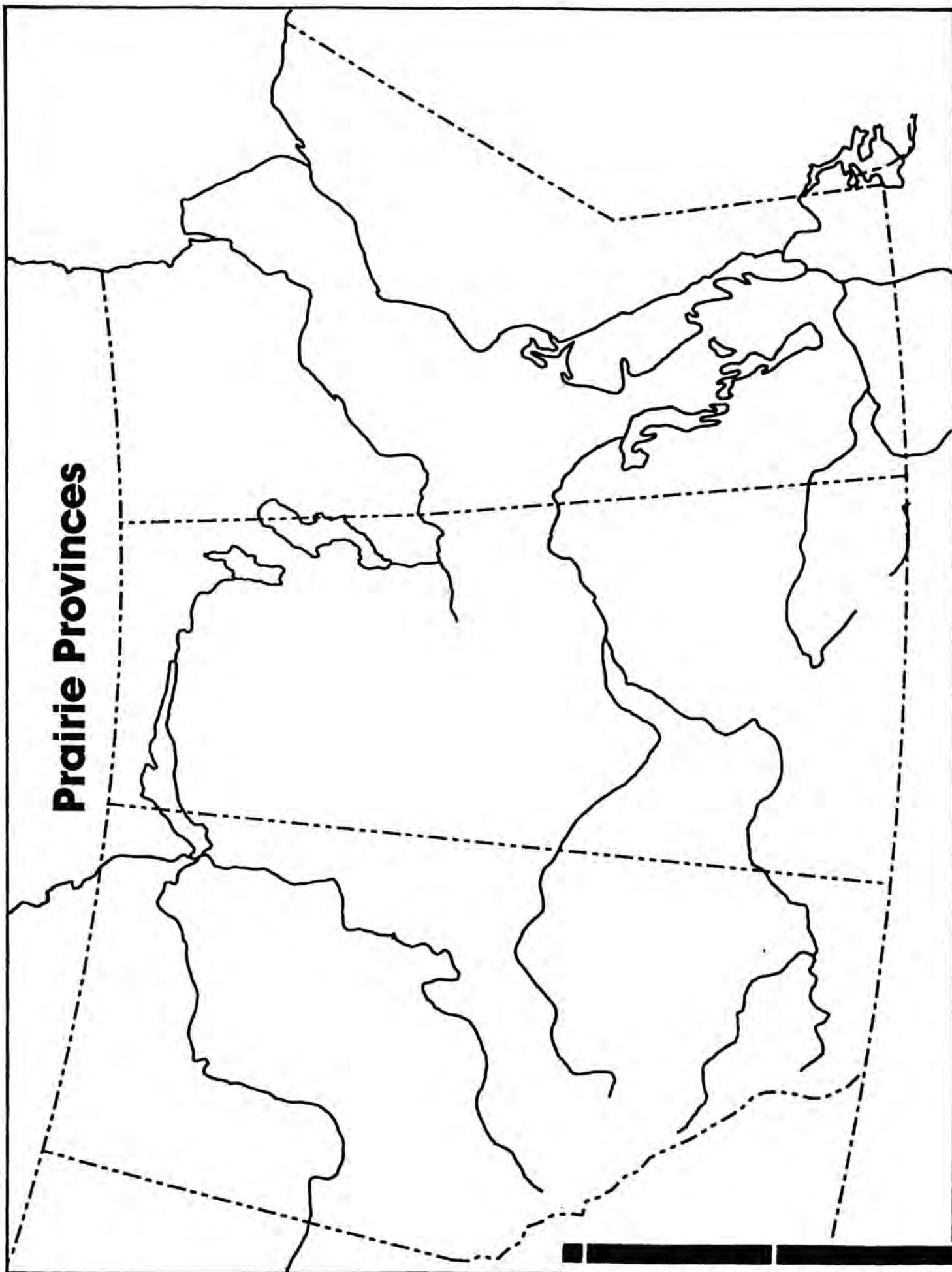
1	MOOSOMIN, Sask.	Founded	1882	8	ALSASK/MONTEFIORE, Sask.	Founded 1910
2	WAPELLA, Sask.	Founded	1888	9	NARCISSE/BENDER, Man.	Founded 1903
3	HIRSCH, Sask.	Founded	1892	10	CAMPER, Man.	Founded 1911
4	LIPTON, Sask.	Founded	1901	11	BIRDS HILL	
5	SONNENFELD, Sask.	Founded	1906	12	PINE RIDGE	
6	EDENBRIDGE, Sask.	Founded	1906	13	WEST KILDONAN	
7	RUMSEY/TROCHU, Alta.	Founded	1906	14	ROSENFELD	
				15	ROSSER	

} Manitoba farm settlements founded during and after the first World War.

☀ FARM COLONY   • PRINCIPAL CITY

Jewish farmers harvesting their wheat at Sonnenfeld, Saskatchewan, 1925.

Iriving Abella, A Coat of Many Colours, pg. 96

Winnipeg, c. 1900.

Irving Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours,*
p. 81.
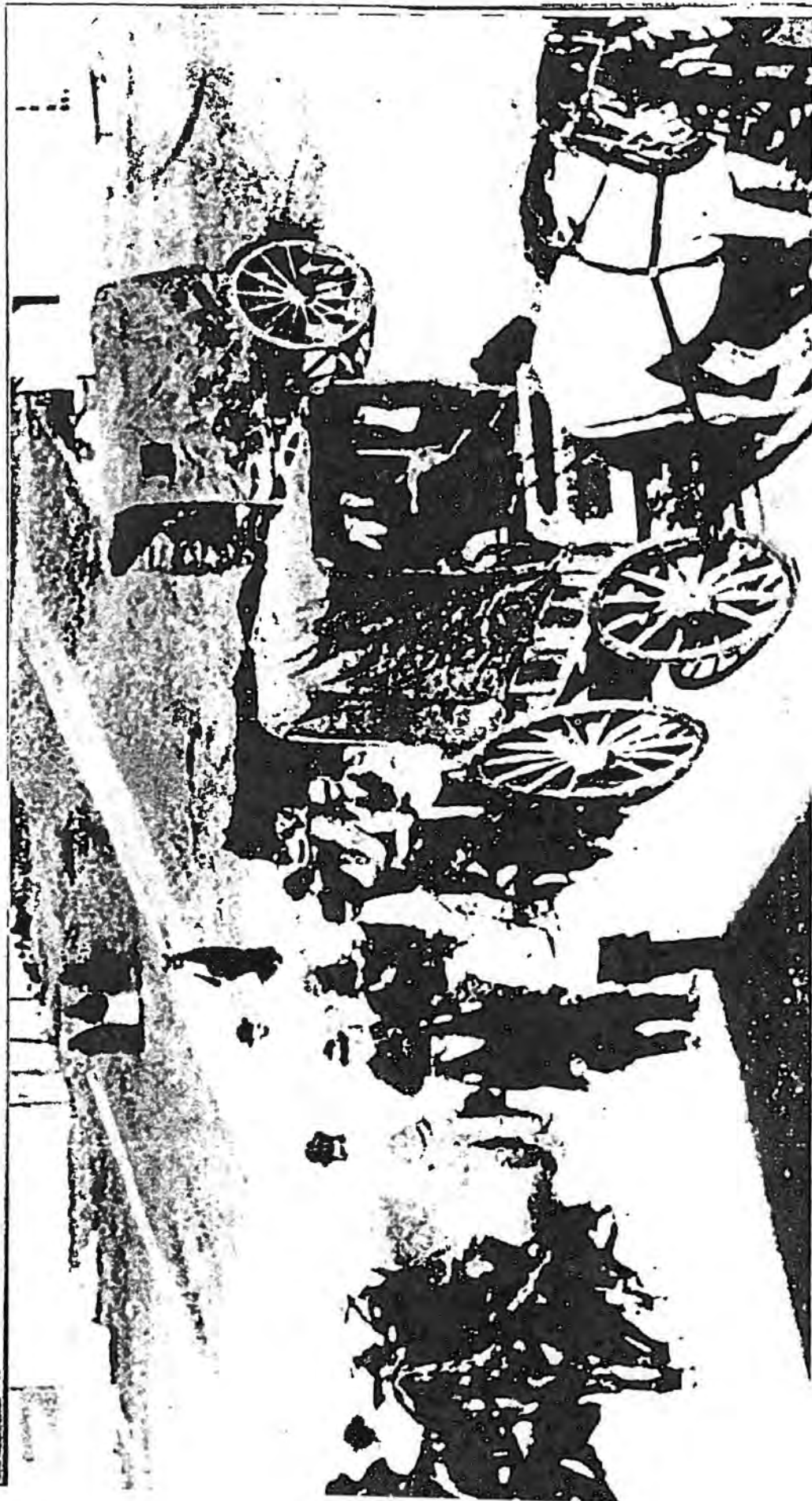
Lipton, Saskatchewan,
homesteaders, *c.* 1890.
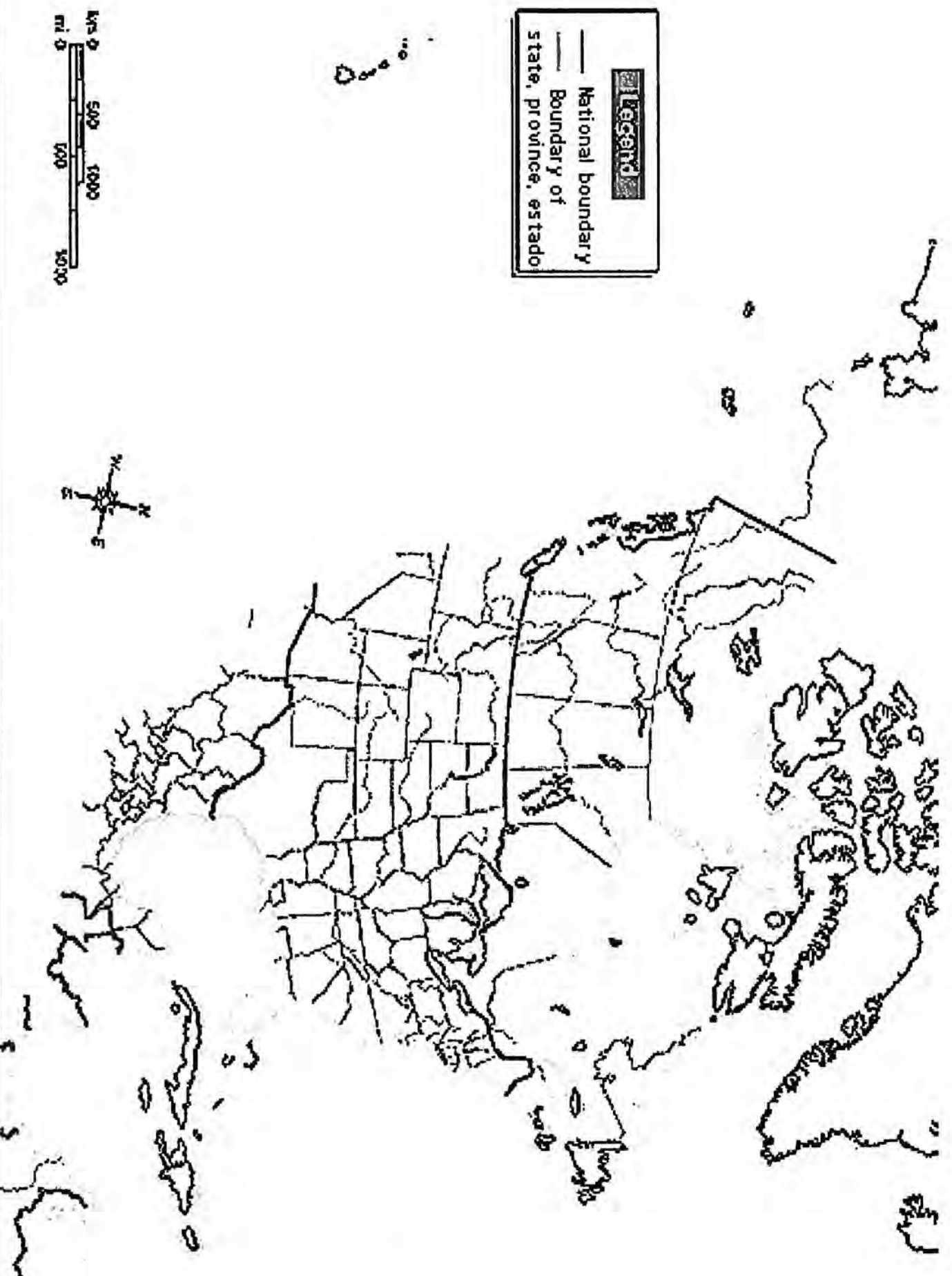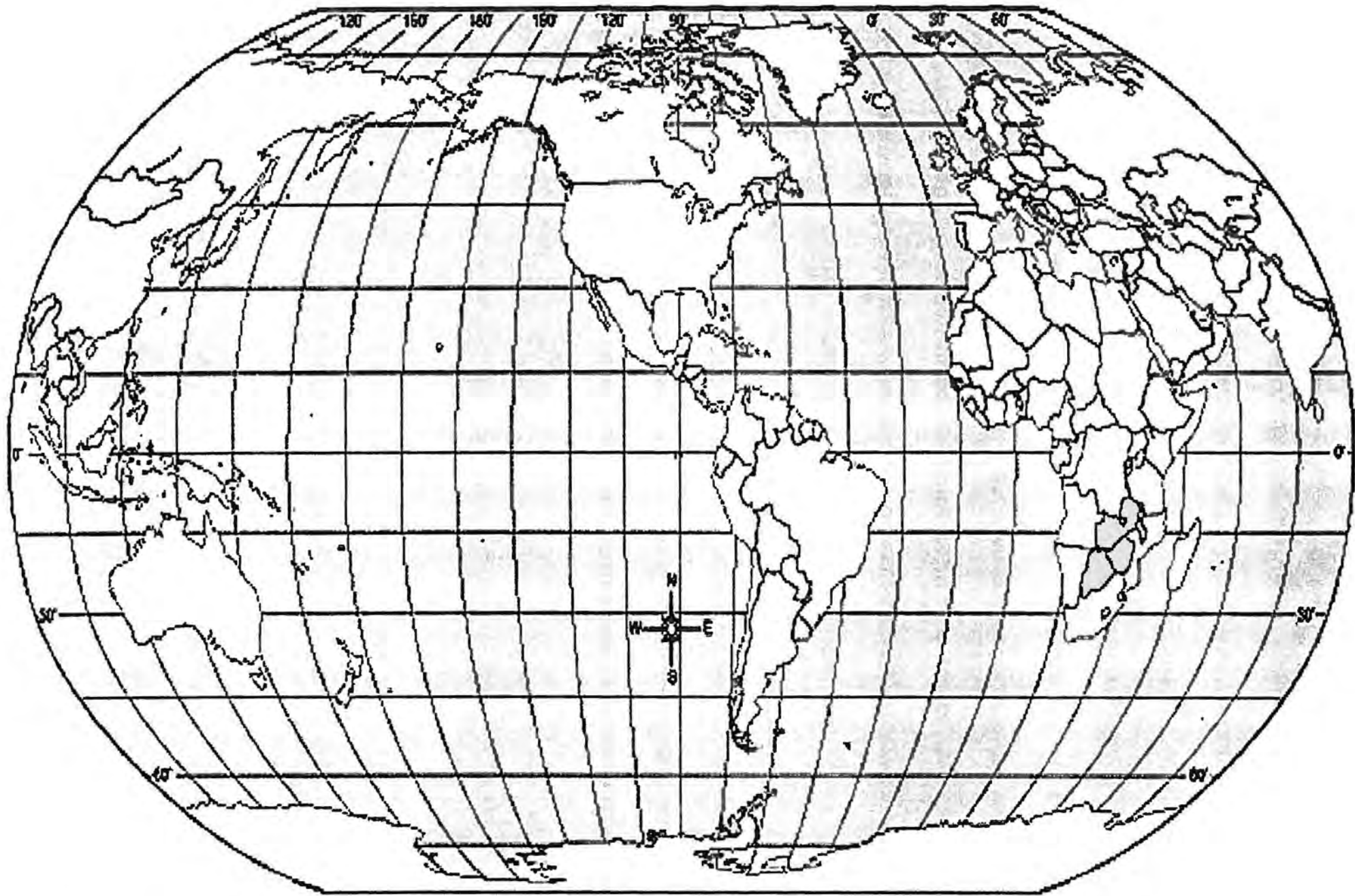
North America: Political

Legend

— National boundary

— Boundary of
state, province, estado

km 0   500   1000   1500
mi 0   500   1000

World Countries

CHAPTER

5

Beginnings in the East
and the West

Even before Jews settled in the Province of Quebec, there was some Jewish contact with the British colonies in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and with the French fortress of Louisbourg on Ile Royale, or Cape Breton. The New York merchant Jacob Franks dealt in tea, shipping some to Newfoundland and some through Cape Breton in the early 1740s.[1] In 1748 the executive of London's Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, then searching for a refuge for the city's Jewish poor, considered founding a Jewish colony in Nova Scotia.[2] Four years later the project was still alive. In October of 1752 the *Halifax Gazette* reported that:

> The congregation of the [London] Jews in general, that is to say the three synagogues, have chartered three ships of 500 tons each and are going to send 100 poor families over with provisions for a year after their arrival and £10 in goods on three years credit to set them up. They are to sail in three weeks time.[3]

Although the Maritime region was still experiencing naval conflict between Britain and France, the scheme was mooted for a few years more, though nothing ever came of it.

Considerable numbers of Jewish traders arrived in Halifax shortly after it was founded in 1749, as a British naval and military counterpoise to the massive French bastion of Louisbourg. A number of Jews moved there from Newport, Rhode Island in 1751, including Israel Abrahams, Isaac Levy, Nathan Nathans, and the four brothers Abraham, Isaac, Naphthali, and Samuel Hart, "all of

whom were sons of German Jews, who had settled in England."[4] By the 1750s there were many Jews among the army and navy purveyors and the merchants who supplied the civilian population, which numbered 4,000.[5] Israel Abrahams and Nathan Nathans were New Yorkers who moved to Halifax in 1752.[6] A cemetery was acquired and some sort of community was established. The Jewish presence continued in the Nova Scotia capital into the 1760s,[7] but the community gradually died out as trade with New England dwindled following the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765. The outbreak of the American Revolution temporarily ended the trade between Halifax and the American colonies;[8] the cemetery land was appropriated for a provincial workhouse.[9]

Samuel Jacobs, who later settled at St-Denis in Quebec, was present early in 1758 at Fort Cumberland, "where he apparently engaged in the liquor trade." Jacobs was also a partner in a brewery at Louisbourg between 1759 and 1761.[10] In the early 1750s Israel Abrahams manufactured potash and petitioned the Board of Trade to employ him to restrict others in this business.[11] Jacobs and Abrahams were joined by several others, including Naphthali Hart, Jr., who formed a partnership with Abrahams; they became "large scale merchants and packers of mackerel."[12] They may have done business with the Newport shipowner Aaron Lopez, whose ships traded with merchants in Newfoundland and the Gaspé.[13] Lopez owned numerous vessels plying the eastern seaboard of North America. His crews engaged in whaling off the Newfoundland coast, and traded mustard, rum, cordials, and onions to merchants in Halifax and Quebec City.[14] With other Newport merchants, Lopez had interests in the Gulf of St. Lawrence cod fishery, as he "followed his advantage wherever it beckoned, to nearly every important harbour between Quebec and Florida."[15] A man named Nathans ran the Halifax mackerel fishery from nearby Russell's Island (now Horseshoe Island), and, at his home situated on the Northwest Arm, lavished generous hospitality on his friends and associates.[16]

There were at least two Jews among the Loyalists who sailed from New York to Nova Scotia in 1783, Jacob Louzada from Bound Brook, New Jersey, and Abram Florentine, a Tory businessman from New Jersey and New York; however, there is no evidence of precisely where they settled, or how long they stayed.[17] A few others may have lived in Saint John shortly after it was founded in the 1780s.[18] There was also Isaac DaCosta, an English Jew of Dutch origin and of Spanish-Portuguese lineage, who claimed to have lived in Nova Scotia in 1765–66. Before the Commission of Enquiry examining Loyalists' losses, he claimed ownership of over 20,000 acres in the province, and said he had settled six families there at his own expense.[19]

ument granting the Jewish family Labrador still exists, though for various reasons the de la Penhas never took up the offer.

The first Jewish settlers who left conclusive evidence of their presence arrived in Halifax in 1749. A handful of enterprising Jewish merchants in the American colonies made their way to Halifax, fully expecting that the British presence and the protected natural harbour would ensure the town's growth and prosperity. The British governor of Nova Scotia, Lord Cornwallis, aware that the new colony needed supplies and credit to help it survive its first few difficult years, welcomed Jewish merchants and traders from New England.

By 1752 Halifax was home to about thirty Jews. Most were of German background and had originally emigrated to the American colonies. The most prominent of these were Israel Abrahams, Isaac Levy, Nathan Nathans and the four Hart brothers, Abraham, Isaac, Naphtali and Samuel. All were ambitious and energetic and made significant contributions to the developing colony. Levy was the first to attempt to exploit the Cape Breton coal fields. Abrahams began the potash industry in the colony, and the largest purveyor of goods in the entire region was the company of Nathans and Hart.

There were high hopes for the establishment of a Jewish community in Halifax in this period. Though Jews were then tolerated in England, they had suffered previous expulsions. Thus many looked with interest towards the colonies for new places where they might prosper and still remain true to their faith. In 1752 a Halifax newspaper reported that three ships had been chartered in England to bring over Jewish families, but nothing came of this.

And ultimately nothing much came of early Jewish settlement in Halifax.

The first activity of the Halifax Jewish community was to create a cemetery; all Jews must be buried in consecrated ground. In 1750 land was bought for this purpose, but a few years later it was sold as the site for a government workhouse. It was clear by then that Halifax

The founder of Halifax, Lord Edward Cornwallis, who as governor of Nova Scotia (1749-1753) welcomed Jewish merchants and traders from New England.

Irving Abella, _A Coat of Many Colours_, pgs. 7-8.
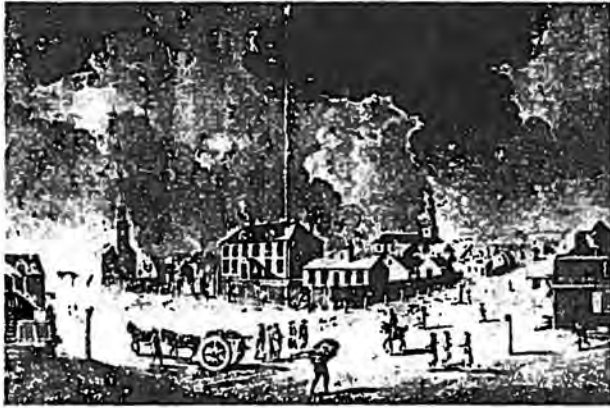
Left: Governor's House and St. Mather's Meeting House, Halifax, 1759. The first Jewish community in Canada was in Halifax; by 1752, there were approximately thirty Jews living in the city.

Right: The town and harbour of Halifax, as viewed from the opposite shore of Dartmouth, 1759.
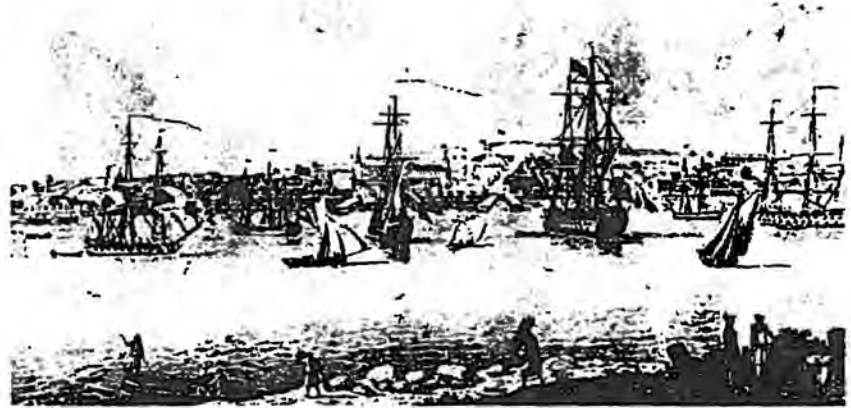
was not going to contain a permanent Jewish settlement. Many the Jews who had come there had either converted, married out: the faith or moved back south, especially after the outbreak of American Revolution. Aside from this cemetery, there were no of signs of Jewish life or religion—no synagogue, no rabbi, no ri slaughterer and eventually almost no Jews.

The most influential of those Jews who did remain in Hal was Samuel Hart, a wealthy merchant who had made his fort in Newport, Rhode Island. By the 1780s he was one of the lead merchants in the colony and owner of perhaps the most magnific estate in all of Halifax. In 1793 he was elected to the Nova Sc Assembly, and thus became the first Jew anywhere in the Bri Empire to hold a seat in a legislature. To do so, however, it app that he had to swear an oath to carry out his responsibilities w adhering to "the one true faith as a Christian." Hart likely compli his four children had already been baptized as Anglicans, thou there is no evidence that Hart himself ever converted. In any c Nova Scotia had had a Jewish legislator at least sixty years befo: Jew was allowed to sit in the British Parliament.

There is some evidence that there were a few scattered Jew Nova Scotia before 1800, aside from those in Halifax. Since n of their descendants remained Jewish, the documentation is s limited. But we do know that one of the original settlers of Annapolis Valley was Jacob Calneck, a German Jew, who had b

Irving Abella, _A Coat of Many Colours_, pgs. 7-8.

Teaching Guide

THE SHTETL

Video Mini-Course

Contents

How to Implement the Mini-Course

Audience:

Grade 5 - Adult

Duration:

The running time of the video is 16 minutes.
The mini-course can be completed in 2-4 hours of class time, depending on
the number of activities undertaken.

Goals:

To present an overview of the shtetl and its way of life based on actual
photo-documentation.
To show the traditional values of Eastern European Jewry and the harsh
realities they were forced to face.
To give an appreciation of the culture of the shtetl.
To demonstrate our relationship and debt to the Jews of the shtetl.

Advance Preparation:

Preview the video before showing it to your class.
Read this guide and select the projects you will undertake.
Duplicate the Black Line Masters in this Guide in the quantity required.

Show the Video:

The video can be viewed in one sitting, or it can be shown in the sections noted in
the video transcript. Note that the music has been specially selected to give the
flavor of the music popular among Eastern European Jewry. The photographs are
"documents" in their own right, each of which might deserve careful study. The
video makes a point of using humor throughout. A discussion of the influence of
shtetl humor will help the class understand that the video intends much more than
just making the students laugh.

THE SHTETL
Video Mini-Course

SUBJECT

The Shtetl
Narrated by Eli Wallach

GENERAL DESCRIPTION:

16-minute video tape presents a photo-documented overview of small town life in Eastern Europe, including the traditional values and general culture, and leading to an understanding of our relationship to the Jews of the shtetl.

GRADE LEVEL:

Grade 5 - Adult

CONTENTS:

Occupations
Traditions
Living Conditions
Education
The Role of Women
The Place of the Rabbi
The Importance of Tzedakah
Yiddish
The Shtetl Heritage

OTHER VIDEO MINI-COURSE AVAILABLE:

Jewish Life in the Middle Ages

SPECIAL FEATURES:

Teacher's Guide contains classroom activities, black line masters, and video transcript.

Video Transcript

Introduction

Between the years 1880 and 1910, 2 1/2 million Jews came to the United States. Most Jews living in America today are descendants of these immigrants. Perhaps your great grandparents were among them. They came here to begin a new life. The first thing they saw in the new world was the Statue of Liberty.

They came from the old world—from Eastern Europe—the gray area on this map. It was a large area called the Pale of Jewish Settlement. Sometimes it belonged to Poland, sometimes to Russia. Five million Jews lived in the Pale. Some in large cities like Warsaw. Some in little villages like this one, with cobblestone streets and horses and carts. Today all these towns are gone. But photographs were taken and through these pictures we can visit a shtetl. The word shtetl means "little Jewish town."

Occupations

The center of the town was the marketplace, where most people worked. People were named for their occupations. Your family name may tell you what work your great grandfather did for a living.

The name Kaufman, for example, means merchant. Many merchants sold their wares in the marketplace. A shop might be a rickety stand like this woman's, or a cart of straw from which the baker sold his bread and rolls. This man had to close his store because he had no money to buy merchandise. Almost half of the Jews in the shtetl were merchants.

The family name Schneider means tailor. The tailor repaired old clothes more often than he made new ones. Most people in the shtetl were very poor. Do you know anyone named Sandler? Well, they had shoemakers in their family. The wagon maker mended broken wheels, and the wagon driver owned a wagon and a broken-down horse. Often he and his horse lived in the same room. A band of musicians played at weddings and celebrations in the synagogue. When people could not collect enough rain in pots and pans, they paid a water carrier to bring them water. No shtetl had running water. These Jews are looking for work at the town pump.

It was hard to make a living in the shtetl. When life is hard, Jews try to laugh away their troubles. Jewish humor is very special. A poor man once came to the rabbi. "What shall I do, Rabbi? Whatever I try fails. If I sell umbrellas, it doesn't rain. If I sell coffins, nobody dies." Become a baker," said the rabbi. "Then at least you'll have bread in the house." "But I don't have money to buy flour!" the poor man said. "You don't have flour?" said the rabbi. "Well, so then you won't be a baker!"

Tradition

The Jews were financially poor, but they were spiritually rich. They were rich in tradition, and in learning, and in faith. Daily life was built around prayer. Morning, afternoon, and evening, Jews prayed. The synagogue was the center of their life.

The synagogue, or shul, was always on the main street. It might have been a large building, or a small wooden shul, just large enough for the congregation. In the center of the room was the bimah, a raised platform for reading the Torah. The Holy Ark stood on the eastern wall, so that the congregation could face Jerusalem. The worshippers sat on wooden benches. A seat along the eastern wall was an honor.

Once an honored member complained to a poorer neighbor, "Why do you pray so fast? It's a disgrace! It takes me twice as long to say my prayers." "Who can compare with you?" the poor man said. "You have gold and silver. You have a fine house and horses an a carriage. It takes time to go over all that with God. Now I, on the other hand, have only a wife, eight children and a goat. All I have to say to God is 'wife, children, goat'—and I'm through!"

Living Conditions

The poor man lived on an unpaved street, dusty in dry weather and muddy when it rained. The wooden houses stood close together. If one house caught fire, the whole shtetl could burn down. A large town might have a volunteer fire brigade. Inside the poor mans' house, the air was heavy with smoke, for a fire burned night and day. By day it was used for cooking, by night for warmth.

A woman asked her husband to get out of bed to close the window. "It's cold outside," she complained. He didn't move. "Close the window. It's cold outside," she nagged. To which he answered, "*Nu*, and if I close the window will it be warm outside?"

There were only two rooms in the house. Furnishings were simple. But there were books in every home, no matter how poor. Most Jews spent some of their time studying. At a time when most people could neither read nor write, every Jewish boy began to learn the Hebrew alphabet at the age of three.

Education

School was held in the teacher's home nearby. The teacher, or melamud, barely made a living from the few coins the parents paid him. One melamud was so poor that he had no glass in his spectacles. When asked why he wore them he said, "Well, they're better-than-nothing!"

In the cheder, or schoolroom, the boys sat on wooden benches around long, narrow tables. On the first day of school the child was given honey to eat to teach him that learning was sweet. But after that, learning was endless repetition. Each letter, each syllable, each word was memorized. Only religious subjects were

studied. They boys learned Torah and Siddur. Brighter students continued their studies in the Yeshiva. Others went to work.

Women

A girl's schoolroom was her mother's kitchen. She learned to sew and to cook. Many foods originated in the shtetl - gefilte fish, chicken soup, chopped liver. This drawing shows a woman making matzo balls for Passover. Girls did not study the Torah, but they were taught to read from the prayer book. And they learned to be good wives.

The matchmaker arranged marriages for a fee. The matchmaker, or *shadchen*, kept a list of available boys and girls. Sometimes the bride and groom did not meet until an agreement was reached. After meeting the man she was to marry, a girl complained to the matchmaker. "He limps!" "But only when he walks," the matchmaker explained.

The Place of the Rabbi

Shtetl life was based on the *Shulchan Aruch*—a book of Jewish law. Disagreements were brought to the rabbi for settlement. When a man was unable to pay his debts...when a thief was caught...the rabbi judged these cases. In this painting the rabbi examines a chicken. If the rabbi said that the meat was not kosher, it was not eaten, no matter how hungry you might be.

Tzedakah

Poverty was widespread. Begging was a profession. The beggar was called a *shnorrer*. A woman took pity on a schnorrer and invited him to eat. A pile of dark bread and a few slices of challah were on the table. But the schnorrer ate only the challah. "There's dark bread too," the woman hinted. "I like challah better," the schnorrer answered. "But challah is more expensive," the woman complained. "Believe me," said the schnorrer, "it's worth it!"

Special tzedakah organizations were founded for each charity task. One collected clothing for the needy. Another collected money for the wedding of a poor girl. Orphanages cared for homeless children. And burial societies arranged for funerals and provided cemetery plots.

Each synagogue had its charity box. Often, contributors were close to poverty themselves. Once, a rabbi's wife asked him what he prayed for. The rabbi answered, "My prayer is that the rich will give more to the poor." "Do you think God heard your prayer?" his wife asked. "I'm sure he heard at least half," replied the rabbi. "The poor have agreed to accept!"

Yiddish

Jews spoke their own language—Yiddish. You've heard Yiddish words in this video: *melamud, schadchan, schnorrer*. This is the way Yiddish sounds in sentences: *Gey. Lern. Dos iz oyf der velt bester esek. Beser mit a klugn tsu farlirn eyder mit a nar tsu gevinen.*

The Shtetl Heritage

The Jewish villages of eastern Europe have disappeared. The people are gone. Your great grandparents left their shtetl for a new life in America. Many settled on the east side of New York—on streets that looked like the ones they'd left behind. Some of their brothers and sisters went to Israel to build a Jewish homeland. Almost all those who stayed in Europe were murdered in concentration camps during world War II.

But some of the shtetl way of life became part of American Jewish living. Many words in our English language—mavin, nosh, chutzpah—are Yiddish. Many of the foods were enjoy—blintzes latkes, lox and bagels—were created in the shtetl kitchens. Comedians still use that special shtetl humor to make us laugh today. And when we study, worship, give, play, celebrate, we look at the shtetl and remember.

Classroom Activities

A Family Tree

Background

Genealogies help us to see ourselves as part of history. Genealogy is personalized history. To introduce this activity, read genealogies aloud from the Bible (see *Genesis* 5:1; *Chronicles* 2)

Using the Black Line Master

Black Line Master #1 is a simplified family tree. Students enter the names of their ancestors, their places of birth and discover who in their family emigrated to the United States and the year of their arrival.

In class you may wish to discuss the waves of immigration to the United States (Sephardic, German, Eastern European, Russian).

You may also wish to discuss the occupations of the students' ancestors, comparing them with those shown in the video.

Enriching the Activity

Interested students may wish to undertake a more complete family tree, including brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, etc.

Students can also create individual family picture albums, if photographs are available. Or a bulletin board display of family photographs can be created. It is often fascinating to see family resemblance.

Yiddish

Background

Yiddish was the language of everyday life in the shtetl. Yiddish uses the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and, like Hebrew, is written from right to left. Yiddish is descended from the form of German heard by Jewish settlers in northern France about a thousand years ago. As Jews settled in towns along the Rhineland, they adopted and adapted the local language. They wrote German with their Hebrew alphabet, phonetically. The vocabulary of Yiddish is German (70%), Hebrew (20%), and Polish, Russian and Rumanian (10%).

Using the Black Line Master

Black Line Master #2 presents a series of Yiddish words and their English definitions. Go over the list with your students. Incomplete sentences are presented. Ask the students to fill-in the missing words in Yiddish. To extend the experience, have students write a story using as many Yiddish words as they can.

Enriching the Activity

Have students look up the Yiddish words listed in an English dictionary to discover how many have entered everyday English. If students can write the Hebrew alphabet, have them write a message in English, written phonetically in the Hebrew alphabet.

Ask students to learn some additional Yiddish words to share with the class. Invite a Yiddish-speaking person to school for a talk about the language.

The Wise Men of Helm

Background

Whenever Jews had problems their sense of humor helped them to laugh away their troubles. The Jews of the shtetl entertained themselves with funny stories, often at their own expense. One group of stories had a very special flavor. These were the yarns about a town of fools, called Helm. (Helm was an actual place name, but the stories told about it created a place of the imagination.)

Using the Black Line Master

Black Line Master #3 presents four short stories. Students should read the stories and select the one they like best. To extend the experience, students can create their own "Helm story."

Enriching the Activity

Have students illustrate one of the Helm stories, drawing on images they have seen in the video.

Shtetl Cooking

Background

Jewish foods are an intrinsic part of our identity. Many of the foods we enjoy today originated in the shtetl kitchens. In a way, they are our closest link with life in the shtetl. As a form, Jewish cuisine goes back no father than to our Eastern European ancestors. Introduce the recipe for cholent by asking the class to name "Jewish" foods. List them on the chalkboard. Point out how many are Eastern European and how few are Mediterranean.

Using the Black Line Master

Black Line Master #4 presents a recipe for cholent. Discuss the introductory paragraph with class before sending the recipe home. Ask students to share the recipe with their parents. Perhaps they will prepare it together.

Enriching the Activity

Have each student bring in a favorite "family recipe and create a class "Jewish Cookbook" to be duplicated with proper family credit (Cohen's Chopped Liver; Goldberg's Chicken Soup, etc.) If your school has cooking facilities, you may wish to prepare cholent and reheat it to serve at a "shtetl party."

A Sholom Aleichem Story

Background

Sholom Aleichem is the pseudonym of Sholom Rabinovitch, born in 1859 in the small Ukrainian town of Peryslav. There, and in the neighboring shtetl, he was educated and married the daughter of a wealthy Jewish landowner. Rabinovitch worked briefly as a rabbi, and then as a businessman. But his writing soon eclipsed all other occupations. After publishing several works in Hebrew, he turned to writing Yiddish fiction.

Under the jovial pen name of Sholom Aleichem, the most common term of greeting among Jews, he wrote hundreds of short stories, dramas, novels, and poems. Today he is internationally known for his stories about Tevye the dairyman, which became the basis for *Fiddler on the Roof*, one of the most popular musical plays of all time. As a humorist and writer he is often compared to Mark Twain who lived and wrote around the same time. Sholom Aleichem is one of the greatest Yiddish writers of modern times—a storyteller and humorist of world stature.

Using the Black Line Master

Black Line Master #5 presents a Sholom Aleichem story with questions for class discussion.

Enriching the Activity

Play some selections from *Fiddler on the Roof*.

Tzedakah

Background

The Hebrew word for acts of charity is *tzedakah*. Charity is a duty decreed by biblical statue. Can acts of charity be legislated? The Jewish attitude toward this question is "better the deed warmed by the spirit, but in any case, the deed!"

Using the Black Line Master

Duplicating Master #6 is a story adapted from *Lipson, Midor L'dor*, Volume III, 1720. In this story, a rich man is tricked into feeling empathy for the poor people of his shtetl. Read the story with your students and then discuss the questions posed.

Enriching the Activity

Ask your students to investigate the charitable organizations in your community and the human needs they meet.

Black Line Masters

The following pages can be reproduced
for distribution to your students.

Select the projects you will undertake and
duplicate in the quantity required.

Master #1   A Family Tree

Master #2   Yiddish

Master #3   The Wise Men of Helm

Master #4   Shtetl Cooking

Master #5   A Sholom Aleichem Story

Master #6   Tzedakah

FAMILY TREE

GREAT GRANDPARENTS

GREAT GRANDPARENTS

GRANDPARENTS

GRANDPARENTS

MOTHER

FATHER

YOU

Complete your own Family Tree. Fill-in
the name and place of birth of your parents,
grandparents and great grandparents.
Color in the ones who came to America and
find out the year of their immigration. When

YIDDISH

BAGEL - a hard doughnut-shaped roll
BORSHT - beet soup
CHEDER - school
CHUTZPAH - nerve, presumption
DAVEN - to pray
GELT - money
GANEF - thief
KIBBITZ - to joke around
KLUTZ - a clumsy person
MAVIN - an expert
MELAMED - a teacher
MENSCH - an upright, honorable person
MESHUGGE - crazy
NACHUS - proud pleasure
NOSH - snack
NUDNIK - a pest, nag
SCHMALTZ - chicken fat
SCHNORRER - a beggar
SCHADCHEN - a professional matchmaker
SHAMMES - the caretaker of the synagogue
SHUL - synagogue
TRAYF - any food which is not kosher
YICHES - family status or prestige
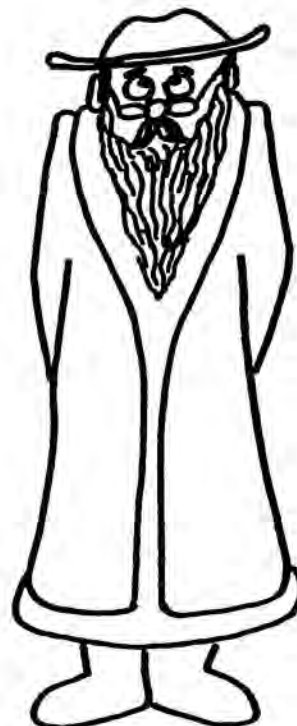
FILL IN THE MISSING YIDDISH WORDS:

Don't buy it until you get the advice of a _____.

Traditional Jews _____ three times a day.

You don't need teeth to eat _____.

The highest _____ attaches to the man of learning.

A _____ is known as a doughnut with a college education.

The finest thing you can say about a man is that he is a _____.

"If I were Rockefeller," said the _____, "I'd be richer than Rockefeller because I'd do a little teaching on the side."

Parents get _____ from their children.

CHALLENGE: Write a story using as many Yiddish words as you can.

WISE MEN OF HELM

A wise man of Helm said, "What a crazy world this is. The rich, who have lots of money, buy on credit. But the poor, who don't have cent, must pay cash. It should be the other way around: The rich, having money, should pay cash. And the poor, having none, should get credit."

"But if a storekeeper gives credit to the poor," objected another, "he will soon become poor himself."

"So fine," said the first. "Then he'll be able to buy on credit too!"

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

When the rabbi of Helm visited the prison, he heard all but one of the inmates insist on their innocence. So he came back, held a council of wise men, and recommended that Helm have two prisons—one for the guilty and another for the innocent.

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

A farmer, riding home on his wagon, picked up a peddler from Helm who was carrying a bundle on his shoulder. The peddler sat down on the wagon seat next to the farmer, but kept his bundle on his shoulders.

"Why don't you put your bundle down?" asked the farmer.

"It's nice enough your horse is carrying me," said the peddler. "Do I have to add my bundle to his burden?"

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

Two wise men of Helm went out for a walk. One carried an umbrella, the other didn't. Suddenly it began to rain.

"Open your umbrella, quick!" suggested the one without an umbrella.

"It won't help," answered the other. "It's full of holes."

"If it's full of holes, then why did you take it along in the first place?"

"Why? Because I didn't think it would rain!"

❖ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖

Which story do you like best? Why?
CHALLENGE: Can you write a Helm story of your own?

SHTETL COOKING

WHAT IS CHOLENT?

Some people think that cholent is cholent and there is only one kind, just like right is right and there are no two ways about it. But they are wrong. There are as many cholents as their are cooks. A cholent is any food that has the stamina to withstand 24 hours of cooking. The 24 hours of cooking is the common ingredient. This is necessary because the work of cooking on Shabbat is not permitted, but everyone wants a hot meal. So cholents were invented. They could stay in the oven from Friday afternoon until Saturday noon. This way, everyone enjoyed a hot meal and no one broke the Sabbath laws.

RECIPE FOR CHOLENT - (one kind)

12 small potatoes
salt and pepper
7 eggs
flour
1 cup schmaltz (chicken fat)
1 teaspoon sugar
4 pounds boneless brisket

Pare potatoes and roll in salt, pepper, and flour. Beat eggs with schmaltz and sugar. Add a pinch of salt and enough flour to make a very loose dough, just firm enough to handle. Place dough in a roasting pan. Put meat and potatoes around it. Cover with salted water (there should be 1 inch of water above the ingredients). Cover roaster and bake at 250 degrees for 24 hours.
Serves 6 to 8.

A YOM KIPPUR SCANDAL

By Sholom Aleichem

A man once came and told us a story. It's worth listening to.

"One Yom Kippur eve, a stranger arrived in our shtetl. He left his suitcase at the inn and immediately went to look for a place of worship. He arrived at the old synagogue just before the service began. The stranger took out three silver coins and put them in the collection plate. He put money into each tzedakah box. Impressed by his generosity, the men quickly found a place for him along the eastern wall. Our guest went up to his place of honor and called the shammes to bring him a praying stand. He put on his tallis and started to pray. He prayed and he prayed. He never sat down or left his place all evening long or all the next day.

"But when it was all over, when the final blast of the shofar had died down, screams were suddenly heard. This stranger tells us that he had brought with him to our town eighteen hundred rubles. He had been afraid to leave that much money at the inn. And yet, to keep it in his pocket on Yom Kippur was not exactly proper either. So he had taken the money to the synagogue and slipped it into the praying stand. Now do you see why he had not stepped away from the praying stand for a single minute? And yet someone must have stolen the money.

"The poor man wept. It was not his own money, he said. He was only a clerk. The money was his employer's. He himself was a poor man with a houseful of children. Hearing these words, the congregation stood petrified, forgetting that they had been fasting since the night before. It was disgrace before a stranger, a shame and a scandal in our own eyes.

"'Shammes, lock the door!' ordered our rabbi. When the door was locked, the rabbi turned to the congregation and said, 'Listen to me, my friends. Let us search each other now, go through each other's garments, shake out our pockets—all of us.'

"And all the men loosened their girdles and showed the linings of their pockets too. They searched each other, until they came to Lazer Yossel. Lazer turned all colors and began to argue that the stranger was a swindler; that his story was a lie. All the important men had allowed themselves to be searched, so why should Lazer Yossel escape? 'Search him!' the crowed roared.

"To make a long story short, the men took hold of Lazer Yossel, threw him down on the floor and began to search him all over, shaking out every one of his pockets. And finally they shook out...well, guess what! A couple of well-gnawed chicken bones and a few dozen plum pits still moist from chewing. You can imagine what an impression this made—to discover food in his pockets on this holiest of fast days!"

The story was apparently over. The man turned to leave.

"Wait. What about the money?" we all asked in one voice.

"Oh," he drawled. "The eighteen hundred rubles? They were gone. Gone forever."

Questions for Discussion
For the man who was telling the story, what was the point of the tale?
What is worse, stealing or eating on Yom Kippur? What is more important to you?

RABBI ELIJAH AND THE RICH MAN

Rabbi Elijah, a charity collector, spent his time trying to persuade the rich people to give some of what they had to the poor. One year, the winter was especially harsh and so Rabbi Elijah paid a visit to the richest man in the city.

Kalman Poznansky gave to charity only as much as duty required. When a servant told him that Rabbi Elijah was at the door, he was far from pleased but, nonetheless, went to the door to greet him. As soon as Poznansky held the door open, Rabbi Elijah began to talk about a great number of things. He talked and talked. And although Kalman Poznansky stood at the open door shivering in his shirtsleeves, the rabbi would not stop talking.
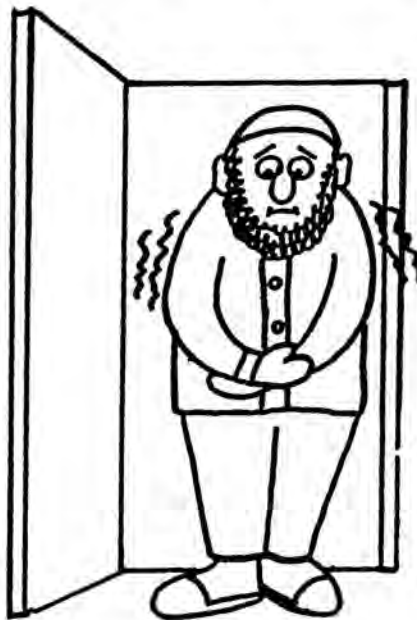
Finally Mr. Poznansky could stand the cold no longer and suggested that they continue their conversation indoors. When the two men were comfortably settled in the well-heated study, Mr. Poznansky asked, "Rabbi, is it always your custom to hold conversations in unheated entranceways?"

Rabbi Elijah smiled. "I came to ask you for an especially generous charity gift," he explained. "If we had come directly to this warm room, my talk about the sufferings of the poor would have meant little to you. But standing in that freezing wind for only a few minutes has given you some small idea of what it is like for the poor people to be cold all winter long. And therefore, I think your donation this year will be even larger than usual."

And indeed, it was.

Questions for Discussion

Why is Rabbi Elijah's trick a clever one? Do you think it made a profound difference in the way Mr. Poznansky felt about giving charity? Why?

Do you recall any experiences which helped you realize how less fortunate people feel?

What is the difference between sympathy and empathy?

Discuss the Jewish holidays which include *tzedakah* as part of their celebration. Why is *tzedakah* so important in Jewish tradition?

Unit Four
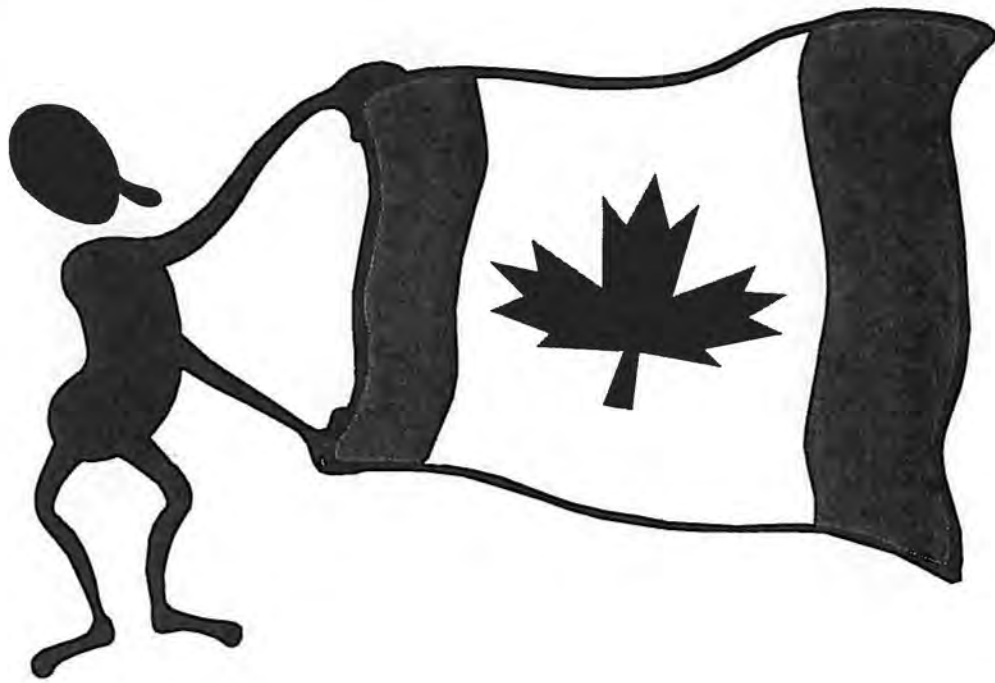
The Struggle
for Equality

Unit Four: The Struggle for Equality

This unit will highlight areas of prosperity for the Jewish community as they entered into the 20th Century. However, even with this increased prosperity, the Jewish community was clouded by the immigration policies and anti-Semitic tendencies of the federal government, a very dark period of Canadian history. This unit will also expose the students to some of these policies and the battle the Jews of Canada fought to end the injustices and to curb anti-Semitism.

The focuses for the unit will surround:
   a) 1919 to 1945 (Jews in the garment industry / WW II and Closing Our
      Border)
   b) 1948 to 1960 (Post War / Opening our borders)

Objectives (TSWBAT):

1) Identify the old Jewish quarter on a local city map (or of Toronto).
2) Identify and explain the occupations where the Jewish community was primarily active.
3) Identify the injustice of the Second World War and explain the immigration policies of the Canadian government during this period.
4) Identify when the immigration policies of Canada changed and the Jewish community achieved equality, civil rights and recognition from the provincial and federal governments

Suggested Learning Activities

I.   1919 to 1945 (Jews in the garment industry / Closing Our Border)

1. **Movie** - Show the video "Spadina" that among other things deals with the Jewish garment district in downtown Toronto in the early 1900's, at a time when the Jewish community dominated the garment industry throughout Canada. If a different video exists that directly deals with your local community, you can show that as well, but this is still a good video to represent the overall status of the Jewish community and the garment industry in the early 1900's.

Use this movie to have the student hone additional observation skills, taking specific notes that have them investigate the way in which the community at that time lived, worked, engaged with each other. Have them examine the occupations that appeared to characterize the Jewish community and the location within the city where they lived. Have them then compare this to what the area looks like and who lives there today.

If possible take the students on a trip after watching this or a similar movie to the old Jewish part of town and have them investigate the current population living in that area. Before taking such a trip contact your local BJE, office of the Canadian Jewish Congress or Jewish Library and inquire if there exist any programs on the old Jewish quarters of your town.

Other Movies that can be used to discuss these issues include:
a. The Herring belt
b. Moving Experiences
c. The Jewish Community of Kirkland Lake

2. **Family Tree** - Each student will create a family tree that will go back to a minimum of their grandparents, but preferably their great grandparent and even beyond (there should be the opportunity to examine the narrative of an original settler into this country and the struggle and challenges they faced). The students should display the family tree in a creative display form of their choice.

For each person on the tree the following information should be provided:
a) Name
b) Place of Birth
c) Date of Birth
d) Occupation
e) Where they currently live or lived before passing away
   If applicable: Date of immigration

The student should also relate one personal narrative of a member of their family who settled in Canada and describe the events that took place during settlement. The purpose of this activity to have the students explore their families history, areas of settlement, and possibly some of the stories and reasons for moving.

3. **Personal Interview** – Interview an individual who immigrated to Canada and address the questions listed below. The interview should be written up and handed in.

   a. Where and when were they born?
   b. When did you immigrate to Canada?
   c. Why did the person immigrate to Canada?
   d. How was life different in Canada from their country of origin?
   e. What traditions did the individual bring with them?
   f. What were the problems that were first encountered when they moved here?
   g. What route was taken to get to Canada? (The student should plot this route onto a map of the world – enclosed)
   h. Have them share a significant story or event that occurred en route to Canada.
   i. Compose 3-5 additional questions of your own to ask this person.

   ➢ *With the interviews, it might be interesting to have a diverse sampling of people, those who came to Canada during the war, who tried to come during the war, either succeeding or failing and then those who arrived post war. These interviews, as with the Family Tress will cross both sections of this unit and it is important to help the students create meaningful linkages to this entire period of history.*

II.   1943 to 1960 (WWII and the post war period)

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4. **Picture Analysis** – The interpretation a Picture (see enclosed activity). This activity can be used to discuss how Jews settling in Canada might have looked, felt and also identify how Jews were similar to other immigrants entering into the country. It is also an opportunity to discuss the pursuit of equality for the Jewish community in Canada, and how they were excluded from any areas in the country. This analysis is a good lead in to a discussion of anti-Semitism in Canada and the way in which Jews were treated prior to and during the war years.

5. **Anti-Semitism in Canada** – Speak with representative of the Canadian Jewish Congress / ADL / Holocaust Museum in Toronto in order to determine an appropriate program to deal with the issue of anti-Semitism in Canada.

Speak with the Local Jewish Library or the Canadian Jewish Congress, or the local Holocaust Museum to see if any videos or multimedia presentations exists that deal with the reality of Canadian Anti-Semitism from 1930 through the end of World War II.

> ➢ See enclosed article, "Anti-Semitism in Canada," Who's who in Canadian Jewry, by. Edmond Lipsitz.

7. **Canadian Jewish Congress** – Research the Canadian Jewish Congress using the Internet. Have the students explore the archives, both written and published regarding their history, the actions and steps they took during World War Two in fighting for the rights of the Jewish community, and their current and past leadership

The teacher should also invite a representative of the Congress to the classroom or the class should take a visit to a local office of the congress to examine the archives that they have (should your city have one).

The teacher should also consider ordering copies of documents from the congress archives that deal with the immigration policies and issues of discrimination against the Jews from the 1930's through the 1940's. The students should engage in an investigation of some primary source documents that would allow them to gain a better sense of what life was like in Canada during those years.

The teacher should cover the following information in his/her lesson:

1) When the CJC was first founded.
2) The reasons for the establishment of this agency and the segment of the population that was served.
3) Identify the key people involved and / or responsible for setting up the CJC.
4) Locating where the agency was originally located and why that site was chosen.
5) Describing the services provided by the CJC.
6) Discussing any changes that have taken place over the years and explaining why they have occurred.

7) Analysing the importance of this agency for the Jewish community.

Information can be found on the Canadian Jewish Congress web site: www.cjc.ca or in both Tulchinskys 's and Abella's works.

Resources

Abella, Irving. A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1990, pgs. 181, 183, and 192.

http://www.cjc.ca
➢ The official web site for the Canadian Jewish Congress.

http://www.heritageproject.ca/default.htm
➢ The Heritage Project is the CRB Foundation's online initiative dedicated to fostering an enthusiasm for Canadian history. It builds on the popularity and success of the nationally celebrated Heritage Minutes and Heritage Fairs. This is the web site where the picture analysis, among other activity can be found.

http://www.heritageproject.ca/learning/resource/we_are/act_1.htm
➢ This is the link to the CRB Foundations Heritage Project picture analysis activity found in this unit. This is the direct link toe the picture analysis activity.

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READING A PICTURE...

from Setting the Focus

Honing Students' Observational Skills

We Are Canadians
Lesson Plan

Back To
Snapshot Summaries

When students look at a page of information, they examine the pictures and photographs first. Illustrations have the effects of engaging students and motivating them to read or search for information related to the pictures. They are also useful for building concepts, drawing inferences, making generalizations, initiating inquiry and formulating hypotheses. A series of pictures or photographs can also be used to show patterns, variations and change over time.

Too often, however, students have difficulty extracting information from a picture. They look, then pass over the picture and go to a written document for information they can read and then copy without much thinking. Students need to learn how to read visuals in order to think about and understand these rich primary resources.

To learn effectively from pictures, students need to develop two observation skills.

- **First**: they need to observe and describe accurately what they see.
- **Second**: they need to make an inference from what they observe. An inference is the interpretation of what they see.

Both of these observation skills are natural human functions, but they do need development and refinement. The more skilled students are at observing, the more information they have at their command. Through the process of inferring, students can use their observations of visual images to construct patterns, explain events and predict future happenings.

We Are Canadians provides students with many opportunities to practice observation skills. Throughout the program, students use numerous illustrations for information: they need to read the pictures as much as they need to read the text.

Activity

The following exercise taken from the Program Information Guide of We are Canadians provides a model for helping students learn how to read a picture. We have used the poster *Setting the Focus* from the 1st snapshot to introduce two observation skills: describing what you see and making inferences.

Click on this image to go to a printable version of the picture to use with your class.

This well known photograph shows a Ukrainian immigrant family standing by the railway tracks in front of a railway station. The photo was taken in 1911 in Quebec City. The family is waiting for a train to take them to their land in the Canadian Prairies.

A good way to help students sharpen their picture reading skills is to block off parts of the picture. This allows you to focus better. First show the whole picture, then block out all of the photograph except for the foreground.

- What do you see? Describe only what you can actually see.
  Possible answers: railway tracks, people's feet
- Make inferences. What inferences can you make?
  Possible answers: a train will be coming sooner or later, because of the railroad tracks

Next you will want to focus on the middleground of the photograph.

- Describe what you see.
  Possible answers: faces and clothing of eight people - six young children four standing, one being held by an adult man, one [baby] being held by an adult woman, males all wearing hats, kids are wearing adult clothing.
- What can you infer from the middleground of this photograph?
  Possible answers: these people are waiting for the train, they expect to be out in the sun because they are mostly wearing hats, they are a family, they have a lot of children so they have probably been married a long time, they are probably poor because the children are wearing adult clothing.

Now let's look at the background. Post the picture showing only the background and these questions.
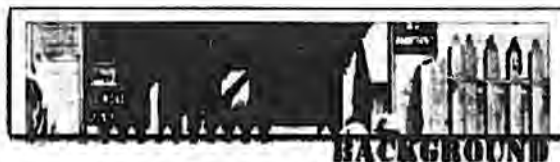
- Again, what can you actually see?
  Possible answers: "No Admittance" sign, "meal 25 c" sign, picket fence behind people, tall picket fence beside them.
- Now what can you infer from what you see?
  Possible answers: this is an English speaking country because the signs are English, the tall picket fence is to keep people out of somewhere.

Now lets just look at the focal point of this photograph. We think the focal point is the line of faces or perhaps just the mother and baby. Show the line of focus only, and then zoom in on the mother and baby.

- What strikes you about these people? What do you see?
  Possible answers: People are not smiling.
- What can you infer from what you see when you look at the focal point of this photography?
  Possible answers: these people look scared or uncertain about something, probably the future.

Here are two further activities to complete this "Reading a Picture" exercise

- Write a title for the picture
  Possible answers: "Family Anxiously Waiting for a Train" or "What is to become of us?" or "An Uncertain Future".
- Explain why this is a good title for this picture.
  Possible answers: this is a good title because it indicates what I inferred from the factual information presented in the picture.

Download this student activity to use with your students. Include both the *worksheet* and the *answer key*. Refer to each of the remaining 9 snapshots for more innovative, active learning strategies that are the hallmark of the CRB Foundation Heritage Project learning resources.

To print this image, select "Print" from the File menu of your browser
Back to the activity
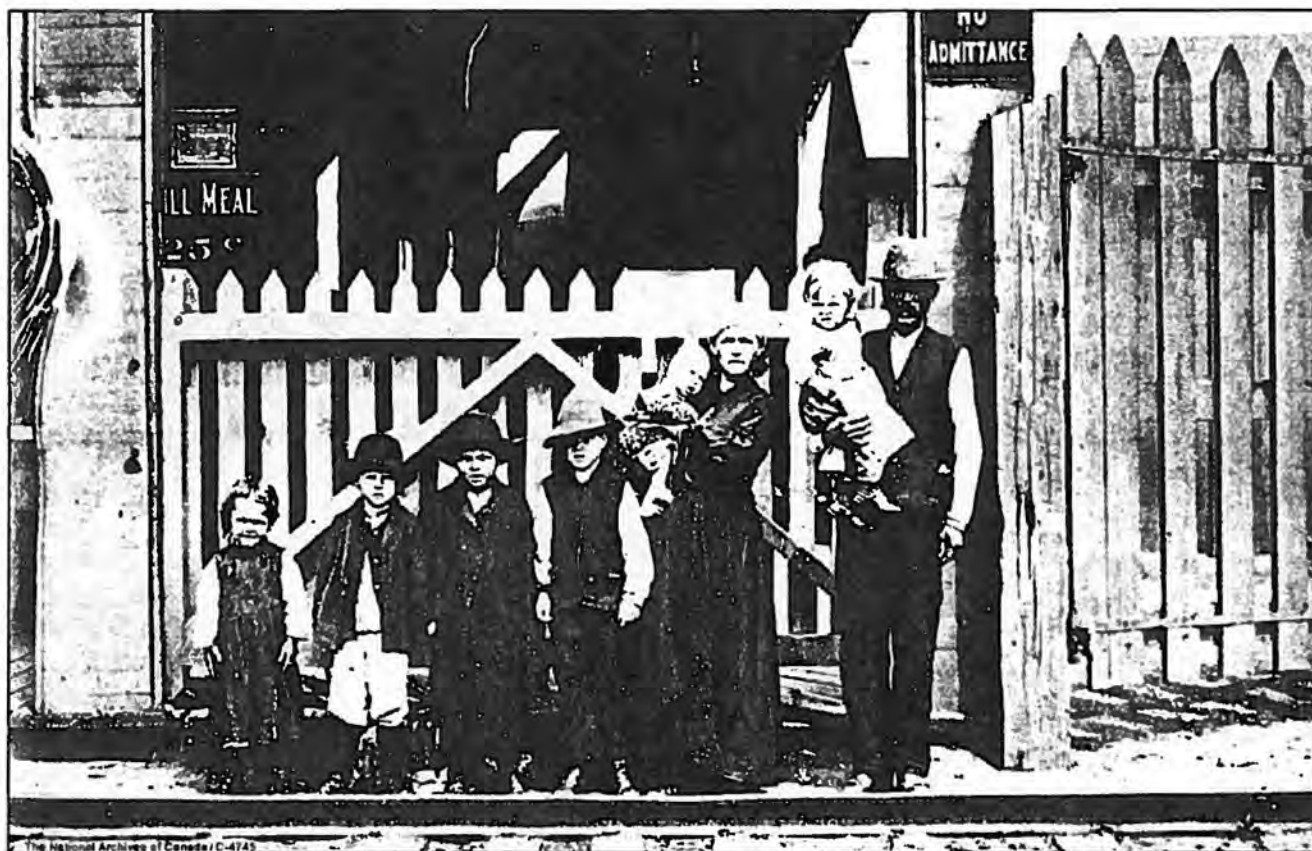
To print this page, select "Print" from the File menu of your browser

Back to Student Worksheet
Learning >heritageproject.ca
URL: http //www.heritageproject.ca/learning/resource/we_are/act_1w.htm

Student Worksheet: Reading a Picture

Look at the poster *Setting the focus*, Draw two imaginary lines
across the photograph to divide it horizontally into three equal
segments. The bottom third is in the foreground, the middle third is
the middleground, and the top third is the background. The focal
point is the element of the picture that the creator wants you to
notice.

A. DESCRIBE what you see in the:

Foreground:

Middleground:

Background:

Focal Point:

B. MAKING INFERENCES from something you see in the:

Foreground:

Middleground:

Background:

Focal Point:

C. WRITE a Title for the picture:

D. EXPLAIN why this is a good title for this picture:

To print this page, select "Print" from the File menu of your browser

Back to Answer Key
Learning >heritageproject.ca
URL: http://www.heritageproject.ca/learning/resource/we_are/act_1a.htm

Answer Key: Reading a Picture

Look at the poster *Setting the Focus*. Draw two imaginary lines
across the photograph to divide it horizontally into three equal
segments. The bottom third is the foreground, the middle third is the
middle ground, and the top third is the background. The focal point
is the element of the picture that the creator wants you to notice.

A. Describe what you see in the:

Foreground:
railway tracks
peoples' feet

Middleground:
faces and clothing of eight people
six young children - four standing, one behind held by an adult man,
one [baby] being held by an adult women,
males all wearing hats
kids are wearing adult clothing

Background:
"No admittance" sign
"meal 25c" sign
picket fence behind people
tall picket fence beside them

Focal Point:
People are not smiling

B. Making Inferences from something you see in the:

Foreground:
a train will be coming sooner or later, because of the railroad tracks

Middleground:
these people are waiting for a train
they expect to be out in the sun because they are mostly wearing
hats
they are a family they have a lot of children so they have probably
been married a long time
they are probably poor because the children are wearing adult
clothing

Background:
this is an English speaking country because the signs are in English
the tall picket fence is to keep people out of somewhere

Focal Point:
these people look scared or uncertain about something, probably
the future.

C. Write a title for the picture:

"Family Anxiously Waiting for a Train"

"What is to become of us"

"An Uncertain Future"

D. Explain why this is a good title for this picture:

This is a good title because it indicates what I inferred from the factual information presented in the picture

Le Goglu depicts an innocent and nsuspecting French-Canadian girl at the mercy of a lustful Jewish storekeeper. "Le nombre de Montréalaises qui se laignent des insultes des marchands juifs est incalculable." In his and many other artoons, Jews have enormous mouths nd noses, very thick ps, bushy eyebrows, and outlandish hair styles.

E GOGLU, MAY 30, 1930

GENTILES ONLY
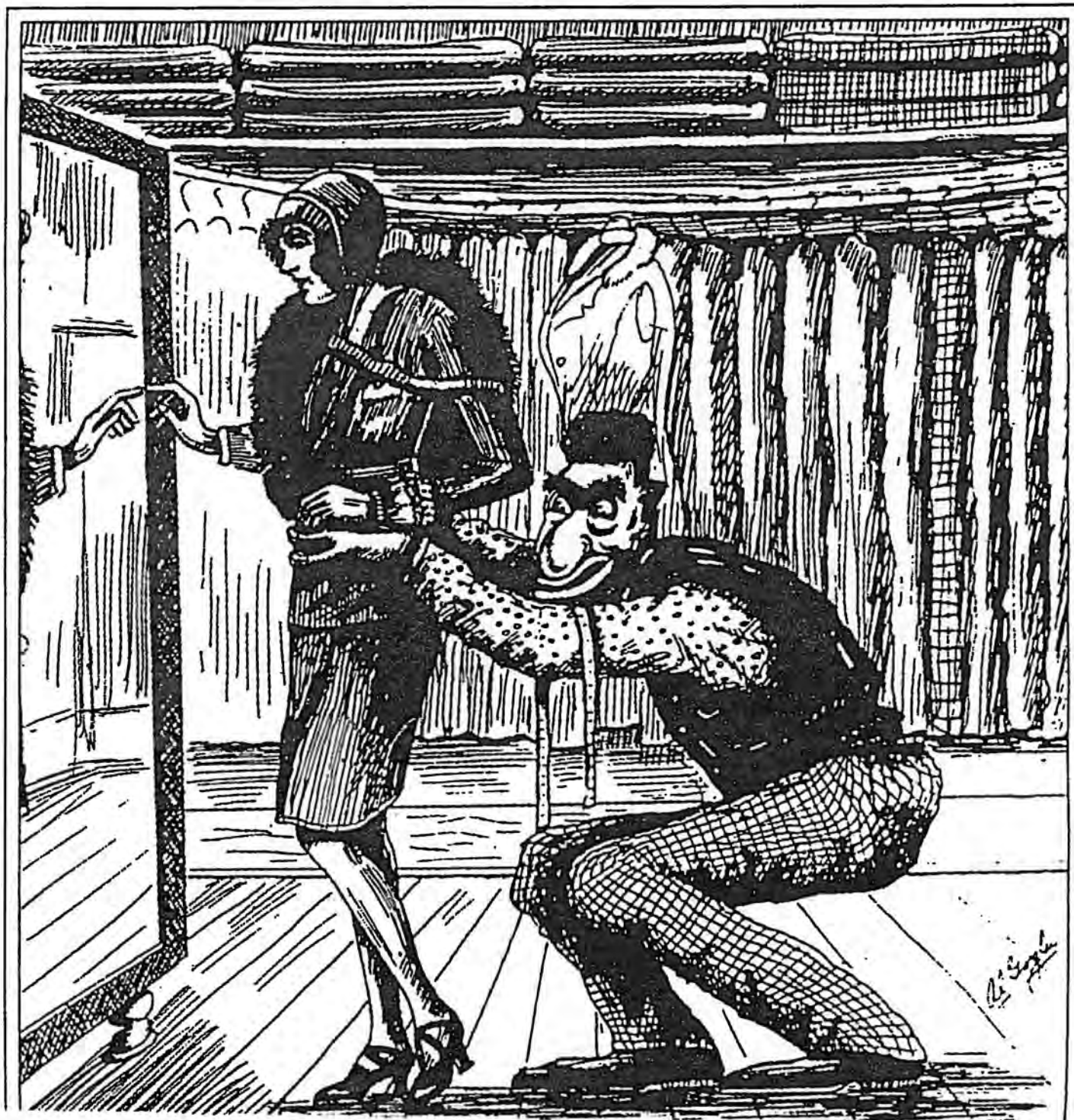
This sign, which was found near a resort northeast of Toronto, was typical of those posted at many places, before they became illegal.

ONTARIO JEWISH ARCHIVES

PLEASANT VALLEY, RANCH
PUBLIC DINING DANCING
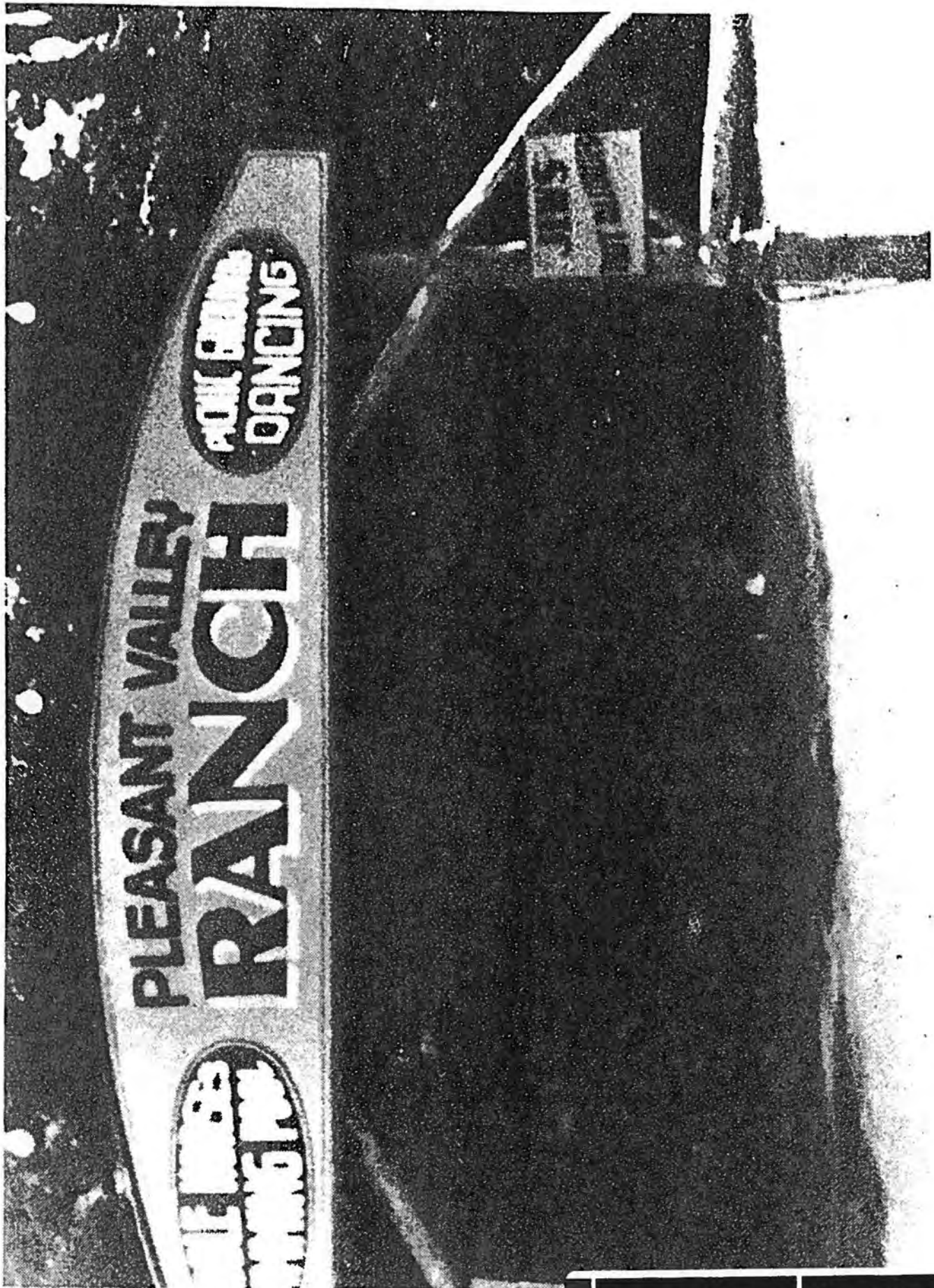
Examples of anti-semitic signs that appeared in Ontario during the 1930s. The sign on the right reads "Only Gentile Business Solicited."

Irving Abella, _A Coat of Many Colours_, pg. 181.

La clef du nouveau Canada

The swastika, used as a symbol of anti-semitism in Quebec in the 1930s.

Iriving Abella, A Coat of Many Colours, pg. 183
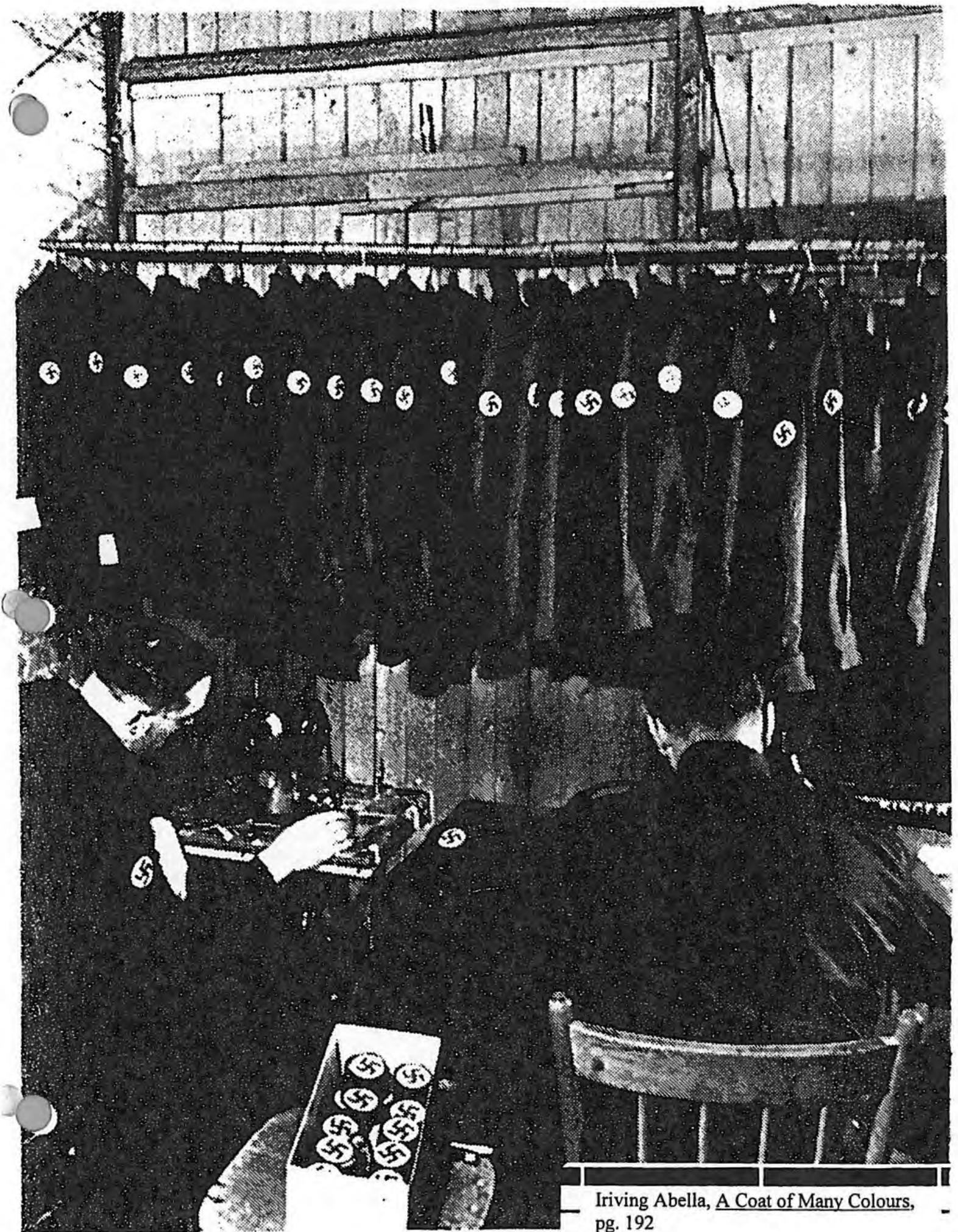
Iriving Abella, A Coat of Many Colours, pg. 192

who feel that it is no longer a general Zionist body. . . . It is painful to watch the disintegration.

Having lost its fund-raising muscle to the United Israel Appeal (except in some small communities), the ZOC began to fade into insignificance. What emerged in place of it and its brother Zionist organizations — with the exception of those which, like Canadian Hadassah-WIZO, maintained fund-raising autonomy — was a new and much broader Canadian Jewish partnership with the state of Israel and its people.

CHAPTER

10

Postwar Adjustments, 1945-60

"There ought to be a monument to each and every one of them," commented Phillip Stuchen, a Canadian who spent nineteen months between 1945 and 1947 at displaced persons' (DP) camps in Landsberg and Heidelberg assisting Holocaust survivors. Stuchen was one of several Canadian Jews who worked for the United Nations Relief and Rescue Agency (UNRRA) and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (the Joint). After a five-week orientation course in New York, he arrived in Germany in the summer of 1945. There he joined the health and welfare effort, which was seriously hampered by shortages of supplies.[1]

Stuchen was impressed by the courage and determination of the survivors he met in the camps. Writing for the autumn 1947 issue of *Queen's Quarterly*, he described the strenuous efforts made by former concentration camp inmates to rebuild their lives by learning trades, producing goods for themselves and the occupation forces in Germany, and administering the displaced persons' camps. That this "saving remnant" would be useful immigrants for Canada he had no doubt:

> They will see the results of their own efforts. Their daily toil will mean clothes and shoes for their newly found wives and rapidly increasing families. The mass employment scheme will quicken the morale of these deserving people. And finally, it will leave a people well equipped with a trade or profession for that day when their emigration to Palestine, to the United States, to Australia, to Canada or elsewhere will take place.

It may well happen, indeed, that a machine operator trained at Lampertheim or a tailor employed at Camp Landsberg will eventually find his way to Montreal or Toronto or Winnipeg.[2]

Hananiah Meir Caiserman, dispatched by the Congress in 1946 to report on the condition of Jews in Poland and help Canadians locate surviving members of their families, observed that "all is dust and desolation."[3] When he met some survivors in the ruins of Bialystok, Caiserman wrote: "The twenty-five people (men and women) who had supper with us, each had a number

MOMMY, WHY DID YOU LEAVE ME?
Ibolya Grossman

I was only four years old when I saw you last.
But your kind and lovely face
Is still in front of my eyes.
You said many times how much you loved me
Then why? Why did you leave me?

We had many lovely times together
You took me in the park to play
You read my favourite books to me every day
And you said that you always,
Always wanted me close to you.
You held me tight and kissed me
Then why? Why did you leave me?

It's been three years already
I'm a big girl by now, over seven
But every night when I close my eyes
And before I go to sleep I still think of you Mommy
Why? Why did you leave me?

I'm in a children's home now
With many other orphaned children
And I have friends and nannies I like.
But one day I was told that evil men had killed you
Because there was a war.
But what did you do? What was your sin Mommy?
Why? Why did you have to leave me?

burned on their arm while in the concentration camps. Each has a story of horror and slow death both physical and moral and one continues to wonder, 'How could they stand it? How?'"[4] Appealing to Canadian Jews to send relief to Polish Jewry, he commented: "I was not prepared to understand the real meaning of finding 65,000 Jews from 3 1/4 million who lived there before the war. Under the circumstances, I did not expect to find their loyalty as Jews unimpaired."

In another communiqué, Caiserman reported a conversation with Yechiel Leben, a nine-year-old boy living at a children's home in a town near Warsaw. "'My father and mother were both burned alive. I only have my little brother, David, one year old, at the same children's home,' he said. He also has an uncle, Zigmund Leben, in Lodz, Poland. He knows he has another uncle named Leben who lives in Canada or in the United States. 'Find him for me,' he actually cried and I cried with him."[5] Especially moved by the plight of children who "had escaped annihilation [and] wandered about the forests and fields of Poland, often dying friendless and without finding the peace of a

You should have told those evil men
That you had a little girl at home,
You should have told those bad people
To leave you alone.
If you loved me and you had told them about me . . .
Then why? Why did you have to leave me?

I believed you when you said you loved me.
I loved you too, I still do.
But I wish somebody would tell me
Why? Oh why did you have to leave me?

Ibolya Grossman, originally from Hungary, survived the Holocaust in the Budapest ghetto. She now resides in Toronto. After the Second World War, Grossman worked as a nanny in a Jewish orphanage in Budapest. There she met a little girl whose parents were killed by the Nazis in 1944. This poem is from that child's point of view. Grossman received an award from the Jewish Book Committee of Toronto for her work in Holocaust literature.

grave,"[6] Caiserman adopted one of these orphans and urged Canadian Jewry to open their homes to others whom the Congress was sponsoring.

When he arrived back in Canada with 1,500 letters and messages from survivors to their families, Caiserman was so emotionally overwrought that he was forced to rest for several days in Halifax before proceeding to Montreal. There he was disappointed by the initial response to the project of bringing Holocaust orphans like Yechiel Leben. to Canada, a response that, he commented, "does not reflect honour on Montreal Jewry."[7] And he was outraged by the callous disregard of the Joint's appeal for assistance in placing Jewish women and girls whom the Canadian government was prepared to admit as domestics. Jewish housewives did not want them. "I cannot believe that Jewish women would discriminate against Jewish girls and thereby deny them Canadian entry," he thundered.

Jews of Canada as elsewhere are living through the greatest crisis in our history. Each Jew must be aware of this and must draw conclusions of personal responsibility. Is there a greater humanitarian deed than the rescue from D.P. Camps of as many Jews as possible? . . . How could there be a prejudice? . . . It is a shameful prejudice against our own sisters. It is a matter of Jewish honour.

In the meantime, public attitudes remained strongly antisemitic, notwithstanding the newsreels showing horrific scenes from the Belsen and Dachau concentration camps. In an October 1946 Gallup poll that asked respondents to list nationalities they would like to keep out of Canada, Jews were deemed the second least desirable immigrants. The Japanese were considered the most undesirable.[8]

The attitude of some Canadian officials was as bad or worse. In a letter from the Canadian high commission in London, one official wrote of the "black marketing, dirty living habits and general slovenliness" of the Jewish Holocaust survivors in the German DP camps.[9] Nevertheless, Canada's virtually exclusionist immigration policy softened in 1948, when the government recognized the need for an increased labour supply in a more buoyant economy and also gave in to "irresistible pressure from her U.N. Allies." Substantial numbers of Jews began arriving, starting with the 1,116 war orphans sponsored by the Congress.[10] In Prien, Germany, Ethel Ostry (a Winnipeg native and a social worker with experience in Manitoba, Toronto, Montreal, and Palestine) handled the job of organizing the orphan children whom the Canadian government had allowed to enter the country.[11]

~~~~~~~~~~ resources were mobilized by a committee headed by

Samuel Bronfman, who took a special interest in this project. Reception centres were set up and foster homes arranged in communities from Glace Bay to Vancouver.[12] That same year, 1948, 1,800 Jews arrived under the so-called Tailor's Project, which arranged for experienced workers in the men's-clothing industry to be admitted under the auspices of a committee representing the Congress, industry, labour unions, and JIAS. In all, Canadian Jewry spent nearly three million dollars on the reception, resettlement, and rehabilitation of approximately 11,000 Jewish displaced persons and some 4,000 to 7,000 other survivors who entered Canada between 1946 and 1951.[13]

One scholar points out that Canadian officials, chiefly those of the Congress and JIAS, were much more vigorous than their American counterparts in lobbying to receive Holocaust survivors. "Congress' post-war activities were overwhelmingly concerned with bringing survivors into Canada, whereas in 1943 American Jewish organizations had already designated Palestine as the post-war haven for surviving Jews of Europe."[14] Using its pre-existing network in the clothing industry, Canadian Jewry got governmental permission to recruit skilled garment workers, "an example of the ethnic chain forging new links."[15] From her key position in the German DP camps, Lottie Levinson, a former executive-secretary of the Canadian Jewish Congress of British Columbia, worked on the assumption that survivors would prefer to immigrate to Canada rather than to Palestine and deplored "the fallacy of too much nationalism" among them.[16]

Although overwhelmingly drawn from Eastern Europe like earlier Jewish immigrants, these migrants were different. They had experienced the Holocaust. Most were of Polish origin, and had endured the destruction of both family and home; they'd persevered through years of fear, hiding, and hunger, and had survived loss of childhood, values, and hope. The difficulty of their adjustment to Canadian life was observed by one Toronto social worker, Ben Lappin, who pointed out that the Canadian emphasis on "positive ends [such] as the achievement of social and economic independence . . . [evoked] bitter memories and suspicions among the orphaned children," who might have expected a deeper understanding of their precarious mental state at that time.[17] Many Jewish professionals reported difficulties with the lay community, whose goodwill often surpassed their understanding of the need for a certain detachment in handling these cases.[18] Although orphans and other immigrants benefited from the concern and support of the community, their difficulties in adjusting often prevented a meeting of minds.

Some of these survivors had intended to go to Palestine, but were forced by the delays in getting permits and by the conditions in the DP camps to go to Canada instead. One remembered:

We lived in what had been a bathroom, in the barracks. The walls were mouldy. We lived there two years. I was sick — I lost a baby. One day my husband came home and said, "Come on, we're going to Canada." "Wait a minute," I said, "that's not in the plan." "Look at you," he said, "we can't live like this. At least in Canada we can live." So he was chosen to come as a tailor, and we came.[19]

Some immigrants, offended by what they perceived to be "negative reactions and attitudes," withdrew from the community. After a serious disagreement with a local union activist, one survivor realized "that this person knew nothing about the . . . Holocaust . . . [and I] pledged never to discuss my experiences again with a non-survivor."[20] Other survivors developed a resentment towards the established Jewish community. One commented, "Maybe they were going around with the guilt they could not work out with themselves that they left us over there. They didn't put up here a big fuss."[21]

In Hamilton, where the community hosted twenty-five orphans and several other survivors, inexperience in handling such cases and the "problems of personality difficulties stemming from their concentration camp and other war-time experiences," sometimes led to serious difficulties.[22] Even though their language training, clothing, loans, housing, recreation, and medical needs were provided for, the immigrants found they had difficulty making themselves understood to community workers. For a variety of reasons, some did not feel comfortable at the Jewish Community Centre,[23] where, as one of them put it, people were greeted coldly with "'Hello, how are you,' and that's all."[24] And the social workers had their own complaints. One observed that the immigrants "have adopted the 'I have suffered and you owe me' concept."[25] In fact, many immigrants felt alienated from North American Jews, were haunted by horrible memories, longed for lost loved ones, were fearful of anti-semitism, and in a few cases, were morally corrupted by their wartime experiences. The vast majority of them soon settled into jobs, families, and homes, but others just drifted.

The ease of the survivors' adjustment seemed to have depended on the social norms in the Jewish community where they settled. On the basis of extensive quantitative comparisons, Jean Gerber found that in Vancouver's small Jewish community of about 3,100 persons, "the fluid nature of the receiving . . . Jewish society allowed survivors easy access to institutions and econom[ic] [m]obility."[26] And because survivors came from so many national and edu[cation]al backgrounds, they easily "integrated into existing patterns already es[tabli]shed by the host Jewish group," moving into the same neigh-

bourhoods, occupational networks, and institutions. They strengthened the Vancouver Jewish community, contributing money, participating in its governance, and bringing "a unique perspective on recent Jewish history, both in the realm of ideas and in . . . teaching and documenting the Holocaust."[27]

In some cases, the new arrivals started off as labourers. One recalled working on a CPR construction crew near Penticton, British Columbia:

There was [sic] nine Jewish boys in that railroad gang, so the Jewish community of Vancouver got permission, and they brought them down for Pesach and they had a seder for them and [one of us] decided when his contract expired that he's going to come to Vancouver and settle. Being a tailor by profession it was very easy for him to get a job here.[28]

Even though she wanted to be with other Jews, one female survivor, at least initially, found it difficult to join the High Holiday services in the Vancouver synagogue:

When I went to the synagogue here and I looked down and I've seen all the families, all of a sudden it was such a shock to me, I couldn't take it. I felt that we had nobody, that I'm a piece of sand somewhere on an island, like [I had] no past. And I went out. I said, "Am I jealous? No, I'm happy for the people," but I couldn't take it. Then I said, "I have to deal with it." I bought some records of the famous Chazzanim, I took a few friends who didn't go to the holidays, and we would sit at home and listen. I couldn't face it for a long time.[29]

By 1970, however, the vast majority of immigrant Jews had prospered and were employed alongside the native-born Jews, even occupying a higher percentage of the professional class.[30]

In Montreal, on the other hand, many survivors clubbed together in their own landsmansbaft, bonding in anguish, memory, and hope. A member of the Czenstochover Society reflected:

We were very close, very, very close. . . . We used to tell stories. Do you remember this? As I said before, familiarity [with the past] is a very, very touching thing, which you can't buy for money. And we enjoyed it immensely, all through the years. . . .[31]

Another observed:

I feel the closest to the people who came from the Zamosc roots. . . . It was very important for me, very important. Among these people, it was possible to reminisce about my home. This was a constant theme of our conversations. We used to remind ourselves of all the different things in our old home. This enriched my life very much.

A woman survivor who was crying at a Holocaust memorial service in 1949 was told by a Canadian-born Jew to stop. "Enough is enough. . . . No more crying and no more talking about what happened. This is a new country and a new life."[32] But among themselves, survivors felt free to reminisce: "Amongst our group, if we felt like talking about something, we could. We were listening to each other's stories, and it was just fine." These small outfits, dedicated to mutual aid, support for Israel, and Holocaust commemoration, thrived, helping survivors to adapt. Many married, started businesses, had children, and established homes. Some lapsed into a lifelong depression that affected even their children and grandchildren. Most felt the significant distance between themselves and the established Jewish community open up again over the proper response to the re-emergence of pro-Nazi organizations in the early 1960s.[33]

But their very presence in the communities also contributed, in the words of Jean Gerber, to "the emerging ideology of post-war North American Judaism, . . . [which] sought to explain the Holocaust and the rise of the state of Israel as interconnected events."[34] In a wider sense, the survivors, as "eye-witnesses to the Holocaust, influenced the direction of community thinking about the nature and meaning of Jewish life. . . . They did this not only by appealing to a shared distant past, but by presenting a Judaism in which survivor and native-born could share a sense of history as well as a destiny."[35]

Though survivors formed the majority of postwar Jewish immigrants (some 30,000 to 35,000 of them and their children had come by 1956),[36] many other Jews were also arriving, including substantial numbers from the United States and the British Isles. There were also rapidly growing numbers from Israel, especially during the early 1950s, when Israelis comprised the largest single component.[37] Three-quarters of the Israeli immigrants had moved to the homeland after the Second World War; only 11 percent were born in that country. By 1963, nearly 11,739 Israelis had reached Canada and many more were to follow.[38] By that time, the five thousand Hungarians who had arrived in 1956 and 1957 had been absorbed, with large Congress assistance, and a substantial inflow was coming from Morocco, Egypt, and Tunisia.[39] Meanwhile, the beginnings of what was to become a significant South African migration were already in evidence.

EBB AND FLOW OF QUEBEC ANTISEMITISM

Life for Jews in Canada became easier after 1945. The nastiest forms of anti-semitism virtually disappeared from view, especially in Quebec. Human-rights and antidiscrimination legislation allowed for easier social and economic mobility, and general postwar Canadian prosperity facilitated an enormous expansion of the Jewish community's institutions. The struggle for Israel mobilized Jews behind the Zionist banner as never before, providing them with a sense of purpose that combined the urgent rescue of Jews at risk with the idea of national revival in the ancient homeland. There were antisemitic incidents, to be sure, some of them very serious. Graves were desecrated, anti-Jewish literature was circulated, poisonous remarks were made by public figures, restrictive covenants prevented Jews from living in certain areas, and Jews still were barred from many resorts and private clubs. But all of these episodes were minor compared with the antisemitism current in Canada in the 1930s.

The change was particularly evident in Quebec.[40] David Rome, the Canadian Jewish Congress press officer who closely monitored the local scene, had reported in 1942 that "the vigorous anti-conscription campaign in Quebec took a violently anti-Jewish form and was marked by several clashes in the streets of Montreal." He observed the following year that only the Quebec City synagogue issue marred an otherwise quiet provincial scene.[41] There was an upsurge of antisemitism in 1944, with the burning of the newly finished synagogue in Quebec City and the emergence of the "Jewish issue" in the August provincial elections. But matters were generally improving in the province. In 1945 Rome recorded only the damaging of several tombstones in a Montreal cemetery, while noting that Father Stéphane Valiquette had published an article in the influential Jesuit publication *Relations* that was sympathetic to the plight of Jews who, in his view, were in an inferior position in the Protestant school system.[42] "There has been a diminution of anti-Jewish agitation. . . in the province of Quebec . . . and there have even emerged the beginnings of intergroup activity with the participation of the dominant Catholic Church."

The community still felt oppressed by the Anglo-Protestants, who insisted that Jews had no rights in the Protestant school system. In 1945 the Protestant school board of the city of Outremont — where Montreal's Jewish population was beginning to move — refused to renew the agreement allowing Jewish children to attend their schools. Premier Maurice Duplessis personally tried to persuade the Protestants to reconsider, but the issue took time to be resolved,[43] leaving the Jewish community sorely agitated. A few years later, similar problems arose in the suburb of Hampstead, which was experiencing a substantial Jewish influx. In this case, too, the Union Nationale provincial

government attempted to moderate the position of the Protestant board towards the Jewish presence.

CHANGES IN QUEBECKERS' ATTITUDES TO JEWS

Despite these isolated incidents, something astonishing was taking place in Quebec. In Rome's words, it was "the remarkable rapprochement between the Jewish community and the French-Canadian Catholic majority."[44] When Laurent Barré, the provincial minister of agriculture, made some antisemitic comments in the Legislative Assembly, he was publicly condemned by Mgr. Henri Jeannotte, a member of a special committee put together by Montreal's archbishop, Joseph Charbonneau, to deal with questions related to Jews. Jeannotte's statement met with approval in the French-language press. "For the first time in the history of this province the Church condemned a public figure for his anti-Semitism," Rome exulted. Meanwhile, the committee began a systematic and widely noticed education campaign directed against antisemitism. It also played a key role in quashing the re-emergence of *Le Goglu*, the vicious antisemitic rag of the 1930s.[45] A Catholic youth publication that included antisemitic attacks was condemned, withdrawn, and reprinted with the offending passages excised. Archbishop Charbonneau even pressed *Le Devoir*, where antisemitic articles, so common in the 1930s, had completely disappeared, to employ younger, more progressive, and more humanistic editors. In a November 1952 issue of *Le Devoir*, none other than André Laurendeau, the leader of Jeune-Canada's antisemitic campaign of the 1930s, published a scathing critique of Senator Joseph McCarthy's antisemitic attacks:

> After the assassination of six million Jews under Hitler's reign, one must not have a too delicate stomach to swallow these fanatical denunciations without heaving. Such antisemitism is so stupid that it turned us into philosemites. . . .[46]

What explained this shift from what Rome called "longstanding prejudice" to "remarkable rapprochement"? Rome believed that French Canadians, who long had resisted close contact with members of different religions and races, finally had begun meeting with other groups "to deal with common problems and to bring Canadians of various faiths together." He pointed to the Council of Christia[ns an]d Jews and the Quebec Federation of Youth as venues for the "sympathet[ic ap]preciation of the intellectual and communal life of the Jewish [and other gr]ou[ps] in the country."

This rapprochement was also apparent in the welcoming reception given works by the Quebec Jewish poet Abraham Moses Klein and the painters Norman Leibovitch and Louis Muhlstock in French-language periodicals. Several Montreal Catholic groups even initiated lectures by clerics on Jewish topics. In 1949 Rabbi Chaim Denburg was appointed a lecturer in medieval studies at the Université de Montréal, the first Jew to join the faculty of a Catholic university in Canada. While Rome recognized that "anti-Jewish prejudice was [not] destroyed in the province," he believed "it [had] distinctly lost the influence and the respectability which it once enjoyed."[47]

Journalist Betty Sigler observed that the medical school at the Université de Montréal, unlike McGill, had no Jewish quota and that Dominican and Jesuit priests were actively trying to dispel French-Canadian prejudice against Jews. "French Canadians," she stressed, "are no more anti-semitic than their English compatriots and a greater frankness often makes them easier for many Jews to get along with than the more circumspect British."[48]

Much was happening in Quebec to change traditional views. French Canada, as the sociologist Everett Hughes explained in his 1943 scholarly study, was still "in transition," under the powerful influence of massive industrialization wrought largely by American investment throughout the province.[49] The battering-ram of capitalism was destroying the old way of life, and the Second World War had accelerated the transformation from an essentially rural province to an increasingly urban, industrial society, which in turn brought a growing degree of secularization.[50]

Some elements of the church became infused with ideas such as those espoused by Father Georges-Henri Lévesque, a Dominican priest-academic deeply committed to democratic norms and liberal values in transforming Quebec and who established the School of Social Sciences at Laval University in 1938.[51] The relationship of church and state and the definition of Quebec's very personality were undergoing significant revision. "From 1945 on," Pierre Elliott Trudeau observed, "a series of events and movements had combined to relegate the traditional concepts of authority in Quebec to the scrap-heap."[52] Trudeau himself was one of a small group of French-Canadian intellectuals with a new openness to ideas that rendered Quebec less isolated and inward-looking. He was among those who led the 1949 Asbestos strike, which symbolized the end of the old Quebec and the dawning of the new. André Laurendeau and others began to meet French-speaking Jewish intellectuals and re-evaluate, and even repent, the antisemitism of their youth.

By the late 1940s, the Quebec Catholic church was no longer as monolithic, parochial, and nationalistic as it had been between the[m]. The church was beginning to shift its discourse to focus on more universalistic

values. This was seen in the emergence in Montreal of a more liberal clergy, many of whom were attempting to enter into dialogue with non-Catholics. After the war, the Vatican also stressed to Quebec clergy the importance of the European refugee crisis and the necessity of bringing an end to the traditional anti-immigration attitude in the province.

As Rome shrewdly noted, however, antisemitism had by no means disappeared in Quebec. Canon Lionel Groulx, for one, did not change his views about Jews after the war. In 1954, when asked for his opinion on "the Jewish problem," he replied that while "Christian kindness forbids us all forms of antisemitism, . . . history and daily observations have only shown us [Judaism's] revolutionary tendency." And because of the Jewish passion for money, he contended, one finds Jews at the bottom of "every shady affair, of every pornographic enterprise: books, movies, plays, etc." That's why, Groulx continued, Jews are prepared to sacrifice in business and the professions "all moral scruples."[53] L'Action Catholique continued to publish articles demonizing Jews — just as it had in the 1930s.[54]

The idea of the mythical Jew as enemy of French Catholic communal purity continued to find public expression, moreover; the Custos report on the Asbestos strike of 1949 blamed the event on "Judeobolshevists."[55] In the late 1940s, an affair involving Comte Jacques Dugé de Bernonville, who had been convicted and condemned to death by a French court for war crimes during the Vichy regime, indicated that, for a few at least, Fascism was alive and well in "la belle province."[56] This collaborator was illegally brought to Quebec and protected by local pro-Fascist sympathizers, including the prominent historian Robert Rumilly. One provincial politician, René Chaloult, delivered a strong antisemitic statement in the National Assembly in defence of Bernonville, and Montreal mayor Camillien Houde led the campaign to prevent his deportation. Accusations surfaced that as many as twenty more French war criminals were hiding out in Montreal.[57]

Meanwhile, several prominent Québécois citizens wrote to Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, one describing de Bernonville as the victim of "a well-organized plot by the Left which breathes hatred and dissension against those who would grant him shelter."[58] Church officials described the count as an "excellent citizen" and "a Christian gentleman," and the St.-Jean Baptiste Society formed defence committees in Montreal, Quebec, and Trois-Rivières. While the controversy raged, and unbeknownst to the public, the Dominion government passed a special order-in-council that allowed five other former Vichyites who were under sentence of death or being sought by French courts to remain permanently in Canada, despite the fact that they had entered this country illegally.[59]

Overall, however, the old clerico-fascism and its associated "moral crusades" were out of favour, even among most of its former adherents.[60] Although Adrian Arcand surfaced again in the mid-1950s to fulminate against Jews in his monthly journal, L'Unité national, he had little influence and soon disappeared from view. Undoubtedly, antisemitism was still present in Quebec and the rest of Canada, but the Holocaust and the postwar Nuremberg trials made public displays less respectable.

At this time, the Jewish community began to pro-actively reach out to francophone clerical and intellectual leaders.[61] Led by Saul Hayes and David Rome, Quebec Jewry reactivated their public-relations committee and established the Cercle Juif de la Langue Française to demonstrate to French Canadians that Jews were not "on the side of the English" in Quebec. In fact, a segment of Montreal Jewish intellectuals was genuinely interested in French culture and in establishing a dialogue in French with like-minded Québécois.

In 1954 Naim Kattan, a francophone Jewish immigrant from Iraq and a distinguished author, was employed by the Congress to direct the Cercle Juif's activities and edit its Bulletin. Kattan established good relationships with several leading francophone journalists, including André Laurendeau and Jean-Marc Leger of Le Devoir, Roger Duhamel of La Patrie, and René Lévesque of the CBC.[62] Their response was warm, but they cautioned that the Quebec Jewish community should cease presenting "an English façade, [and] airs of unilingual English-Canadians," as Conrad Langlois of La Patrie put it.[63] While the efforts mounted by the Congress could not entirely rid the Jewish community of its English "façade," they did provide a highly useful meeting ground for some Montreal intellectuals from two of Quebec's three solitudes.

Still, manifestations of antisemitism persisted. As late as 1965, the Quebec liberal thinker Claude Ryan expressed the view that if French Canadians and Jews were to achieve a full rapprochement, "a certain updating of the Jewish religion might be in order."[64] When faced with Jewish concerns about the course of French-Canadian nationalism, Ryan also reacted strongly, believing that the Jews put the questions to him

in a rather aggressive tone, as if they were entitled to get firm assurance from a humble person like myself. . . . The only thing I can tell them . . . is that to the extent that they associate with the search that is going on . . . in the French Canadian mind, . . . there is a greater chance that this search will end up in a happy way. But to the extent that they keep putting questions as if they were standing in an outside position, the dangers are extremely great that this might explode in their faces.[65]

Jews must change, Ryan contended, to overcome the old antisemitic attitudes "still very much alive in the minds of most French Canadians." Among other things, Ryan asserted, many Québécois believe that the Jew "will do practically anything in order to make a fast dollar"; that he has "the reputation of paying low salaries and being not too scrupulous about working conditions"; that Jews in general "are extremely important in the making of financial decisions" in Canada; that Jewish notaries "have tended to specialize in practices that leave much to be desired"; that "Jews will support one another to death"; that "Jews killed Jesus Christ"; and that "Jews do not care for morality."

Meanwhile, Jews were accorded an unprecedented degree of recognition by Québécois. Dr. Victor Goldbloom was appointed to the Cabinet in the Liberal government of Jean Lesage in the 1960s. At around the same time, Jewish parochial schools were accorded recognition and generous financial assistance by the government, and the semi-independence of the Jewish social-welfare network in Montreal was also upheld.[66] Jews were even appointed to teaching posts in francophone universities. At the same time, however, Quebec's Jews still felt that they were walking a tightrope. The separatist upsurge in the 1960s, the language legislation of the 1970s, the October Crisis, and statements by some sovereigntists made Quebec Jews nervous and uncertain of their future. Many Jews, especially the young ones who were concerned that Québécois nationalist policies might hamper their career choices, began to leave the province.

ANTISEMITISM OUTSIDE QUEBEC

Antisemitism survived elsewhere in Canada, too. The Social Credit movement in Alberta (and in Quebec), for example, continued to harbour antisemites who made their views public on the platform and in print.[67] Alberta-based members of the Canadian Jewish Congress monitored the situation closely and regularly urged Montreal headquarters to institute countermeasures. By the late 1940s, however, antisemitism had become such an embarrassment to the Socred national organization that it repudiated those factions and "dissociate[d] itself from the racial and religious intolerance which they are propagating."[68] Even so, these elements continued to put out antisemitic literature on a regular basis; *The Canadian Intelligence Service* (edited for many years by Ron Gostick) was one such periodical. Occasionally, pamphlets like *Plans of the Synagogue of Satan* by Colonel F. H. M. Colville, a British Columbia Socred member, appeare⬤ these were always repudiated by the movement's leaders.

Prejud⬤ ersisted in other forms. Restrictive covenants, for example, were

In one Ontario case, Bernard Wolfe of London agreed to purchase a summer cottage at nearby Beach O' Pines resort, but he was prevented from taking possession by such a covenant, which barred sales to persons of "Jewish, Hebrew, Semitic, Negro or colored race or blood."[69]

The Ontario Court of Appeal upheld a lower court decision declaring the covenant valid, but the Supreme Court of Canada overturned it in November 1950. Meanwhile, the Ontario legislature passed a bill voiding all covenants restricting the sale or ownership of land for reasons of race or creed.[70] Although these actions lifted the prohibition on residence, the Congress and B'nai Brith still battled against racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination in the work world and the schools. In the wake of the Beach O' Pines decision, the Ontario government discouraged summer resorts from advertising that their clientele was "restricted" or "selected." It became increasingly difficult for haters to discriminate, and utterly impossible to restrict Jews from living in certain areas.

Ontario, which enacted the Racial Discrimination Act in 1944 and the Fair Employment Practices Act in 1951, led all levels of government in passing comprehensive bills to outlaw discrimination and the dissemination of hate literature. Joseph Salsberg, Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, various labour leaders, the Canadian Jewish Congress, Jewish activists in the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party, and the Canadian Jewish press were all leading advocates for human-rights legislation.

The Congress official Ben Kayfetz recalled, "When I was first employed by CJC in April 1947, the chairman of the Joint Public Relations Committee said my first priority was to plan and work towards the enactment of a Fair Employment law. It came much sooner than we expected, in 1951."[71] The act received support from an increasingly sympathetic public,[72] many of whom had their opinions about the Jewish minority in Canada changed by the Holocaust.[73] Ontario premier Leslie Frost took a special interest in this body of legislation, even though some of his constituents saw this bill as an infringement of their rights. One old friend of Frost's complained, "I do not want a coon or Jew squatting beside me."[74]

Unfortunately, neither legislation nor embarrassment prevented continuing antisemitism at the universities. The admission of Jews to some medical schools was still severely restricted. McGill, for example, limited Jewish admissions to a rigid 10 percent until the 1960s and the University of Toronto required Jews to have higher marks than other applicants. Most Jewish U. of T. graduates had to leave the city for the necessary year of internship because, with a few exceptions, Toronto's hospitals would not accept them, regardless of their academic standing. It was also still difficult for qualified Jew⬤ ⬤octors to acquire admitting privileges at these hospitals. When Mount ⬤⬤⬤ Hospital

was completed in the late 1950s, its status as a teaching hospital for the University of Toronto was delayed until 1962.[75] Such discrimination forced the Toronto and Montreal Jewish communities to continue to support their own hospitals. Indeed, hospital building campaigns were the focus of their largest fund-raising efforts; roughly 25 percent of all monies raised for capital projects in the 1950s and 1960s went to hospitals.

Undoubtedly, the continuing concern about the persistence of antisemitism in postwar Canada influenced the Congress' submission to the 1949 Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (known as the Massey Commission). Congress argued that Canada's national cultural institutions (such as the National Library, the Public Archives, the National Gallery, the National Museum, the National Film Board, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation)[76] should "search for the formula which will vouchsafe the creation of a vibrant and meaningful Canadianism."[77] Speaking on behalf of the Congress, Saul Hayes insisted that if these bodies made Canadians aware of the contribution to the nation of the country's many different ethnic groups, Canadian democracy would be strengthened and "the best of national characteristics of the people who inhabit Canada, through the catalysis of conditions here, [would] emerge as a distinctive element of North American civilization."

This was an argument, in short, for multiculturalism.[78] But Hayes was forced to recognize that the theory had flaws. Should literature and artistic expression be rewarded along ethnic lines? "Are you going to limit the form of those works?" Professor Hilda Neatby of the University of Saskatchewan asked. "[Do] you . . . want to offer special incentives to the people to express themselves along particular ethnical lines?"[79] Asserting that "you cannot look at the Canadian scene without being aware of the existence of groups," she appropriately suggested that "general encouragement" of literature and the arts would be just as effective. In the end, Hayes's arguments did not move the commission to recommend multiculturalism in Canadian arts and letters. But his brief, which anticipated by a generation the multicultural policies implemented in the 1970s, was an attempt to address the new ethnic reality of Canada, and to prove that all forms of racism could be reduced through new approaches to the question of Canadian identity.

MOVING INTO THE SUBURBS AND MODERNITY

A new-found freedom of mobility and less overt antisemitism allowed Jews, like all Canadians who were now better off, to leave the old, crowded districts ~~. . . . . into newer housing in the city suburbs.~~ In

Montreal the biggest movement was up from Outremont over the mountain into Côte-des-Neiges, Notre Dame de Grace, and the western suburbs of Saint-Laurent, Côte St-Luc, Chomedy, and Dollard-des-Ormeaux. In Toronto the main Jewish migration pushed up Bathurst Street, past St. Clair, Eglinton, and Lawrence.

In Winnipeg, Jews moved out of the old north end into adjacent West Kildonan and southward into River Heights.[80] They built synagogues, schools, and social facilities, replacing virtually all of the previously existing institutional network. In Vancouver they moved from the east-end immigrant quarter to the newer, lower-middle-class, west-side neighbourhoods, leaving behind the synagogues and kosher food shops that were later replaced by newer and more elaborate structures.[81] Although the vast majority of these families were by no means affluent, they were able to afford the down payments, modest under National Housing Act provisions, for these new bungalows and split-level homes.

The old Jewish neighbourhoods, meanwhile, certainly did not disappear. Many of the older generation of immigrants — now joined by Holocaust survivors — stayed on. Emotionally attached to their old synagogues and comfortable in their houses, they continued to walk the familiar streets and frequent the customary stores. Perhaps they looked with understanding and sympathy at the recently arrived Italian, Greek, and Portuguese immigrants now buying houses and shops in what was once a Jewish neighbourhood.[82] And of course, not all Jews were financially able to move "uptown" in the 1940s and 1950s. For years, the inner-city neighbourhoods retained some Jewish families and the old hang-outs. The corner of College and Spadina in Toronto continued to draw people whose nicknames (Big Norm, Stok, Shacki, Feets, Applejack, Babe, Joe the Ball, Dapper, Dizzy, Jackriv, Fat Sam, Schvitzie, Gijik, Bagels, Baby, Piggie, Pork Chops, Oogie, and Butterballs) suggested the street smarts, derring-do, and postwar hipness of the Jewish would-be "wise guys."[83]

Some more affluent Toronto Jews moved away from the areas of first or second settlement to swanky Forest Hill, but collided with its well-established Anglo-Saxon Protestants and a small and smug pre-war Jewish group. The results, as reported in the 1956 sociological study *Crestwood Heights*, were interesting. Many of the new arrivals shed their "old-fashioned" ways — abandoning Orthodox religious observances, for example — and adopted upper-middle-class norms, while some of the long-settled Christians enrolled their children in private schools so they could avoid contact with Jewish students.[84] Both the Gentiles and the older Jewish settlers tended to regard the newcomers as "vulgar, ostentatious, ignorant, and detrimental to the community."[85] Christian parents did not want their children to be at schools where

Jews were the majority, even though teaching standards were higher in Forest Hill than in almost any other Toronto neighbourhood. Private schools, one Christian parent believed, were necessary for her children "to get the social graces." At Forest Hill Collegiate, on the other hand, she thought her children would "learn materialistic values . . . mainly because of the insecurity of the Jews which has driven them to make a materialistic display of their position and wealth."[86]

With prosperity growing across Canada between 1945 and 1952, more than $31 million was spent on Jewish community buildings (including $11.5 million on hospitals, $8 million on synagogues, $5.24 million on YMHAs and community centres, and $4.18 million on schools).[87] New and expanded health and recreation facilities consumed more than half of the community's financial expenditures, while religious and educational institutions accounted for more than one-third. Social-welfare programs and general community administration took up the remainder.

Synagogues were springing up in the suburbs, and old *shuls* in many smaller communities were being replaced by new edifices that sometimes included community centres and athletic facilities. Typical of the latter were the Jewish centres in Halifax; Brantford, Ontario; and Saskatoon.[88] A plot of land was purchased near the houses of the community's observant Jews, building and finance committees were struck, and a contractor engaged. Once the new building was completed (often after stormy meetings where members, now "experts," hotly debated plans for the new structure), the congregation took its leave of the old *shul* with prayer and rejoicing.

In Brantford the procession was led by children bearing the Union Jack and the Star of David; they preceded several elders carrying Torah scrolls and a newly acquired edition of the Talmud. Next came an aged but energetic violinist, who led the congregants from the old *shul* to the new one as he lovingly played Yiddish tunes. Although the distance was only a hundred metres, symbolically it was one more major step away from the *shtetl* towards modernity.

In the bigger cities, many downtown congregations were re-established in new synagogues by members who had moved to the suburbs. In some cases, these new structures were built by amalgamations of two or three congregations that could not have afforded them individually. Other synagogues were built for entirely new congregations emerging on the city's outskirts. One, the Conservative Beth Am (House of the People) congregation, which was formed in 1954 by a group of working- and lower-middle-class Jews living in northwest Toronto saw its fortunes fluctuate as Jewish geography changed.[89] It first assembled [   ] rvices in a tent, then in a house, next in its own hall, and later, in a newly e[   ]d sanctuary. As Jewish numbers grew, Beth Am developed a

large school, which flourished in the late 1950s and 1960s. However, a migration farther into the suburbs reduced membership in the 1970s, and the school's enrolment also declined sharply. By the mid-1970s, the congregation's long-range future was viewed as "tenuous,"[90] and in 1976 it amalgamated with another congregation.

Meanwhile, most of the old downtown synagogues were converted to churches or community halls for the new immigrants to the area. Only a few synagogues remained in use by the people unwilling or unable to move; others were kept going for the weekday convenience of businessmen whose stores or offices were located nearby.

Virtually abandoned, too, were the Jewish labour halls. In Toronto the Labour Lyceum on Spadina, once home to the needle-trade unions and other left-wing organizations, and the major forum for debate for a generation of working men and women, struggled on with a rapidly diminishing and greying Jewish proletariat. By the mid-1950s, its May Day observances, once attended by hundreds of marchers proudly displaying their solidarity with workers

RABBI (RAV) GEDALIAH FELDER

Polish-born Gedaliah Felder, an outstanding Talmud scholar and the rabbi of congregation Shomrei Shabbos, became the dean of Toronto's rabbinical community soon after he moved there from Brantford in about 1950. His weekly Talmud class attracted a large following, and he earned wide respect around the world for his distinguished published work, including the four-volume *Yesodei Yeshurun* (a compendium of laws relating to prayer, the synagogue, and the sabbath), *Nachlat Tzvi* (a survey of rabbinic literature relating to adoptions and conversions), and *Sheilath Yeshurun* (responses on contemporary issues). Rabbi Felder's scholarly distinction even attracted interest from outside the Jewish community.

Perhaps just as important was his *menschlichkeit*. He welcomed everyone who came to seek his counsel with a warm smile, and the hospitality of his home was boundless. After leaving yeshivah studies in Toronto, Rabbi Felder served the Jewish communities of Sarnia, Belleville, and Brantford. Every Shabbat afternoon, he conducted a wonderful class for post–bar mitzvah boys on Pirkei Avoth and the Baba Metziah section of the Talmud. All the while, his wife served the students delicious cakes with tea his two little sons got into endless mischief.

everywhere, drew only a handful of the faithful. A story was read, labour songs were played, and a Yiddish speaker bitterly attacked the youth who had betrayed the movement and regarded their radical parents as "simple-minded papas and blintz-frying mamas who cannot begin to fathom the *Weltschmerz* of our fine-cut intellectual offspring."[91]

Such mordant views of ungrateful, non-comprehending, indeed self-absorbed youth, while understandable, were simplistic. As the postwar Jewish geography changed, so did the community's ideals. The confusion and despair that gripped the Jewish radical left during trials of the Moscow doctors accused of plotting against the Soviet state and the treason charges against Rudolf Slansky in Czechoslovakia in the early 1950s — both clear evidence of anti-semitism in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe — destroyed the last vestiges of Communism's credibility for many Jews. Kruschev's revelations of Stalin's crimes at the 20th All-Union Party Congress in 1956 was the final straw. All that remained were a few cultural expressions of the movement's one-time fervour — the Toronto Jewish Folk Choir, for example, performed to full houses for years to come — and memories of the heyday of the Jewish left.[92]

THE REALM OF THE JEWISH WOMAN

Some evidence of the type of Jewish family values that were current after the war can be found in a widely distributed cookbook and festival guide called *A Treasure for My Daughter*, published by a Montreal Canadian Hadassah-WIZO chapter in 1950.[93] This "handbook for the Jewish Home" contains menus and recipes and explains the festivals and rituals through a conversation between a fictional mother and her daughter, Hadassah, who is soon to marry her sweetheart, David. It vividly depicts the 1950s assumption that the Jewish wife's basic role was to establish and maintain the Jewishness of home life by following *kashrut* and culinary tradition. "Woman is to be the helpmate of man, socially, spiritually and physically," Mother explains at one point, as if to underline the subservience expected. Regarding *nidah* (the period of separation between a husband and wife during the menstrual cycle), the mother adds that "through the guidance in these vital matters which our laws afford, Jewish men have been taught respect for womanhood, moral discipline and ethical culture."[94] The daughter, portrayed as essentially ignorant of these matters and completely submissive to her family's wishes, asks questions about such fundamentals as betrothal and marriage, *mezuzah*, *kashrut*, sabbath, festivals, holidays, circumcision, *pidyon ha-ben*, bar mitzvah, and mourning — all the major events in the Jewish life cycle.

This book, and others like it, depicted the subservient and dependent role

of the Jewish wife in the 1950s. Although poorly educated in religious traditions, she was, however, responsible for the domestic observances of the holidays, including the laborious preparation of special foods. Assumed to be a "housewife," her responsibilities outside the domestic realm included an active role in Canadian Hadassah-WIZO, the premier Jewish women's Zionist organization. Such volunteer groups were viewed as adjuncts to the main Jewish communal structure, which seldom allowed women into their higher councils.

These women became the "matriarchs of Jewish suburbia," fulfilling their roles both at home and in their cultural organizations and synagogues. The writer Erna Paris, who grew up in Toronto's gilded ghetto of Forest Hill, remembered it like this:

> Our lives in the forties and fifties were insular and "unreal." . . . We knew almost nothing beyond the Village, the downtown department stores where we'd sometimes wander on Saturday afternoons and charge clothes to our father's accounts, and the bits of northern Ontario where we summered. . . . My friends were inordinately interested in clothes, encouraged by their mothers, who were grooming them as poised and beautiful Jewish Princesses (it must be said) from an early age.[95]

Erna Paris and most of her contemporaries might have fitted neatly into this role, but their younger sisters and, later, daughters were less likely to follow suit. For one thing, more young Jewish women were pursuing higher education and entering the professions. By 1971, nearly 21 percent of all Jewish working women were professionals, compared with 4.4 percent in 1931.[96] Over the same period, the percentage of working Jewish women in blue-collar occupations fell from 33 percent to less than 6 percent. And increasing numbers of women who formerly had been housewives entered the workforce, while still continuing to be homemakers.[97]

But the status of women in the workforce was far from equal to that of men, largely because "they enter later, often less prepared, and are often underpaid and overworked with their two jobs of paid work and home-making."[98] For most working women, therefore, entry into the workforce was not necessarily a liberating experience, and their responsibilities at home were not shared or reduced. A growing discontent raised the level of women's consciousness and led to the feminism that was to emerge in the 1970s and to flourish in the 1980s and 1990s.

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Gerald Tulchinsky, Branching Out, pgs 261-280.

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Unit Five

What and who Make up the Canadian Jewish Community

Unit Five: What and who make up the Canadian Jewish Community

In this unit, the students will investigate the emergence, development and contributions of Jews within Canada. Students will examine the impact that these Jews had on the creation and growth of the Canadian Jewish community and the overall Canadian society. We will also examine the roles played by important figures of the non-Jewish community who had an impact, both positive and negative, on the establishment and prosperity of the Canadian Jewish community. We will examine the significant internal and external forces that characterised this experience of community development. This unit will revolve around the "Famous Jewish Canadians" activity.

Students will also examine the growth and prosperity of the Canadian Jewish community from the 1960's onward.

Enduring Understanding:

The creation and sustaining of the Jewish Community in Canada has been fostered through the continuous hard work, struggle and dedication of many people.

<u>Goals</u>:

1) To provide the students with an overview of the key people who contributed to the creation and growth of the Canadian Jewish community.
2) To demonstrate the various struggles and challenges Jews have faced from the founding of this country in providing the freedom and opportunity that Jews today enjoy.
3) To identify the areas where the Jewish community now live, the occupations that they now find themselves.

Suggested Learning Activities:

1. **Jewish Tour** – Take the students on a tour of the Jewish community of old and of today. Show them the areas where the Jews used to live and work,

and the growth and movement of the community today. Highlight for them some of the major institutions of the community (that will be studied further in Unit Six), and how the Jewish community has no boundaries today.

1. *If a tour is not appropriate or within your budget, then discover if any movies, documentaries have ever been produced on the Jewish community of your city. IF that is not possible, see if the demographer for the local Jewish federation can come and conduct a workshop with you class that is both appropriate and engaging.*

2. **Map Work** – Work as a class and plot the major settlement areas of the Jewish community of old versus the Jewish community of today. Base this exercise and the items placed on this map from the tour of your cities Jewish areas.

3. **Jewish Occupations Today** – Using the activity of Jewish occupations from Unit Two as a backdrop have the students revisit that lesson and conduct a brainstorm of occupations where you could find Jews by the 1960's. Discuss how by that point, post-war and through the efforts of Jewish politicians and the Canadian Jewish Congress no occupations, no areas of society were closed off for the Jewish community.

> The teacher should also at some point conduct a lesson that highlights some of the key historical moments that can then be added to the timeline.
> ➤ Jewish appointments to universities
> ➤ First Jewish Cabinet Minister (Herb Gray) in 1969.
> ➤ Jewish in governorship of the Bank of Canada.
> ➤ Judges, lawyers, professors,
> ➤ Growth and prosperity of Jewish civil service agencies.
> ➤ The increasing power and influence of the CJC.

4. **Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms** – Have the students examine the Charter of Rights and determine how it protects the rights of individuals to dignity and equality.

5. **Class Discussion / Debate** – Engage in a discussion over whether or not they think a law can change the way society thinks about Jews, racism, and equality. Can a law such as this be enforceable? Have them brainstorm ideas of how they think such a law can help change the way a society thinks and what they can do as a Jewish community to help in this.

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6. **Guest Speaker** - Invite a representative from the Government of Canada who can speak to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, discussing how it came about, why it came about and what role, if any did the Jewish community play in helping draft and implement such a law? Have this person also discuss any case studies where challenges to this law have taken place and what the Canadian government is empowered to do?

Resources:

1.   http://www.pch.gc.ca/credo/english/charter/chartercontents.html
   ➢ A web site with the full copy of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom. Using this web site can allow you to choose individual sections of the charter.

2.   http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ca_1982.html
   ➢ A second we site with the full Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (part of the documents found in the web site cited #5 in this resource list).

3.   http://www.unac.org/rights/index.html
   ➢ A web site that helps commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Universal declaration pf Human Rights. There are several links to Canadian resources used to commemorate this event.

4.   http://www.pch.gc.ca/credo/english/credoresources/ideas_01.html
   ➢ A curricular link to Action Guide (description write up found in this unit).

Major Project: This project will serve as a significant memorable moment for this curriculum and should be given ample class time to complete.

Each student will either choose or be assigned a famous Canadian. It is important that these Canadians span the generations from the 1760's to present day, and be a mixture of both men and women. The student is to research and prepare a short biography on their person's life that will be presented through a mock panel of famous Canadians. The students should be asked to get dressed in appropriate clothing, and present a brief 3-5 minute biography on this person. The students will also create life size drawings of the person that will be mounted and displayed on the wall, along with the written portion of the project. Parents should be invited to witness this presentation as a culmination of the entire process and should be notified of this project from the outset.

Objectives (TSWBAT):

1) Identify a key figure in the Jewish community from the late 1700's to the present day.
2) Explain the influence(s), key contribution(s), and overall impact to the prosperity and growth of the Canadian Jewish community this individual had.
3) Explain how this chosen person helped facilitate the removal of barriers in the building of this community
4) Establish linkages between their person to other key people, key events and actions that took place and had importance to the Jewish community (voting rights, land ownership rights, settlement patterns, and schooling).

The following questions should be answered by this process and reflected in the written analysis:

1) Where was this person born and when?
2) When and why did they immigrate to Canada?
3) When they immigrated to Canada where did they move? Why?
4) What were some of the key contributions this person made to the Canadian Jewish community? Overall Canadian community?
5) How did they impact the overall prosperity and growth of the Canadian Jewish community?
6) How did this person help facilitate the removal of barriers in the building of this community?
7) Any other key contributions they have made to Canada?
8) Share one particular story, incident, event in this person's life that was of particular importance in helping establish their prominence within Canada.

Famous Canadian Key Personalities (some possible topics):

a) **Ezekiel Hart** – Elected to the Quebec Assembly in April of 1807, but due to issues of taking the oath was prevented from taking office.
b) **Rabbi Alexander Abraham de Sola** – He was appointed spiritual leader of Shearith Israel Congregation in Montreal in January 1847. He became a leader in both the non-Jewish scholarly community, becoming a professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical literature at McGill University as well as the first Jew to be awarded an honorary degree by a university.

c) **George Benjamin** – As founder, publisher and editor of the Belleville Intelligencer (today Ontario's longest surviving newspaper), Benjamin set out on 32-year career, which brought him many offices denied to Jews. In 1856 he was elected as members of Parliament for the Province of Canada. He was the first Jew permitted to be seated in the assembly.

d) **Henry Nathan** – A member elected to the British Columbia legislature in 1970 at the age of 29. A member of the liberal party and good friend to Sir John A. Macdonald, he was active in pushing for the transcontinental railway and eventually became director of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

e) **Herman Landau** – An English financier who was convinced that the climate and religious tolerance of the Prairies was the answer to the plight of Russian Jewry. He organized the settlement of a group of eleven Jews with agricultural training in the colony of Wapella, Saskatchewan in 1880. He helped establish what became a thriving Jewish community in Wapella.

f) **Lazarus Cohen** – A respected Montreal business man of the late 1800's who along with his son dominated the garment industry in Montreal for many years. He was also asked by the community to meet with Agricultural Minister John Henry Pope to help get support for a Jewish refugee settlement program in the Northwest.

g) **Lyon Cohen** – Son of Lazarus Cohen, he helped establish the Jewish Times in 1896 with Samuel Jacobs, a paper designed for the advocacy as well as the defence of Jewish rights as free citizens. He was also leader of the Montreal Clothing Manufacturer's Association and the first president of the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1919.

h) **Samuel Jacobs** – Helped establish the Jewish Times in 1896 with Lyon Cohen, a paper designed for the advocacy as well as the defence of Jewish rights as free citizens. He was also the second Jew elected to Parliament from the Montreal riding in 1917.

i) **Becky Buhay** – A Leading radical trade unionist that helped organize the Jewish garment workers in the most successful strikes of the garment workers strikes taking place in 1930's. She also helped in the formation of the Industrial Union of Needle Trade Workers.

j) **Clarence de Sola** – Son of Rabbi Alexander Abraham de Sola, Clarence de Sola was the first President of the Canadian Federation of Zionist Societies from 1900 through the First World War. His organization also

served as the first national Jewish society, which held annual conventions where Jews from across the country could come and discuss common problems, most of which had little to do with Zionism.

k) **Lillian Freiman** – The founder of Hadassah-WIZO of Canada in 1917. She helped the Great War Veterans' Association and aided in the rescue of Jewish war orphans from the Ukraine.

l) **Fanny Rosenfeld** – Affectionately knows as "Bobby" Rosenfeld, she was Canada's premier athlete during the 1920's. She won a pair of medals, including gold at the Amsterdam Olympics in 1928 and set records in at least six different track-and-field events.

m) **Rabbi Herman Abramovitz** – Spiritual leader of Montreal's Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue. He was appointed honorary chaplain to the Canadian Jewish troops during World War One. He worked to try and convince those Jews in the army who entered under assumed names, hid their Jewish identity because they were fearful of drawing attention to their Jewishness to come forward, have Jewish pride, and bring credit to the Jewish community for its overall commitment to the war effort.

n) **Samuel Rabinovich** – A young medical student who graduated first in his class at the University of Montreal who was offered an internship at Notre Dame hospital in Montreal. In June of 1934 on the day he was to begin work all fourteen of his fellow interns walked out, refusing to work with a Jew. They refused to work or even accept emergency cases. Fellow interns at five Catholic hospitals eventually joined them in their walk out. This occurred at a time of increasing and rising anti-Semitism in Canada.

o) **Sammy Luftspring** – A boxing champ who was favoured to win the gold medal but refused to attend the 1936 Olympic games as they were being held in Nazi Germany. Instead, with other athletes he went to Spain to participate in a counter Olympics.

p) **Bora Laskin** – A brilliant lawyer who studied at Harvard university and returned to Toronto in the 1930's, but could not find work because he was Jewish. Eventually, after much pressure from fellow lawyers he was hired by the University of Toronto and quickly became one of the country's greatest law teachers. By the 1970's he was on the Supreme Court of Canada and in 1975 he was appointed chief justice.

q) **Samuel Bronfman** – A dedicated and committed Jew, the son of an early settler in Wapella, Saskatchewan he struggled to eek out an existence in the prairie frontier. Eventually, he achieved success in the hotel and real estate business. His family fortune was ultimately made in the sale of

liquor. He moved to Montreal in the 1920's where he became actively involved in philanthropy. He reluctantly became president of the CJC in 1938 after Samuel Jacobs died.

r) **Allan Bronfman** – Brother of Samuel Bronfman, and a very committed Jew in the Montreal Jewish community. He is largely responsible for the building of the Jewish General Hospital.

s) **Samuel Hayes** – A young lawyer hired by Samuel Bronfman to provide the CJC with professional expertise and political leadership. Haye's through his enormous organizational talents helped bring stability to the CJC. He also was able to pressure members of the Canadian government to provide immigration permits for Jews during WWII.

t) **Herb Gray** – From Windsor, Ontario he would become Canada's first Jewish federal cabinet minister in 1969.

u) **Dave Barrett** – Became Canada's first Jewish premier in 1972 in British Columbia.

The lists below are additional names that can also be investigated by the student. Biographies for these people can be found on the Internet, the books listed in the resources below and also within General Canadian History books.

v) **Artists** – Sorel Etrog, Gerald Gladstone, Stanley Lewis, Gershon Iskowtiz, Aba Bayefsky, Lewis Muhlstock, Les Levine, Ghita Caiserman Roth, John Weinzenberg, Oskar Morawetz, Milton Barnes

w) **Literature** – Adele Wiseman, Eli Mandel, Miriam Waddington and Jack Ludwig.

x) **Prominent Families**: The Bronfman Brothers – Edgar and Peter (Montreal and Toronto), The Steinberg's (Montreal), Reitmans (Montreal), Pascal's (Montreal), the, Reichman Brothers -- Albert, Paul, Ralph (Toronto)

Other Jewish Canadians to Examine:

1) David David
2) Adolphous Mordechai
3) Aaron Philip
4) A. J. Frieman

5) Harry Batshaw
6) Samuel Zacks
7) Ivan Rand
8) Irving Abella

Important members of the Non-Jewish Community:

a) **Lord Edward Cornwallis** – The British governor to Nova Scotia who permitted the entry of Jewish merchants into Halifax in 1749.

b) **Louis Joseph Papineau** – Leader of the legislature in Quebec in 1831 when the "Jew bill" was passed giving the Jewish community full entitlement and full civil rights in Quebec.

c) **John Neilson** – Introduced the Bills of 1831 in Quebec legislature providing full entitlement and civil rights to Jews.

d) **Lord Aylmer** – As the newly appointed governor of Lower Canada in 1830 he offered Samuel Hart the position of magistrate and justice of the peace for Montreal.

e) **Sir John A. MacDonald** – Prime Minister of Canada during 1871 when he appointed Henry Nathan, the first Jew to sit in the House of Commons the director of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. He also favoured the settling of small number of Jews in the prairies.

f) **John Henry Pope** – Federal Agricultural Minister in 1882, approached by Lazarus Cohen with an idea of settling Jews into the prairies as farmers. He was non-committal in his desire to permit this settlement.

g) **Clifford Sifton** – Minister of Immigration in the 1920's when tighter restrictions begin on allowing Jews to enter into Canada.

h) **Mackenzie King** – Prime Minister from 1935 to 1947, during the most sever restrictions placed on Jews and immigration, almost completely closing the border during World Was Two.

➢ It is also critical that other non-Jewish Canadian from the 50's onward are examined, not necessarily through this process, but as discussed. I would encourage that only those famous Canadians, Jew and non-Jew alike who made positive contributions be given to the students for exploration, and that the teacher in some fashion make students aware of several of the other Canadians who provided significant obstacles or challenges (Zundel, Keegstra) on the community.

➢ The students should be permitted to investigate modern day Canadians and should use the resources listed below, along with the Internet to begin their exploration.

Resources for the Famous Canadian Project:

Abella, Irving. A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1990.

Figler, Bernard. Sam Jacobs: Member of Parliament. Ottawa: Harpell's Press, 1970.

Godfrey, J. Sheldon and Judith C. Godfrey. Burn the Gossip: The True Story of George Benjamin of Belleville. Toronto: The Duke and George Press, 1991.

Lipsitz, Edmond Y. Canadian Jewry Today: Who's who in Canadian Jewry Today. Toronto: J.E.S.L. Educational Products, 1989.

Lipsitz, Edmond Y. Canadian Jewish Women of Today: Who's who in Canadian Jewry Today. Toronto: J.E.S.L. Educational Products, 1983.

Tulchinsky, Gerald. Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish Community. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited. 1998, pgs. 288-321.

Tulchinsky, Gerald. Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited. 1997.

Name: _____

Famous Jewish Canadians

The following questions should be answered and included in your oral presentation and written analysis:

1) Where was this person born and when?
2) When and why did they immigrate to Canada?
3) When they immigrated to Canada where did they move? Why?
4) What were some of the key contributions this person made to the Canadian Jewish community? Overall Canadian community?
5) How did they impact the overall prosperity and growth of the Canadian Jewish community?
6) How did this person help facilitate the removal of barriers in the building of this community?
7) List any other key contributions they have made in Canadian society.
8) Share one particular story, incident, event in this persons life that was of particular importance in helping establish their prominence within Canada.

Due Date: _____

Canada and Human Rights

**"[W]e who live in fortunate lands where we
have inherited good things, are prone to accept good things,
are prone to accept freedom, the most important of these good things, with an
indifference which is the greatest threat to its continuance"**

Lester B. Pearson

T he Universal Declaration of Human Rights is extremely important for Canadians because it has provided us with a framework of human rights goals and standards to which Canadian legislation, institutions, and society can aspire. Since signing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the Canadian government has been very successful in making universal human rights a part of Canadian law. There are currently four key mechanisms in Canada to protect human rights: the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *Canadian Human Rights Act, Human Rights Commissions,* and *provincial human rights laws and legislation.*

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

In 1982, the Federal Government modified Canada's Constitution in order to better reflect the human rights goals and standards set by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Government enacted a statute known as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

What is the purpose of the Charter?

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is a binding legal document that protects the basic human rights of all Canadians. It provides a list of the rights to which all Canadians are entitled and describes the Government's responsibility in upholding those rights. The Charter is often cited in legal cases pertaining to human rights issues, and guarantees that our laws and the justice system operate in accordance with fundamental rights and freedoms.

What does the Charter guarantee?

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees our fundamental freedoms (such as freedom of thought, speech, and association), democratic rights (such as the right to vote), mobility rights (the right to enter, remain in, and leave Canada), legal rights, equality rights (equality before the law and protection against discrimination), language rights, as well as the rights of Canada's aboriginal peoples.

How does the Charter protect me against discrimination?

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race; national or ethnic origin; colour; religion; gender; age; and mental or physical disability. Sexual orientation has recently been recognized as a prohibited ground for discrimination under the Charter.

The Charter protects you from discrimination in actions taken by the Government of Canada, the government of any province or territory, and actions taken by government agencies, such as hospitals, schools, or Human Resource Centres.

The Canadian Charter is a vital part of our law. It provides a legal mechanism in our Constitution that protects us from the violation of our basic human rights, thereby ensuring a free and democratic society. Nowhere are the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights more clearly represented than in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It works in conjunction with other bodies of law, such as the Canadian Human Rights Act, and is the foundation of human rights in Canada.

The Canadian Human Rights Act and Provincial Human Rights Legislation

The Federal Government and every Canadian province have legislation dealing with human rights, as well as human rights commissions to administer that legislation. They work together to ensure that the rights of every Canadian are protected and that all people are treated with equality and respect.

The most important human rights legislation at the federal level is the Canadian Human Rights Act, which came into force in 1978. It outlaws discrimination in employment and in the delivery of goods and services on eleven grounds: ***race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, marital status, family status, pardoned conviction, disability, and sexual orientation.*** The Canadian Human Rights Act applies to people working for either the Federal Government or a private company regulated by the Federal Government. It also applies to anyone who receives goods and services from any of those sectors. All of the Federal Government departments and Crown corporations (such as the CBC or Canada Post) are required to adhere to the Canadian Human Rights Act. Private companies such as railroads, airlines, banks, telephone companies, and radio or TV stations must also adhere to the Canadian Human Rights Act.

Each province has its own human rights law, usually called a Code or an Act (or in Quebec, a Charter), that covers other types of organizations not included under federal legislation. Schools, retail stores, restaurants, and most factories are covered by provincial human rights laws, as are provincial governments themselves. Provincial human rights laws also prohibit discrimination in housing: you cannot, for example, refuse to rent an apartment to someone because of that person's race or religion.

Every Canadian is legally protected from discrimination by the various levels of human rights legislation. In order to ensure that this legislation is effective, human rights commissions oversee the application of human rights law.

Human Rights Commissions

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights does not include a description of practical steps governments can take to ensure that human rights are protected. It provides guiding principles, but lacks instructions on how each country should implement them. Even if human rights are protected in theory by a constitution, they could still be violated in practice. This is a dangerous gap that many countries have not adequately addressed.

Canada has attempted to bridge this gap by creating human rights commissions at both the federal and provincial levels. Human rights commissions investigate complaints regarding human rights violations, provide legal channels to hear the complaints, and attempt to find solutions to human rights problems. They work to educate us about human rights and promote equality of opportunity for groups in society that are frequently the target of discrimination.

If you have experienced sexual harassment or discrimination, for example, you have the right to contact your provincial human rights commission and file a complaint. If you have a disability and a bank or post office is not accessible, you can file a complaint with the federal human rights commission. In many countries people have no way to have their human rights complaints heard or resolved, nor do they have adequate laws to protect their human rights. Human rights commissions are therefore a tremendously valuable resource for Canadians.

Learn more about what your province is doing to protect human rights. Contact the Canadian Human Rights Commission or your provincial commission for information on human rights laws, the complaints process, the responsibilities and activities of your human rights commission, and to receive educational materials on human rights.

With the Canadian Charter of Human Rights, the Canadian Human Rights Act, and human rights commissions at the federal and provincial levels working to protect and promote our human rights, we can feel confident that the principles outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are incorporated into Canadian law. Fifty years after its creation, we can see just how much the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has affected our lives. The next section of the Action Guide will respond to key questions you may have about human rights. It will also address questions concerning the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, related international agreements, and your role in promoting human rights during the 50th Anniversary.

List of Provincial Human Rights Commissions

Prince Edward Island: http://www.gov.pe.ca/caag/human/index.asp
Nova Scotia: http://www.gov.ns.ca/just/hr.htm
New Brunswick: http://www.gov.nb.ca/ael/rights/index.htm
Ontario: http://www.ohrc.on.ca
Manitoba: http://www.gov.mb.ca/hrc
Saskatchewan: http://www.gov.sk.ca/shrc/
Alberta: http://www.gov.ab.ca/~mcd/citizen/hr/hr.htm
British Columbia: http://www.bchrc.gov.bc.ca

Part I - An Overview of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*

What is the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms?

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* is one part of the Canadian Constitution. The Constitution is a set of laws containing the basic rules about how our country operates. For example, it contains the powers of the federal government and those of the provincial governments in Canada.

The Charter sets out those rights and freedoms that Canadians believe are necessary in a free and democratic society. Some of the rights and freedoms contained in the Charter are:

- freedom of expression the right to a democratic government
- the right to live and to seek employment anywhere in Canada
- legal rights of persons accused of crimes
- Aboriginal peoples' rights
- the right to equality, including the equality of men and women
- the right to use either of Canada's official languages
- the right of French and English linguistic minorities to an education in their language
- the protection of Canada's multicultural heritage.

The way the Charter protects these rights and freedoms is explained in Part II of this Guide.

Before the Charter came into effect, other Canadian laws protected many of the rights and freedoms that are now brought together in it. One example is the *Canadian Bill of Rights,* which Parliament enacted in 1960. The Charter differs from these laws by being part of the Constitution of Canada.

Why is it important that the Charter is part of the Constitution?

The Constitution is the supreme law of Canada. Generally speaking, all other laws must be consistent with the rules set out in the Constitution. If they are not, they may not be valid. Since the Charter is part of the Constitution, laws that limit Charter rights may be invalid. This makes the Charter the most important law we have in Canada.

It is important to point out, however, that the Charter itself allows governments to put some limits on Charter rights. Section 1 of the Charter says that other laws may limit the rights and freedoms in the Charter so long as those laws are reasonable and justified in a free and democratic society. So, a law that limits a Charter right is nevertheless valid if it conforms with section 1.

The fact that the Charter is part of the Constitution also means that governments must try to make sure that new laws are consistent with it. For example, the federal Department of Justice must make sure that new laws proposed by the federal government comply with the Charter.

How long has the Charter been in force?

The Charter came into effect on April 17, 1982. It was part of a package of reforms contained in a law called the *Constitution Act, 1982.* One section of the Charter, section 15, came into effect only on April 17, 1985, three years after the rest of the Charter. This delay gave governments time to bring their laws into line with the equality rights in section 15.

Are all of my rights contained in the Charter?

No. The Charter contains those rights and freedoms that Canadians believe are essential in a free and democratic country. They have been set out in the Constitution as a way of making sure that they are given the greatest protection possible under the law.

There are, however, many other laws that create rights. The federal government and the provincial and territorial governments all have laws that provide rights and freedoms: laws against discrimination in employment and accommodation, consumer protection laws, environmental laws and, in the area of criminal law, laws that give rights to witnesses, victims and persons accused of crimes, to name only a few.

Who enjoys Charter rights?

Generally speaking, any person in Canada, whether a Canadian citizen, a permanent resident or a newcomer, has the rights and freedoms contained in the Charter. There are some exceptions. For example, the Charter gives some rights only to Canadian citizens - the right to vote (in section 3 of the Charter) and the right "to enter, remain in and leave Canada" (in section 6 of the Charter).

Can the government take away my Charter rights?

Section 1 of the Charter says that governments may limit Charter rights so long as those limits are ones that a free and democratic society would accept as reasonable.

It is also possible for governments to pass laws that take away some rights under the Charter. Under section 33 of the Charter (sometimes called the "notwithstanding clause"), Parliament or a legislature can make a particular law exempt from certain sections of the Charter - the fundamental freedoms (in section 2), the legal rights (in sections 7 to 14) and the equality rights (in section 15). However, a law that limits Charter rights under the notwithstanding clause expires after five years. This clause is used very rarely.

Governments can also make changes to the Charter to add to or subtract from the rights that it contains. However, this is very difficult. To make a change to the Charter, the federal Parliament and seven of the ten provincial legislatures must agree to it. The population of those seven provinces must also make up at least 50 per cent of the total population of Canada. The Charter has been amended only twice since 1982.

What can I do if my Charter rights have been denied?

The Charter provides for three kinds of actions to persons whose rights have been denied. These actions are referred to as legal "remedies". First, the Charter says that a person can ask a court for a remedy that is "appropriate and just in the circumstances". For instance, a court may stop proceedings against a person charged with an offence if his or her right to a trial within a reasonable time has been denied.

A second remedy is available when persons carrying out investigations for the government (for example, police officers) violate an individual's Charter rights. This may happen, for example, when they improperly search for evidence on private property and violate a person's right to privacy. In this situation, the person can ask a court to order that the evidence not be used against the person in a trial. A court will make an order like this if it is clear that using such evidence at trial would "bring the administration of justice into disrepute" (under section 24 of the Charter).

Finally, if a court finds that a law violates Charter rights, it can rule that the law has no force (under section 52 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*).

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Part II - The Contents of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*

This Part of the Guide sets out the actual text of each section of the Charter, along with a discussion of its meaning and purpose. Sometimes, the discussion will refer to a specific ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada. These cases are numbered and described briefly in the Appendix to this Guide.

Section 1

Guarantee of Rights and Freedoms

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.

The Charter of Rights protects those basic rights and freedoms of all Canadians that are considered essential to preserving Canada as a free and democratic country. It applies to all governments - federal, provincial and territorial - and includes protection of the following:

- fundamental freedoms,
- democratic rights,
- the right to live and seek employment anywhere in Canada,
- legal rights: the right to life, liberty and personal security,
- equality rights for all,
- the official languages of Canada,
- minority language education rights,
- Canada's multicultural heritage, and
- Aboriginal peoples' rights.

The rights and freedoms in the Charter are not absolute. They can be limited in order to protect other rights or important national values. For example, freedom of expression may be limited by laws against hate propaganda or pornography.

Section 1 of the Charter says that Charter rights can be limited by other laws so long as those limits can be shown to be reasonable in a free and democratic society.

The Supreme Court of Canada has stated that a limit on Charter rights is acceptable if:

- the limit deals with a pressing and substantial social problem, and
- the government's response to the problem is reasonable and demonstrably justified.

(See Case #1 in the Appendix to this Guide).

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Constitution Act, 1982(1)

SCHEDULE B

CONSTITUTION ACT, 1982

PART I

CANADIAN CHARTER OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

Whereas Canada is founded upon the principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law:

Guarantee of Rights and Freedoms

1. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the rights and freedoms set out in it subject only to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.

Fundamental Freedoms

2. Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms:

(*a*) freedom of conscience and religion

(*b*) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other means of communication.

(*c*) freedom of peaceful assembly; and

(*d*) freedom of association.

Democratic Rights

3. Every citizen of Canada has the right to vote in an election of members of the House of Commons or of a legislative assembly and to be qualified for membership therein.

4. (1) No House of Commons and no legislative assembly shall continue for longer than five years from the date fixed for the return of the writs at a general election of its members.(2)

(2) In time of real or apprehended war, invasion or insurrection, a House of Commons may be continued by Parliament and a legislative assembly may be continued by the legislature beyond five years if such continuation is not opposed by the votes of more than one-third of the members of the House of Commons or the legislative assembly, as the case may be.(3)

5. There shall be a sitting of Parliament and of each legislature at least once every twelve months.(4)

Mobility Rights

6. (1) Every citizen of Canada has the right to enter, remain in, and leave Canada.

(2) Every citizen of Canada and every person who has the status of a permanent resident of Canada has the right

    (*a*) to move to and take up residence in an province; and

    (*b*) to pursue the gaining of livelihood in any province.

(3) The rights specified in subsection (2) are subject to

    (*a*) any laws or practices of general application in force in a province other than those that discriminate among persons primarily on the basis of present or previous residence; and

    (*b*) any laws providing for reasonable residency requirements as a qualification for the receipt of publicly provided social services.

(4) Subsections (2) and (3) do not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration in a province of conditions of individuals in that province who are socially or economically disadvantaged if the rate of employment in that province is below the rate of employment in Canada.

Legal Rights

7. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof except in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice.

8. Everyone has the right to be secure against unreasonable search or seizure.

9. Everyone has the right not to be arbitrarily detained or imprisoned.

10. Everyone has the right on arrest or detention

    (*a*) to be infomed promptly of the reason therefor;

    (*b*) to retain and instruct counsel without delay and to be infomed of that right; and

    (*c*) to have the validity of the detention determined by way of habeas corpus and to be released if the detention is not lawful.

11. Any person charged with an offence has the right

    (*a*) to be infomed without unreasonable delay of the specific offence;

    (*b*) to be tried within a reasonable time;

(*c*) not to be compelled to be a witness in a proceedings against that person in respect of the offence;

(*d*) to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal;

(*e*) not to be denied reasonable bail without cause;

(*f*) except in the case of an offence under military law tried before a military tribunal, to the benefit of trial by jury where the maximum punishment for the offence is imprisonment for five years or a more severe punishment;

(*g*) not to be found guilty on account of any act or omission unless, at the time of the act or omission, it constituted an offence under Canadian or International law or was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by the community of nations;

(*h*) if finally acquitted of the offence, not to be tried for it again and, if finally found guilty and punished for the offence, not to be tried or punished for it again; and

(*i*) if found guilty of the offence and if punishment for the offence has been varied between the time of commission and the time of sentencing, to the benefit of the lesser punishment.

12. Everyone has the right not to be subjected to any cruel or unusual treatment or punishment.

13. A witness who testifies in any proceedings has the right not to have any incriminating evidence so given used to incriminate that witness in any other proceedings, except in a prosecution for perjury or for the giving of contradictory evidence.

14. A party or witness in any proceedings who does not understand or speak the language in which the proceedings are conducted or who is deaf has the right to the assistance of an interpreter.

Equality Rights

15. (1) Every individual is equal before the and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability.

(2) Subsection (1) does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability.(5)

Official Languages of Canada

16. (1) English and French are the official languages of Canada and have equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and government of Canada.

(2) English and French are the official languages of New Brunswick and have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to the use in all institutions of the legislature and government of New Brunswick.

(3) Nothing in this Charter limits the authority of Parliament of a legislature to advance the equality of status or use of English and French.

16.1 (1) The English linguistic community and the French linguistic community in New Brunswick have equality of status and equal rights and privileges, including the right to distinct educational institutions and such distinct cultural institutions as are necessary for the preservation and promotion of those communities.

(2) The role of the legislature and the government of New Brunswick to preserve and promote the status, rights and privileges referred to in subsection (1) is affirmed.(6)

17. (1) Everyone has the right to use English or French in any debates or other proceedings of Parliament.(7)

(2) Everyone has the right to use English or French in any debate and other proceeding of the legislature of New Brunswick.(8)

18. (1) The Statutes, records and journals of Parliament shall be printed and published in English and French and both language versions are equally authoritative.(9)

(2) The Statutes, records and journals of New Brunswick shall be printed and published in English and French and both language versions are equally authoritative.(10)

19. (1) Either English or French may be used by any person in, or in any pleading in or process issuing from any court established by Parliament.(11)

(2) Either English or French may be used by any person in, or in any pleading in or process issuing from any court of New Brunswick.(12)

20. (1) Any member of the public of Canada has the right to communicate with, and to receive available services from, any head or central office of an institution of the Parliament or government of Canada in English or French, and has the same right with respect to any other office of any such institution where

(*a*) there is significant demand for communications with and services from that office in such language; or

(*b*) due to the nature of the office, it is reasonable that communications with and services from that office be available in both English and French.

(2) Any member of the public in New Brunswick has the right to communicate with, and to receive available services from, any office of an institution of the legislature or government of New Brunswick in English or French.

21. Nothing in sections 16 to 20 abrogates or derogates from any right, privilege or obligation with respect to the English and French languages, or either of them, that exists or is continued by virtue of any other provision of the Constitution of Canada.(13)

22. Nothing in sections 16 to 20 abrogates or derogates from any legal or customary right or privilege acquired or enjoyed either before or after the coming into force of this Charter with respect to any language that is not English or French.

Minority Language Educational Rights

23. (1) Citizens of Canada

(*a*) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside, or

(*b*) who have received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province, have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language in that province.(14)

(2) Citizens of Canada of whom any child has received or is receiving primary or secondary school instruction in English or French in Canada, have the right to have all their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the same language.

(3) The right of citizens of Canada under subsections (1) and (2) to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of a province

(*a*) applies wherever in the province the number of children of citizens who have such a right is sufficient to warrant the provision to them out of public funds of minority language instruction; and

(*b*) includes, where the number of children so warrants, the right to have them receive that instruction in minority language educational facilities provided out of public funds.

Enforcement

24. (1) Anyone whose rights or freedoms, as guaranteed by this Charter, have been infringed or denied may apply to a court of competent jurisdiction to obtain such remedy as the court considers appropriate and just in the circumstances.

(2) Where, in proceedings under subsection (1), a court concludes that evidence was obtained in a manner that infringed or denied any rights or freedoms guaranteed by this Charter, the evidence shall be excluded if it is established that, having regard to all the circumstances, the admission of it in the proceedings would bring the administration of justice into disrepute.

General

25. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada including

> (*a*) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and

> (*b*) any rights or freedoms that may be acquired by the aboriginal peoples of Canada by way of land claims settlement.(15)

26. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed as denying the existence of any other rights and freedoms that exist in Canada.

27. This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

28. Notwithstanding anything in this Charter, the rights and freedoms referred to in it are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.

29. Nothing in this Charter abrogates or derogates from any rights or privileges guaranteed by or under the Constitution of Canada in respect of denominational, separate or dissentient schools.(16)

30. A reference in this Charter to a province or to the legislative assembly or legislature of a province shall be deemed to include a reference to the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories, or to the appropriate legislative authority thereof, as the case may be.

31. Nothing in this Charter extends the legislative powers of any body or authority.

Application of Charter

32. (1) This Charter applies

> (*a*) to the Parliament and government of Canada in respect of all matters within the authority of Parliament including all matters relating to the Yukon Territory and Northwest Territories; and

> (*b*) to the legislatures and governments of each province in respect of all matters within the authority of the legislature of each province.

(2) Notwithstanding subsection (1), section 15 shall not have effect until three years after this section comes into force.

33. (1) Parliament or the legislature of a province may expressly declare in an Act of Parliament or of the legislature, as the case may be, that the Act or a provision thereof shall operate notwithstanding a provision included in section 2 or section 7 to 15 of this Charter.

(2) An Act or a provision of an Act in respect of which a declaration made under this section is in effect shall have such operation as it would have but for the provision of this Charter referred to in

the declaration.

(3) A declaration made under subsection (1) shall cease to have effect five years after it comes into force or on such earlier date as may be specified in the declaration.

(4) Parliament or the legislature of a province may re-enact a declaration made under subsection (1).

(5) Subsection (3) applies in respect of re-enactment made under subsection (4).

Citation

34. This Part may be cited as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

PART II

RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLES OF CANADA

35. (1) The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed.

(2) In this Act, "aboriginal peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit, and Metis peoples of Canada.

(3) For greater certainty, in subsection (1) "treaty rights" includes rights that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired.

(4) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons.(17)

35.1 The government of Canada and the provincial governments are committed to the principal that, before any amendment is made to Class 24 of section 91 of the "Constitution Act, 1867", to section 25 of this Act or to this Part,

> (*a*) a constitutional conference that includes in its agenda an item relating to the proposed amendment, composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the first ministers of the provinces, will be convened by the Prime Minister of Canada; and

> (*b*) the Prime Minister of Canada will invite representatives of the aboriginal peoples of Canada to participate in the discussions on that item.(18)

PART III

EQUALIZATION AND REGIONAL DISPARITIES

36. (1) Without altering the legislative authority of Parliament or of the provincial legislatures, or the rights of any of them with respect to the exercise of their legislative authority, Parliament and the legislatures, together with the government of Canada and the provincial governments, are committed to

(*a*) promoting equal opportunities for the well-being of Canadians;

(*b*) furthering the economic development to reduce disparity in opportunities; and

(*c*) providing essential public services of reasonable quality to all Canadians.

(2) Parliament and the government of Canada are committed to the principle of making equalization payments to ensure that provincial governments have sufficient revenues to provide reasonably comparable levels of public services at reasonably comparable levels of taxation.(19)

PART IV

CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

37. (20)

PART IV.1

CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCES

37.1 (1) In addition to the conference convened in March 1983, at least two constitutional conferences composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the first ministers of the provinces shall be convened by the Prime Minister of Canada, the first within three years after April 17, 1982 and the second within five years after that date.

(2) Each conference convened under subsection (1) shall have included in its agenda matters that directly affect the aboriginal peoples of Canada, and the Prime Minister of Canada shall invite representatives of those peoples to participate in the discussions on those matters.

(3) The Prime Minister of Canada shall invite elected representatives of the governments of the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories to participating the discussions on any item on the agenda of a conference convened under subsection (1) that, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, directly affects the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories.

(4) Nothing in this section shall be construed as to derogate from subsection 35(1).(21)

PART V

PROCEDURE FOR AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION OF CANADA (22)

38. (1) An amendment to the Constitution of Canada may be made by proclamation issued by the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada where so authorized by

(*a*) resolutions of the Senate and the House of Commons; and

(*b*) resolutions of the legislative assemblies of at least two-thirds of the provinces that have, in the aggregate, according to the then latest general census, at least fifty per cent

of the population of the provinces.

(2) An amendment made under subsection (1) that derogates from the legislative powers, the proprietary rights or any other rights or privileges of the legislature or government of a province shall require a resolution supported by a majority of the members of each of the Senate, the House of Commons and the legislative assemblies required under subsection (1).

(3) An amendment referred to in subsection (2) shall not have effect in a province the legislative assembly of which has expressed its dissent thereto by resolution supported by a majority of its members prior to the issue of the proclamation to which the amendment relates unless that legislative assembly, subsequently, by resolution supported by a majority of its members, revokes its dissent and authorizes the amendment.

(4) A resolution of dissent made for the purposes of subsection (3) may be revoked at any time before or after the issue of the proclamation to which it relates.

39. (1) A proclamation shall not be issued under subsection 38(1) before the expiration of one year from the adoption of the resolution initiating the amendment procedure, unless the legislative assembly of each province has previously adopted a resolution of assent or dissent.

(2) A proclamation shall not be issued under subsection 38(1) after the expiration of three years from the adoption of the resolution initiating the amendment procedure thereunder.

40. Where an amendment is made under subsection 38(1) that transfers provincial legislative powers relating to education or other cultural matters from provincial legislatures to Parliament, Canada shall provide reasonable compensation to any province to which the amendment does not apply.

41. An amendment to the Constitution of Canada in relation to the following matters may be made by proclamation issued by the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada only where authorized by resolutions of the Senate and House of Commons and of the legislative assemblies of each province:

> (*a*) the office of the Queen, the Governor General and the Lieutenant Governor of a province;

> (*b*) the right of a province to a number of members in the House of Commons not less than the number of Senators by which the province is entitled to be represented at the time this Part comes into force;

> (*c*) subject to section 43, the use of the English or the French language;

> (*d*) the composition of the Supreme Court of Canada; and

> (*e*) an amendment to this Part.

42. (1) An amendment to the Constitution of Canada in relation to the following matters may be made only in accordance with subsection 38(1):

> (*a*) the principle of proportionate representation of the provinces in the House of

Commons prescribed by the Constitution of Canada;

(*b*) the powers of the Senate and the method of selecting Senators;

(*c*) the number of members by which a province is entitled to be represented in the Senate and the residence qualifications of Senators;

(*d*) subject to paragraph 41(d), the Supreme Court of Canada;

(*e*) the extension of existing provinces into the territories; and

(*f*) notwithstanding any other law or practice, the establishment of new provinces;

(2) Subsections 38(2) to 38(4) do not apply in respect of amendments in relation to matters referred to in subsection (1).

43. An amendment to the Constitution of Canada in relation to any provision that applies to one or more, but not all provinces, including

(*a*) any alteration to boundaries between provinces, and

(*b*) any amendment to any provisions that relate to the use of the English or the French language within a province

may be made by proclamation issued by the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada only where so authorized by resolutions of the Senate and House of Commons and of the legislative assembly of each province to which the amendment applies.

44. Subject to sections 41 and 42, Parliament may exclusively make laws amending the Constitution of Canada in relation to executive government of Canada or the Senate and House of Commons.

45. Subject to section 41, the legislature of each province may exclusively make laws amending the constitution of the province.

46. (1) The procedures for amendment under sections 38, 41, 42, and 43 may be initiated either by the Senate or the House of Commons or by the legislative assembly of province.

(2) A resolution of assent for the purposes of this Part may be revoked at any time before the issue of a proclamation authorized by it.

47. (1) An amendment to the Constitution of Canada made by proclamation under section 38, 41, 42, or 43 may be made without a resolution of the Senate authorizing the issue of the proclamation if, within one hundred and eighty days after the adoption by the House of Commons of a resolution authorizing its issue, the Senate has not adopted such a resolution and if, at any time after the expiration of that period, the House of Commons again adopts the resolution.

(2) Any period when Parliament is prorogued or dissolved shall not be counted in computing the one hundred and eighty day period referred to in subsection (1).

48. The Queen's Privy Council for Canada shall advise the Governor General to issue a proclamation under this Part forthwith on the adoption of the resolution required for an amendment made by proclamation under this part.

49. A constitutional conference of the Prime Minister of Canada and the first ministers shall be convened by the Prime Minister of Canada within fifteen years after this Part comes into force to review the provisions of this Part.

PART VI

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION ACT, 1867

50. (23)

51. (24)

PART VII

GENERAL

52. (1) The Constitution of Canada is the supreme law of Canada, and any law that is inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution is, to the extent of the inconsistency, of no force or effect.

(2) The Constitution of Canada includes

    (*a*) the Canada Act, 1982, including this Act;

    (*b*) the Acts and orders referred to in the Schedule; and

    (*c*) any amendment to any Act or order referred to in paragraph (*a*) or (*b*).

(3) Amendments to the Constitution of Canada shall be made only in accordance with the authority contained in the Constitution of Canada.

53. (1) The enactments referred to in Column I of the schedule are hereby repealed or amended to be extent indicated in Column II thereof, and unless repealed, shall continue as law in Canada under the names set out in Column III thereof.

(2) Every enactment, except the Canada Act, 1982, that refers to an enactment referred to in the schedule by the name in Column I thereof is hereby amended by substituting for that name the corresponding name in Column III thereof, and any British North America Act not referred to in the schedule may be cited as the Constitution Act followed by the year and number, if any, of its enactment.

54. Part IV is repealed on the day that is one year after this Part comes into force, and this section may be repealed and this Act renumbered, consequentially upon the repeal of Part IV and this section, by proclamation issued by the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada.(25)

54.1 (26)

55. A French version of the portions of the Constitution of Canada referred to in the schedule shall be prepared by the Minister of Justice of Canada as expeditiously as possible and, when any portion thereof sufficient to warrant action being taken has been prepared, it shall be put forward for enactment by proclamation issued by the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada pursuant to the procedure then applicable to an amendment of the same provisions of the Constitution of Canada.

56. Where any portion of the Constitution of Canada has been or is enacted in English and French or where a French version of any portion of the Constitution is enacted pursuant to section 55, the English and French versions of that portion of the Constitution are equally authoritative.

57. The English and French versions of this Act are equally authoritative.

58. Subject to section 59, this Act shall come into force on a day to be fixed by proclamation issued by the Queen or the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada.(27)

59. (1) Paragraph 23(1)(*a*) shall come into force in respect of Quebec on a day to be fixed by proclamation issued by the Queen or the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada.

(2) A proclamation under subsection (1) shall be issued only where authorized by the legislative assembly or government of Quebec.(28)

(3) This section may be repealed on the day paragraph 23(1)(*a*) comes into force in respect of Quebec and this Act amended and renumbered, consequentially up the repeal of this section, by proclamation issued by the Queen or the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada.

60. This Act may be cited as the Constitution Act, 1982, and the Constitution Acts 1867 to 1975 (No. 2) and this Act may be cited together as the Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982.

61. A reference to the "Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982" shall be deemed be to include a reference to the "Constitution Amendment Proclamation, 1983".(29)

Schedule

to the

Constitution Act, 1982

Modernization of the Constitution

Item.	Column I Act affected	Column II Amendment	Column III New Name

1.	British North America Act, 1867, 30-31 Vict., c. 3 (U.K.)	(1) Section 1 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "1. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1867* ." (2) Section 20 is repealed. (3) Class 1 of section 91 is repealed. (4) Class 1 of section 92 is repealed.	Constitution Act, 1982.
2.	An Act to amend and continue the Act 32-33 Victoria chapter 3; and to establish and provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba, 1870, 33 Vict., c. 3 (Can.)	(1) The long title is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "*Manitoba Act, 1870.*" (2) Section 20 is repealed.	Manitoba Act, 1870.
3.	Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union, dated the 23rd day of June, 1870		Rupert's Land and North-Western Territory Order
4.	Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting British Columbia into the Union, dated the 16th Day of May, 1871		British Columbia Terms of Union
5.	British North America Act, 1871, 34-35 Vict., c. 28 (U.K.)	Section 1 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "1. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1871* ."	Constitution Act, 1871.
6.	Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting Prince Edward Island into the Union, dated the 26th Day of June, 1873		Prince Edward Island Terms of Union
7.	Parliament of Canada Act, 1875, 38-39 Vict., c. 38 (U.K.)		Parliament of Canada Act, 1875
8.	Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting all British possessions and Territories in North America and islands adjacent thereto into the Union, dated the 31st day of July, 1880.		Adjacent Territories Order

9.	British North America Act, 1886, 49-50 Vict., c. 35 U.K.)	Section 3 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "3. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1886.*	Constitution Act, 1886.
10.	Canada (Ontario Boundary) Act, 1889, 52-53 Vict., c. 28 (U.K.)		Canada (Ontario Boundary) Act, 1889
11.	Canadian Speaker (Appointment of Deputy) Act, 1895, 2nd Sess., 59 Vict., c. 3 (U.K.)	The Act is repealed.	
12.	The Alberta Act, 1905, 4-5 Edw. VII c. 3 (Can.)		Alberta Act
13.	The Saskatchewan Act, 1905, 4-5 Edw. VII c. 42 (Can.)		Saskatchewan Act
14.	British North America Act, 1907, 7 Edw. VII c. 11 (U.K.)	Section 2 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "2. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1907*."	Constitution Act, 1907.
15.	British North America Act, 1915, 5-6 Geo. V, c. 45 (U.K.)	Section 3 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "3. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1915*."	Constitution Act, 1915.
16.	British North America Act, 1930, 20-21 Geo. V, c. 26 (U.K.)	Section 3 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "3. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1930*."	Constitution Act, 1930.
17.	Statute of Westminster, 1931, 22 Geo. V, c. 4 (U.K.)	In so far as they apply to Canada (*a*) section 4 is repealed; and (*b*) subsection 7(1) is repealed.	Statute of Westminster, 1931
18.	British North America Act, 1940, 3-4 Geo. VI, c. 36 (U.K.)	Section 2 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "2. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1940*."	Constitution Act, 1940.
19.	British North America Act, 1943, 6-7 Geo. VI, c. 30 (U.K.)	The Act is repealed.	

20.	British North America Act, 1946, 9-10 Geo. VI, c. 63 (U.K.)	The Act is repealed.	
21.	British North America Act, 1949, 12-13 Geo. VI, c. 22 (U.K.)	Section 3 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "3. This Act may be cited as the *Newfoundland Act (1949)* ."	Newfoundland Act (1949).
22.	British North America Act (No. 2), 1949, 13 Geo. VI, c. 81 (U.K.)	The Act is repealed.	
23.	British North America Act, 1951, 14-15 Geo. VI, c. 32 (U.K.)	The Act is repealed.	
24.	British North America Act, 1951, 1 Eliz. II, c. 15 (Can.)	The Act is repealed.	
25.	British North America Act, 1960, 9 Eliz. II, c. 2 (U.K.)	Section 2 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "2. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1960* ."	Constitution Act, 1960.
26.	British North America Act, 1964, 12-13 Eliz. II, c. 73 (U.K.)	Section 2 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "2. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1964* ."	Constitution Act, 1964.
27.	British North America Act, 1965, 14 Eliz. II, c. 4, Part I (Can.)	Section 3 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "3. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1965* ."	Constitution Act, 1965.
28.	British North America Act, 1974, 23 Eliz. II, c. 13, Part I (Can.)	Section 3 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "3. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act, 1974* ."	Constitution Act, 1974.
29.	British North America Act (No. 1), 1975, 23-24 Eliz. II, c. 28, Part I (Can.)	Section 3 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "3. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act (No. 1), 1975*."	Constitution Act (No. 1), 1975.

30.	British North America Act (No. 2), 1975, 23-24 Eliz. II, c. 53, Part I (Can.)	Section 3 is repealed and the following substituted therefor: "3. This Act may be cited as the *Constitution Act (No. 2), 1975.*"	Constitution Act (No. 2), 1975.

Footnotes for the Constitution Act, 1982

Taken from the September 1, 1993, Consolidation of the Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982, revised to 1994.

(1) Enacted as Schedule B to the *Canada Act, 1982*, (U.K.) 1982 c. 11, which came into force on April 17, 1982. The *Canada Act 1982*, other than Schedules A or B thereto, reads as follows:

> An Act to give effect to a request by the Senate and House of Commons of Canada
>
> Whereas Canada has requested and consented to the enactment of an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to give effect to the provisions hereinafter set forth and the Senate and the House of Commons of Canada in Parliament assembled have submitted an address to Her Majesty requesting that Her Majesty may graciously be pleased to cause a Bill to be laid before the Parliament of the United Kingdom for that Purpose.
>
> Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:
>
> 1. The *Constitution Act, 1982* set out in schedule B to this Act is hereby enacted for and shall have the force of law in Canada and shall come unto force as provided in that Act.
>
> 2. No Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the *Constitution Act, 1982* comes into force shall extend to Canada as part of its law.
>
> 3. So far as it is not contained in Schedule B, the French version of this Act is set out in Schedule A to this Act and has the same authority in Canada as the English version thereof.
>
> 4. This Act may be cited as the *Canada Act, 1982*.

(2) See section 50 and the footnotes to sections 85 and 88 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*.

(3) Replaces part of Class 1 of section 91 of the *Constitution Act 1867*, which was repealed as set out in subitem 1(3) of the Schedule to this Act.

(4) See the notes to sections 20, 86 and 88 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*.

(5) Subsection 32(2) provides that section 15 shall not have effect until three years after section 32 comes into force.

Section 32 came into force on April 17, 1982; therefore section 15 had effect on April 17, 1985.

(6) This section was added by the *Constitution Amendment Proclamation, 1993 (New Brunswick)*. See SI/93-54.

(7) See section 133 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, and the footnote thereto.

(8) Id.

(9) Id.

(10) Id.

(11) Id.

(12) Id.

(13) See, for example, section 133 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, and the references to the *Manitoba Act, 1870*, in the footnote thereto.

(14) Paragraph 23(1)(a) is not in force in respect of Quebec. See section 59 *infra*. (15) Paragraph 25 (b) was repealed and re-enacted by the *Constitution Amendment Proclamation, 1983*. See SI/84-102.

Paragraph 25(b) as originally enacted read as follows:

> "(*b*) any rights or freedoms that may be acquired by the aboriginal peoples of Canada by way of land claims settlement."

(16) See section 93 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, and the footnote thereto.

(17) Subsections 35(3) and (4) were added by the *Constitution Amendment Proclamation, 1983*. See SI/84-102.

(18) Section 35.1 was added by the *Constitution Amendment Proclamation 1983*. See SI/84-102.

(19) See the footnotes to sections 114 and 118 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*.

(20) Section 54 provided for the repeal of Part IV one year after Part VII came into force. Part VII came into force on April 17, 1982 thereby repealing Part IV on April 17, 1983.

Part IV, as originally enacted, read as follows:

> "**37.** (1) A constitutional conference composed of the Prime Minister of Canada and the first ministers of the provinces shall be convened by the Prime Minister of Canada within one year after this Part comes into force.
>
> (2) The conference convened under subsection (1) shall have included in its Participation agenda an item respecting constitutional matters that directly affect the aboriginal of

aboriginal peoples of Canada, including the identification and definition of the rights of those peoples to be included in the Constitution of Canada, and the Prime Minister of Canada shall invite representatives of those peoples to participate in the discussions on that item.

(3) The Prime Minister of Canada shall invite elected representatives of the governments of the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories to participate in discussions on any item on the agenda of the conference convened under subsection (1) that, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, directly affects the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories."

(21) Part IV.I was added by the *Constitution Amendment Proclamation, 1983*. See SI/84-102.

(22) Prior to the enactment of Part V certain provisions of the Constitution of Canada and the provincial constitutions could be amended pursuant to the *Constitution Act, 1867*. See the footnotes to section 91, Class I and section 92, Class I thereof, supra. Other amendments to the Constitution could only be made by enactment of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

(23) The amendment is set out in the Consolidation of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, as section 92A thereof.

(24) The amendment is set out in the Consolidation of the *Constitution Act, 1867*, as the Sixth Schedule thereof.

(25) Part VII came into force on April 17, 1982. See SI/82-97.

(26) Section 54.1 which was added by the *Constitution Amendment Proclamation, 1983* (see SI/84-102), provided for the repeal of repeal of Part IV.1 and section 54.1 on April 18, 1987.

Section 54.1, as originally enacted, read as follows:

54.1 Part IV.1 and this section are repealed on April 18, 1987."

(27) The Act, with the exception of paragraph 23(1)(a) in respect of Quebec, came into force on April 17, 1982 by proclamation issued by the Queen. See SI/82-97.

(28) No proclamation has been issued under section 59.

(29) Section 61 was added by the *Constitution Amendment Proclamation, 1983*. See SI/84-102.

See also section 3 of the *Constitution Act, 1985 (Representation)*, S.C. 1986, c.8, Part I and the *Constitution Amendment, 1987 (Newfoundland Act)* SI/88-11.

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W.F.M.

Action Guide

Action Guide: a Human Rights Resource Manual for Secondary Schools

Created in recognition of the *50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, the action guide is designed to encourage students and teachers to become actively involved in promoting human rights in their schools and communities.

The action guide provides countless ideas on how you can get involved in promoting and defending human rights. The guide also gives you background information on human rights in Canada, answers to key questions around the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and presents numerous descriptions of web sites, films and non-fiction publications that address different human rights themes. The guide is available in both French and English.

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Canadian Heritage   Patrimoine canadien

Canada

CHAPTER
11

Jewish Ethnicity in a Multicultural Canada, 1960-80

When Herb Gray, member of Parliament for Essex West in Ontario, was appointed minister without portfolio in Prime Minister Trudeau's Cabinet in October 1969, he was the first Jew ever to reach that position in Canada.[1] He was not, though, the first to be considered for the federal Cabinet. David Croll was widely believed to have come close after he was elected in the Spadina riding in 1945, but was ultimately rejected, it was thought, because he was a Jew.[2] Others, such as Jack Austin, Robert Kaplan, and Barney Danson, followed Gray into the Trudeau Cabinet. By the late 1960s, a good number of Jews had been federal MPs, and many more had served as MLAs and provincial Cabinet ministers and on municipal councils as mayors and aldermen.

Although Gray's elevation to the Cabinet was the acme of political achievement, short of being elected prime minister, he was only one of many Jews who were "making it" in Canadian public life. Pierre Trudeau's determination to create opportunities in federal politics for all able Canadians allowed Jews and other minorities to enter doors that were once tightly shut. By the late 1960s, some Jews were highly placed in the country's judiciary and civil service (the prestigious governorship of the Bank of Canada, for example, was held by Louis Rasminsky), and Jewish prominence in the professions was already noteworthy.

MOVING TOWARDS INTEGRATION

The rapid growth in appointments of Jews to university faculties was especially remarkable. After increasing slowly during the 1950s, Jewish appointments soared as universities expanded in the 1960s and 1970s. Faculty members were in short supply, and thus more Jews and other minorities were recruited. Society's disapproval of open expressions of racial and religious prejudice — not to mention new laws that mandated fair-employment practices — also helped to open doors. In 1961 there were 132 Jewish men and 19 women on university faculties; by 1971 those numbers had increased to 1,280 men and 225 women.[3]

At Queen's University, despite a tiny Jewish student enrolment, the number of Jewish faculty members rose rapidly during the 1960s, from about five to approximately thirty-five. At the University of Toronto, the increases were even greater. In the faculties of law, medicine, psychology, and sociology, Jews were a high percentage of the total faculty, but there were fewer of them in modern languages, classics, and history, and fewer still in engineering.

This acceptance of Jews extended even to the senior levels of university administration. The University of Toronto philosopher Emil Fackenheim and the law professors Bora Laskin of Toronto and Maxwell Cohen of McGill were notable not only on their respective faculties but also in Canadian Jewry generally, through their participation in community affairs. Fackenheim, besides his eminence in Hegel and German philosophy, wrote profound works on the Holocaust and modern Judaism.[4]

Both within and outside the universities, scholarship on Jewish subjects was emerging for the first time through the writings of such academics as the historian Michael Marrus of Toronto and the literary scholar Ruth Wisse of McGill. It would not be long before courses in Jewish studies were introduced in some departments, providing a kind of legitimacy that had previously been confined to rabbinical academies.[5]

By the 1960s, a number of Jewish business tycoons had emerged to take their places alongside the fabulously wealthy Bronfman family. Sam Steinberg of Montreal parlayed a modest grocery store that was established by his mother in 1917 on St. Lawrence Boulevard into a chain of supermarkets across western Quebec. He then successfully branched out into real estate, department stores, restaurants, and sugar refining to create a multi-billion-dollar empire before his death in 1978.[6] Steinberg's achievement was based on a combination of careful attention to detail and the unusual (for the time) understanding that to attract a large clientele in Quebec, it was essential to operate his businesses in French and to recruit able francophones for positions in his stores.[7] By 1960, he had sixty stores in Montreal and thirty-two others

across the rest of Quebec, even in distant Cap-de-la-Madeleine and Baie-Comeau.[8]

Real estate was an even more lucrative frontier of enterprise, and by the 1960s, Jewish firms were major players in the development of housing, industrial buildings, and inner-city skyscrapers across the country. In Calgary and Vancouver, the Belzberg family was prominent. In Toronto, numerous Jewish-owned companies — Principal Investments, Cadillac-Fairview, and Olympia and York were among the leaders — helped to rebuild much of the downtown, while also constructing suburban developments.

The most dynamic of such real-estate firms was the Reichmann family's Olympia and York, which skyrocketed to astonishing success in the 1960s by developing small industrial buildings and housing estates principally in Toronto and Montreal.[9] The family, led by brothers Albert, Paul, and Ralph, went on to erect major buildings in Toronto's burgeoning downtown financial core, with its *tour de force* being First Canadian Place, the headquarters of the Bank of Montreal.

By the mid-1970s, the Reichmanns — who were also major benefactors of Jewish religious institutions and generous donors to clinics and hospitals sponsored by other religious denominations — with perfect timing, made hugely lucrative purchases in Manhattan "just as the . . . property market began to pivot from bust to a boom of epic proportions."[10] Other enormously profitable New York real-estate deals followed, and the whole venture was capped by the World Financial Center, a skyscraper dramatically situated near Battery Park, overlooking the Statue of Liberty at the entrance to New York harbour. After acquiring major shares of Gulf Canada and Abitibi-Price, the Reichmanns ventured into a major British development at Canary Wharf in London's Docklands area, a project that came to interim completion a few years later. These and many other transactions over the years turned the Reichmanns into billionaires.

JEWISH EDUCATION

While transforming itself in these respects, the community was also adjusting to new social realities outside its fences. The long-standing search by the Montreal Jewish community for equality in the Protestant school system finally was successful. Various Protestant organizations, in hearings before the 1960 Quebec Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, recommended that Jews be granted representation on the board.[11] In August 1962, Claude Ryan, a leading ⸻ebec intellectual and later the editor of Le Devoir, urged the provincia⸻ ⸻nment to legislate this change on the grounds that

in granting complete school equality to the Jews, who already bear heavy sacrifices to maintain their culture, we will show the entire country the true roots from which spring our attachment to our own cultural treasure. . . . We will prove that what we ask for ourselves we also want for others. . . .

The following year, Jews began to sit on Protestant school boards.

Meanwhile, the provincial government had begun to pay tuition grants to parents of children in the Jewish day-schools.[12] Across Canada, these schools were multiplying. By the early 1960s, there were no fewer than thirty schools offering twelve to twenty-five hours per week of instruction in Jewish subjects in addition to the secular curriculum. Montreal had 13, Toronto 8, Winnipeg 5, Calgary 2, and Edmonton, Ottawa, Vancouver, and Hamilton one each.[13] There were 8,348 children in these schools, following programs that varied according to the religious and political orientation of their supporters. Some were yeshivot, which emphasized the study of sacred texts, while the modern schools offered courses in Hebrew language and literature, and Jewish history, religion, and customs. Schools with a left-wing orientation also offered Yiddish. In addition, there were some 14,500 pupils attending congregational afternoon schools, which offered about ten hours a week of instruction in basic Hebrew language and Jewish religion. Sunday schools, usually in Reform congregations, offered three hours of instruction by part-time teachers each week. Overall, about forty thousand elementary schoolchildren were enrolled, but this represented only half to two-thirds of all Jewish children in the major cities.[14]

However, the Jewish educational system was already severely strained. A shortage of qualified teachers was one problem, even though teachers' seminaries had been in operation in Montreal since 1946 and in Toronto since 1953. An equally vexing difficulty was that the financial resources were insufficient to pay adequate teachers' salaries and finance expansion, forcing teachers to leave the profession and saddling families with high tuition fees. Moreover, Dr. Joseph Klinghofer, the Congress officer who was supervising education in the smaller Ontario communities, noted "a drop in enrolment of post–bar mitzvah age, and little interest in Jewish studies among university students and adults."[15] Jewish education in Canada was not in a healthy condition. Although this situation worried the Congress and other observers, it was unclear whether the Jewish community was willing, or able, to undertake serious remedial action. Beyond that lay the question of whether even a significant strengthening of Jewish education would arrest the trend towards assimilation and the inexorably rising intermarriage rates.

NEVER AGAIN: THE CAMPAIGN FOR SOVIET JEWRY

Besides harbouring a growing concern for the well-being of the citizens of Israel, which was registered in mounting contributions to the United Jewish Appeal, Canadian Jewry was now deeply worried about the welfare of Jews in the Soviet Union. The Soviet government's campaign against Zionism was viewed as a "euphemism for antisemitism" and as part of attempts to suppress Jewish cultural and religious expression, which had been revived in the Soviet Union following the Six Day War in 1967. Protests went into high gear across Canada in 1968. Speakers addressed public gatherings, and demonstrations took place on university campuses, on city squares, and in front of the Soviet embassy and its consulates.[16] At the urging of numerous synagogues and organizations, many Jews included a special prayer for Soviet Jewry in their Passover seders.

After meeting with a Congress delegation in the fall of 1970, Prime Minister Trudeau promised to do his best during a forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union to persuade its government to "allow Jews cultural freedom and permit some emigration to Israel."[17] Meanwhile, the Students for Soviet Jewry held a torchlight procession in downtown Toronto and a large teach-in was held at McGill to denounce what Saul Hayes of the Canadian Jewish Congress called "the Soviet denial of rights to Jews which are granted to other religious and ethnic minorities."[18]

At a Montreal gathering in November, Rabbi Gunther Plaut condemned "outright antisemitism by government plan" in the Soviet Union. Perhaps recalling the alleged silence of Canadian churches during the 1930s and 1940s, he demanded to know:

Where are the churches, where is the voice of organized Christian religion? Why are they silent? Why do they not help us mount a universal campaign to expose this latest example of cultural and religious genocide? They can speak on so many issues and do so most forcefully. Why not here and now?[19]

Answers from the churches were weak.

The campaign for Soviet Jewry accelerated in 1971. When eleven Soviet Jews who hijacked a Russian airliner were convicted in Leningrad (two were sentenced to death while the others were given very heavy prison sentences), the Congress called for mass demonstrations. In their thousands, Jews in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, Edmonton, and Halifax complied by marching through the streets with placards proclaiming their indignation. The community, moved by a growing consciousness of the Holocaust —

especially in the wake of the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem — and of the threat to Israel posed by continuing Arab hostilities, responded with an emotive slogan: Never Again.[20]

Some eight thousand Jews assembled on Parliament Hill in Ottawa to demand justice for Soviet Jewry, while Minister for External Affairs Mitchell Sharp told a Congress delegation that the government of Canada had expressed concern. Even though he served as MP for the largely Jewish Toronto constituency of Eglinton, and acceded to some Jewish pressure to officially protest the Soviet mistreatment, Sharp nevertheless usually resisted. In his view, quiet diplomacy was better: "Sometimes a public protest by the Canadian government made it more difficult for the Canadian ambassador to be successful . . . on behalf of those who were being mistreated."[21]

When Premier Alexei Kosygin paid a state visit to Canada in October 1971, Canadian Jews staged a massive peaceful demonstration demanding that Soviet Jews be given full rights to cultural expression and freedom to immigrate to Israel.[22] A group of sixty rabbis prayed in front of the Soviet embassy and on Parliament Hill while heading a mass demonstration of thousands.

Similar rallies were held in Vancouver, and at Toronto's Science Centre some twelve thousand Jews protested again.[23] This campaign continued through the 1970s. Similar efforts in the United States and Europe kept the public informed of growing worldwide Jewish solidarity against official antisemitism. The Jewish community also pressured free-world governments like Canada's to force the Soviets to change their Jewish policy.

And they did. In 1971 Jewish emigration levels from the USSR were nearly three times the totals for 1968 to 1970. In 1972 immigration to Israel and North America more than doubled again, and it continued at high levels through the rest of the 1970s.[24] At the same time, Canadian Jewry was affirming not only that Jews were morally responsible for each other — *kol yisrael arevim zeb bazeb*[25] — but also that, in the post-Holocaust era, Jewish ethnic identity possessed new pride, assertiveness, commitment, and daring. A campaign to liberate the Jews of Syria from a horrifically oppressive regime, however, was not as successful. Tactics used on behalf of the Soviet Jews were redeployed, but the Syrian government was "impervious to protest" and the campaign lagged for years.[26]

Some Soviet Jews used Israel as a temporary refuge, leaving for Western countries as soon as possible. Others, instead of immigrating to Israel, chose Canada. Their adaptation to the Jewish community was difficult. A study of about two thousand Soviet immigrants in Toronto conducted during the late 1970s found that they expected to be offered secure jobs that were roughly equivalent to their former occupations, far exceeding what JIAS or any other

local agencies could offer. These immigrants, the study found, believed that Jews in Western countries could provide them with full support, indeed special treatment.[27] Frustration and bitterness emerged when these expectations were not met.

Most Soviets, contrary to the assumptions of many Canadian Jews, did not arrive with a passion to identify with other Jews. They immigrated instead in the belief that they could enjoy better economic and educational opportunities. They also had "a great desire to retain certain aspects of their Russian-Soviet cultural heritage, primarily the Russian language."[28] Moreover, these generally highly educated people, who saw themselves as at least the equals of Canadian Jews, rejected "the status traditionally accorded to immigrants by the Jewish community." Thus some time was required for both groups to adjust to each other's attitudes and expectations. Assertions of solidarity were one thing; reality was another.

WE ARE ONE: SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAEL

Canadian Jewish ethnic identity encompassed an increasingly strong association with Israel during the 1960s and 1970s. Always a Zionist community, Canada's Jewry became deeply involved in pro-Israel activities during the Middle East crisis of 1967 and the subsequent Six Day War. The first response to the news in May of Egypt's attempt to block shipping to Eilat, Israel's southernmost port, was more fund-raising. A special nationwide campaign raised more than $25 million, and local committees canvassed as never before.

It was a highly emotional time, when Israel's very life seemed to be threatened. The country's victory in the Six Day War increased its popularity among Canadian Jews, just as it elicited awe and admiration from the Canadian public and press.

Israel thus became an overriding focus for a majority of Canadian Jews. Previously, judging from post–Second World War statistics on funding priorities, much more was spent on building synagogues, community centres, and hospitals in Canada than on aid to Israel. With this threat to Israel's existence in 1967, however, the emphasis changed and the community became "Zionized" to an extent that must have surprised and pleased old-time Zionists.

While the crisis in the Middle East mounted, North America's Jews — brought to a new level of Holocaust awareness by the Eichmann trial in Israel a few years earlier — eagerly followed events in the press and on television. Emotio   high, owing to a new and widespread awareness of Israel's apparently pre   us circumstances. Spontaneous fund-raising campaigns took

place, and some volunteers flew over to fill civilian jobs vacated when workers who were reserve soldiers were called up to serve with the Israel Defense Force.

Meanwhile, a group of Canadian Catholic and Protestant clergymen, profoundly conscious of historical precedents, wrote to the Soviet premier, Alexei Kosygin, who had supplied enormous amounts of weaponry to Egypt, and stated:

> Once before in this century the leader of a nation proclaimed the aim of destroying the Jews. The world did not believe him. The world stood by. Again the leader of a nation has proclaimed the aim of destroying Jews — this time the State of Israel. Let us not believe that the unbelievable cannot happen again. This time let us not stand by. The undersigned speak as Christians who remember with anguish the Nazi holocaust and are filled with deep apprehension about the survival of the State of Israel.[29]

Blood banks were set up, and material and medical supplies were collected by the Federated Zionist Organization of Canada, the Congress, and B'nai Brith. The Canada-Israel Committee (CIC) was also mobilized to solicit wider backing for Israel among all Canadians. Several terrorist attacks in 1972 and the Yom Kippur War of October 1973 renewed concern among Jews, who again demonstrated solidarity with Israel by large-scale fund-raising initiatives and attendance at mass demonstrations in major cities. This outpouring of material aid to Israel has continued to this day.

On a trip to Israel years later, the writer Mordecai Richler observed evidence of this generosity. He noted that "just about every park, library, synagogue, operating theatre, yeshiva, or gym is tagged in celebration of one family or another."[30] Rich Diaspora Jews, he stated, "are expected to endow university chairs, and in return clothing manufacturers, real-estate mavens, and stock market gaons are flattered with honorary degrees and photo-ops with the prime minister. No issue of the *Jerusalem Post* is complete without its obligatory photograph of a middle-aged American or Canadian couple beaming in front of their gift: a bloodmobile, Talmud study room, tennis school, or intensive care ambulance."[31]

However, support for Israel did not end with material aid. Public-relations initiatives and pro-Israel lobbying gained increasing importance among community leaders, who worried about Israel's image in the media after her military successes and her occupation of the West Bank, Sinai, the Golan Heights, and the entire city of Jerusalem. The CIC, which was composed of representatives of the Congress, B'nai Brith, and the Canad   ionist

Federation (whose long-serving guiding spirit was Rabbi Gunther Plaut of Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple), tried to respond to the mounting criticisms of Israel. The CIC also dealt with the media's misrepresentations of Zionism and Judaism, as well as charges made by some members of the Canadian Arab community and several anti-Zionist Christian clergymen that Zionism was "political Nazism."[32]

One group of distinguished Christian clergymen in Toronto, who opposed such distortions, stated that "Israel [was] the visible and tangible manifestation of both Jewish survival and Jewish security. . . . It is profoundly wrong to oppose Israel because of its Jewish foundations and to seek to dismantle its Jewish character as the anti-Zionists invariably desire."[33] Generally, however, such unqualified backing was absent from statements made by religious groups on Israeli/Arab relations. Despite the fact that the 1973 war was initiated by Egypt and Syria, there were no statements condemning those countries from the churches or the government of Canada.

At a special session of the House of Commons, External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp carefully stated that most Canadians preferred a balanced approach to restoring peace to the Middle East, but that Egypt and Syria had violated the 1967 cease-fire lines. "It may be neither appropriate nor possible," he said, "for Canada to maintain a perfect sense of balance in the present crisis."[34]

Sharp walked a fine line between an increasingly assertive Jewish community and a public that wanted him to maintain an even-handed policy. Canada's support for United Nations Resolution 242, which called on Israel to withdraw from territories occupied in the Six Day War, was the keystone of this neutral position. "It was my view and the view of my departmental officials," Sharp reflected many years later, "that this difference will be resolved if and when Israel and its Arab neighbours (as Israel and Egypt were able to do eventually) get together to negotiate peace treaties."[35]

Although they called for lasting peace in the Middle East and the right of Israel to exist within secure borders, the government of Canada and most of the non-Jewish community maintained a neutral stance on the Arab/Israeli conflict after 1967. Polls showed that in the late 1970s, the Canadian public was massively disinterested in these issues, though three-quarters of the 30 percent who did have an opinion supported Israel.[36]

The Trudeau government did bow to pressure from Jewish groups to cancel the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, which was scheduled to take place in Toronto in September 1975, because the PLO had been granted observer status. But the . . . . . . block the May 1976 UN Habitat Conference, which PLO

representatives attended. Meanwhile, the secretary of state for External Affairs, Allan MacEachen, wanted to weaken connections between Canada and Israel and make contact with PLO "moderates."[37] At an October 1975 meeting between MacEachen and the CIC, called to discuss Canada's abstention on the UN vote inviting PLO participation in the debate on the Palestinian issue, Jewish representatives received only a polite hearing. "Canada," the minister informed them, "was not prepared to prejudge the PLO issue."[38]

Clearly the government was unmoved by the CIC's lobbying efforts, which up to that point had been deliberately and wisely low key, as Rabbi Plaut put it, so as not to "antagonize the government." While Canada's policy of keeping up good relations with both Israel and the Palestinians made the CIC uneasy, Rabbi Plaut continued to employ a cautious approach. "We cannot afford to throw our strength into a battle with our own government on the issue of the PLO," he told his colleagues when the question of trying to block PLO representation at the 1976 Vancouver Habitat conference came up.[39] Because the Canadian government and its people had the right to form opinions and policies on the Middle East that did not accord with those of Israel or of those Canadian Jews who uncritically supported Israel's policies, Plaut's restraint was entirely appropriate.

THE DISPUTE WITH REVEREND A. C. FORREST

Criticisms of Israel's militancy spread in the 1970s. On university campuses, strongly pro-Arab literature was circulated, and meetings and numerous demonstrations condemning Israel were held. Increasing numbers of radio and television broadcasts showed such an anti-Israel slant that both the Congress and the Zionist Federation of Canada felt it necessary to combat them vigorously.[40] In the late 1960s, a worrisome spate of articles written by Reverend Alfred C. Forrest began appearing in the United Church Observer. In them, Israel was severely taken to task for its policies towards Palestinian refugees. Forrest was not the only leading United churchman to be so critical. Deeply upset by Israel's capture and occupation of the whole of Jerusalem in the Six Day War, Ernest M. Howse, a former United Church moderator, attacked the Jewish phrase "next year in Jerusalem" as insincere and Israel's desire to hold on to the city as motivated solely by economic considerations.[41]

But it was Forrest, with his widely read critiques of Israel appearing in the editorial columns of the Observer, who worried Zionists the most. As the official publication of Canada's largest Protestant denomination, the Observer reached approximately 300,000 homes and was obviously an important voice.[42] Forrest, perpetuating a view of the Zionist movement evident in the the Observer since

1948, held Israel to blame for the Arab refugee crisis. At the same time, he stoutly resisted dubious attempts to link criticisms of Israel with Christian indifference to the fate of the Jews of Europe during the Holocaust.[43] Letters by Jewish luminaries to the *Observer*, as well as meetings they initiated with leaders of the church, did nothing to change the paper's strong pro-Arab slant.

To M. J. Nurenberger, the editor of the *Canadian Jewish News* and not the most temperate editorialist himself,[44] Forrest was "the symbol of anti-Israelism in this country. . . . The most dangerous enemy of Israel because he is subtle and articulate."[45] After a ten-month Middle East tour in 1968, Forrest published *The Unholy Land*, which included a description of Israel as "a racist and aggressive state" that further enraged the Jewish community. In subsequent articles, he drew infuriated replies from members of the Jewish community when he opposed Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel "on the grounds that it was part of a sinister Zionist plot to expel the Palestinians," and when he insisted that Christians did much to stop Hitler's murder of Jews.[46] Counter-allegations of Zionist attempts to manipulate the news followed.

In December 1969, Forrest's exhortations to Canadian Christian clergymen to oppose Israeli government–subsidized "study tours" to Israel as nothing more than "propaganda, . . . anti-Arab cliches turned out by the P.R. experts in Tel Aviv," increased tensions.[47] Nurenberger excoriated Forrest, whom he said knew "that any dissemination of hatred against the Jewish state is aimed indirectly at the Jewish people as well," a charge that inappropriately put Forrest on the same level as Soviet antisemites.[48] A few months later, Nurenberger held him up as an "apostle of neo-antisemitism" and a disseminator "of distrust and mutual suspicion among Jews and Christians in Canada."[49]

Thus the Jewish community, viewing Forrest's critiques as antisemitism, felt embattled in its support for Israel. Meanwhile, Forrest, who also felt besieged, continued, as Rabbi Gunther Plaut put it, "on a one-way mission and no one could deter him."[50] When, in the November 1971 issue of the *Observer*, Forrest implied that the Second World War was fought to save the Jews, he had passed into unreason. This outrageous comment angered even some members of the United Church, although delegates to its twenty-fifth general council gave him a standing ovation and protested against government of Canada loans to Israel.

It was only after the election of Bruce McLeod as United Church moderator and the murder of the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympic Games in 1972 that Forrest's influence faded. Nevertheless, the seven-year contretemps severely damaged relations between the Jewish community and the United Church. In his searching and balanced account of the conflict, which he labelled a "family quarrel," Rabbi Reuben Slonim pleaded for understanding on

both sides. "Only the most fervent partisan of the United Church or the Jewish community would maintain that all the right is on one side and all the wrong on the other."[52]

POLITICAL PRESSURES ON BEHALF OF ISRAEL

The Jewish community, led by the CIC, had only marginal influence on the Canadian government's Middle East policy.[53] For example, they failed to persuade the government to thwart the Arab boycott of Israel and of Jews working for Canadian companies that dealt with Arab countries.[54] The Trudeau government did not consider the boycott a priority matter, and the federal Cabinet — bowing to business interests — was unwilling to pass anti-boycott legislation.[55] In December 1977, the ministers of both Trade and External Affairs explained to the House of Commons that although the government opposed the Arab boycott, it would not agree to publish a list of the Canadian firms that had been asked to take part.[56] The CIC did succeed in getting the government of Ontario to pass anti-boycott legislation in 1978.[57]

The CIC also failed in a bid to persuade the Trudeau government to move the Canadian embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, an act that would signify Canada's approval of Jerusalem as the country's capital. Trudeau, who represented a heavily Jewish riding, had resisted pressure from Israel's prime minister, Menahem Begin, in November 1978. However, Trudeau's chief rival, Conservative Party leader Joe Clark, was anxious to please the Jewish community, and hoped to win two or three key constituencies in the 1979 election campaign.[58] Despite warnings from his officials, he pledged to make the move.

Immediately after winning the election, Clark seemed intent on keeping his promise. When he took office, however, he finally bowed to enormous counterpressures from Arab governments, Canadian churches, Cabinet ministers, and government advisers (not to mention unofficial and indirect "cautions" from British officials), and rescinded his promise.[59] When he was re-elected in 1980, Trudeau, who was resentful of the Jewish community's lobbying for Israel on the Arab boycott, decided to chart a new course for Canada's Middle East policy. He was decidedly more open to the idea, as expressed by External Affairs Minister Mark MacGuigan, that in 1982 "the legitimate rights and concerns of the Palestinians have to be realized."[60]

In a similar situation, Canada refused to soften its official criticism of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, even though the CIC tried hard to modify it. Broadly speaking, moreover, the media's response to Arab/Israeli issues was not favourable to Jewish positions, with the exception of occasional editorials in the *Globe and Mail*. In fact, opposition to Israel's policies accelerated sharply

during the Gaza and West Bank disturbances, which started in December 1987.

By 1982, even some sectors of the Jewish community publicly opposed the Lebanon incursion, and the CIC was no longer the "universally acknowledged . . . principal spokesman for Canadian Jewry on Israel-related questions."[61] The unquestioning support of Israel by Canada's Jews began to be challenged by small but vocal groups who criticized the invasion and the shelling of Beirut and condemned the alleged complicity of Israel in the Sabra and Shattila massacres by Christian militiamen. Still, Canadian and American Jewry had little success in influencing their countries' foreign policies in the Arab/Israeli dispute in the 1970s and 1980s.[62]

While "the unconditional support of the organized Jewish community for Israel" was unshakeable, its followers were not entirely blind, deaf, and dumb. Even so, there was a general belief that Israel could do no wrong, that Diaspora Jews had no right to criticize because they did not share Israel's real tax and security burdens, and that internal criticism only strengthened Israel's enemies and antisemites everywhere — and this belief served to keep the Canadian Jewish community quiet about, if not subservient to Israel on, Middle East issues.[63]

The most dramatic manifestation of community defensiveness regarding Israel occurred in 1988, when fifteen Jews and fifteen Arabs participated in a government-sponsored seminar — a Jewish-Palestinian dialogue — on the Middle East at Château Montebello.[64] Critics of the seminar objected that the Jewish participants had been "selected in a manner that produced greater support for the idea of a Palestinian state than existed in the community." This exercise in Arab-Jewish dialogue was so controversial, in fact, that plans for holding a second seminar were shelved. Such a move succeeded only in angering those who believed in the necessity of such discussions to achieve peace in the Middle East, however.

Dissenting opinions also arose over Israeli policy on certain domestic issues, such as the emergence of liberal Judaism and the "Who is a Jew?" debate of the 1980s. Reacting strongly to questions surrounding the legitimacy of Reform and Conservative synagogues and their rabbis in Israel, the Canadian Reform movement established Kadima (Forward), a Zionist organization that was to support Reform Judaism in Israel, and launched a highly successful membership drive during the High Holy Days of 1977.[65] Kadima joined the Canadian Zionist Federation and sought representation at the World Zionist Congress so it could articulate its position at the highest levels.

Both the Reform and Conservative movements were also reacting to the emergence of Israeli ultra-Orthodox antagonisms in Toronto, where they

asserted, relationships between those three branches of Judaism were deteriorating.[66] Rabbi Herbert Feder of Toronto's Conservative Beth Tikvah congregation complained that "Orthodoxy has been . . . boycotting meaningful dialogue with the Conservative and Reform movements to such an extent that we no longer meet. There is . . . no arena in which individual rabbinic spokesmen talk as human beings. And that's a disgrace." In response to criticisms from an Orthodox source of Kadima's effort to gain official status, Rabbi Plaut commented: "If they [Orthodox Jews] are willing to dissolve Mizrachi [the religious Zionist organization], then we will dissolve Kadima." He predicted that "if Israel adopts a restrictive interpretation of what constitutes proper religious practice, that will bring about alienation in the Diaspora."[67]

Increasingly, Israel had become a central feature of Canadian Jewish identity. It was a source of pride because of its many economic and military achievements; it replaced pre-1939 Eastern Europe as the source for a new Jewish culture; and it served as a focal point for enormous fund-raising and organizational activities, which were motivated by the ongoing need to rescue Jews and rebuild the ancient homeland. Perhaps a sense that they might not have done enough to help save their brethren during the Holocaust was one factor pushing Canadian Jews to make these efforts.

Influenced by a climate of multiculturalism that was officially encouraged by the Trudeau government after 1972, Canadian Jews found their ethnic identity increasingly shaped by Israeli paradigms and rhythms: the gathering of the persecuted, Independence Day, the pulse of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, and Israeli music. When modern Hebrew was given stronger emphasis in Jewish schools across the country, Israel entered the very souls of many Canadian Jews. What the historian Jack Wertheimer notes as the indelible impression that "Israeli outlooks and practices" have made on the institutional life of Jews in the United States is no less true north of the forty-ninth parallel: "Most synagogue-going Jews pronounce their prayers in Israeli Hebrew, listen and sing along to Israeli liturgical compositions, and wear and use religious articles imported from the Jewish state."[68] Jewish schools focus heavily on Israeli culture, employ Israeli teachers, and send their students to spend a year of study in Israel. Through them, and American and Canadian yeshivah students, Israel has a "radiating effect" on the whole community. "I cannot explain," the McGill literary scholar Ruth Wisse reflected, "the joy of Jerusalem in our lives. Many of us around the [Passover seder] table have lived in Israel, plan to live in Israel, want to live in Israel, or believe they ought to live in Israel, though we could not separate out these impulses or even account for all of them."[69]

Notwithstanding the growth of this Israel-centredness and the rising finan-

cial contributions to Israel, higher per capita than anywhere except South Africa, few Canadian Jews were prepared to go there on Aliyah. Comfortable in their newly tolerant multicultural climate, Canadian Jews, in fact, have the second-lowest Aliyah rate in the free world.[70] Many Jews probably echo the sentiments of Mordecai Richler, who, after a 1992 trip, wrote:

> all at once, I . . . was fed up with the tensions that have long been Israel's daily bread. . . . I was raised to proffer apologies because my ostensibly boring country was so short of history, but now, after five weeks in a land choked by the clinging vines of its past, a victim of its contrary mythologies, I considered the watery soup of my Canadian provenance a blessing.[71]

There was also some growing discomfort with the policies of Israel's Likud government. Led since the 1977 election by Prime Minister Menahem Begin, Likud was viewed by many as excessively stringent and resistant to legitimate Palestinian claims.

It was somewhat paradoxical that while support for Israel rose among Canadian Jews, backing for the Zionist organizations such as the ZOC waned. Zionism had become such an integral aspect of Jewish identity that formal affiliations were no longer deemed necessary. More important, the organizations were no longer the primary fund-raisers, because the financial power had shifted to the federations of charities campaigning under the United Jewish Appeal. Monies were allocated to both local and overseas causes, including Israel, except in a number of small communities, which, having few welfare needs, sent all their proceeds to Israel. The days when Zionist organizations ran their own separate national campaigns, therefore, had largely disappeared, except in a few isolated cases.

Even the left-wing organizations, with their deep commitment to collectivist principles, experienced declining popularity. Their founding members aged and were not followed into the organizations by their sons and daughters, who shunned formal membership with groups whose socialist goals had little meaning for them. By 1970, the recently formed Federated Zionist Organization of Canada, which included all Zionist groups, was itself embroiled in a bitter dispute about the number of representatives allowed to its constituent parts.[72] Such petty bickering marked the nadir of these once-proud organizations, whose day had passed.[73] In fact, Israel was now so important to Canadian Jewry that no one organization could embrace all the features of its centrality.

Israel had come to be much more than a fund-raising project, especially to

a generation of Jewish youth that, in the rebellious 1960s, had little patience for formal structures, banquets with their gowned and dinner-jacketed participants, and the shallowness of cheque-book Zionism. In rising numbers, these Jews were going to Israel to study, travel, and absorb the atmosphere. In 1969 Keren Hatarbut, the Canadian Association for Hebrew Education and Culture, undertook to send 250 Jewish boys and girls for summer sojourns on Israel kibbutzim to encourage them to go on Aliyah.[74] Synagogues were even more active, especially in sending youth over to Israel for summer programs meant to increase their Jewish consciousness. Meanwhile, tourism soared, and El Al's airliners carried hundreds of Canadians on its twice-weekly flights from Montreal and, later, Toronto to Israel.

THE ARTS

Expressions of Jewish identity took on cultural dimensions as well. Canadian Jews by the 1970s were being informed of their history in the republication of B. G. Sack's *The Jews in Canada*; a major two-volume illustrated survey by Rabbi Stuart E. Rosenberg; the publications issued by the Congress' national archives and written and edited by David Rome; the *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal*; and the activities of numerous local historians, who collected and stored documents, taped interviews, and wrote histories of their communities.

Their identity was also being expressed artistically, especially in literature. From the late 1930s to the early 1950s, Abraham M. Klein's poetry on Jewish themes embodied the culture of *Yiddishkeit*: the Talmud, festival observances, and the transforming rhythms and contexts of both the old *shtetl* and the new urban ghetto.[75] Klein's poetry after 1939 was profoundly influenced by the agony of the European Jews. His *Hitleriad* of 1942 and, perhaps most graphically, his 1951 *Second Scroll* — a powerful story of the search for a survivor — were the first English-language literary responses to the Holocaust by a Canadian Jew. In the glosses for *The Second Scroll*, his major opus, Klein reached deep into that parochial well to evoke memories and images of "ghetto streets where a Jewboy dreamed pavement into pleasant Bible-land," and praised God, who "hast condescended to bestow upon history a shadow of the shadows of Thy radiance." Klein was followed by the poets Irving Layton, Leonard Cohen, and Eli Mandel, who in the 1970s articulated both a response to and an awe of the Holocaust. After these poets burst on the scene, in the phrase of the literary scholar Michael Greenstein, "words [were] in exile."[76]

In the 1960s and 1970s, such evocations were largely absent from Canadian Jewish literature, although Miriam Waddington's poetry contained echoes of the secular Yiddish culture she absorbed through her Winnipeg Peretz School

education, and Jack Ludwig's stories reflected the struggles and the poignancy of living in that city's North End melting pot.

Adele Wiseman's *Sacrifice*, Mordecai Richler's *Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, and the poetry of Irving Layton and Leonard Cohen shone as major literary achievements of that era. Wiseman explored the familiar anguish of intergenerational relationships, Richler the seldom-examined underside of Jewish economic upward mobility — he also displayed, in *St. Urbain's Horseman*, a deep sensitivity to the Holocaust[77] — Layton the ebullient awe of life and sexuality, and Cohen "love's solitary survivor."[78] Through their work, these first-generation Canadians often analysed the period of their lives spent growing up in Montreal and Winnipeg during the 1940s.[79] Perhaps because it lacked those cities' internal tensions and ethnic diversity, Toronto did not produce Jewish literary figures of equal stature. Even though Waddington and Wiseman lived in Toronto for many years, their work continued to reflect their early Winnipeg experiences.

MELECH RAVITCH

In the late summer of 1976, one of the Jewish community's bright cultural lights was extinguished. The beloved and distinguished Yiddish poet, Melech Ravitch, died in Montreal.

Ravitch had enjoyed a celebrated career in 1920s Poland, where as a member of Di Khaliastre ("the Gang") he was a major figure in Warsaw's Yiddish literary circle. After wandering across the world visiting Jewish communities, Ravitch settled in Montreal, where he joined an already distinguished group of Yiddish poets and writers. The group included J. I. Segal, Shalem Shtern, Rokhl Korn, and Mordecai Husid, as well as other intellectuals like David Rome, and was centred at the Yiddish Folks Bibliotek. "He was among the most highly regarded cultural personalities of world Jewry," David Rome wrote in a moving obituary.

One of Ravitch's best poems, which evokes his typically elegiac spirit, is his "Tropic Nightmare in Singapore," where he revisits his birthplace:

> Over seven continents, seven seas,
> On fire-wind wings, dreams soar,
> And in these soaring dreams
> I am a child once more

These literary landmarks not only evoked a past now becoming almost mythological. They marked the entry of Jews as major figures in Canada's literary canon, with their images, characterizations, and language now part of the national cultural landscape. Their popularity attested to a growing general interest in reading the works of those who were sensitive to the peculiarities and particularities of the Jewish experience. These writings seemed to recognize that the Canadian context had placed distinctive boundaries on and provided opportunities for the Jewish culture imported from Europe, and that the discovery of their past would help readers understand their identity as both Jews and Canadians. And the works of these poets and novelists attracted wide audiences in the non-Jewish community as well, where these writers became highly regarded voices of Canadian ethnic diversity.

CRITIQUES OF THE CONGRESS

Because of their new-found confidence, younger members of the community began to question the leadership of the Canadian Jewish Congress. On the question of aid to Soviet Jewry in the 1960s, Congress leaders had allegedly

> Momma says, "You really believe —
> I can read it clear in your face —
> That the world out there is something more
> Than our little marketplace
>
> Well, out through the window go
> Your continents, if you please,
> And into the kitchen pail
> I pour your seven seas.*
>
> (Translated by Robert Friend)

With Ravitch's death, the little group of Montreal Yiddish writers was severely diminished. After the passing of Rokhl Korn and Sholem Shtern a few years later, the light of Yiddish literature in Canada had nearly flickered out.

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* See David Rome, "Melech Ravitch: Dean of Yiddish Poetry," *Canadian Jewish Outlook* (Sept.–Oct. 1976): 10; Goldie Morgentaler, "Melech Ravitch," *Pakn-Treger* (fall 1997): 74–75; Irving Howe, Ruth R. Wisse, and Khone Shmeruk, eds., *The Penguin Book of Modern Yiddish Verse* (New York: Viking, 1987): 301.

been "lethargic, often passive." But of greater concern to some of these young Jews was the Congress' opposition to government aid to denominational schools on the grounds that religious instruction did not belong in publicly funded schools. The Congress, conscious of a difference of opinion among the rank and file, had reluctantly acquiesced to having a course in world religions taught in Ontario high schools but had opposed aid to denominational schools — even Jewish ones — in Quebec and Alberta.[80] Such a position was no longer acceptable to many Jews. A new group, called the Ontario Committee for Government Aid to Jewish Day Schools, was formed in 1971 to lobby the provincial government. Although it was part of a growing grass-roots movement, the committee failed to make any significant headway. Nevertheless, it persisted until a 1996 decision of the Supreme Court of Canada effectively blocked all denominational claims for financial support.

Criticisms of the Congress went beyond school questions alone. Indeed, the fundamental character of the organization was at issue. Rather than serving as an effective "Jewish parliament," the Congress had become more of "an antidefamation, civic-defense type of organization," according to Rabbi Stuart Rosenberg, and it failed to keep abreast of the times. Its national religious affairs committee could not resolve disagreements among Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Jews on a variety of issues.

Local welfare organizations, moreover, objected to the Congress' assumption that it was the "official" Jewish voice. In arguing that "the problems facing us are serious [and] a different community is emerging," the organization's detractors highlighted several features of the changing community profile: most Jews were Canadian-born, a high proportion was under thirty-five, the number of university graduates was much higher than in previous generations, the foreign-born included many Holocaust survivors, and there were now many Jews from Arab countries.[81]

A more fundamental transformation, the critics alleged, was that religion, which had been a "stabilizing influence" on most of the pre-1940 Jewish population, "is significant by its very absence or by the markedly changed role of religion in the life of the ostensibly committed individuals."[82] This transformation was attributable to advancing cynicism, profound social changes, and "a new, vigorous, and healthy diaspora Jewish posture and meaning." Posture and meaning were not just euphemisms for disdain for the past, but were new assertions of confidence, even intemperate bravado.

Thus the future of the Congress seemed shaky. Rabbi Rosenberg noted that in the United States, after the First World War, the American Jewish Congress lost credibility with that community's increasingly diverse constituents. In his [view], ... more complex than it had been before the

Second World War, had perhaps also outgrown the need for the Congress. "Could Congress," he wondered, "still retain its role in a larger, better educated, more ideologically diverse, and thus more complex Jewish community? Indeed, in an age of so-called participatory democracy, could, or should, any single group purport to speak for all Jews? Even in Canada?"[83]

QUEBEC SEPARATISM AND THE MONTREAL JEWISH COMMUNITY

Quebec's separatist movement was potentially the greatest external challenge Canadian Jewry faced in this period. Though the Parti Québécois was not antisemitic, there was a perception that separation included a significant threat to the Jewish community. Except for a substantial francophone element from North Africa, Jews were overwhelmingly English-speaking. Though the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism reported that bilingualism was higher among Quebec's Jews than in the anglophone community as a whole, separatism seemed dangerous. At the end of an illuminating review of the situation in 1972, Rabbi Rosenberg concluded that for Quebec Jewry, "the road ahead is uncertain, fearful, even fraught with unknowable dangers."[84]

Basing his analysis largely on the Jewish experience in Europe, where Jews were a minority in territories converting into national states, Rosenberg saw two problems emerging in Quebec. One arose from the emphasis the separatists placed on the pre-eminence of the French language. Legislation limiting parents' rights to choose the language of instruction for their children had been passed by the Union Nationale government in 1969. Although it was not a threat to the French-speaking segment of the Jewish community, this law upset the traditional rights of English-speaking Jews and other non-francophones, and also seriously endangered the continuity of the English language in Quebec. The second problem was the separatist belief in *étatisme*, the view that the state was supreme, a poor portent for Jewish survival.

Such pessimism, which was shared by many in the Jewish community, was understandable given the emotional circumstances of these years. This feeling was not lessened by the attitude of Quebec's most prominent nationalist, René Lévesque, who told a Toronto audience in December 1971:

I know that eighty to ninety percent of the Jews of Quebec are nervous about the effects of separatism. I know that history shows that a rise of nationalism means Jews get it in the neck. But what can I do about it? I can't change your history. But I know that anti-Semitism is not a significant French-Canadian characteristic. The mo[st] [se]rious

problem for the Jews is that Jews in Quebec are closely related to the English community. If they choose to put in with them, what can I do?[85]

Still, there was no clear evidence of antisemitism in the Parti Québécois. Statements made by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), which was responsible for the bombings of the 1960s and the October Crisis of 1970, however, contained some antisemitic references. Such sentiments can hardly have inspired Jewish confidence in their future in a separate Quebec. While most Quebec separatists of the 1970s did not openly espouse antisemitism, some avowed and suspected antisemites among them attracted the notice of non-Jewish observers. The journalist Peter Desbarats noted that "Jews in Quebec . . . have a right to be concerned about nationalist developments in Quebec which would assume a chauvinist character and would create a tolerance for discrimination against non-French groups. There are two kinds of Jews in Quebec: the optimists who teach their children French and the pessimists who teach them Hebrew."[86]

Some of the new antisemitism in Quebec was masked by anti-Israel rhetoric. The 1970 kidnapping and murder of Quebec's minister of Labour and Immigration, Pierre Laporte, for example, reportedly was preceded by an unsuccessful FLQ attempt to kidnap the Israeli trade attaché in Montreal.[87] In the separatist monthly Ici Québec, one writer called Zionism "the cancer of the world" and alleged that Israelis injected mercury into oranges.[88] In 1973 the president of the Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) stated, before the Federation of Canadian Arab Societies, that

the Jewish population of Quebec enjoys more privileges than any other minority in the world. We don't want them to poison the air of this country any further. Israel is now committing the same barbaric crimes against others that were committed against her in her previous history. We are sick and tired of being called antisemites.[89]

A few years later, Yvan Charbonneau, head of the Quebec French Catholic teachers' union, returning from a meeting of the International Association Against Racial Intolerance, stated that "it was incumbent on Quebec teachers to instill anti-Zionist sentiments in the minds of their pupils." These remarks were vigorously repudiated by the archbishop of Montreal, Mgr. Paul Grégoire.[90] On the eve of the Parti Québécois victory in the 1976 provincial election, Charles Bronfman, in remarks to Jewish community leaders, was quoted as

saying that the party was "a bunch of bastards who are trying to kill us."[91] He also allegedly threatened to pull his family's enormous capital out of the province.[92]

In the Jewish community, memories of pre-war antisemitism ran deep. The concept of francophone Jews serving as a bridge to French Quebeckers could not have encouraged the English-language Jewish community, especially in light of reports of very high rates of intermarriage between French-speaking Jews and non-Jews. The Parti Québécois victory therefore produced considerable anxiety in the Jewish community over what its future might be in a separate state.

In an article published in Commentary six months after the election, two McGill professors, Ruth Wisse and Irwin Cotler, wrote that Quebec's Jews had entered into a state of almost continuous caucus, "in anxious discussion about their future under a government promising to aggressively pursue separation from the rest of Canada."[93] While in the past "Quebec's climate of candid ethnicity had made Montreal . . . hospitable to groups (like the Jews) that could readily maintain their distinctiveness," the authors argued that the situation had changed.

Although they sympathized with the strong French-Canadian desire for cultural distinctiveness, Wisse and Cotler asserted that "Jews fear the inevitable fallout of these nationalistic impulses and oppose their repressive dimensions." Even though the Parti Québécois was committed to both democracy and fair treatment of minorities, the McGill professors charged that there were already signals of authoritarianism and insensitivity — including the coercive features of Bill 101, which institutionalized the French language. Even more worrisome were some signs of racism and the fact that a labour leader's expressions of sympathy with the Palestinian cause suggested antisemitism was not repudiated by the French-Canadian elite.

According to some Quebec intellectuals, however, Wisse and Cotler misrepresented the true nature of the Parti Québécois' nationalist program — as well as erroneously depicting a previous lack of "hospitality" towards minorities on the part of French Quebeckers.[94] Michel Laferrière, rebutting Wisse and Cotler in Commentary, asserted that if Jews had become increasingly bilingual, it was only "because they had to . . . [since] most of their income derived from the French Canadians, for Jews were often small shopkeepers and small landlords . . . [and were] often perceived as direct exploiters." Thus, he wrote, French-Canadian antisemitism was similar to black antisemitism in the United States; it was merely an opposition to "Jewish exploitation." And Laferrière rejected as outright defamation the suggestion that the Quebec nationalist song "The Future Belongs to Us," which was sung at Parti Québécois rallies,

resembled a Nazi song from the movie *Cabaret*. The intention behind Bill 101, he continued, was to make French the only official language in Quebec, "and corresponds to the legislation and practices of other provinces, which have made English the only language of social life, *de facto* or *de jure*."

Another commentator observed that Jews prospered in Montreal, where, instead of seeking contacts with French Canadians, they had aligned themselves with the dominant anglophones. Thus Jews regarded English as their only "cultural gateway to Jewish self-expression."[95] The Wisse-Cotler insistence that the French-Canadian elite should repudiate statements from radical leftists was also unacceptable. "If Mrs. Wisse and Mr. Cotler already hear Nazi boots on the sidewalks of Montreal, that is really their personal problem," the commentator asserted, then claimed that they could not cite a single antisemitic action by the new government against Jews in Quebec.

Irwin Cotler surely had it right in recognizing that the use of French "as the *lingua franca* of Quebec society," had become "a [Jewish] communal imperative — indeed a moral imperative."[96] But if Quebec nationalism was exclusive rather than inclusive, and Jewish nationalism was becoming increasingly transnational and "concerned with the indivisibility of Jewish peoplehood," he observed, these Jewish and French-Canadian solitudes "are likely to mis-read, if not misinterpret, each other's symbolic language."[97]

Although this was not quite a *dialogue des sourds*, clearly the two sides of this debate were miles apart. Jews, perhaps, did not fully comprehend the Québécois nationalists' sense of precarious marginality in a province whose economy was still dominated by non-francophones and a continent whose major language was English. Jews were unable, the scholar Pierre Anctil observed, "to understand the language, the context, where the nationalists were coming from."[98] At the same time, the nationalists did not fully grasp Jewish fears of authoritarian nationalism with racist undertones. Both sides felt threatened and both were assertive and emotional. Little understanding was possible in such an atmosphere.

Antisemitism would not completely die in Quebec — or elsewhere in Canada. It would reappear at moments of crisis, such as during the provincial referendum votes in 1980 and 1995. But the public expression of Jew-hatred was increasingly marginalized. Indeed, the community of Quebec, bolstered by a significant influx of francophone Jews from North Africa, enjoyed a certain rapprochement with Québécois from the Quiet Revolution onward.

At the same time, the perception of Jews by some French Canadians had changed significantly by the 1960s. Antisemitism in Quebec was certainly waning, as Naim Kattan observed, "Relations between the two communities are just beginning to be established on the social and human levels."

This class in the Ottawa Talmud Torah on Rideau Street (probably early or late 1930s) takes a break from studying.
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA PA105086

Jewish rally at the Montreal Forum to celebrate the founding of the state of Israel, May 16, 1948.
GAZETTE, MONTREAL; NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA PA

The family of Haim Ben Haim from Morocco arrives at Montreal's Dorval airport in the early 1960s to add to Canada's growing Sephardic community.

CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS NATIONAL ARCHIVES, MONTREAL

Gerald Tulchinsky, *Branching Out*,
pgs. 288-321

Jews even began to appear — perhaps for the first time — as sympathetic figures in French-Canadian novels of the 1960s.[99] Finally, to French-Canadian writers like Yves Thériault, "the Jew is no longer . . . far-away . . . but [is] the neighbour, someone nearer, the Jew who lives on the next street."[100] At last, the Jew was someone with whom it was possible to empathize, whose "Jewish music. . . . soul and . . . spirit" Thériault might appreciate. The Jewish experience as a minority group, Kattan suggested, was seen almost as a model or symbol of the French-Canadian predicament, and served "as an example, an encouragement, a confirmation." Although most of these literary interpretations depicted the Jew only from the outside, never penetrating his soul, the generally favourable representation in literature was a watershed in French-Canadian attitudes towards the Jewish stranger.

Jewish perceptions of French Canada's distinctive personality were often decidedly sympathetic. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was a major forum for public debate on the future of Canada in the early 1960s. It held hearings across the country on the state of relations between English and French Canadians, while still recognizing the contributions made by other ethnic groups.[101] A submission from the Jewish Labour Committee (which represented trade unions with predominantly Jewish membership) expressed "deep respect for the very survival of French-Canadian culture in an overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon surrounding."[102] The committee asserted that rapprochement between the English and the French was essential for Canada's national survival, and that French and English must continue to be Canada's only official languages.[103] Although it rejected official multilingualism, the committee argued that governments should support every ethnic group's right to assert its cultural distinctiveness.

In the long run, fears of Québécois nationalism generally proved to be ill-founded. The Parti Québécois' record towards the Jewish community belied the concerns of Rabbi Rosenberg and others about an *étatist* denial of communal rights. In fact, the provincial government increased financial support for Jewish denominational schools and cultural projects.

Nevertheless, Jews, like other anglophones in Quebec, are worried. After the passage of a far-reaching law in 1977, language became the overriding issue for non-French minorities. This law required that people moving to Quebec send their children to French schools, a stipulation that effectively discouraged all but francophones from moving to the province.[104] While a 1984 Supreme Court decision guaranteed the right to an English education to persons from other parts of Canada, the children of immigrants from abroad were still required to attend French schools. This was emblematic of the Quebec government's determination to advance the French language

In 1990 the Quebec National Assembly passed Bill 178 in an effort to regulate the size and placement of store signs in languages other than French. To enforce the law, "language police" were hired to inspect business premises and fine offenders. Quite apart from the costs associated with enforcing the legislation, the Draconian nature of the law raised serious questions about the survival of civil rights for non-francophones in Quebec. If their language rights could be removed, what else might be threatened?

This law caused deep concern among both Jews and anglophones, many of whom failed to recognize that it was vigorously denounced in both *L'Actualité* and *Le Devoir*, the nationalistic and prestigious French daily.[105] The Jewish community was especially affected by the need to bilingually label kosher food products. Although this was done routinely on goods packaged in Canada, those from the United States, which carried English-only labels, violated the law. Efforts were made to have these items exempted, but as late as 1996 the issue occasionally cropped up, usually to the embarrassment of both the Jewish community and, apparently, the government of Quebec.[106]

LES JUIFS FRANCOPHONES

Montreal's Jewish community diversified further during the 1960s, with the arrival of French-speaking immigrants from Morocco and smaller numbers of Spanish speakers from Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria. Some francophone Jews originated from Ashkenazim in Central or Eastern Europe, where French was the language of the elite.[107] Largely because they spoke French and had absorbed the culture of metropolitan France in the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Alliance), these immigrants were attracted to Montreal.[108]

Because they were more comfortable among themselves, these newcomers formed L'Association Sépharde Francophone, an umbrella organization of the francophone chapters of B'nai Brith, Hadassah, and other associations.[109] "Francophone" was subsequently dropped from this organization's title and it was renamed the Communanté Sépharade du Québec, both in recognition of the other languages spoken by some of its members, including Judeo-Spanish (spoken by some Turkish Jews) and English (spoken by some Sephardim), and to emphasize its location in Quebec.

While these Jews wanted to maintain their unique identity as both French-speakers and Sephardim, they faced the problem of being a double minority. As Jews in a predominantly Christian province and francophones in a largely English-speaking community, they were in danger of losing one or, possibly, both features of their identity. In 1972 Rabbi Stuart Rosenberg observed that

the francophone Jew "has a choice of identifying either with the existing Anglophone Jewish community and probably losing his unique French-Sephardi cultural heritage, or with a non-Jewish Francophone community and thus probably losing his Jewish religious connections."[110]

The shortage of Jewish French-language services and institutions, especially schools, was problematic. Because of the confessional educational system, there were no French-language elementary schools for non-Catholics. Consequently, French-speaking Jewish children were forced to attend the Protestant English-language schools. Thus until their language skills improved, they were placed in lower classes. A small number of Sephardi children did attend French-language Hebrew day-schools, which were associated for a few years with the Catholic school boards.[111]

This situation presented a challenge, the *Canadian Jewish News* editorialized in December 1963, for both the Jewish community of Canada and the government of Quebec:

> the problem is to find a solution which would prevent the estrangement of these youngsters. For the government of Quebec, the problem is to see that these French-speaking North Africans, among whom many have contributed in the past to the spiritual grandeur of France, are not lost to Canadian French culture.[112]

A special Sephardic day-school was opened with broad communal support in 1968. "The assistance which the Ashkenazis [of Montreal] are giving us in terms of money," the school's principal commented, "[has] amazed me. . . . This spirit of 'Kol Yisrael chaverim' is a heartwarming thing and will do much to cement the ties of brotherhood and friendship between the two sections of our people."[113]

As their numbers grew, the Sephardim formed their own synagogues, fourteen of them by 1979; these were supervised by the Rabbinat Sépharade du Québec. Even so, strong religious and family ties were not enough to stop the acculturation of young francophone Jews. A 1972 study of intermarriage in Montreal revealed that 50 percent of North African Jews were marrying non-Jews.[114]

Eventually, two francophone Jewish day-schools were established in Montreal — École Maimonide and École Sépharade — and French-language classes in the anglophone Jewish day-schools were expanded with strong financial incentives from the Quebec government. During the 1980s, the Sephardic presence was also becoming evident in Toronto, although the Ontario Sephardic Federation, in alliance with the Communanté Sépharade du

Québec, was concerned because "community organizations were not doing enough to integrate the Sephardim fully."[115] In Montreal, meanwhile, the Sephardim, previously focused on their own communal needs, "began to make their presence felt in broader community settings," forcing major Jewish organizations to use French and include more Sephardic representation.[116]

In spite of these breakthroughs, the Sephardim often felt hostility, fear, and resentment emanate from the existing Montreal Jewish community. New immigrants (once called greenhorns) had always encountered the patronizing attitude of some of the earlier arrivals, and the Sephardim were no exception. But as both French-speakers and North Africans, they were viewed sceptically by Montreal Jewry for wanting to maintain a separate identity. Even then, "separatism [was] an explosive political subject in Quebec."[117] A 1972 survey demonstrated that the Sephardim believed deep divisions existed between themselves and the anglophone Jewish majority in Montreal. The survey reported that the Sephardim considered certain groups to be more accommodating than others, starting with other francophone Jews, and followed by French Canadians, other North Africans, and Muslims. Canadian Jews were a distant fifth.[118] Some 20 percent of respondents expressed an outright dislike of the Ashkenazim.

The Sephardim resented the disparaging remarks made about their Arabic, and allegedly primitive, origins by persons they perceived to be former residents of spindly one-room shacks in East European *shtetls*. Many Sephardim were proud of their roots and of the enlightened aspects of the Arabic culture of North Africa. As devotees of metropolitan French secular culture, they were resentful of being regarded as a threat by the rest of Montreal Jewry. Their École Maimonide was ignored by the local association for Jewish day-schools and received only minimal financial support from the Allied Jewish Community Services (AJCS). When other early requests for community assistance were rejected, Sephardic resentments towards Montreal Jewry mounted.

Occasionally, community responses to this discrimination were warmly sympathetic. Having surveyed these complaints, the *Canadian Jewish News* observed in early 1972 that "the grievances reported must be dealt with in earnest for they concern fundamental issues."[119] It called for Jewish employers to provide on-the-job training to upgrade the skills of these immigrants and urged Jewish agencies to recruit francophone personnel to meet the Sephardi community's needs. The following year, the sociologist Jean-Claude Lasry commented that Montreal Jewry, "as a whole, was beginning to recognize the needs of Sephardim."[120] To overcome a general lack of understanding among most Jews, JIAS official Dr. Joseph Kage called for a wide-ranging program of education on Sephardic culture.[121] In 1979, at a meeting in Montreal of the

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General Assembly of Allied Jewish Federations, the AJCS responded to complaints of discrimination. They recommended ten major steps to strengthen Sephardi culture and proclaimed that "Sephardi survival represents an important and urgent problem and a priority in the Jewish world."[122]

Despite the genuine efforts mounted during the 1980s to accommodate and integrate them, many Sephardim in Montreal maintained their isolation and their distinctive identity.[123] Settled mostly in the Côte-des-Neiges area and in the suburbs of Saint-Laurent, Laval, Côte St-Luc, and Dollard-des-Ormeaux, they attempted to navigate the turbulent waters of Montreal Jewish social politics and *la milieu Québécoise* without compromising, and if possible strengthening, their identity. Their adherence to French led to an increased socialization with francophone Quebeckers, to the formation of synagogues with Sephardic rituals, to the retention of strong family ties, and to strong associational links. Apart from being shaped by local context, their identity was formulated also by poignant memories of the Maghreb: its French colonialism, Arab nationalism, and Jewish communal and family life. At the same time, the socialization of their kinfolk in Israel and France strengthened tendencies towards secularization and political assertiveness.

TO MONSIEUR CHEVALIER'S HOUSE
Sholem Shtern

To greet the sleigh
the wooden gate is opened wide.
Burly Monsieur Chevalier stands beside his greystone house
and beaming broadly says:
"Honored guests, members of an old
and venerable tribe,
step across my humble threshold!
I'm sure you're thirsty
for a cup of fragrant coffee,
or a glass of sweet hot tea.
My wife will never make you wait —
the scrambled eggs
are ready for you on the plate.
Bowls of sour cream, fresh butter, cheese —
Man, just open up your mouth and eat!"

From Sholem Shtern, *The White House: A Novel in Verse*, Max Rosenfeld, trans. (Montreal: Waksbroehe Publishers, 1974), 161.

Even today, the community remains caught in the interstices of the three Quebec solitudes — the English, the French, and the Jews — and its intellectuals ponder their future. In a thoughtful article in Montreal's *La Voix Sépharade* in June 1987, Haim Hazan stressed the need for the Sephardi community's continuing adaptation to Jewish social politics in North America. In contrast to the North African respect for authority and hierarchical structures, he observed that "[in North America] freedom is absolute. For the first time in our history we face religious pluralism, something unknown to us. . . . Everyone is free to join the movement of his choice."[124] To survive, Hazan asserted, they must offer something distinctively Sephardic to their youth. In a conclusion that voiced concerns remarkably similar to those of francophone Québécois, Hazan wrote:

We are a small, vulnerable community, all the more vulnerable because we are isolated and because, in a continent of six million anglophone Jews, we, 25,000 francophones, want to remain Sephardic in a totally Ashkenazi milieu. . . . The status quo can only lead to suffocation and in time to our disappearance as a distinct community.

In the meantime, efforts to strengthen ties between the two segments of Montreal Jewry were continuing. They were at last learning to work together for common concerns.[125]

FRANCOPHONE JEWS IN TORONTO

Although Toronto's Sephardic community was less numerous than Montreal's, it was also growing after 1957. Their adjustment, however, was even more difficult. Although JIAS helped the new immigrants find housing and employment, many reported that they felt confused by the process and alienated by the professional and "businesslike" handling, which seemed uncaring and cold.[126] These newcomers to Toronto, self-reliant and in some cases well-to-do in Morocco, which they had fled in the wake of rising Arab nationalism, felt ashamed of having to ask for help from "strangers," even though they were fellow Jews. They would rather have relied on the familiar family networks, as they had done in North Africa. Canadian Jews seemed not only uncommunicative and unsympathetic, but also generally less religiously observant.[127]

One study of the 350 Moroccan Jewish families who settled in Toronto between 1957 and 1965 found that their geographical dispersion was a significant social disability.[128] The costs of transporting children to religious schools was prohibitive, for example, forcing some families to withdraw and provide

instruction at home. In addition to the problems associated with isolation in Spartan high-rises, low incomes, cultural uneasiness, and language barriers, generational dissonance was becoming an especially painful concern. Relationships between children seeking emancipation in a multicultural environment and parents with a world-view shaped by their North African experience were strained. But the greatest disappointment was the community's feeling that it had been rejected by Toronto Jewry. As one observer noted, "What they are seeking is a Canadian identity within the Canadian Jewish community, the barriers to which seem hard to overcome."[129] Many felt a much stronger cultural and emotional affinity for Italians, while those from Tangier preferred to associate with local Portuguese.

The Sephardim formed a separate congregation using the Brunswick Street Shomrei Shabbat synagogue in the city's former Jewish quarter. In 1967, 150 families who called themselves Petach Tikvah Anshei Castilia bought this synagogue,[130] but they changed quarters several times thereafter.[131] Wherever they moved, they continued to make their distinctive mark on the city's Jewish scene[132] and gradually evoked some local empathy.[133] Complaints from within the community continued, nevertheless, and were often lodged against JIAS for its perceived insensitivity and against professional bodies that refused to recognize qualifications earned abroad. The latter was a sore point with many Sephardic immigrants.[134]

All the while, they continued to face the dilution of their distinctive culture within the predominantly Ashkenazi milieu, an erosion that affected even their own schools. In Toronto, one parent uttered this *cri de coeur*:

It's tragic. All this money spent so our kids could get a Jewish education. . . . All these sacrifices on our part and for what? They're not learning what we sent them to school to learn. So, it's arguments, arguments, all the time. They are not Sephardim anymore, really[,] and that hurts a lot.[135]

RELIGION AND CULTURE

Interesting changes took place in religious life from the 1960s onward. The Hasidim grew in numbers as some of the sects, notably the Lubavitchers, established an energetic, almost missionary, outreach program for all Jews — especially university students. In the same period, alternative Jewish religious expression took new forms, with egalitarian services offered by Conservative and even a few "renegade" Orthodox groups.

While on the whole traditional Judaism remained dominant in Canada,

there was a significant increase in the number of Reform congregations. One study revealed that Reform Judaism was growing because "it was less demanding than either Orthodoxy [or] Conservativism from a sacramental point of view and because it emphasized associational ties."[136]

This was especially evident, interestingly enough, in small university cities like Kingston and Kitchener-Waterloo. Newer arrivals to those cities — many of them academics — were unwilling to accept the established synagogues and the existing social institutions of the community. They opted instead to form their own more liberal congregations, which held services in borrowed or rented premises, often university buildings. Rabbis were brought in on a temporary basis, and teachers, some of them qualified university students, were hired locally.[137]

These new congregations were not always welcomed by the older ones, but the Reform groups nevertheless thrived, largely because they offered a flexible and warm alternative to what some perceived to be religiously stiff and socially unwelcoming communities. In 1965 in Kitchener-Waterloo, an informal Jewish fellowship of a dozen mostly professional and academic families began to meet in each other's homes for worship and discussion, "because Orthodox Judaism did not suit them."[138] Assisted by Reform synagogues and rabbis in Hamilton and Toronto, the fellowship, which named itself Temple Shalom, soon grew to thirty families, established an afternoon school, bought a building, and employed a series of student rabbis. In 1996 Temple Shalom established itself as joint occupant with a local United Church congregation in the Cedars Worship and Community Centre.

In Kingston nearly one-third of the members of the new Reform group, which called itself Iyr Hamelech (literally "the city of the king") were married to non-Jews, who in some cases were "the decisive influence in the family's decision to join the congregation."[139] Formed in 1975, Iyr Hamelech's membership grew from a small nucleus to fifty families by 1995, an increase of 163 percent in two decades. It continues to thrive.[140] Since its members are, on average, younger than those in the older congregation (and are still having children), Iyr Hamelech — like its sister Reform congregations in other cities — should continue to offer a viable Jewish religious alternative.

In the larger urban centres, meanwhile, some of the new synagogues formed in the prosperous 1950s were having financial difficulties. Temple Beth Sholom, in Montreal's west end, closed its doors in 1980 and merged with Temple Emanu-el. Others had to economize by operating joint educational programs and amalgamated afternoon schools with other congregations. Some even had to rent out space.[141]

In early 1977 Rabbi Michael Stroh warned that congregations should build

more modest structures, owing to mounting costs and the "mobility of the Jewish population." Ailing synagogues, he said, should qualify for broad community support. Some experts predicted a polarization between the super-sized synagogue/community centre, which offered a wide range of facilities, and the tiny local synagogues, which provided space for only prayer and study, (much like the old-time immigrant *shtibl* or Eastern European *bes medresh*, from which the modern North American synagogue had emerged).[142] Perhaps there was some agreeable symbolism in this turn back to religious privatism and tradition.

Such a transformation was not acceptable, however, if it meant the development of a "club mentality" and the sacrifice of communal responsibilities, at least as far as Rabbi Gunther Plaut was concerned.[143] He called for the congregations to restructure themselves to handle community service on a broad scale — not just for their members, but for all Jews — in conjunction with federations and other agencies. Plaut asserted that while many rabbis spoke out for social justice, they often encountered difficulty in bringing their congregations onside:

They generally do not interfere with the rabbi's freedom of personal action, but they will often insist that the rabbi make clear to the community that he is undertaking these political activities on his own and not in the name of either the Jewish community or the congregation.

Only when the rabbis espoused popular causes, such as support for Israel or freedom for Soviet Jewry, were they certain to be completely backed by their entire congregation.

JEWISH SECULARISM

Jewish liberalism — a broad term describing opinion ranging from the moderate to the radical left — had also become more central in the larger Jewish community. The situation in Canada was perhaps healthier than in the United States, where the introduction of affirmative action programs (which effectively discriminated against Jews and other whites) had alienated many of the old Jewish left and turned some into conservatives.[144] Also, the persecution of alleged leftists, a disproportionately large number of whom were Jews, was less severe in Canada than in the United States, according to Len Scher's *The Un-Canadians: True Stories of the Blacklist Era*.[145]

The thriving secular wing of the Jewish school system is in itself testimony to the fact that the liberal and progressive philosophy on which it had been

founded many years earlier is still alive. These schools affirm a "Jewish identity that [is] positive, relevent and meaningful." By emphasizing the prophetic tradition and Jewish history, they teach children "the dynamics of ethnic group formation and development, [which] underscores the similarities as well as the distinctive characteristics common to all minority peoples."[146] While both Zionism and Israel are recognized as important parts of the curriculum, supporters of these secular schools consider their "primary purpose to be the continuity and development of a viable, meaningful, prideful Jewish cultural identity in [their] own countries." Thus secular Judaism has embraced a broadly defined Jewish culture that does not exclude religion, but sees it and its universal values — "love and reverence for life, human worth and dignity, humility, learning and joy" — as essential elements of identity in the modern world. "Being a Jew among Jews is easy," one observer said. "It's being a Jew among Gentiles that's difficult."[147]

This secular perspective, of course, is not new. It harks back to the philosophy of the Bund, the Workmen's Circle, and the UJPO, whose members stressed their solidarity with the Jewish people and embraced Yiddish language and culture, while still seeking integration into the countries where they lived. They saw themselves as "secularists . . . who have emotionally and intellectually chosen to express their Jewish identity in less ritualistic, non-religious ways."[148] This philosophy was based on a fundamental resistance to the Jewish establishment, the monied clique that dominated the community's leadership positions in its major organizations. It implied a critique of Jewish politics, which were becoming increasingly conservative. As what might be called non-Jewish Jews, these liberals followed an unconventional agenda.[149] They rejected the "religious infusion of the Jewish community structure [which] has not only gained the upper hand, but it has become hegemonic in the sense that the organization of ethnicity, in this country and in the U.S., has assumed a religious colouring."[150]
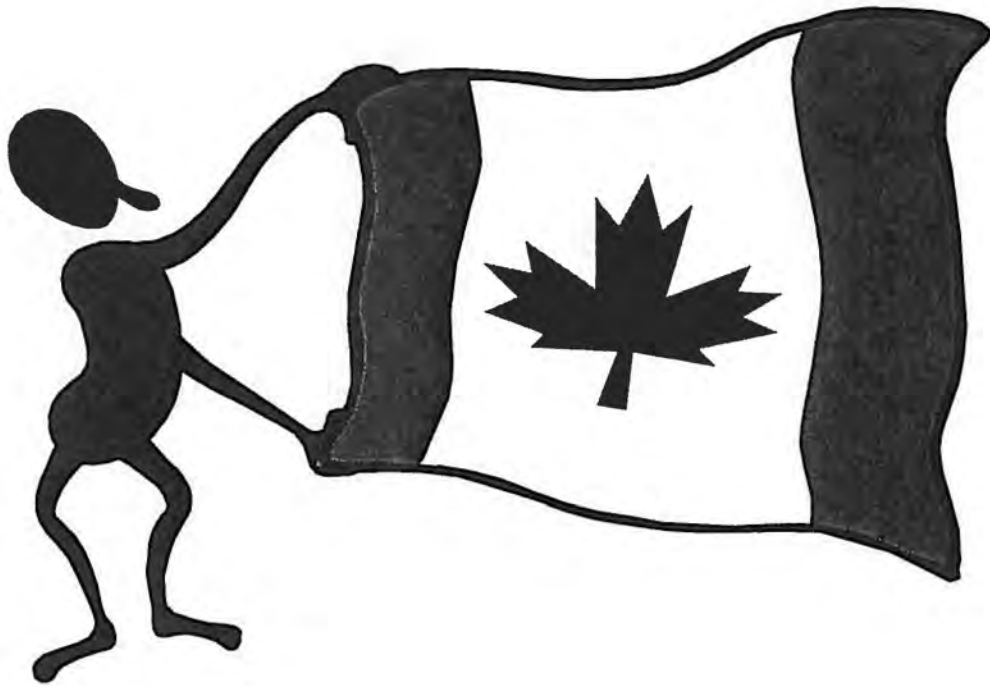
Younger secular and progressive Jewish leftists, according to the sociologist Michael Bodemann, have rejected the idea that ethnicity is "a thing of the past [that] universalistically minded progressives must strive to overcome." They object to the "non-leftists" who dominate the major Jewish organizations, arguing that the "very substantial number of Jews who are disillusioned with the established structures [are left] outside the community and leaderless."[151] The progressives continue to attempt to mobilize these disaffected Jews "to confront the monolithic-conservative domination of Jewry by this tiny group of *haute bourgeoisie* who have their names inscribed in the masthead of the *Canadian Jewish News* or the elevators of the Baycrest Geriatric Centre." Bodemann continues, "One thing seems clear, as leftists of one sort or another,

we have to realize the political importance of the factor of ethnicity — especially in a country that decreed multiculturalism. Like it or not, ethnicity's a central building block of the Canadian state, an important tool of political control."[152]

Assertiveness can go only so far in this search for legitimacy for the Jewish left. One adherent asked whether "we secular Jews can match that kind of cement that has bound the religious Jew to a heritage derived from a distant, imperceptible past? We may have to try if we want to have a continuation of what we have achieved to date."[153] He called for "the observance of as many Jewish events as possible in a way that denotes originality while simultaneously denoting sameness." Not all would agree that this course of action was easy, or even possible. Certainly not the New York intellectual Irving Howe, a leading spokesman for the Jewish left. In a major address at the University of Toronto in March 1979, he forecast the end of secular Jewish culture.[154] The Holocaust destroyed the cultural well that had fostered this tradition, he argued, and North American Jews had fallen victim to the "enticements of liberal democracy," an oblique reference to post–Second World War prosperity and materialism. Many Jews, he noted, observed religious externalities, "though they are not actively engaged" in religious life. Others had become enthusiastic champions of Israel, but in his view this translated into only weak support for substantive Jewish continuity.

Times had changed. The old Yiddish-speaking leftists were disappearing just as the social-economic conditions that had kept their cause alive had vanished. Sweatshops had long since given way to better working conditions, and very few children of old activists spoke the language of Yiddish dissent or shared the outlook and commitment to the cause of secular Judaism — if they even understood what it once had meant.[155] In its place, a new Jewish ethnicity firmly grounded on Canadian realities had emerged. This multi-faceted identity, which was still evolving in a context that was itself in transition, reflected the complexity of the Canadian-Jewish interface in a Canada that was now native ground to most Jews. Having in large numbers emerged through schools and universities, Second World War military service, active lives in arts and letters, deep engagement in politics, successful businesses, and, above all, the transforming energy of Israel, Canadian Jews were assertive, confident, and proud.

Unit Six

My Community

Unit Six: My Community

As the worlds fasting growing Diaspora community, Canada enters into the 21st century with a great deal to look forward to and be proud of. In this unit we will examine the current face of the organized Jewish community and the enormous diversity that exists within Canada. This unit will also allow the students to further examine their own personal connections and day-to-day interactions within their own community. By exploring the vast nature of the agencies and opportunities that exist, while at the same time creating meaningful linkages to their own encounters within the community the students will better understand their own place and their own reality within their community.

Enduring Understanding:

Along with the many creative and influential people that have helped the Canadian Jewish community flourish and grow, there are many essential institutions and agencies that helps sustain the overall stability and success of the Jewish community. These agencies have a direct impact the student's daily life and my own interactions within the community.

Goals:

1) To provide students with the exposure to a variety of agencies and institutions that exists in the community.
2) To provide students with the opportunity to become aware of their own interactions within the Jewish community, and the institutions that they are affected by on a regular basis.
3) To provide students with an understanding of the overall general history of their own community (if this has not already been done throughout the curriculum).

Objectives (TSWBAT):

1) Identify an agency in the Jewish community and present its history and importance in the community.
2) Demonstrate an awareness of the various services provided by a particular agency.

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3) Can further explain, represent and articulate their individual encounters with the Jewish community at large.

Suggested Learning Activities

Complete the following activity begun in Unit One:

1. **Our Community Model** - Complete the model from Unit One when the students were asked to plot and identify five-ten important places, buildings, and / or homes in their community that they interact with on a regular basis (school, gym, sports clubs, grandparents home, park, synagogue, etc...). During this second step the students should use their newly acquired understanding of the way in which they interact with the Jewish community and plot several other institutions that they are affected by (JCC, synagogue, Jewish Library, Jewish camp, synagogue, etc.).

Objectives (TSWBAT):

a. Identify and plot on a map or model five-additional buildings, places, homes of people from the JEWISH community that they interact with on a regular basis and are central to their life and their community.

b. Express the personal connection and significance of the newly added institutions, places, persons, or buildings that they have added to their model or map.

c. Articulate the importance of these additional items on their model, for not only themselves, but also for the Jewish community at large.

➢ The students should add to their original report or legend, including these new locations.

➢ This activity can serve as a overall completion to this unit and this curriculum on the Canadian Jewish Community in Canada. By having them explore their own interactions and furthering understanding the way in which they are affected by the Jewish community in more ways that they had originally believed the students grasp of the community and their place in it will have been strengthened. This addition to the original models / maps will enable the students

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to further express that new understanding of their interactions within their own Jewish community.

➢ The students should also articulate personal narratives of encounters they have had with one of these new items.

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2. **Synagogue Tour** – If the school is affiliated with a synagogue have the Rabbi or a prominent historian of the synagogue enter the classroom, take the students on a tour of the institution explaining the order in which the infrastructure of the synagogue was established. (If not affiliated with a synagogue, visit a local and rather old and fairly large synagogue with the same purpose in mind). Have the Rabbi work with the students explaining the reasoning behind why Jewish communities establish cemeteries and schools in laying roots within a community.

3. **Student Survey** – Have the students conduct a survey of their home, finding those things within it that make it Jewish. Have them list the objects, and use this for a math lesson (graphs, tables, charts). Have this as a lead into an art project where the students will create new objects for the home, for the class, for the school.

4. **Jewish Ritual Object Art Project** – Create Jewish ritual objects that help identify a Jewish home (mezuzah, mizrach, birkat ha-bayit, Chamsa). It is important to discuss the various ritual objects (see enclosure).

> **Note to Teachers:** Projects 2-4 should all follow in some order with each other, as they build one on top of the other. They should be integrated into the unit while the students are working on the research project and completing the models.

5. **Anti-Semitism in Canada** – Discuss the current issues of anti-Semitism and hatred that still exists in Canada. Relate to the students the even though we might be living in a safe and free country, there still exists hate and issues that have and will continue to scar this country's past.

➢ Show either one of the documentary series on Canada's past listed below.

    a) <u>Canada's Dark Secret</u> (VHS – 15 min.) – *Unit*

       ➢ Steve Rambam, A Jewish American private investigator, hunts down over 50 alleged Nazi War criminals who found safe haven in Canada. From a report aired on 60 Minutes in 1997.

b) <u>**The Nazi Hunter**</u> (VHS – 24 min.)
> ➢ Steve Rambam, a Jewish American private investigator, and CBC documentary producers Terrance McKenna and Steve Phyziki, detail the way in which Mr. Rambam came to Canada and hunted down over 50 alleged Nazi war criminals, finding most of them in local phone directories.

<u>Resources</u>

Siegel, Richard, ed. <u>The First Jewish Catalogue</u>, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America,), pages 12-16.

Major Project: Jewish Community Agency Research Project

As part of this unit the students will be required to research a particular Jewish agency or service within your city. They can either work individually or in groups of 2-3 students. If they work in groups each pupil should be given individual tasks to complete on their own.

Each completed project should consist of the following information:

1. When the agency was first founded.
2. The reasons for the establishment of the agency and the segment of the population being serviced by this agency.
3. Determining who were the key people involved and / or responsible for setting up this agency.
4. Finding out where the agency was originally located and why that site was chosen.
5. Were there other locations before the current one and where were they? What is the current location of the agency and why is it located there? (Have the students plot the current and former locations of the agencies on a map of the city).
6. Describe the services provided by the agency.
7. Discuss any changes that have taken place over the years and explain why they have occurred.
8. An analysis on whether or not they think this agency is an important one for the community.
9. Have the students provide any additional information they feel is relevant to helping educate the class on this agency.
10. Share a particular story of how a person(s) was helped or is being helped by your particular agency.

The students are responsible for contacting the designated agency and acquiring the required information. With their group they are to prepare a booth for the class agency fair (similar to a science fair). These projects will be displayed and must convey the required information in a creative manner.

Representatives from the various agencies, parents and the school body should be invited to view these projects that should ultimately be displayed.

The following is a list of possible agencies that might exist in your community. This is by no means exhaustive, as each individual community may have variations or additional agencies. The best resource for a complete listing of agencies is your local Federation or the Canadian Jewish Congress.

a) Bureau of Jewish Education
b) Jewish Big Brothers / Big Sisters
c) Jewish Community Centres
d) Jewish Family Service
e) Jewish Free Loan
f) Jewish Vocational Service
g) Canadian Jewish News / Jewish telegraphic agency
h) Jewish National Fund
i) Jewish Federation
j) Hadassah
k) A Jewish home for the elderly
l) National Council for Jewish Women
m) B'nai Brith
n) A Jewish hospital (Mt. Sinai)
o) Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
p) Jewish Public Library
q) Your Day school
r) Other Local Day school
s) Synagogues
t) National Synagogue movement

Name: _____

JEWISH COMMUNITY AGENCY
RESEARCH PROJECT

When researching your particular Jewish agency or service please make sure that the following questions are answered and presented during the agency. You are responsible for not only researching your agency, but also preparing a creative and informative way in which to present your information to the rest of the class. Your final project will be put onto display.

Each completed project must consist of the following information:
1. When the agency was first founded?
2. What were the reaso s for the establishment of this agency?
3. What segment of the population are being serviced by this agency?
4. Who were the key people involved or responsible for setting up the agency?
5. Where was the agency was originally located and w y was that site chosen?
6. Were there other locations before the current one and if so, where were they
7. What is the current location of the agency and why is it located there? (Plot the cu rent and former locations of the agencies on a map of the city).
8. Describe the services provided by the agency.
9. Discuss any changes that have taken place over the years and explain why they have occurred.
10. Provide your own analysis on whether or not you think this agency is an important one for our community.
11. Provide any additional information you feel is relevant to helping educate the class on this agency.
12. Share a particular story of how a person(s) was helped or is being helped by your particular agency.

Due Date: _____

Symbols of the home

MEZUZAH

The mezuzah consists of a container of wood, metal, stone, ceramic, or even paper containing a parchment with Deuteronomy 6:4–9 and 11:13–21 lettered on the front, and the word Shaddai (Almighty) lettered on the back. Usually the container has a hole through which the word Shaddai שדי can be seen. Otherwise the container should have the word Shaddai or the letter shin ש displayed on its front.

History

1. Many people date the mezuzah back to the time when we were slaves in Egypt. It is known that the Egyptians used to place a sacred document at the entrance to their houses.

2. The word mezuzah means doorpost and refers to the sentence in Deuteronomy 6:9, 11:20:

". . . inscribe them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates."   וּכְתַבְתָּם עַל־מְזֻזוֹת בֵּיתֶךָ וּבִשְׁעָרֶיךָ:

3. Originally an abbreviated version of the Shema was carved into the doorpost. Later the present twenty-two lines were written on a piece of parchment and fastened to the doorpost.

4. Then it was placed in a hollow reed and attached to the doorpost. Finally it was placed in containers similar to those used at present.

Significance

1. There has been some disagreement over the significance of the mezuzah.

2. Some people think of it as an amulet which helps protect their house.

3. At one point kabbalistic symbols and inscriptions were added to the inscription in the mezuzah to enhance its protective function. The Shaddai on the back of the parchment is a remnant of this and was an abbreviation for

"guardian of the doors of Israel."   שומר דלתות ישראל

4. A later view, more prevalent today, is that the mezuzah protects us not against external harm but against sinning. Eliezer ben Jacob said: "Whosoever has the tefillin on his head, the tefillin on his arm, the tzitzit on his garment, and the mezuzah on his doorpost is fortified against sinning."

5. Maimonides claimed that the mezuzah reminded us, each time we left our home and ventured into the world, that worldly affairs were unimportant.

by the commandment on the mezuzah, man is reminded, when entering or departing, of God's Unity, and is stirred into love for Him. He is awakened from his slumber and from his vain worldly thoughts to the knowledge that nothing endures in eternity like knowledge of the "Rock of the World." This contemplation brings him back to himself and leads him on to the right path.

Maimonides also claimed that to think of the mezuzah as an amulet was to distort and pervert its true meaning. "Fools pervert for temporal benefit the religious duty of mezuzah, of proclaiming the Unity of God and the love and service due Him, as though this were an amulet."

6. While having a mezuzah on your doorpost is a religious duty, it is considered a mitzvah to make mezuzot for others (see Scribal Arts).

R. Tanhum, son of R. Abba, explained: If one who has no property of his own practices charity and benevolence; if one who has no children pays fees to Bible and Mishnah teachers; if one who has no house makes a mezuzah for others; if one who has no tallit makes tzitzit for others; if one who has no tallit makes those of other people or prepares books and lends them to others—of such a one, the Holy One, blessed be He, says: "This man has been quick to perform My commandments before I gave him the means wherewith to fulfill them. I must repay him by giving him wealth and children who will read in books."

Some laws concerning the mezuzah (as found in the *Kitzur Shulhan Arukh* and selected by Rabbi Hershel Matt, with additions by Stu Copans)

1. A mezuzah is affixed to every door in the house. A room used for personal purposes such as a bathroom or lavatory needs no mezuzah on the door.

2. The mezuzah is affixed on the right-hand side as one enters.

3. The mezuzah is affixed within the upper third of the doorpost but must be no less than one handbreadth distant from the top.

4. The mezuzah is affixed in the following manner:

   a. Roll the parchment from the end of the sentence to the beginning, that is, from the last word—Ehad—toward the first word—Shema—so that the word Shema is on top.

   b. Put it in the tube.

   c. Fasten it with nails to the doorpost diagonally, having the top line containing the word Shema toward the house and the last word toward the outside. If the doorpost is not wide enough, the mezuzah may be fastened to it perpendicularly. The mezuzah is not considered valid if it is merely suspended; it must be fastened with nails at top and bottom.

5. Before affixing the mezuzah, say the blessing (below). If several mezuzot are to be affixed at one time, the saying of one blessing before affixing the first mezuzah will suffice for all. If a mezuzah happens to fall by itself from the doorpost, the blessing must be repeated when it is affixed again.

6. A building not used for a permanent residence needs no mezuzah. Therefore a sukkah (see Festivals) made for the holiday of Sukkot requires no mezuzah. It has become the custom today, however, to affix mezuzot to the entrance of public buildings, i.e., community centers and synagogues.

7. Every mezuzah must be inspected twice every seven years to be sure the writing is still legible. You must, therefore, make provision for opening the mezuzah to inspect the parchment.
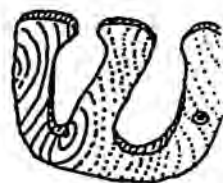
8. In the Diaspora, a mezuzah must be put up within thirty days of moving into a house.

Driftwood Mezu:

Carved wood Mezuzah

Shaped wood Mezuzo!

9. In Israel, a mezuzah must be put up immediately on moving into a house.

10. The scroll in the mezuzah should be written on parchment by a scribe (see Scribal Arts).

11. If a house is sold or rented to a Jew, the mezuzah must be left on the doorpost. If the house is sold or rented to a gentile, it should be removed.

The blessings said for affixing the mezuzah are:

"Blessed are You, Lord our God, King of the Universe, who has sanctified us with His commandments, commanding us to affix the mezuzah."

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנוּ בְּמִצְוֹתָיו, וְצִוָּנוּ לִקְבֹּעַ מְזוּזָה:

"Blessed are You, Lord our God, King of the Universe, who has kept us alive and sustained us and permitted us to reach this moment."

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, שֶׁהֶחֱיָנוּ, וְקִיְּמָנוּ, וְהִגִּיעָנוּ לַזְּמַן הַזֶּה:

12. Some have the custom of touching the mezuzah with their fingers and then bringing their fingers to their lips as they enter and leave. This reminds them of God's omnipresence.

Making mezuzot

1. In *Arts and Crafts the Year Round*, vol. 2 (United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, New York, 1965), Ruth Sharon suggests several methods for making mezuzot containers (pp. 96–103).

2. Very unusual mezuzot can be created out of clay, both firing clay and the self-hardening variety. Three-dimensional designs can be molded out of the clay itself. Paint or decorate with felt-tip pens.

3. Naomi Katz of Havurat Shalom led her sixth grade class in a mezuzah-making project. After much practice in Hebrew calligraphy, each youngster wrote out the Shema on a piece of paper. Then, by wetting the edges of each paper with water and burning them with a candle, they created a parchmentlike effect. The rolled up parchment was then inserted in a plastic toothbrush holder so that the Shema was still visible. Some students decorated the plastic containers with beads but made sure that their calligraphy was not hidden. The toothbrush holder can also be filled with beads or even peas and beans. Camp J.C.C. in Holden, Massachusetts, has lovely mezuzot filled with red lentils. These mezuzot are very easy to affix to the wall, for they have small display hooks on the top. (The plastic holders—complete with brushes—are available for about 20¢ or 30¢ each at discount houses.)

4. A small mezuzah can be made by gluing a walnut shell to a piece of heavy cardboard. Make sure to cut a slit in the back! Decorate with enamels, Magic Markers, or india ink.

5. Mezuzot can be whittled out of soft wood. Design a shin or the word Shaddai, and carve it in relief. Then hollow out the back. If there are places for nails at the top and bottom of the mezuzah, there is no need for a back, because the wood will hold the parchment securely against the doorpost.

6. For a soft mezuzah cover start with a square or rectangular piece of cloth. You can embroider an appropriate sign in the center. Fold the cloth in half—lengthwise and inside out. Sew up the long seam—opposite the fold. Pull through so that the right side is out. Roll seam to the middle. Fold or sew bottom. Insert the parchment and sew or fold back the top. It can be hung with two pretty thumbtacks or sewn to the door of your tent.

Shell
mezuzah

Painted
wood mezuzah
(gessoed + painted)

1. There is a reference in the Bible to the dedication of a new house (Deuteronomy 20:5):

"Then the officials shall address the troops, as follows: 'Is there anyone who has built a new house but has not dedicated it? Let him go back to his home, lest he die in battle and another dedicate it.' "

וְדִבְּרוּ הַשֹּׁטְרִים אֶל־הָעָם לֵאמֹר מִי־הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בָּנָה בַיִת־חָדָשׁ וְלֹא חֲנָכוֹ יֵלֵךְ וְיָשֹׁב לְבֵיתוֹ פֶּן־יָמוּת בַּמִּלְחָמָה וְאִישׁ אַחֵר יַחְנְכֶנּוּ:

2. It became a custom to have a Hanukat Habayit upon moving into a new apartment or home.

3. Some like to invite relatives, neighbors, and friends and have an open house.

4. There is no established form to the service for Hanukat Habayit aside from saying the appropriate blessings and affixing the mezuzah (see "Mezuzah").

5. A suggested order might be:
   a. The reciting of the blessings for mezuzah.
   b. The affixing of the mezuzah.
   c. Additional meditational material and singing.

6. Some suggested readings are:
   a. Psalm 15, which describes the Jewish ideal of human conduct.
   b. The following excerpts of Psalm 119, the first letters of which form the word berakhah—blessing.

"I have turned to You with all my heart; do not let me stray from Your commandments."
(Psalms 119:10)

בְּכָל־לִבִּי דְרַשְׁתִּיךָ אַל־תַּשְׁגֵּנִי מִמִּצְוֹתֶיךָ:

"Deliverance is far from the wicked, for they did not turn to Your laws."
(Psalms 119:155)

רָחוֹק מֵרְשָׁעִים יְשׁוּעָה כִּי חֻקֶּיךָ לֹא דָרָשׁוּ:

"I long for Your deliverance; I hope for Your word."
(Psalms 119:81)

כָּלְתָה לִתְשׁוּעָתְךָ נַפְשִׁי לִדְבָרְךָ יִחָלְתִּי:

"Teach me, O Lord, the way of Your laws; I will observe them to the utmost."
(Psalms 119:33)

הוֹרֵנִי יְיָ דֶּרֶךְ חֻקֶּיךָ וְאֶצְּרֶנָּה עֵקֶב:

7. The following is an excerpt from the prayer written by Dr. Adler which can be found in *The Daily Prayer Book* edited by Dr. Hertz and published by Bloch Publishing Co.

Sovereign of the universe! Look down from your holy habitation, and in mercy and favor accept the prayer and supplication of your children who are assembled here to consecrate this dwelling and to offer their thanksgiving unto you for all the loving kindness and truth you have shown to them. We beseech you, let not your loving kindness depart, nor the covenant of your peace be removed from them. Shield this their abode that no evil befall it. May sickness and sorrow not come unto it, nor the voice of lamentation be heard within its walls. Grant that the members of the household may dwell together in this, their habitation in brotherhood and fellowships, that they may love and fear you and cleave unto you, and may meditate in your Law, and be faithful to its precepts.

ADDITIONAL HOME CUSTOMS

1. Some people leave a small corner of their home or a wall free of decoration or adornment because of zeher lahurban—the remembrance of the destruction of the Temple.

2. Zalman Schachter of Manitoba also suggests creating "God's corner"—a special place reserved only for meditation, davening, etc. This might be an appropriate place to hang a shivviti (see below).

3. Some have the custom of bringing bread, candles, and salt to the new home before moving everything else in. The bread represents the hope that there should always be enough to eat, the candles symbolize the light and joy that should pervade your house, and the salt serves as a reminder of the Temple sacrifices (see Hallah).

MIZRAH

1. A mizrah is a plaque, watercolor, embroidered cloth, drawing, collage, or wall hanging which is hung on the eastern wall of the home so that one always knows where to face when praying.

2. This plaque or hanging always has the word מִזְרָח —mizrah, the Hebrew word for east—on it. The verse in Psalms 113:3 מִמִּזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ עַד־מְבוֹאוֹ "From east to west"—is a frequent decorative motif.

3. Mizrahim were common in Eastern Europe. In Poland they were often made by cutting elaborate designs out of paper. At present they have virtually disappeared from the home.

4. There are no halakhic laws governing the hanging, design, or construction of a mizrah.

5. One should, however, always hang it on the eastern wall.

Suggested Learning Activities

Additional Suggested Learning Opportunities

The following additional learning opportunities can be used at any point during this curriculum.

1. **Advertisement** – Create a new medium (paper, radio jingle, poster) to advertise a community event or educate on a community personalities.

2. **Journal** – Have the students keep a running journal in response to lessons learned and reactions to historical events discussed. This journal should not only include reactions to the topics discussed in the class, but also include questions that the student would have liked to ask different people from the different periods of Canadian history.

3. **Time Line** – Create a classroom Time Line that will sustain itself throughout the entire curriculum. Have it being built on a wall, with key dates, events, and achievements. This project should be started in Unit Two when the overall history of the Canadian Jewish Community is introduced.
   a. Establishment of Congregation Shearith Israel in Montreal – 1768
   b. Quebec Act of 1774
   c. Case of Ezekiel Hart – 1807
   d. "Jew Bill" is passed in Quebec legislature giving the Jewish citizens of Quebec full civil rights – 1831.
   e. Arrival of Rabbi Alexander Abraham de Sola as the spiritual leader of Shearith Israel Congregation in Montreal in January 1847.
   f. In 1871 Henry Nathan becomes the first Jew to be elected to the Federal government.
   g. The Jewish Time, the first Jewish newspaper is founded in 1896.
   h. The Canadian Federation of Zionist Societies is created in 1900.
   i. Jewish National Fund is established (Keren Kayemeth) in 1903.
   j. Hadassah is founded in Canada in 1917.
   k. Establishment of the Canadian Jewish congress – 1919
   l. Fanny Rosenfeld wins six medals, including gold at the Amsterdam Olympics.
   m. Second meeting of the Canadian Jewish Congress 1934.
   n. Herb Gray becomes the first Canadian Federal Cabinet Minister in 1969.
   o. Dave Barrett becomes the first Jewish premier in 1972 in British Columbia.

It is very important that the timeline is maintained throughout every unit and added to when necessary. The above items are only suggested items, as many other possible events, dates should be added.

There are many other possible additions that can be made to this time line based upon classroom discussions and the famous Jewish Canadians Project. Empower the students to feel free to research and add new dates and key events to the classroom timeline at anytime. They should also feel free to return to a date already studied and add a new event to this timeline. Towards the end of these lesson write down the time line, type it up and hand it out to the students.

4. **Family Heirloom** – Each student should bring into the class a family heirloom that they have. Each student should write a brief description about the heirloom and explain its significance and any interesting stories that are associated with it. They should also make sure to explain the importance of their heirloom, who it's from, and the meaning it has to the student or the students' family.

5. **Quebec Act** – Analyse and discuss the Quebec Act of 1774 (enclosed) that established French civil law to govern Canadians in their business and in their day-to-day relations with each other. It also enabled the religious hierarchy of the Catholic Church to remain intact. Work with the students in answering some of the following questions. Have the students write a letter in response to this document to a local politician. You should have a discussion with the students prior to writing the letter on some of the following issues:
   a. How might the students have reacted to such an act issued by the government?
   b. How do they feel it might have influenced and/or affected the Jewish community? Do you think it influenced migration and settlement patterns for Jews?
   c. How do they think it affected the merchant society that comprised the Jews?

This exercise is one that needs to be modified for the students. It is an interesting document that had significant impact on the Jewish community in Lower Canada and **can be used as part of Unit Two.** However, the document in its entirety is very complicated. Appropriate sections should be chosen and background reading she be conducted by the teacher before utilizing this document in the class.

> **You can find a copy of the Quebec Act at:**
> http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/PreConfederation/qa_1774.html

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

The Quebec Act of 1774

Administration of the conquered province by a governor and an appointed council was established by royal proclamation. In 1774 the English Parliament passed the Quebec Act. This was the first important milestone in the constitutional history of British Canada. Under its terms the boundaries of Quebec were extended as far as the Ohio River valley. The Roman Catholic church was recognized by the Quebec Act, and its right to collect tithes was confirmed. Also of enduring importance was the establishment of the French civil law to govern the relations of Canadian subjects in their business and other day-to-day relations with each other. British criminal law was imposed in all matters having to do with public law and order and offenses for which the punishment might be fine, imprisonment, or in some cases death. These imaginative gestures on the part of the English government won the admiration of the religious leaders in Quebec and to a large extent the goodwill of the people themselves. The privilege of an elected assembly continued to be withheld, however.

The loyalty of the new province was soon put to the test. Within a year of the passing of the Quebec Act, the rebelling 13 Atlantic colonies sent two armies north to capture the "fourteenth colony." Sir Guy Carleton, the British governor of Canada, narrowly escaped capture when one of these armies, under Richard Montgomery, took Montreal. Carleton reached Quebec in time to organize its small garrison against the forces of Benedict Arnold. Arnold began a siege of the fortress, in which he was soon joined by Montgomery. In the midwinter fighting that followed, Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded. When spring came, the attacking forces retreated. During the rest of the American Revolutionary War, there was no further fighting on Canadian soil.

The Quebec Act, 1774

14 George III, c. 83 (U.K.)

An Act for making more effectual Provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America.

"WHEREAS his Majesty, by his Royal Proclamation bearing Date the seventh Day of October. in the third Year of his Reign, thought fit to declare the Provisions which had been made in respect to certain Countries, Territories, and Islands in America, ceded to his Majesty by the definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris on the tenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three: And whereas, by the Arrangements made by the said Royal Proclamation a very large Extent of Country, within which there were several Colonies and Settlements of the Subjects of France. who claimed to remain therein under the Faith of the said Treaty, was left, without any Provision being made for the Administration of Civil Government therein; and certain Parts of the Territory of Canada, where sedentary Fisheries had been established and carried on by the Subjects of France, Inhabitants of the said Province of Canada under Grants and Concessions from the Government thereof, were annexed to the Government of Newfoundland, and thereby subjected to Regulations inconsistent with the Nature of such Fisheries:" May it therefore please your most Excellent Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same. That all the Territories, Islands. and Countries in North America. belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, bounded on the South by a Line from the Bay of Chaleurs. along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the River Saint Lawrence from those which fall into the Sea. to a Point in forty-five Degrees of Northern Latitude. on the Eastern Bank of the River Connecticut. keeping the same Latitude directly West. through the Lake Champlain, until, in the same Latitude. it meets the River Saint Lawrence: from thence up the Eastern Bank of the said River to the Lake Ontario; thence through the Lake Ontario. and the River commonly call Niagara and thence along by the Eastern and South-eastern Bank of Lake Erie. following the said Bank, until the same shall be intersected by the Northern Boundary, granted by the Charter of the Province of Pensylvania. in case the same shall be so intersected: and from thence along the said Northern and Western Boundaries of the said Province, until the said Western Boundary strike the Ohio: But in case the said Bank of the said Lake shall not be found to be so intersected, then following the said Bank until it shall arrive at that Point of the said Bank which shall be nearest to the North-western Angle of the said Province of Pensylvania, and thence by a right Line, to the said North-western Angle of the said Province; and thence along the Western Boundary of the said Province, until it strike the River Ohio; and along the Bank of the said River, Westward, to the Banks of the Mississippi, and Northward to the Southern Boundary of the Territory granted to the Merchants Adventurers of England, trading to Hudson's Bay; and also all such Territories, Islands, and Countries, which have, since the tenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, been made Part of the Government of Newfoundland, be. and they are hereby, during his Majesty's Pleasure, annexed to, and made Part and Parcel of, the Province of Quebec, as created and established by the said Royal Proclamation of the seventh of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

"II. Provided always. That nothing herein contained, relative to the Boundary of the Province of Quebec. shall in anywise affect the Boundaries of any other Colony.

"III. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend. to make void, or to vary or alter any Right, Title. or Possession, derived under any Grant, Conveyance, or otherwise howsoever, of or to any Lands within the said Province, or the Provinces thereto adjoining; but that the same shall remain and be in Force, and have Effect, as if this Act had never been made.

"IV. And whereas the Provisions, made by the said Proclamation, in respect to the Civil Government of the said Province of Quebec, and the Powers and Authorities given to the Governor and other Civil Officers of the said Province, by the Grants and Commissions issued in consequence thereof, have been found, upon Experience, to be inapplicable to the State and Circumstances of the said Province, the Inhabitants whereof amounted, at the Conquest, to above sixty-five thousand Persons professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, and enjoying an established Form of Constitution and System of Laws, by which their Persons and Property had been protected, governed, and ordered, for a long Series of Years, from the first Establishment of the said Province of Canada;" be it therefore further enacted by the Authority aforesaid. That the said Proclamation, so far as the same relates to the said Province of Quebec, and the Commission under the Authority whereof the Government of the said Province is at present administered, and all and every the Ordinance and Ordinances made by the Governor and Council of Quebec for the Time being, relative to the Civil Government and Administration of Justice in the said Province. and all Commissions to Judges and other Officers thereof, be, and the same are hereby revoked, annulled, and made void, from and after the first Day of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

"V. And, for the more perfect Security and Ease of the Minds of the Inhabitants of the said Province," it is hereby declared, That his Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said Province of Quebec. may have, hold, and enjoy, the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy, declared and established by an Act, made in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, over all the Dominions and Countries which then did, or thereafter should belong, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and that the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and enjoy, their accustomed Dues and Rights, with respect to such Persons only as shall profess the said Religion.

"VI. Provided nevertheless, That it shall be lawful for his Majesty. his Heirs or Successors, to make such Provision out of the rest of the said accustomed Dues and Rights, for the Encouragement of the Protestant Religion, and for the Maintenance and Support of a Protestant Clergy within the said Province, as he or they shall. from Time to Time think necessary and expedient.

"VII Provided always. and be it enacted, That no Person professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, and residing in the said Province. shall be obliged to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, or any other Oaths substituted by any other Act in the Place thereof; but that every such Person who, by the said Statute, is required to take the Oath therein mentioned, shall be obliged, and is hereby required, to take and subscribe the following Oath before the Governor, or such other Person in such Court of Record as his Majesty shall appoint, who are hereby authorized to administer the same; *videlicet,*

"I A.B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to his Majesty King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my Power, against all traitorous Conspiracies, and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person. Crown. and Dignity; and I will do my utmost Endeavor to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his Heirs and

Successors, all Treasons, and traitorous Conspiracies, and Attempts, which I shall know to be against him, or any of them; and all this I do swear without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation, and renouncing all Pardons and Dispensations from any Power or Person whomsoever to the contrary. So help me GOD."

And every such Person, who shall neglect or refuse to take the said Oath before mentioned, shall incur and be liable to the same Penalties, Forfeitures, Disabilities, and Incapacities, as he would have incurred and been liable to for neglecting or refusing to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

"VIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all his Majesty's Canadian Subjects within the Province of Quebec. the religious orders and Communities only excepted. may also hold and enjoy their Property and Possessions, together with all Customs .and Usages relative thereto, and all other their Civil Rights. in as large. ample, and beneficial Manner. IS if the said Proclamation, Commissions, Ordinances, and other .Acts and Instruments. had not been made, and as may consist with their Allegiance to his Majesty, and Subjection to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; and that in all .Matters of Controversy, relative to Property and Civil Rights, Resort shall be had to the Laws of Canada, as the Rule for the Decision of the same; and all Causes that shall hereafter be instituted in any of the Courts of Justice, to be appointed within and for the said Province by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors. shall, · with respect to such Property and Rights, be determined agreeably to the said Laws and Customs of Canada, until they shall be varied or altered by any Ordinances that shall. from Time to Time, be passed in the said Province by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief, for the Time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council of the same, to be appointed in Manner herein-after mentioned .

"IX. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any Lands that have been granted by his Majesty. or shall hereafter be granted by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, to be holden in free and common Soccage.

"X. Provided also, That it shall and may be lawful to and for every Person that is Owner of any Lands. Goods, or Credits, in the said Province. and that has a Right to alienate the said Lands, Goods, or Credits, in his or her Lifetime, by Deed of Sale, Gift, or otherwise, to devise or bequeath the same at his or her Death. by his or her last Will and Testament; any Law, Usage, or Custom, heretofore or now prevailing in the Province, to the contrary hereof in any-wise notwithstanding; .such Will being executed either according to the Laws of Canada, or according to the Forms prescribed by the Laws of England.

"XI. And whereas the Certainty and Lenity of the Criminal Law of England, and the Benefits and Advantages resulting from the Use of it, have been sensibly felt by the Inhabitants, from an Experience of more than nine Years, during which it has been uniformly administered:" be it therefore further enacted by the Authority aforesaid. That the same shall continue to be administered, and shall be observed as Law in the Province of Quebec, as well in the Description and Quality of the Offence as in the Method of Prosecution and Trial; and the Punishments and Forfeitures thereby inflicted to the Exclusion of every other Rule of Criminal Law. or Mode of Proceeding thereon, which did or might prevail in the said Province before the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four; any Thing in this Act to the contrary thereof in any respect notwithstanding; subject nevertheless to such Alterations and Amendments as the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the legislative Council of the said Province, hereafter to be appointed, shall, from Time to

Time, cause to be made therein, in Manner hereinafter directed.

"XII. .And whereas it may be necessary to ordain many Regulations for the future Welfare and good Government of the Province of Quebec, the Occasions of which cannot now be foreseen, nor, without much Delay and Inconvenience, be provided for, without intrusting that Authority, for a certain Time, and under proper Restrictions, to Persons resident there, and whereas it is at present inexpedient to call an Assembly;" be it therefore enacted b~ the Authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by Warrant under his or their Signet or Sign Manual, and with the Advice of the Privy Council, to constitute and appoint a Council for the Affairs of the Province of Quebec, to consist of such Persons resident there, not exceeding twenty-three, nor less than seventeen, as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall be pleased to appoint, and, upon the Death, Removal, or Absence of any of the Members of the said Council, in like Manner to constitute and appoint such and somany other Person or Persons as shall be necessary to supply the Vacancy or Vacancies; which Council, so appointed and nominated, or the major Part thereof, shall have Power and Authority to make Ordinances for the Peace, Welfare, and good Government, of the said Province, with the Consent of his Majesty's Governor, or, in his Absence, of the Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being.

[This section was repealed by The Constitutional Act, 1791]

"XIll. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend to authorize or impower the said legislative Council to lay any Taxes or Duties within the said Province, such Rates and Taxes only excepted as the Inhabitants of any Town or District within the said Province may be authorized by the said Council to assess, levy, and apply, within the said Town or District. for the Purpose of making Roads, erecting and repairing publick Buildings, or for any other Purpose respecting the local Convenience and Oeconomy of such Town or District.

"XIV. Provided also. and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Ordinance so to be made, shall, within six Months, be transmitted by the Governor, or, in his Absence, by the Lieutenant-governor. or Commander in Chief for the Time being, and laid before his Majesty for his Royal Approbation; and if his Majesty shall think fit to disallow thereof, the same shall cease and be void from the Time that his Majesty's Order in Council thereupon shall be promulgated at Quebec.

"XV. Provided also. That no Ordinance touching Religion. or by which any Punishment may be inflicted greater than Fine or Imprisonment for three Months. shall be of any Force or Effect, until the same shall have received his Majesty's Approbation.

"XVI. Provided also, That no Ordinance shall be passed at any Meeting of the Council where less than a Majority of the whole Council is present, or at any Time except between the first Day of January and the first Day of May, unless upon some urgent Occasion, in which Case every Member thereof resident at Quebec. or within fifty Miles thereof, shall be personally summoned by the Governor. or. in his absence. by the Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being, to attend the same.

"XVII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That nothing herein contained shall extend. or be construed to extend. to prevent or hinder his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by his or their Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, from erecting, constituting, and appointing, such Courts of Criminal, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within and for the said Province of Quebec, and appointing, from Time to Time, the Judges and Officers thereof, as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall think necessary and proper for the Circumstances of the said

Province.

"XVIII. Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend. or be construed to extend, to repeal or make void, within the said Province of Quebec. any Act or Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain heretofore made, for prohibiting. restraining, or regulating. the Trade or Commerce of his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America; but that all and every the said Acts. and also all Acts of Parliament heretofore made concerning or respecting the said Colonies and Plantations, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, in Force, within the said Province of Quebec, and every Part thereof.

Last HTML update: 20 April, 1995.

<A HREF="../../../wmaton.html>William F. Maton

Resources

Academic Resources

Tulchinsky, Gerald. <u>Branching Out: The Transformation of the Canadian Jewish Community</u>. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited. 1998.

Within this book Tulchinsky discusses the story of the Jewish community from the 1920's and 1930's to the present day, covering issues such as immigration from 1919 to 1945; the development of the labour movement out of the clothing industry; Jewish farm colonies in Western Canada; Canadian anti-Semitic violence during WWII; Canadian Jewish support of Israel; and the question of the community's religious and cultural future.

(ISBN: 0-7737-3084-2)

Tulchinsky, Gerald. <u>Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community</u>. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited. 1997.

Within this book, Tulchinsky discusses the early days of the Jewish community in Canada from the 1760's to the 1920's. This book begins to put the Canadian Jewish experience into a wider North American perspective, while at the same time being sensitive to European roots. This book covers the history of the beginnings of the community in the 1760's down to the end of the First world war, and the European upheavals that transformed the lives of Jews of Eastern Europe, and the massive immigrations from those countries to Canada. This book discusses the transforming experiences that caused a separation of identity from the mother countries and how we have distinguished ourselves from the United States. (ISBN: 0-773705862-3)

Additional Academic Resources:

Abella, Irving. <u>A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada</u>. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1990. (ISBN: 0-88619-263-3)

Abella, Irving. <u>Canadian Jewry: Past, Present and Future</u>. Toronto: York University, 1998.

Arnold, Abraham. <u>Jewish Life in Canada</u>. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1976.
(ISBN: 0-88830-107-3)

Belkin, Simon. <u>Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)</u>. Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, (no publishing date provided).

Brown, Michael. <u>Jew or Juif?</u>. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society,
1987. (ISBN: 0-8276-0271-5)

<u>Early Documents of the Canadian Jewish Congress: 1914-1921</u>. Montreal:
Canadian Jewish Congress, 1974.

Elazar, Daniel J. and Harold M. Waller. <u>Maintaining Consensus: The Canadian
Jewish Polity in the Postwar World</u>. New York: University Press of America,
1990. (ISBN: 0-8191-7610-9)

Figler, Bernard. <u>Sam Jacobs: Member of Parliament</u>. Ottawa: Harpell's Press,
1970.

Fulford, Robert. "How Jewish." <u>Toronto Life</u>. (December 1998): 89-96.

Godfrey, J. Sheldon and Judith C. Godfrey. <u>Burn the Gossip: The True Story of
George Benjamin of Belleville</u>. Toronto: The Duke and George Press, 1991.

Godfrey, J. Sheldon and Judith C. Godfrey. <u>Search Out the land: The Jews and
the Growth of Equality in British Colonial America 1740-1867</u>. Montreal:
Mc-Gill-Queens University Press, 1995.

Lipsitz, Edmond Y. <u>Canadian Jewry Today: Who's who in Canadian Jewry
Today</u>. Toronto: J.E.S.L. Educational Products, 1989.
(ISBN: 0-9691264-6-8)

Lipsitz, Edmond Y. <u>Canadian Jewish Women of Today: Who's who in Canadian
Jewry Today</u>. Toronto: J.E.S.L. Educational Products, 1983.
(ISBN: 0-9691264-1-7)

Kage, Joseph. <u>With Faith and Thanksgiving</u>. Montreal: The Eagle Publishing Co.,
Limited, 1962.

Sack, B.G. <u>History of Jews in Canada</u>. trans. Ralph Novek. Montreal: Harvest
House, 1965.

Weinfield, M., et all. <u>The Canadian Jewish Mosaic</u>. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons,
1981. (ISBN: 0-471-79929-7)

Internet Resources

The following are some helpful Internet resources for curriculum on Canada and Community:

1. http://www.heritageproject.ca/default.htm
   - The Heritage Project is the CRB Foundation's online initiative dedicated to fostering an enthusiasm for Canadian history. It builds on the popularity and success of the nationally celebrated Heritage Minutes and Heritage Fairs.

2. http://www.heritageproject.ca/learning/resource/we_are/act_1.htm
   - This is the link to the CRB Foundations Heritage Project picture analysis activity found in Unit 3.

3. http://www.schoolnet.ca/
   - Established in 1993, Canada's School Net is designed to promote the effective use of information technology amongst Canadians by helping Canadian schools and public libraries connect to the Internet. Through its partnerships with provincial and territorial ministries of education, library authorities, education and library associations and the private sector, Industry Canada's School Net has successfully made Canada the first nation in the world to connect its schools and libraries to the Information Highway.

4. http://www.oise.on.ca/canguide/
   - A bilingual Canadian database of provincial and territorial curriculum guides and resource documents

5. http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/index.html
   - Unlike the majority of countries whose basic law derives from one document, Canada's basic law derives not only from a set of documents known as Constitution Acts, but also a set of unwritten laws and conventions. This web site "Canadian Constitutional Documents: A Legal History" comprises of all the acts passed since 1867 up to and including 1998.

6. http://duke.usask.ca/~debrou/grade12.htm
   - A link to "History Internet Resources for High School Teachers" which is a great site for background materials on overall Canadian history for any teacher.

7. http://www.cmcc.muse.digital.ca/cmc/cmceng/welcmeng.html
   - An internet site for the Canadian Museum of Civilization

8. http://www.cmcc.muse.digital.ca/cmc/cmceng/canp1eng.html
   - Canadian Museum of Civilization – Clickable maps can take you on a tour of Canadian history from 1000 – 1890)

9. http://www.eduplace.com/ss/ssmaps/
   - A web site dedicated to providing printable outline maps for use in the home and classroom.

10. http://www.gtrdata.com/jgs-montreal/cdn-hist-biblio.htm
    - CANADIAN JEWISH HISTORY: PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY —This is not meant to be a definitive bibliography on Canadian Jewish History. Rather it is an ongoing list of books which have caught the eye and interest of one researcher with a limited field devoted primarily to early Canadian Jewish history - mostly, but not exclusively, in the Montreal to Quebec City corridor in the 18th and 19th century - and its relevance to Canadian history in general.

11. http://www.cjc.ca/
    - Official web site for the Canadian Jewish Congress.

12. http://www.pch.gc.ca/credo/english/charter/chartercontents.html
    - A web site with the full copy of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom. Using this web site can allow you to choose individual sections of the charter.

13. http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ca_1982.html
    - A second we site with the full Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (part of the documents found in the web site cited #5 in this resource list).

14. http://www.unac.org/rights/index.html
    - A web site that helps commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Universal declaration pf Human Rights. There are several links to Canadian resources used to commemorate this event.

Multi-Media Resources

For more information regarding any of the following videos contact the Multi media centre of the Bureau of Jewish Education in Toronto or the Canadian Jewish Congress.

1. <u>**Canada's Dark Secret**</u> (VHS – 15 min.) – *Unit 4 or 6*
   - ➤ Steve Rambam, A Jewish American private investigator, hunts down over 50 alleged Nazi War criminals who found safe haven in Canada. From a report aired on 60 Minutes in 1997.

2. <u>**A Coat of Many Colours**</u> (VHS – 60 min.) – *Unit 6*
   - ➤ Two centuries of Jewish Life in Canada. This documentary features memories of Jewish Canadians reflecting on their lives and those of their ancestors. Produced by the C.B.C. (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation).

3. <u>**The Herring Belt**</u> (Black and White VHS – 26 min.) – *Unit 2 or 3*
   - ➤ A Short documentary about Kensington market in Toronto.

4. <u>**Jewish Canadians**</u> (VHS) – *Unit 2 or 3*
   - ➤ A History of the Jewish Community in Canada and their contributions to the cultural, spiritual and political development of the country.

5. <u>**The Jewish Community of Kirkland Lake**</u> (VHS) – *Unit 4*
   - ➤ At one time, six out ten stores in Kirkland Lake's business district were Jewish-owned. Today, as in other small Ontario Towns, the Jewish community has dwindled to the point of no return. The original settlers were told, come to Kirkland Lake to mine. Some were merchants. Still others were farmers. By the 1970's, the community had decreased significantly. The synagogue built in 1927 was sold in 1971 because a minyan couldn't be raised. This is a bittersweet portrait of Jewish small town Ontario.

6. <u>**Jewish Life in Canada**</u> (VHS – 14 min.) – *Unit 6*
   - ➤ The video "Jewish Life in Canada" is made from one part of a larger series of paintings on Canada's major ethnic groups by William Kurelek.

7. <u>**Mordechai Richler**</u> (VHS – 45 min.) – *Unit 4*
   - ➤ An intimate portrait of Mordechai Richler, one of Canada's most accomplished and controversial novelists.

8. **Moving Experiences** (VHS – 23 min.) – *Unit 4*
   - ➢ For senior citizens recall the experience of immigration to Canada in the 1920's. One of the four is 87 year-old Frances Levinsky, who immigrated with her family from Poland to the town of Wiarton, Ontario in 1920.

9. **The Nazi Hunter** (VHS – 24 min.) – *Unit 4 or 6*
   - ➢ Steve Rambam, a Jewish American private investigator, and CBC documentary producers Terrance McKenna and Steve Phyziki, detail the way in which Mr. Rambam came to Canada and hunted down over 50 alleged Nazi war criminals, finding most of them in local phone directories.

10. **Spadina** (VHS) – *Unit 4*
    - ➢ Through archival footage, photographs and interviews, the rise and fall of a once thriving Jewish centre in Toronto is traced.

11. **Spies Who Never Were** (VHS) – *Unit 4*
    - ➢ A Film (Documentary) that explores a sad chapter in Canada's wartime history. In the late 1930's over 2000 Jewish refugees fled to England to escape Nazi persecution, only to find themselves interned as enemy aliens and then shipped to POW camps in Canada.

12. **Towards a Promised Land** (VHS – 95 min.) – *Unit 6*
    - ➢ A documentary that traces the arrival of Jews in Quebec, the relationships between the Jews and the Catholics in the Province, the anti-Semitism that once infected the French Canadian Society. It unfolds against the backdrop of a friendship between two French Canadians, one a Jew and one a Catholic who examine the history and relationships that exist and existed within the Province.

13. **Whisky Man** (Black and White – 46 min.) – *Unit 4*
    - ➢ Inside the dynasty of Samuel Bronfman.

Note to Teacher's: The following multi-media list is not an exhaustive list of those multi-media resources available for use in the classroom. It should also be noted that this guide is in no way endorsing any of the following   oks as necessarily the best or the most appropriate ones for an educational setting. Prior to the use of any of these videos they should be previewed and assessed for age and content appropriateness. At that time the teacher should also determine how effective this video will be in the classroom and the method if integration into the particular lesson and unit.

Curricular Resources

Mauti, Trudy. Let's Explore Canada. Thornhill: Apple Press, 1985.

(ISBN: 0-919972-21-7)

Shtetl– A video mini-course. Behrman House.

Siegel, Richard, ed. The First Jewish Catalogue. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication
Society of America,

Solski, Ruth. What is Community? 1990.
   ➤ This particular curriculum is found located within the curriculum guide.

Williams, George. Explore Canada Through Maps. Thornhill: Apple Press, 1985.

(ISBN: 0-919972-20-9)

Wood, Daniel. Exploring Our Country. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre
(Educational) Ltd., 1989.   (ISBN: 0-88894-863-8)

Organizational Resources

a) Canadian Jewish Congress – (416) 631-5821
b) York University Centre for Jewish Studies – (416) 736-5466
c) Board of Jewish Education for Metropolitan Toronto – (416) 633-7535
d) Centre for Jewish Community Studies – (215) 204-1459
e) Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs – +972-2-561-928

Enclosed in this section is a copy of an entry from Encyclopaedia Judaica on "Canada," pages 101-114. It can serve as a brief historical overview and can be kept as an easy reference in a teacher's daybook. Teachers should not rely on this entry as a sufficient understanding of the overall history of Canadian Judaism and should be very familiar with the works of Abella and Tulchinsky.

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changes rocked Canaan following the penetration of West Semitic tribes, including the Edomites, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Israelite tribes, and the Arameans from the east, and the Sea Peoples from the north and west. Israelite settlement in Canaan about 1200 B.C.E. marks the end of the Canaanite period in Palestine, although Canaanite culture endured in the large coastal cities to the north (e.g., Tyre, Sidon, Gebal). The name Canaan began to tend to be limited to the strip of land along the coast, which was later known as *Phoenicia.

For further information on the Canaanites see *Phoenicians.

Bibliography: B. Maisler (Mazar), in: BASOR, 102 (1946), 7–12; A. Van Selms, in: OTS, 12 (1958), 182ff.; Aharoni, Land, 61–72; R. de Vaux, in: JAOS, 88 (1968), 23ff.; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records...*, 1 (1927), 142, no. 311; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens...* (1962), 17–18; E. A. Speiser, in: *Language,* 12 (1936), 121–6; idem, *One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts* (= AASOR, 16 (1936), 121–2).

[B.O.]

"CANAANITES" (Heb. כְּנַעֲנִים; *kena'anim*), slightly derisory name given to a small group of Jewish poets and artists in Israel who began to act as a group in 1942, publishing pamphlets and booklets under the name "The Committee for the Formation of the Hebrew Youth." At the end of the Mandatory period and in the early years of statehood, they developed a political and cultural ideology aimed at evolving a new "Hebrew" nation—as opposed to a "Jewish" one—consisting of native-born Israelis, including Moslems and Christians (provided they regarded themselves as "Hebrews," and not Arabs, but without requiring them to change their religion), and of immigrants who wished to join the Hebrew nation. The "Land of the Hebrews" (Heb. *Erez Ever*), as against "The Land of Israel" (Heb. *Erez Yisrael;* Erez Israel), would extend from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates Basin. The historiosophical basis for this concept was the rejection of the Judeo-Christian-Muslim chain of tradition in the history of the "Land of the Hebrews," and a return to a consciousness of the ethnic groups who inhabited the area prior to the appearance of Judaism (and consequently prior to Christianity and Islam).

The initiator and leader of this movement was the poet Yonatan *Ratosh (Uriel Halperin-Shelaḥ), and its chief supporters included the poet Aharon *Amir and the writer Binyamin *Tammuz. The differences and contrasts between the generation of locally-born "sabras" and their immigrant parents led them to hope that their teachings would fall on fertile ground and that they might succeed in "molding" the younger generation. The group continued activities after 1948, publishing a periodical, *Alef,* which appeared until 1953. Ideas of the "Canaanite" type

continued to be mooted in the literary quarterly *Keshet,* edited by Aharon Amir, mainly in articles by A. G. Horon (Gurevitch), considered to be a forerunner of the "Canaanites" already in the late 1930s. Some of the "Canaanite" ideas reappeared in a modified form in the "Semitic Action" group, founded by Uri *Avnery and Nathan *Yellin-Mor, which, in journals such as *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh* and *Etgar,* advocated a distinction between the concepts of "Hebrew" and "Jew," separation from the Jewish Diaspora, and rapprochement with the Palestinian Arabs, in order to create a federation between them and Israel. However, the "Canaanites" of the Ratosh school did not aim at a federation between the two nations, but wanted to create a new "Hebrew" nation, combining Arab and Jew and abolishing their previous national affiliations. They therefore did not recognize "Semitic Action." The "Canaanites" made no perceptible political impression, but they left their mark on Hebrew poetry, reviving and enriching archaic Hebrew and eliminating later Aramaic and Diaspora influences. In 1969 the group renewed its activities advocating mainly the establishment of a network of Hebrew-language schools for the entire non-Jewish population of the Israel-held territories as well as their conscription into the Israel army. The group now adopted the nickname given it from the outside and termed itself "The Canaanites."

[B.E.]

CANADA, country in northern half of North America and a member of the British Commonwealth. The 1961 census showed a Jewish population of 254,368 out of a total population of 18,238,247. The estimate for 1969 was 280,000 out of an estimated total of 21,061,000.

Early Settlement. The Jewish community of Canada dates from the British conquest of New France in 1759. Before that Jews, like Huguenots, were forbidden admission to the colony, and certainly, there was no permanent settlement of Jews. In the latter years of the French regime the *Gradis family, who were shipowners in Bordeaux, played a vital role in maintaining the lifeline to the French colony. No evidence exists, however, that any of this family visited or settled in the colony. It was recently found that there were Jews living in *Halifax in the 1750s under British rule (B. Ferguson, in: *Canadian Jewish Directory and Reference Book,* 1963). A permanent Jewish settlement in Canada, however, dates from 1759. The most prominent among the settlers was Aaron *Hart, a British-born Jew, who arrived as a commissary officer in the army of General Amherst. The *Hart, *Joseph, and *Judah families were active in the leadership of the Jewish community and served in local government, the military, and the professions.

Jewish communities in Canada, 1969, and founding dates of communities.

The Jews were concentrated in the city of *Montreal, most of the newcomers being merchants or associated with the fur trade and arriving from the Thirteen Colonies. After the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended New France and established British rule, the Jews of Canada and those of New York and Boston were able to resume old family, business, and social ties. In 1768 the first congregation, She'arith Israel, commonly called the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, was founded; it engaged as its rabbi Jacob Raphael Cohen of London, in 1778. The members were all Ashkenazi Jews of British, Dutch, and German origins, who adopted the name and rite of the New York synagogue. They thus became Sephardim by association. None of the members of She'arith Israel in its earliest days ever bore Spanish or Portuguese names. Sephardi Jews in Canada for the most part were in transit, and returned either to the colonies to the south or to the West Indies. Others married Christian women and were never associated with the Jewish community. The Sephardi rite and administrative structure became more imbedded under the leadership of Abraham *de Sola, who was engaged as rabbi in 1847, and of his son, Meldola de Sola, who succeeded him.

In the American Revolution (1775–81), despite family ties with relatives in the Thirteen Colonies, the majority of the Jews in Quebec sided with the British. Some, however, expressed sympathy with the rebels, notably David Salesby Franks, who later engaged in diplomatic missions for the new American republic.

Canadian Jewry until the 1850s was to a great extent the small Jewish community in Montreal with its various affiliates in Trois Rivières and *Quebec City. Ezekiel *Hart, son of Aaron Hart, was elected to the legislature of Lower Canada in 1807 and again in 1808 but could not take his seat because he would not be sworn "on the true faith of a Christian." In 1832 legislation was enacted in Lower Canada giving full civil rights to Jews, including the right to sit in Parliament and hold public office. The change of climate in the legislature can be gauged by the fact that the person who introduced this act was Louis Joseph Papineau, who later led the French-Canadian insurrectionists in the 1837 rebellion. In the War of 1812 Jews were in the forces that beat off the invaders from the United States. Benjamin *Hart, though he earlier refused a commission, enlisted as a private in the volunteer regiment to help repel General Dearborn's army. In the rebellion of 1837 opinion among the Jews of Lower Canada was divided. Although Ezekiel Hart might have been considered part of the Lower Canada "establishment," he was on a friendly basis with the Papineau group and threw his home in Trois Rivières open to them to celebrate the Ninety-two Resolutions. In the main, however, the Jews of the colony took a loyalist position.

By the 1840s immigration on a small scale to the cities of Kingston, *Toronto, and *Hamilton in Upper Canada began. Congregations were established in these cities. The newcomers came in the main from Western and Central Europe and a few from Eastern Europe. The Nordheimer family, which settled in Kingston, where they were music teachers to the governor's family, later moved to Toronto, where in 1849 they became piano manufacturers. In 1856 Lewis Samuel, an English Jew from York, moved from Montreal to Toronto, where he helped found the Sons of Israel Congregation, which in 1858 merged with the Toronto Hebrew Congregation, founded in 1849; the unified congregation later became the Toronto Hebrew Congregation–Holy Blossom Temple. In Hamilton in 1863 the Anshe Sholom Congregation was incorporated. Montreal's second synagogue was established in 1846. It was known

first as the Synagogue of English, German and Polish Jews and later was called Shaar Hashomayim, its permanent name. From the 1850s to the 1870s there was an immigration from Lithuania and Suvalk to southeastern Ontario. The Friedman, Jacob, Vineberg, Kellert, Levinson, and other families settled in such places as Lancaster, Alexandria, and Cornwall. Many of these later moved to Montreal, where they took a prominent part in the affairs of the community.

The watershed years, 1881–82, the years of the assassination of Czar Alexander II and the Russian pogroms, marked the beginning of Canada's Jewry in its present day composition and numbers, as was the case in other Western countries. The decade from 1882 to 1892 marks the establishment of a string of synagogues in the cities of eastern Canada and even in the west. In Toronto the Goel Tzedec Congregation was established in 1883, and four years later, the Beth Hamidrash Hagadol Chevrah T'hillim, composed mainly of Russian Jews, was founded. In Hamilton, Ontario, Chevrah Beth Jacob was organized in 1887. In *Winnipeg congregations founded in 1882 and 1885 merged in 1889 to form Shaarey Tzedek.

The episode of the Rumanian *fussgeyers*, who in 1899 traveled by foot across Europe to Hamburg and set sail from there, had its repercussions in Canada. In that year almost 3,000 Jews entered Canada, of whom 2,202 were from Rumania. The 1891 census had shown a total of only 6,414 Jews in Canada. Most of the Rumanian immigrants stayed in Montreal. Adath Israel Anshe Rumania Congregation was founded in Toronto in 1902.

Population Growth. Jewish population growth in Canada, whether by natural increase or by immigration, was extremely slow. In 1831 there were 107 Jews in Lower Canada (which was in effect the number for all of Canada at the time). Twenty years later there were 248, and in 1861 there were 572 in Canada East. After 100 years of settlement Canada had less than 700 Jews. In 1871, the first census year after Confederation, there were 1,115 Jews in Canada, of whom 549 lived in the province of Quebec and 518 in Ontario. In 1881 there were 2,393 Jews, of whom 989 were in Quebec, 1,193 in Ontario, and the remaining 211 in the other provinces. By 1891, the first census year after the mass migration had begun, the Jewish population rose to 6,414, an increase of 240 per cent. From 1900 to 1920 the Jewish population increased almost eightfold from 16,000 to over 125,000. By 1901 it was 16,493, an increase of 232 percent. Figures for the next six decades are as below.

INCREASE OF JEWISH POPULATION, 1901–1961

Decade	Net Immigration	Natural Increase	Total
1901–11	52,484	5,783	58,267
1911–21	32,635	18,050	50,685
1921–31	15,800	14,521	30,321
1931–41	1,480	11,339	12,819
1941–51	16,275	19,976	36,251
1951–61	28,326	21,206	49,532

In World War I incomplete records indicate about 100 Jewish officers and 4,600 other ranks served in the Canadian armed forces. At least 100 Jews lost their lives and 84 were given decorations. The Jewish influx to Canada after the war increased with the introduction of the quota system limiting immigration to the United States. The Depression of the 1930s brought a tightening of restrictions and very small immigration. The story of Jewish immigration in this

Cities	1871	1901	1931	1961	1969
Quebec					
Montreal	409	6,975	58,032	102,724	113,000
Quebec	81	302	452	495	500
Sherbrooke		66	152	181	190
Ontario					
Toronto	157	3,103	46,751	88,648	97,500
Ottawa		418	3,455	5,533	6,000
Hamilton	131	550	2,694	3,858	3,900
Windsor		174	2,517	2,419	2,500
London	35	220	732	1,315	1,500
Kitchener-Waterloo		10	430	768	768
St. Catharines		30	314	591	600
Oshawa-Whitby		9	260	486	378
Kingston	12	133	268	482	500
Brantford	1	5	208	346	303
Peterborough		3	139	334	243
Fort William-Port Arthur		16	367	301	250
Guelph		13	147	258	250
Sudbury		73	194	228	240
Sarnia		2	106	221	230
Cornwall		70	210	220	220
Timmins			208	172	180
Belleville		6	90	156	128
Sault Ste Marie		8	88	142	150
Chatham		8	91	131	130
Welland			77	129	130
North Bay			154	119	125
Kirkland Lake			134	96	125
Manitoba					
Winnipeg		1,164	17,666	19,376	21,000
Brandon		73	186	101	105
Selkirk		13	114	84	
British Columbia					
Vancouver		224	2,481	7,301	8,000
Victoria		168	128	180	190
Alberta					
Calgary		1	1,622	2,881	3,570
Edmonton		6	1,062	2,495	2,700
Lethbridge			111	206	210
Medicine Hat			104	135	140
Nova Scotia					
Halifax		120	611	1,186	1,500
Sydney		32	446	415	430
Glace Bay		140	488	313	320
Yarmouth		20	167	125	125
Saskatchewan					
Regina			1,010	817	1,200
Saskatoon			691	793	780
Moose Jaw			96	146	150
Prince Albert			114	98	
Melville			135	62	
Yorkton			101	43	
Kamsack			114	24	
New Brunswick					
St. John	40	295	709	514	520
Moncton		4	164	290	300
Fredericton		13	125	224	230
Newfoundland					
St. Johns				128	130

period, especially with the advent of Nazism in 1933, is one of constant effort by Jewish leadership, particularly the *Jewish Immigrant Aid Society and the *Canadian Jewish Congress, to open the doors for both individuals and groups. However, the government's insistence that farmers were the only desirable kind of immigrant and anti-immigrant (as well as anti-Jewish) sentiment conspired to keep the Jewish immigration figure low. In the decade of 1930 to 1940, 11,005 Jewish immigrants entered Canada, although
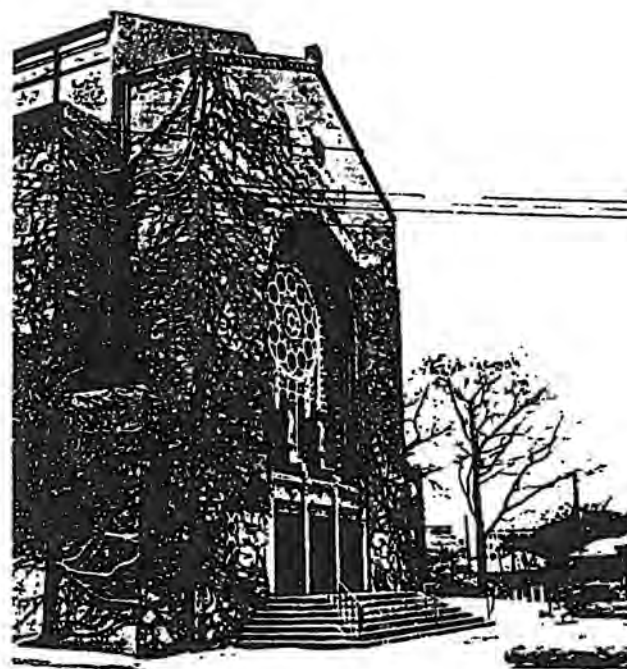

Figure 1. Exterior of the Holy Blossom Temple, Toronto. Courtesy of the Temple. Photo C. Vella.

how many of them were refugees from Nazism is unknown. Two hundred families (about 900 persons), most of whom were refugees, were settled on farms throughout the country.

In 1940 Canada received 2,000 "enemy aliens," mostly from Germany and Austria, who had been interned in Great Britain at the beginning of the war. They were interned in Canada but eventually released under various conditions, and most stayed in Canada. Among this group were many who became noted authors, rabbis, professors, musicians, and artists. In World War II at least 16,880 Jews served in the armed forces, of whom 10,440 were in the army, 5,870 in the air force and 570 in the navy. This figure exceeded one fifth of the entire Jewish male population of all ages in Canada. Four hundred and twenty-one lost their lives and 1,971 received military awards.

The year 1947 ushered in a new era of Jewish immigration to Canada. Permits for 2,000 orphans had been received during the war, but the German occupation of Vichy France had cut off this opportunity, and after the war only 1,000 arrived. The Canadian Jewish Congress cooperated with the clothing industry and clothing workers unions in recruiting and bringing to Canada individuals from the *Displaced Persons camps to work in the clothing, millinery, and fur trades. The tailors' project brought 2,136 persons and the furriers' projects, 500; about 60 per cent of these individuals were Jewish. An estimated 40,000 Jews immigrated to Canada between 1945 and 1960. Other recent immigration includes 4,500 Hungarian Jews among the 38,000 refugees who were admitted without prior examination or clearance after the 1956 uprising in Hungary. In the late 1950s an immigration from Morocco and other North African and some Middle East countries brought a totally new element into Canadian Jewry.

Farming. Jewish farm settlement in Canada began in the first half of the 1890s after an abortive start in Moosomin, Saskatchewan in 1882. The *Baron de Hirsch Fund, at first through the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society of
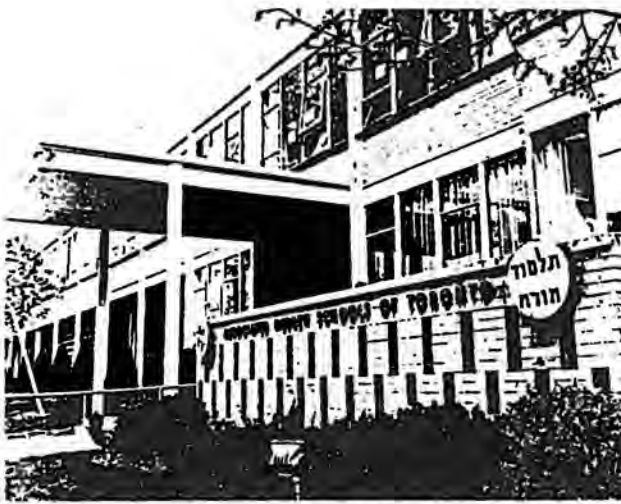
Figure 2. Building of the Associated Hebrew Schools of Toronto. Photo Graphic Artists, Toronto.

Montreal and after 1907 through the *Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) of Canada, set up two colonies directly, Hirsch and Lipton, both in Saskatchewan. Other settlements that grew up were Oxbow, Wapella, Edenbridge, and Sonnenfeld in Saskatchewan; Rumsey and Montefiore in Alberta; and New Hirsch and Narcisse in Manitoba. All organized Jewish farm settlements, whether founded by the Baron de Hirsch or separately, received some form of aid from ICA. ·

By 1931 there were 780 Jewish farmers in Western Canada cultivating 100,000 acres. However, the conditions of the 1930s and the disastrous droughts caused a decline in these farms. After World War II, the ICA helped numerous Jewish farmers settle in the Niagara area of Ontario.

Religious Life. The majority of the synagogues that date back to the 1880s are now Conservative in affiliation and rite. In the 1960s there were 22 Conservative synagogues in Canada. The United Synagogue of America and the Jewish Theological Seminary have branch offices in Canada and there is an association of Conservative rabbis of Canada associated with the Rabbinical Assembly of America.

The growth of the Reform movement in Canada was slow. Until 1953 there were three Reform Temples, in Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton. More rapid development then took place and by 1970 there were 13 Reform synagogues and fellowships in Canada. The Canadian Council of Reform Congregations is affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The Rabbinical Council of America (RCA) has a branch association in Canada but the Orthodox congregational association (UOJC) is not as closely organized as the other two synagogue groups. The number of Orthodox synagogues is estimated at 175, many of which are not affiliated with the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. Synagogue growth increased considerably in the period after World War II, and synagogues are centers of adult education as well as worship. English-speaking rabbis were the exception rather than the rule in Canada before World War II. A number of yeshivot have been organized in Toronto and particularly in Montreal, which train rabbis and teachers. Though in the 19th century some congregations looked to Great Britain for their spiritual leaders, there is now no active link of Canadian synagogues with the British chief rabbinate or its institutions.

In 1958 to 1960 a committee of the *Canadian Jewish Congress headed by a Reform layman (Sidney M. Harris) and an Orthodox rabbi (S.M. Zambrowski) devoted itself to the problem of humane animal slaughter. Though *sheḥitah* was generally acknowledged as humane, the preliminary shackling and hoisting (not integrally part of the *sheḥitah*) was questioned. A restraint apparatus devised by a packing company was found acceptable to humane authorities, and the rabbinate and federal legislation, finally enacted in 1960, specified *sheḥitah* as one of the recognized humane methods.

Jewish Education. All organized Jewish communities in Canada provide Jewish education for the young. The trend in Canada is toward the synagogue school, but in the larger and some middle-sized communities the separately sponsored educational institution, such as yeshivot and Hebrew and Yiddish day schools, still prevails. Jewish day schools had their major development after 1945, although in Montreal and Western Canada they existed much earlier. The first Yiddish day school in North America opened in Winnipeg in 1920.

Jewish day schools are found not only in the largest communities but in the smaller ones with three to six thousand Jews, such as *Ottawa, *Windsor, *Hamilton, *Calgary, and *Edmonton. The highest proportionate attendance is in Edmonton, where of all the children receiving Jewish education, 84 per cent are enrolled in the day school. A contributing factor in Montreal may be the fact that Quebec education has historically been parochial or on a denominational basis. However, Jewish day schools have long existed and expanded in parts of Canada where the public school prevails. A 1965 survey indicates that the total number of children receiving an organized Jewish education was 23,894 in a total of 135 schools, not counting the four Atlantic provinces. See also *Education (Canada).

Major Community Organizations. During World War I agitation grew for an all-Canadian Jewish representative body to speak for the entire Jewish community mainly on the future of European Jewry and Palestine. There was some initial opposition from the Zionist Organization of Canada and the older, established Montreal community leadership. However, these elements were reconciled, and in March 1919 the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) assembled in Montreal representing all sectors in the community except the Reform element, which joined in 1933.

The National Council of Jewish Women, established in Canada in 1897, has sections in 12 cities and about 6,000 members. The first *B'nai B'rith lodge in Canada was chartered in Toronto in 1875, disbanded in 1894, and rechartered in 1919. The number of lodges and chapters grew rapidly after World War II, especially in Montreal and Toronto. In 1964 the Eastern Canadian Council, which was part of District 1 of B'nai B'rith, became District 22, an autonomous Canadian district comprising eastern Canada. It has approximately 150 men's lodges and women's chapters and a membership of about 17,000. The lodges in western Canada are affiliated with the geographically contiguous districts in the United States, although they have regional councils in Canada.

Zionist Organizations. In 1900, after several attempts in pre-Herzl days to organize a Ḥovevei Zion group in Montreal, there were Zionist groups in nine communities. The Zionist Organization of Canada (ZOC) has been the focus of Zionist interest. It has been in the main non-political in respect to parties in Israel, though some individual leaders were partial to the General Zionists. Presidents of the ZOC include Clarence *de Sola, 1899–1920; A. J. *Freiman, 1920–44; Edward E. Gelber, 1949–54; Michael *Garber, 1956–58; Lawrence Freiman, 1958–62, 1965–67; and Julius Hayman, 1967. A notable achievement of the ZOC was its responsibility in acquiring the *Hepher plain. In 1927 it paid one million dollars for this 30,000-dunam tract of land in Palestine. Most factions

of Zionism, for example, Labor Zionists, Revisionists, Mizrachi, and Ha-Po'el Ha-Mizrachi, are represented in Canada. These groups generally cooperated in matters of Zionist public relations and other matters of common concern. In April 1967 the above groups along with Aḥdut Ha-Avodah, Canadian Friends of Pioneering Israel (Ha-Shomer ha-Za'ir-Mapam), and the Canadian Hadassah-WIZO organized and joined the Federated Zionist Organization of Canada.

Hadassah-*WIZO was organized in Canada in 1916 and by 1970 had 325 chapters in 70 cities with more than 16,000 members. The vigorous Labor Zionist movement embraces the Farband Labor Zionist Order and the Pioneer Women. It conducts fund-raising for the Histadrut and is financially involved in institutions of Jewish education that it sponsors. Israel educational institutions, such as the Technion, the Maritime League, Bar-Ilan University, and the Hebrew University, all have committees in various cities dedicated to their support. The Jewish National Fund is active, and corporations to aid investment and trade with Israel have been established. No active anti-Zionist group similar to the *American Council for Judaism in the United States has been organized in Canada. The Canadian community always took a positive attitude to the rebuilding of Palestine and, later, the State of Israel. See also *Zionism (Canada).

Jewish-Gentile Relations. In the 19th century the small Jewish community of Lower Canada (Quebec) and to a lesser degree that of Upper Canada (Ontario) was highly integrated and acculturated. The Hart home in Trois Rivières was the social center of the area. Judah Hayes was chief of police in Montreal and built the city's opera house. The Nordheimers, who later intermarried and converted, were at home in the circles of the Tory Family Compact in Toronto. Abraham de Sola was a professor at McGill University, and the Hart and David families provided leaders in the military, medicine, and letters. The much more numerous influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe that arrived near the turn of the 20th century was, like its sister community in the United States, more "ethnically" Jewish with its own characteristic life-style, creating its own institutions, social, welfare, and educational, with less association with the non-Jewish population.

The second generation of this immigration came to maturity in the post-World War II period, and it was at this time that more effective and conscious efforts were made to bring the communities together. There had been a Canadian Conference of Christians and Jews in the 1930s, directed by Claris E. Silcox, but it had not enjoyed Catholic support and was regarded as an Ontario project. In 1947 the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews was founded with Richard D. Jones, a Methodist minister from New Jersey, as director, and given an initial subsidy by the Canadian Jewish Congress. It became financially self-sufficient and developed on a national scale attracting leaders of industry and finance.

Jews have made great strides in Canada, especially in political life, government, civil service, and the arts. Jewish painters, sculptors, musicians, novelists, poets, and composers are among the leading talents of the country. Jews are not in the upper echelons of the country's chartered banks, although David David was one of the founders of the Bank of Montreal in the early 19th century. In heavy industry, too, Jews play a secondary role. They have been prominent in textiles, clothing, motion picture distribution, distilleries, and light industry. Since World War II Jews have become prominent in the academic field, an area where they previously had few representatives. Maxwell *Cohen was dean of the School of Law at McGill

University, and Samuel Friedman of Winnipeg became chancellor of the University of Manitoba in 1959.

Socially, Jews and Christians in Canada to an extent still form separate societies, though there is a degree of mixing at the margins. There are still numerous social clubs of some prestige that do not admit Jews, but in some smaller and middle-sized communities this barrier has been broken in recent years. Also, in smaller communities the service and luncheon clubs, e.g., Kiwanis and Rotary, are usually open to Jewish members.

Rabbis and clergymen have been concerned with an interfaith dialogue. The Anglican Church in the early 1960s gave up its mission to the Jews, and Reverend Roland de Corneille devoted considerable effort to promoting understanding; in 1966 he wrote "Christians and Jews: Dialogue." On the other hand, the consistently anti-Israel expressions of Reverend A. C. Forrest, editor of the *United Church Observer*, organ of the country's largest Protestant denomination, and the absence of any clear disavowal by the church establishment have been a serious obstacle to understanding, despite frank discussions in the matter.

Anti-Semitism. While religious bigotry was found on many levels in Canadian life, organized anti-Semitism did not appear until the 1930s under the impact of international Nazism. Goldwin Smith was a leader of intellectual society in English-speaking Canada in the latter years of the 19th century. In his published essays discussing the Russian pogroms of the 1880s he took a clear anti-Jewish position but does not seem to have exerted any influence on Canadian society. In the 1930s an incipient fascist movement was started in Quebec by Adrien Arcand; it had overt anti-Semitic aspirations and sought to exploit French Canadian nationalist sentiments. Also in the 1930s, a boulevard sheet, *Le Goglu*, whipped up anti-Jewish feelings from time to time. The *achat chez-nous* agitation of the period was not specifically anti-Jewish, but xenophobic in nature, directed against all non-French Canadian retailers—Anglo-Saxon or Jewish. In English-speaking Canada in the 1930s there were sporadic Nazi-minded groups, but none had the cohesion and impact of the Arcand movement. Arcand and others were interned during World War II by the Canadian government.

The closest that Canada came to a political movement with anti-Semitic overtones was the Social Credit phenomenon. It captured office in the province of Alberta in 1935, and its power base was the evangelical, fundamentalist Protestantism of that rural province, called the "Bible Belt"

Figure 3. An Israel Bonds Drive function in Montreal, 1953. Mrs. Golda Meir, then Israel's minister of labor, is seated on the right of the speaker, Edward Gelber. Courtesy E. Gelber, Jerusalem. Federal Photos, Montreal.

of Canada. Its first and second provincial leaders, William Aberhart and Ernest Manning, both lay preachers, were not anti-Jewish; but the Major Douglas school of Social Credit made inroads into the party ranks, and on the fringes of the party and among certain federal members of Parliament the doctrines of a world Jewish conspiracy to control the money market found adherents and advocates. Norman Jacques, a member of Parliament for Wetaskiwin, and John Blackmore, member for Lethbridge, frequently gave public aid and comfort to anti-Semitism. The federal leader Solon Low sometimes denounced political Zionism and international finance in one breath. However, Low changed his mind after a trip to Israel and until his retirement made speeches favorable to Israel and the Jews. In Alberta the Douglas faction did not gain ascendancy in the party and that province's government had a favorable record in this respect. Solon Low's successor as national leader, Robert Thompson, once expelled a campus Social Credit president from the party for disseminating anti-Semitic propaganda.

One offshoot of the Social Credit movement was the activity of Ron Gostick, who after World War II settled in Ontario and from there carried on a political campaign of the "radical right." In the late 1940s he did not disguise his anti-Semitism, but later he soft-pedaled it; nevertheless, he included the *Protocols of the *Elders of Zion* and similar items in his "literature list" until the mid-1960s. Gostick had aspirations for a kind of Canadian John Birch Society but was unsuccessful in winning any sizeable support. In Toronto from 1963 on, a youthful propagandist, David Stanley (who later recanted his views), and John Beattie, both avowed neo-Nazis, allied themselves with counterparts in the United States and attracted considerable public attention and notoriety but no following. A result of their activity was the establishment by the Ministry of Justice of a seven-man committee on Hate Propaganda in 1965, chaired by Maxwell Cohen, which the following year recommended legislation against propaganda spreading racial and religious hatred. Such a proposal was brought before the Canadian Parliament in a government-sponsored bill and passed in 1970.

In the post-World War II period Adrien Arcand made several attempts at a comeback before his death in 1967 but was considered a relic of the past. The climate of the new Quebec since 1960 was not conducive to his kind of movement. Some Jews there were concerned by the attitude of segments among the separatists both of the right and left; some were concerned not with anti-Semitism, for all parties denounced and disavowed it, but with the role of the Jews in a more nationalist and unilingual environment.

Political Views and Public Office. On broad political issues the Jewish community in the main reflects the general trends within Canada. It has supported separation of church and state, although in certain provinces some Jews favor government aid to Jewish day schools and in Quebec there was general approval of such aid when it was given. Canadian Jewry has been concerned at all times with the preservation of Jewish religious rights; as early as 1906 the as yet unorganized Jewish community opposed the enactment of national Sunday observance laws. Jews played a crucial part in Ontario's initial enactment of anti-discrimination laws in 1944 and 1951; these laws set an example for the rest of the country. They have also advocated Canadian action against anti-Semitism abroad, both in Germany in the 1930s and in the U.S.S.R. and Arab countries in the 1960s. They have been unanimous in urging the Canadian government to adopt a policy that would promote a viable Israel at peace with her neighbors.

Following the election of Henry Nathan in 1871 there was no Jewish member of Parliament until 1917, when Samuel W. *Jacobs, a Liberal, was elected member for Montreal-Cartier. From that time until the elections of 1968, when the riding (electoral district) vanished through redistribution, Montreal-Cartier always had a Jewish representative. In Winnipeg A. A. Heaps was elected on the Independent Labor ticket in 1925 and held office for 15 years; later he was elected on the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation ticket. In 1930 Sam Factor, a Liberal, was elected for Toronto West-Center (later called Spadina) and was followed in 1945 by David A. *Croll. Jewish representation increased in recent years, the peak being reached in 1968, when eight Jewish members of Parliament were elected, six of them in Ontario. It is significant that of these eight Jewish members only one, David *Orlikow of Winnipeg, represented a riding with a significant Jewish population. All the others, from Windsor, Galt, suburban Toronto, and Newfoundland, represented areas with either relatively or absolutely few Jewish voters. The predominantly "Jewish" areas within Montreal and Toronto sent non-Jewish members to Ottawa. Until the late 1960s there were only Liberal and New Democrat (formerly CCF) Jewish members of Parliament on the federal level. Jack Marshall of Newfoundland, elected in 1968, was the first Jewish federal member of the (Progressive) Conservative party.

Manitoba is the province with the highest number of Jewish cabinet members, three in 1969: Saul Cherniack, deputy premier and minister of finance, Sydney Green, minister of social services and health, and Saul Miller, minister of youth and education. Jewish mayors have served in major cities and in numerous smaller towns since William Hyman, a native of Russia, was elected mayor of Cape Rosier in the Gaspé area of Quebec in 1858, serving 24 years, and since David Oppenheimer became Vancouver's second mayor in 1888, serving until 1891. Most notable terms were those of Aaron Horovitz, a Rumanian-born immigrant, who was mayor of Cornwall, Ontario, for 16 years intermittently between 1937 and 1950; Nathan Phillips, who was mayor of Toronto 1955–63; and David A. Croll, who was elected mayor of Windsor in 1930 at the age of 30. Jews have served in the legislatures of most provinces. In 1969 there were two Jewish senators, David A. Croll, named in 1955, and Lazarus *Phillips, named in 1968.

Jews have been in the judiciary in Canada since 1873, when Moses Judah Hays and Benjamin *Hart were named magistrates. It was not until 1950, when Harry *Batshaw of Montreal was named to the Quebec Superior Court, that Jews were appointed to the high court; since then there have been Jewish judges of the high court in most provinces. In 1970 Bora *Laskin was named to the Supreme Court of Canada—its first Jewish member. In 1961 Louis *Rasminsky was appointed governor of the Bank of Canada, Canada's central bank. In recent years numerous Canadian Jews have attained important positions in the federal civil service. To mention a few names they include: Simon Reisman, David *Golden, Sylvia and Bernard Ostry, Sylvia Gelber, Jacob *Finkelman, Allan Gottlieb, Naim *Kattan.

Literary Activity. For the many poets and novelists who wrote in English see *Canadian Literature. J. I. *Siegel, a Montrealer, was considered one of the foremost Yiddish poets. Melech *Ravitch, Yiddish essayist and poet, though his formative years were spent in Poland, settled in Montreal during World War II and considered himself Canadian Jewish writer. Moishe M. Shaffir, born in Bukovina but in Montreal from 1929, published several volumes of Yiddish verse. Benjamin G. *Sack of Montreal and Abraham Rhinewine (1887–1932) of Toronto both combined Yiddish journalism and writing on Canadian Jewish history.

Samson Dunsky translated into Yiddish and wrote a commentary on Ecclesiastes; Simcha Petrushka (1893–1950) of Montreal translated the Mishnah into Yiddish; and Isaiah Rabinovich of Toronto was a noted Hebrew essayist. Mark Selchen (1885–1960) and Israel Rabinowitz (1895–1964) were editors of Yiddish papers in Winnipeg and Montreal respectively; the latter wrote widely on Jewish music. Other Yiddish essayists, memoir writers, and poets were Sholem Shtern, Shlomo Wiseman, Jacob Zipper, Rachel Korn, Moshe Menachovsky (1893–1969), and Gershon Pomerantz (1902–1968). Ida *Maze wrote children's poetry. Nachman Shemen wrote a series of volumes on Ḥasidism and on the Jewish attitude to labor, women, strangers, and proselytes.

Press. In 1897 the *Jewish Times* was founded as a weekly by a number of communal figures, including S. W. *Jacobs and Lyon *Cohen. Its editor until his death in 1910 was a gentile of Irish origin, Carrol Ryan. This publication was a national periodical, reflecting much of what went on in Jewish life throughout Canada. In 1909 its name was changed to *Canadian Jewish Times* and in 1915 it merged with the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* (1914–65), published by Hirsh Wolofsky.

In 1921 the *Canadian Jewish Review* began publication in Toronto, later moving to Montreal. Its publisher was George Cohen and its editor his wife, Florence Friedlander Cohen. The *Jewish Standard* was founded in Toronto in 1930 by Rose Dunkelman, and Meyer *Weisgal was its first editor; from 1938 its editor-publisher was Julius Hayman. In 1966 the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* merged with the *Canadian Jewish Review* as the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle-Review* and is published in both Toronto and Montreal. Stanley Shenkman is publisher. The *Canadian Jewish News*, a weekly, has been published in Toronto since 1960 by Meyer J. Nurenberger. Best known of Canadian daily Yiddish papers was the *Kanader Adler*, or *Canadian Jewish Eagle*, published from 1907 in Montreal, though later a weekly.

The *Hebrew Journal*, founded in 1912, was published as a daily in Toronto until the late 1960s, when it, too, became a weekly. It is significant that at a time when the provincial Yiddish dailies of Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago had expired, Toronto, Montreal, and New York alone of all North American cities had Yiddish dailies, which continued publication for about twenty years. However, eventually they, too, were reduced to weeklies. Winnipeg has three Jewish weeklies, two English and one Yiddish, and Vancouver has one English weekly, *The Jewish Western Bulletin*. The Yiddish *Vochenblatt*, published in Toronto, is a Leftist organ and was preceded by *Der Kamf*, which dates to the 1920s.

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[B.G.K.]

CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS, national Canadian organization. It was founded in 1919 to assist Eastern European Jewry. Its first president was Lyon *Cohen; its secretary and architect was Hanane *Caiserman. During the early days, the chief accomplishments of the Congress were in giving a sense of unity to Canadian Jewry, to centralize political action on behalf of European Jewry, and

Leaders of the Canadian Jewish Congress at the groundbreaking ceremony for the Samuel Bronfman House, national C.J.C. headquarters in Montreal. Samuel Bronfman, honorary president, is flanked by Monroe Abbey, Q.C., president (left) and Saul Hayes, Q.C., executive vice-president. Photo Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal.

to establish the *Jewish Immigrant Aid Society. The Congress was inactive from the mid-1920s until 1934, when it was reorganized to cope with the growing effects of Nazi propaganda. Within the next few years the Congress was actively engaged in combating Nazism, centralizing fund raising mainly to assist the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and settling refugees through its Refugee Committee. It played a significant role in war efforts. During this period the Congress became the accepted representative organ of Canadian Jews and its acknowledged official voice.

The Congress supports activities of a national, cultural, and humanitarian nature for Canadian Jewry. It acts in matters affecting the status, rights, and welfare of Canadian Jewry, investigating and combating any anti-Semitism. It conducts researches and publishes periodicals, pamphlets, and other literature. The Congress assists in efforts to improve the social, economic, and cultural conditions of Jewry, and to mitigate their sufferings throughout the world. Not an organization *per se*, the Congress is a representative body in which all Canadian organizations participate. Its officers and national council are chosen at a national assembly every three years. Delegates are appointed or elected from hundreds of organizations throughout the country—educational institutions, social and national organizations, philanthropic, labor, Zionist, and synagogue institutions—and through elections of individuals. An executive committee of about 75 is chosen by the officers and national council.

Leading personalities in the Congress have included Samuel *Jacobs, Nathan Gordon, Archibald *Freiman, William Sebag Montefiore, Ferdinand Spielman, Moshe *Dickstein, Samuel *Bronfman (president for 22 years), Michael *Garber, Harold Lande, Benjamin Robinson, Archie *Bennett, Monroe Abbey, Sol *Kanee, Lavy *Becker, and Saul *Hayes.

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[S.Ha.]

CANADIAN LITERATURE. Three major factors in the development of literature in Canada are its French and British colonial origins, its biculturism, and its northern geographical situation. Although there was a Sephardi settlement in Montreal as early as 1768, Jews only attained full civil rights in 1832, and did not make any significant