

THE DECLINE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN THUNDER BAY:  
AN EXPLANATION

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Previous research on Jewish communities in Canada has demonstrated that a strong sense of community and solidarity is characteristic of these communities. In contrast, the Jewish community in Thunder Bay is not characterized by this trait at the present time, although evidence indicates that this was not so in the past. Over the last twenty years, there has been a decline in the sense of community and identity among the Jews in Thunder Bay and this has been accompanied by a decline in the Jewish population. This thesis is an attempt to explain the causes of this decline.

It has been hypothesized for other Canadian Jewish communities that community solidarity is established by means of a solid institutional base. This base is usually characterized by, and composed of, several interdependent elements. These are: 1) economic organization, 2) educational institutions, 3) kinship based on endogamy, 4) religious organizations, and 5) communal institutions.

#### Halifax Jewish Community: An Institutional Base Example

In their study of the Halifax Jewish Community, Gillis and Whitehead (1971) present us with an example of a solid institutional base establishing community solidarity. They maintain that it is necessary for Jews to develop their own institutions if they are to maintain themselves as a separate

entity from the core society (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 85). In other words, they are claiming that the Halifax Jewish community must have a solid institutional base to establish a sense of community solidarity.

As Gillis and Whitehead point out, the Jews in Halifax have established their own institutions for fulfilling their religious, educational, and dietary needs. There are two synagogues in Halifax: an Orthodox synagogue,<sup>1</sup> founded in 1894, and a Conservative synagogue<sup>2</sup> which was established in 1953. Each synagogue has its own Hebrew school (Talmud Torah) for the religious education of the Jewish children. There

<sup>1</sup>Orthodox synagogues adhere to the traditional and established beliefs and practices of Judaism; they adhere strictly to the ancient Hebrew Law.

<sup>2</sup>Conservative synagogues and Conservative Judaism arose in the mid 1800's in Europe and the United States. The traditional forms and precepts of Judaism were still valued by Conservative Jews and changes were made with reluctance. The Hebrew language was retained in the liturgy, and the Sabbath and Kashrut (dietary laws and customs) were still observed. Among the changes made were: mixed seating of men and women in the synagogue, the use of an organ to accompany Sabbath and holiday services, the use of electricity on the Sabbath, and, travel by car to the synagogue on the Sabbath, for the purpose of attending services, was endorsed as a worthy act (E.J. 1971: 5: 902-906).

is not, however, a parochial school or Yeshiva<sup>1</sup>. A Kosher<sup>2</sup> meat market and bakery meet the dietary needs of the community. Many of the local supermarkets carry a variety of Kosher canned and dried goods as well (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 85-86).

Gillis and Whitehead also discuss the structural assimilation of the Jews into Halifax society in terms of occupation, voluntary organizations, and home visiting patterns. The occupational distribution of the Halifax Jews is oriented toward high prestige occupations, such as professionals, proprietors, managers, and officials. Semi-professional occupations are not represented among these Jews, and this lack of representation is attributed by Gillis and Whitehead to dependency on a single employer. Ninety-four percent of the Halifax Jews are relatively independent of employers. This orientation toward occupational independence is attributed to the anti-Semitic discrimination on the part of Halifax employers as well as an anti-Gentile orientation towards employers on the part of the Halifax Jews. The

<sup>1</sup>A yeshiva is a local institution dedicated to the pursuit of talmudic studies (E.J. 1971: 16: 762).

<sup>2</sup>Kosher most often is used to refer to food that is permitted as opposed to that which is non-Kosher or terefah. It was originally used in the Bible in the sense of "fit" or "proper" (E.J. 1971: 10: 806).

authors also claim that the Jews feel insecure as a result of past experience with fluctuations in anti-Semitism and its effects on employment (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 89).

The Jews in Halifax belong to 1.31 times as many exclusively Jewish voluntary organizations as mixed or non-ethnic voluntary organizations. Individuals with high prestige occupations tend to join more mixed or non-ethnic voluntary organizations than do those with lower prestige occupations (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 89-90).

Home visiting patterns indicate a tendency toward in-group interaction; 5.5 times as many visits are made to the homes of other Jews as are made to the homes of non-Jews. However, there is an increasing orientation toward including non-Jews in the visiting patterns as the occupational prestige of the Jews rises (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 91). This visiting pattern is interconnected with the pattern of non-ethnic voluntary organization membership. The higher the occupational prestige of the Jew, the more he visits non-Jews and the more frequent is his membership in mixed voluntary organizations.

Business transactions and secondary group contacts occur between the Jewish community and the larger Halifax community, but few inter-community primary group contacts exist. The border separating the Jewish community from the larger Halifax community is a social boundary erected upon the strong institutional base of the Jewish community (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 93). This social boundary exists despite

the scattered pattern of Jewish residences throughout the city of Halifax. There is a tendency for the Jews to cluster in two areas, but these areas are not considered to be "Jewish areas" or "Jewish neighbourhoods" by either the local Gentiles or Jews (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 86). Furthermore, the institutional base of the Halifax Jewish community is maintained in an overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon area. Although Halifax has the largest Canadian Jewish population east of Montreal, less than one percent of the total population is Jewish (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 85).

The Halifax example demonstrates the manner in which the institutional base of a Jewish community establishes a sense of community solidarity within a larger social system. It also demonstrates how the institutional base provides the members of the community with a means of self-ascription and provides outsiders with a means of identifying the community members. This self-ascription and ascription or identification by outsiders establishes the basis for interaction for purposes of social organization. Recognition of similar or dissimilar behavior criteria enables individuals to determine membership in or exclusion from the group. Awareness of differences in behavior is thus necessary for the persistence of a group as a significant social unit, in this case, a community. Consequently, social boundaries are maintained between groups as a result of the persistence of the behavioral differences between groups, and the continuance of the institutional base of the group in establishing group

solidarity (Barth 1969).

Thunder Bay Jewish Community: Obverse Hypothesis

The factors responsible for the decline of the sense of solidarity among the members of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay, as well as the decline of the population of this community, are interrelated. These factors, economy, education, kinship and marriage patterns, will initially be discussed separately in order that the dynamics of each are clearly described. Then they will be coalesced to determine how each factor affects the others.

Previous researchers in Jewish communities in Canada, such as Gillis and Whitehead (1971), have put forward the hypothesis that a strong institutional base establishes and maintains a strong sense of community and of solidarity in such communities. A similar hypothesis has been formulated by other researchers, such as Barth (1969), for social systems in general. The Jewish community in Thunder Bay represents the obverse of this hypothesis. That is to say, a weakening or breakdown of the institutional base will adversely affect the solidarity of the community.

During the past twenty years, this Jewish community has been declining in solidarity and in numbers. This decrease is a result of a weakening of the institutional base of the community. As the base weakened, the solidarity of the community declined. While this process was occurring, the community's population decreased as the members sought



viable Jewish communities elsewhere. The obverse of the hypothesis formulated by previous researchers is thus put forward in this thesis.

### Outline of Following Chapters

A history of the Thunder Bay Jewish community is presented in Chapter Two to acquaint the reader with the community. This history will outline the development of the community and the subsequent period of stability and solidarity. Chapter Two will also present the details of the decline after the community's peak in solidarity and in numbers.

Chapters Three and Four analyze and explain the factors responsible for the decline in the community's sense of solidarity. The economic and educational aspects of the institutional base are dealt with in Chapter Three, and Chapter Four presents the kinship and marriage patterns. The effects of these factors on another aspect of the institutional base, namely, the participation of the community members in Jewish voluntary organizations, are discussed in Chapter Five.

The final chapter summarizes the results of the research and presents an explanation for the decline of the Thunder Bay Jewish community. This explanation is multi-faceted, but at the same time, rests upon one primary factor; the weakening of the institutional base. The increasing inability of this base to provide the community members with the

required solidarity, the required marriage partners, the required educational and economic opportunities, and the required community activities has introduced positive feedback into the system and further weakened the institutional base. The community members, unable to provide themselves or their children with the components of the institutional base, leave Thunder Bay for more viable Jewish communities or encourage their children to leave, thus reducing the population of the community.

There have been a few additions to the Jewish population of Thunder Bay during the past ten or fifteen years, but these individuals have so far been unable to check the decline of the community, primarily because they have been so few in number. In addition, they have not established kinship ties or social ties with the local community members.

Before we turn to the body of this thesis, it will be useful to consider the methods of research upon which this study is based.

### Methods of Research

Several methods were employed during the course of this research to determine the causal factors responsible for the decline of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay.

The initial evidence for the decline appeared when the Canada Census was utilized to obtain population figures for the Jews in Thunder Bay. The data available from this source is limited to nine consecutive ten-year periods, from 1891

to 1971. Thunder Bay, formerly known as Port Arthur and Fort William, did not have any recorded Jewish inhabitants in 1891, but in 1901, there were three Jews living in Port Arthur according to the Canada Census. Thus, the recorded demographic information for this Jewish community begins in 1901.

During the summer of 1974, informal interviews were conducted to elicit an overall picture of the Jewish community. These interviews were recorded on tape and transcribed at a later date. The questions asked were directed toward obtaining information about: 1) the history of the community, 2) the personal history of the informant, 3) the informant's explanation for the decline of the Jewish population, 4) the informant's explanation for the decline of the participation level in the community's activities, and 5) the future of the community.

In general, the responses to these questions were informative and well thought out. However, the researcher experienced difficulty in obtaining permission to conduct these informal interviews. As a result, only eighteen families were interviewed out of a possible total of sixty Jewish families.

During the summer of 1975, a formal questionnaire was administered by the researcher. This questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was designed to elicit specific information, such as: 1) places of residence, 2) participation in Jewish voluntary organizations, 3) concepts of an 'ideal' Jewish

community, and 4) reasons for the decline in activity within the community. This questionnaire was also used to elicit kinship data.

Difficulty was again encountered in obtaining consent for the administration of the questionnaire. Those who did agree, twenty out of a possible fifty families, provided informative answers. Eight of these individuals had been interviewed during the previous research period, while the other twelve were new informants.

During the 1975 research period, questionnaires were mailed to seven families in the community. They had requested this approach as they felt they did not have the time to see the researcher in person. Only one family returned the completed form.

Members of the Jewish community were contacted by telephone during both periods of research. The nature of the research being undertaken was explained and an interview period was requested. If consent was obtained, the researcher went to the home of the informant to conduct either the informal interview or administer the questionnaire. Members of the community were contacted with the aid of a synagogue mailing list provided by the Rabbi.

Additional kinship data was secured from the records of the local Shaarey Shomayim Synagogue. Dates of death were provided by this source, and the obituary column in the local papers was used. The death and funeral announcements frequently contained kinship data that was unknown to the

researcher, and greatly supplemented the information elicited from the informants.

The data obtained by these several means was instrumental in the formulation of this thesis, but the percentage of people successfully contacted was lower than what had been hoped for. In short, the data is best regarded as having been elicited from a voluntary sample.

## CHAPTER TWO

### HISTORY

#### Jews in Ontario

Ontario has the largest number of small Jewish communities in Canada at present. Although there are more Jews in Montreal than in Toronto, Ontario's largest Jewish community, there are more Jews living in Ontario than Quebec. According to the 1971 census of Canada, 125,315 Jews lived in Ontario, and 110,880 lived in Quebec. This phenomenon is likely a result of the proliferation of English-speaking towns in Upper Canada (Ontario) during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Many Jews chose to live outside of the five major urban centers of Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, London and Windsor, the cities in which are to be found the largest Ontario Jewish populations. As a result, there are almost thirty Jewish communities, stretching from Kenora to Cornwall, in Ontario (Rosenberg 1970: 92).

Few of these small Ontario Jewish communities date back beyond 1890. The primary requirement for the establishment of a new Jewish community at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the availability of adequate means of transportation to the larger and older Jewish settlement areas (Rosenberg 1970: 103). This requirement was not readily available in the smaller cities and towns of Ontario in the late 1800's.

When a new community was first established, the members often could not afford to rent or purchase a suitable

building for use as a synagogue. They often did not possess a Sefer Torah or Torah scroll,<sup>1</sup> and public services could not be conducted. The members of these new communities thus had a need to be close to a larger and older Jewish community in order that they might attend High Holiday services and other public services. They also required Kosher foods, which could be purchased in the older community. The social aspects of the older Jewish communities, as well as the availability of marriage partners, were also considerations in the location of a new community. The older and larger Jewish community thus provided the new community with the necessary institutional base required by all such communities until such time as the new settlement was able to establish its own institutional base.

Religious and communal development in the early communities followed a similar pattern throughout Canada. The first Jewish settlers would meet in a private home, or where possible, join the nearest large Jewish community. As soon as the required number of men for the traditional

<sup>1</sup>A Sefer Torah is a parchment scroll upon which is hand-written the Five Books of Moses. It is used mainly for reading at public worship. These scrolls are relatively scarce, as they are hand-written upon special parchment by specialists (E.J. 1971: 14: 1100).

minyan<sup>1</sup> was reached, a room or hall was rented in which the group could hold public services. Quite often, a Sefer Torah was donated to the new community by a Jew from a larger center and public Sabbath services could then be conducted. Soon after, a shohet or ritual slaughterer<sup>2</sup> arrived in the new community to provide its members with Kosher meats. The shohet often assumed the duties of teaching the settlers' children how to daven, to pray, and of teaching them about Jewish history and tradition. The purchase of a permanent synagogue, often a converted house, usually followed the arrival of the shohet, although many small communities had to wait for as long as fifty years before they could afford to build a new synagogue or community hall. Few of the smallest Jewish communities could afford to purchase land for

<sup>1</sup>A minyan is a quorum of ten male adults, aged thirteen years or over, necessary for public synagogue service and certain other religious ceremonies (rites of comforting mourners, recital of seven nuptial blessings at wedding ceremonies). Ten male adults represent a quorum in any place, and therefore it is not necessary to have a synagogue building or an officiating rabbi to hold divine services (E.J. 1971: 12: 67).

<sup>2</sup>Specific regulations govern the method by which an animal must be slaughtered before it is permitted (i.e., kosher). These regulations are so complex and minute that the slaughter is carried out by a carefully trained and licensed shohet. It is his duty to slaughter the animal and to carry out an examination. If a defect is found in some of the slaughtered animal's organs, it is terefah, and forbidden for consumption (E.J. 1971: 6: 27-28).



their own cemeteries, and frequently interred their dead in the cemeteries of neighbouring large Jewish centers (Rosenberg 1970: 104).

As the populations of these small Jewish communities increased, the community became stronger. The institutional base of the community became firmer and the members of the new community no longer relied upon the institutional base of the nearby larger and older Jewish community. The solidarity of the new community became more established and eventually, the new settlement was no longer dependent upon the neighbouring community.

Many of the small Ontario Jewish communities have now stabilized their populations or are slowly growing. However, there are a few of these communities that are declining, such as Chatham, Niagara Falls, Owen Sound, Preston, and Thunder Bay. (Refer to Figure 2:a). When the Jews leave these small communities, they settle in Toronto, Montreal, or Winnipeg, further increasing the growth of these large Jewish communities (Rosenberg 1970: 104-105).

### Thunder Bay

Thunder Bay, located on the north shore of Lake Superior in Northwestern Ontario, is a rapidly growing city of 109,000 people. Originally known as Port Arthur and Fort William, Thunder Bay was formed in 1970 by the amalgamation of these two cities.

In 1971, the Canada Census established the total population

Figure 2:a

Jewish Population of Selected Ontario Cities and Towns

Key: Chatham                      \_\_\_\_\_                      Owen Sound                      .....  
 Kenora                              \_\_\_\_\_                      Preston                              - - -  
 Niagara Falls                      - - -                      Sault St. Marie                      .....  
 North Bay                              - - -                      Sudbury                              / / /

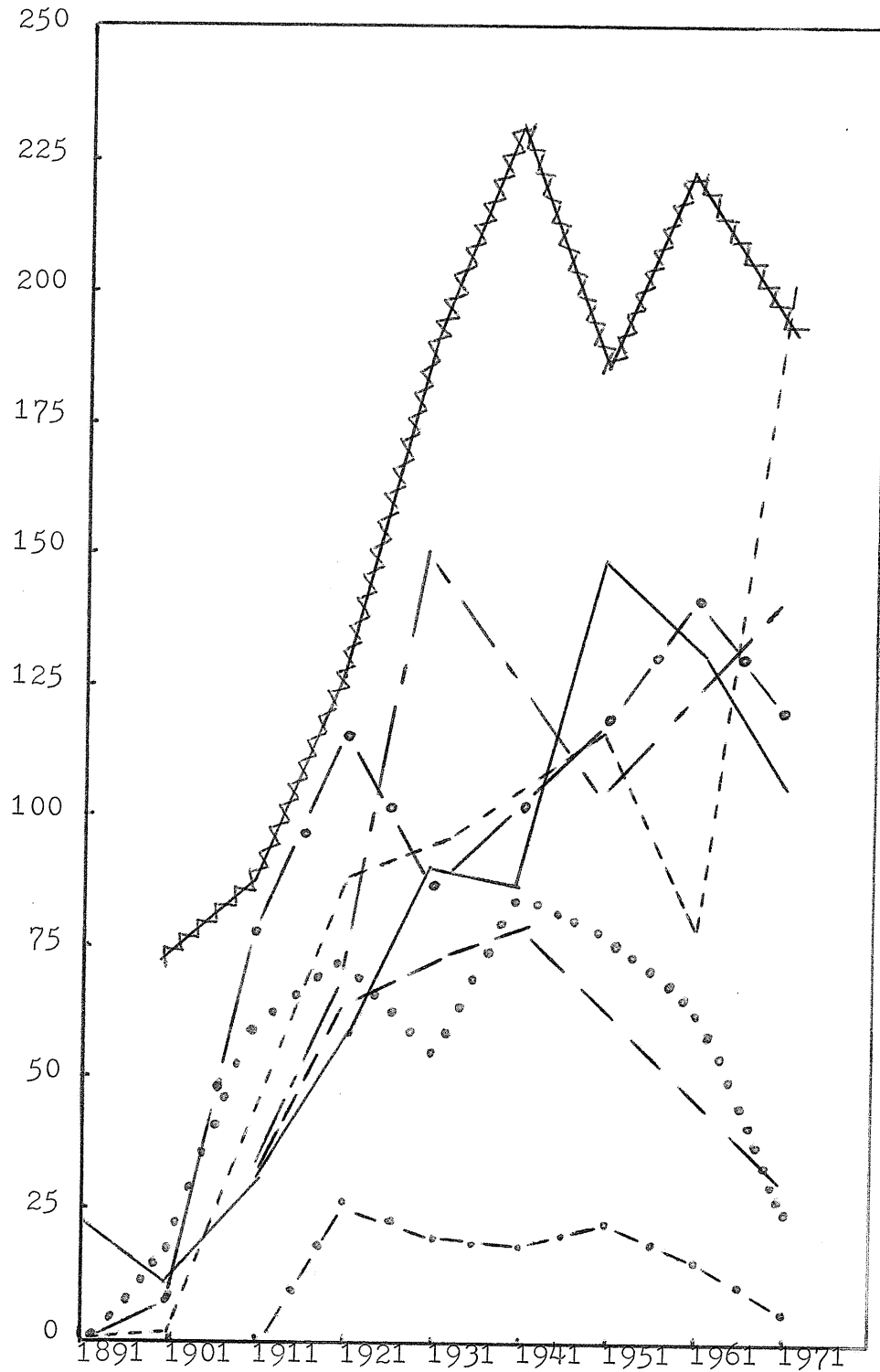


Figure 2:b

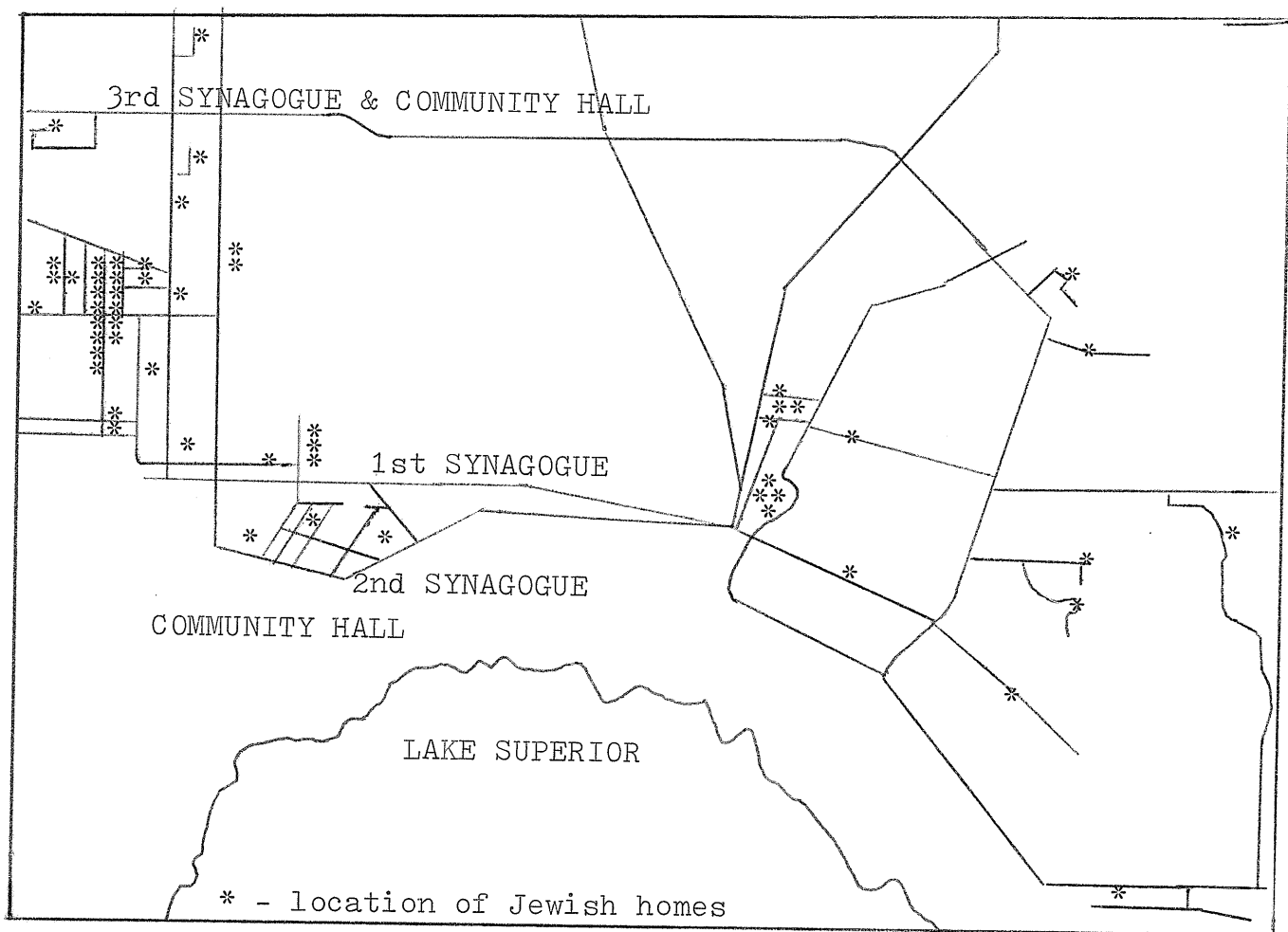
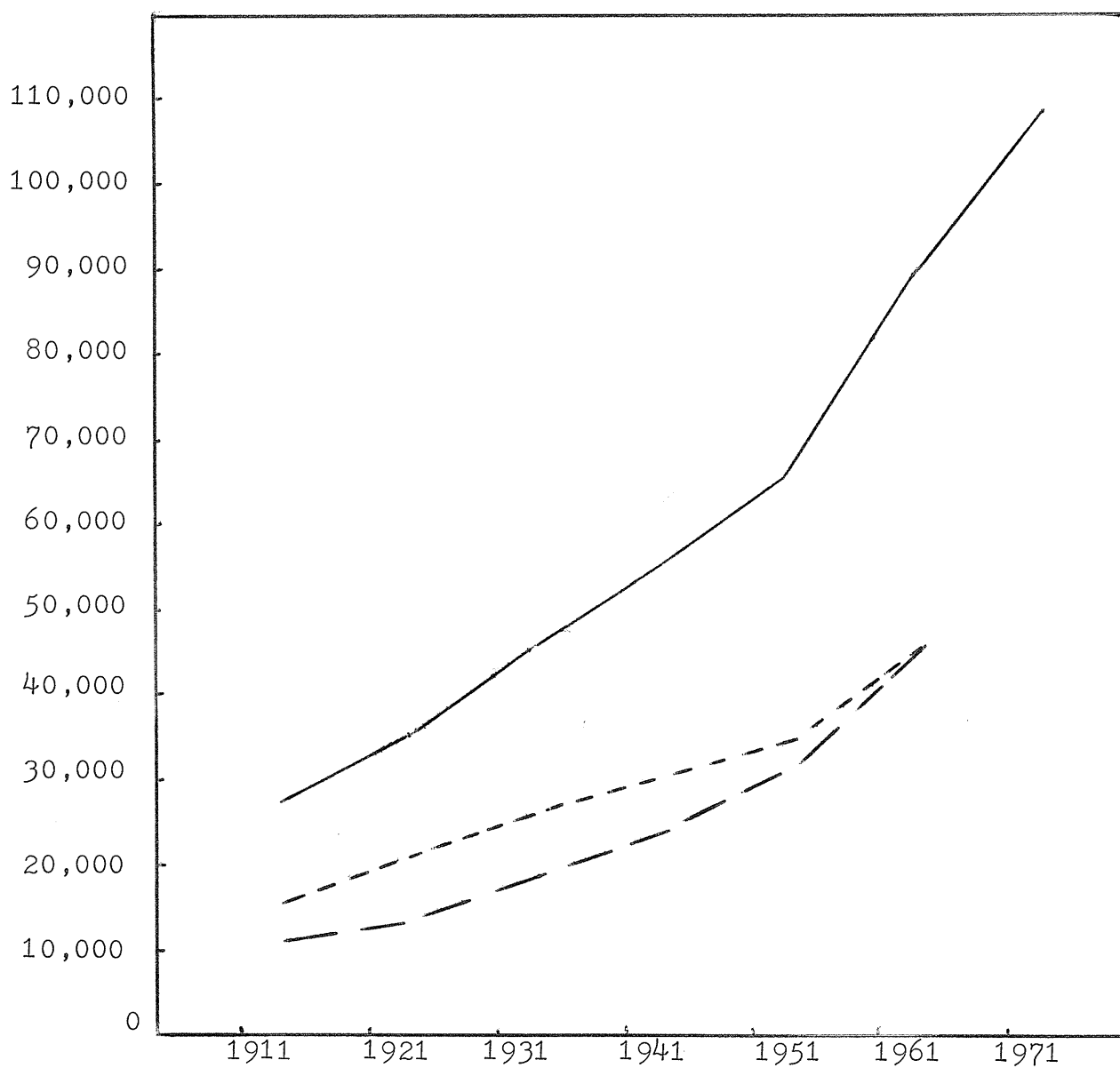
Thunder Bay and Surrounding Area

Figure 2:cTotal Population of Thunder Bay: 1911-1971

Key: Port Arthur ———  
Fort William ———  
Thunder Bay ———



of Thunder Bay at 108,440 individuals. This 1971 figure is nearly double the 1941 figure of 55,011 people, which in turn, is double the 1911 population figure of 27,719 people.

Thunder Bay increased its total population by almost 100% in both of the two thirty-year periods from 1911 to 1971 (Refer to Figure 2:c).

The history of Thunder Bay begins with the fur trade, when the first recorded trading post and fort was established in 1679 by Daniel Greysolon Sieur du Lhut. This first fort, called 'Fort Caministigoyan,' was built on the south bank of the Kaministiquia River, near its mouth. The French made little use of the fort and it gradually deteriorated.

Robertel de La Noue rebuilt the fort in a new location in 1717. The new fort, located across the river from the old one, was called 'Fort Caministigoyan.' The end of the French regime in 1758 marked the end of operations at this second trading post.

Roderick McKenzie of the North West Company entered the Thunder Bay area in 1798 and reported the ruins of old 'Fort Kaministiquia.' It was not until 1802, however, that the North West Company gained control of the Fort. Rivalry between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company likely delayed the control action for the 'New Fort.'

In 1807, the Fort's name was changed to 'Fort William' after William McGillivray, Governor of the North West Company.

The rivalry between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company continued with war-like activities between 1816

and 1821. During this time, the Fort was occupied by each Company at various times until they united in 1821.

To the north of the Fort, a small settlement was growing, named the 'Station' in 1857. 'The Station' served as the launching point for the first Red River Expedition in 1870, and as headquarters for mining surveys. In 1868, silver was discovered on Silver Islet, just off the shore of the peninsula enclosing the bay on which the cities are located. This mine attracted numerous prospectors looking for other deposits, and new businesses opened up as the populations gradually increased.

A twenty-five mile military road was under construction west of the Station in 1869, and the following year, Colonel Sir Garnet Wolseley disembarked from the port with eastern troops. He renamed the settlement 'Prince Arthur's Landing' in honor of Prince Arthur, Queen Victoria's son. Then, in 1884, the villagers changed the name to 'Port Arthur.'

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, started in 1875, provided an impetus for growth. Fort William became an incorporated town in 1892 and later, in 1907, a city, one year after Port Arthur attained city status. The new mode of transportation provided by the railway brought a flood of settlers, some of whom stayed while others continued further west.

The mining boom, initiated by the discovery of silver in 1868 did not last very long, and other resources in the area were turned to, principally, the forest resources.

Logging soon replaced mining and became the major industry in the area.

With the completion of the railway to the Prairies, grain was brought by rail to be stored in the elevators at Port Arthur and Fort William. It was then loaded on ships and sent down the Lake to eastern markets. The two cities marked the western point of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

When iron ore was discovered in Northwestern Ontario, these two cities became the shipping terminus for this raw product, and iron ore, as well as grain, was sent down the lakes to the eastern markets.

The logging industry gradually expanded into a pulp and paper industry, and ranked, along with the grain elevators and the ore docks, as one of the major sources of employment for the residents of the two cities. Large numbers of supportive industries and businesses sprang up and helped to attract increasing numbers of people to the area.

These two cities were among the earliest communities to experiment with electricity, and Port Arthur was one of the first North American cities to have an electric street railway. Built in 1888, this street railway was extended to Fort William in 1892.

In Industry expanded quickly in the two cities. Fifteen industries were established by 1903, and by 1913, there were seventy-one industries, including a ship yard, a flour mill, a shipping company, numerous grain elevators, lumbering and logging companies. The pulp and paper industry appeared in

1920 with two paper companies, and the grain elevators and rail trackage continued to multiply. The first Northwestern Ontario thermal electric power station opened in 1962, and the first Kraft mill opened in 1966. Then, in 1970, the two cities of Port Arthur and Fort William amalgamated as one, named Thunder Bay.

At present, there are four pulp and paper mills operating, twenty-three elevators, a flour mill, malt plant, wheat starch plant, petroleum products plant, tar-processing plant, chemical plants, and docking facilities for iron ore pellets, potash and coal shipping to steel mills and hydro plants in the East.

#### Population Characteristics








The population of Thunder Bay is composed of numerous ethnic groups, such as the Asian, British, Dutch, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Jewish, Native Indian, Polish, Russian, Scandinavian, and Ukrainian groups. The majority of these groups is increasing in response to the overall population expansion of the city. The Italian population, for example, numbered 1,389 persons in 1911. In 1941, this ethnic group had increased to 3,034 people, and by 1971, there were 10,550 Italians in Thunder Bay (Canadian Census 1913: Table ii; 1944: Table 38; 1973: Table 13). Similar increases have been experienced by other ethnic groups in the city (Refer to Figure 2:d).

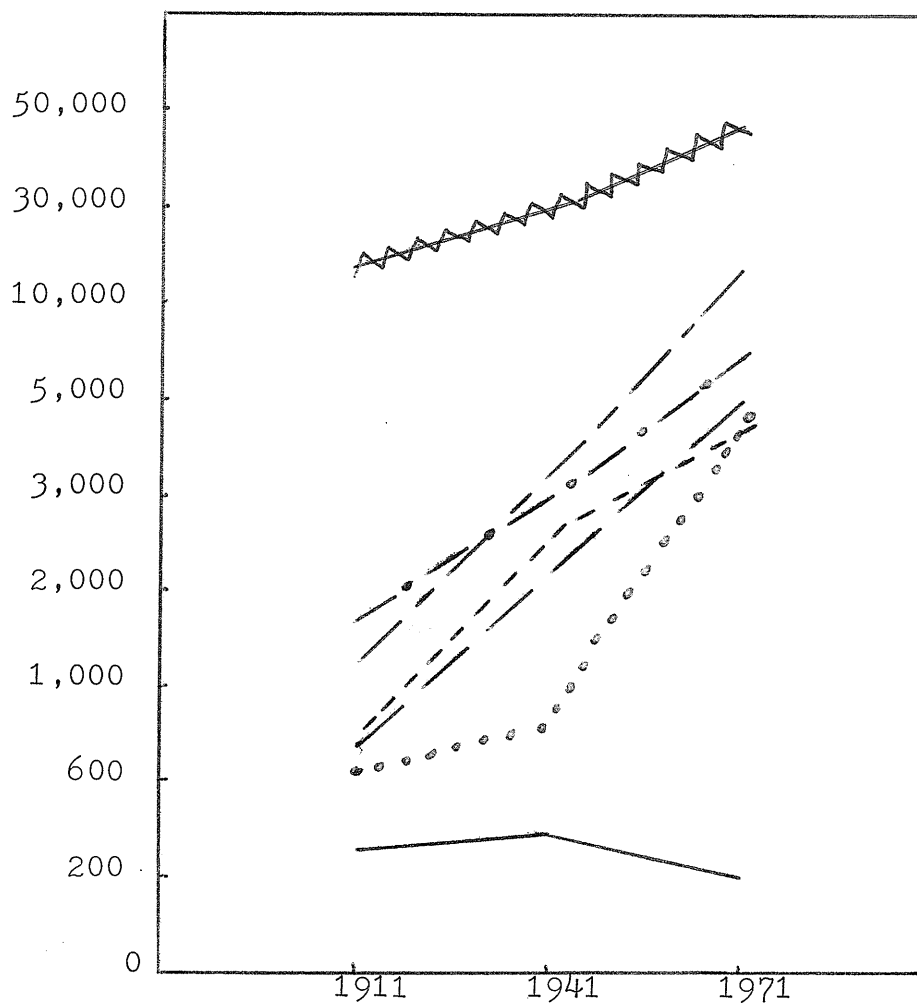
The degree of diversity found in the ethnic composition



Figure 2:d

Population of Thunder Bay by Selected Ethnic Groups: \* 1911 -  
1941 - 1971

Key: British Isles  Jewish   
 French  Polish   
 German  Scandinavian   
 Italian 



\*This does not represent an exhaustive list of the ethnic groups in Thunder Bay.

of Thunder Bay is also evident in religious denominations. The majority of the denominations is increasing in congregation size in response to the overall population increase. For example, the Roman Catholics have increased from 7,346 individuals in 1911, to 17,847 in 1941, to 37,865 in 1971 (Canada Census 1913, 1944, 1973). Similar increases have been experienced by other religious denominations (Refer to Figure 2:e).

The population structure of Thunder Bay is ethnically diverse. As the number of people living in the city has increased over the years, so has the number of members associated with the various ethnic groups. The institutional bases of these groups have remained strong over the years, and have maintained the various ethnic groups as viable communities within the larger social system of Thunder Bay. The stable or increasing populations of these groups and the large number of social organizations and social activities of these groups are evidence of their viability.

The Jewish ethnic group, unlike the other ethnic groups in Thunder Bay, is not able to maintain a viable Jewish community in the city. Thirty years ago, the Jewish community here was as active as any of the other ethnic communities, but has since declined in solidarity and in numbers.<sup>1</sup>

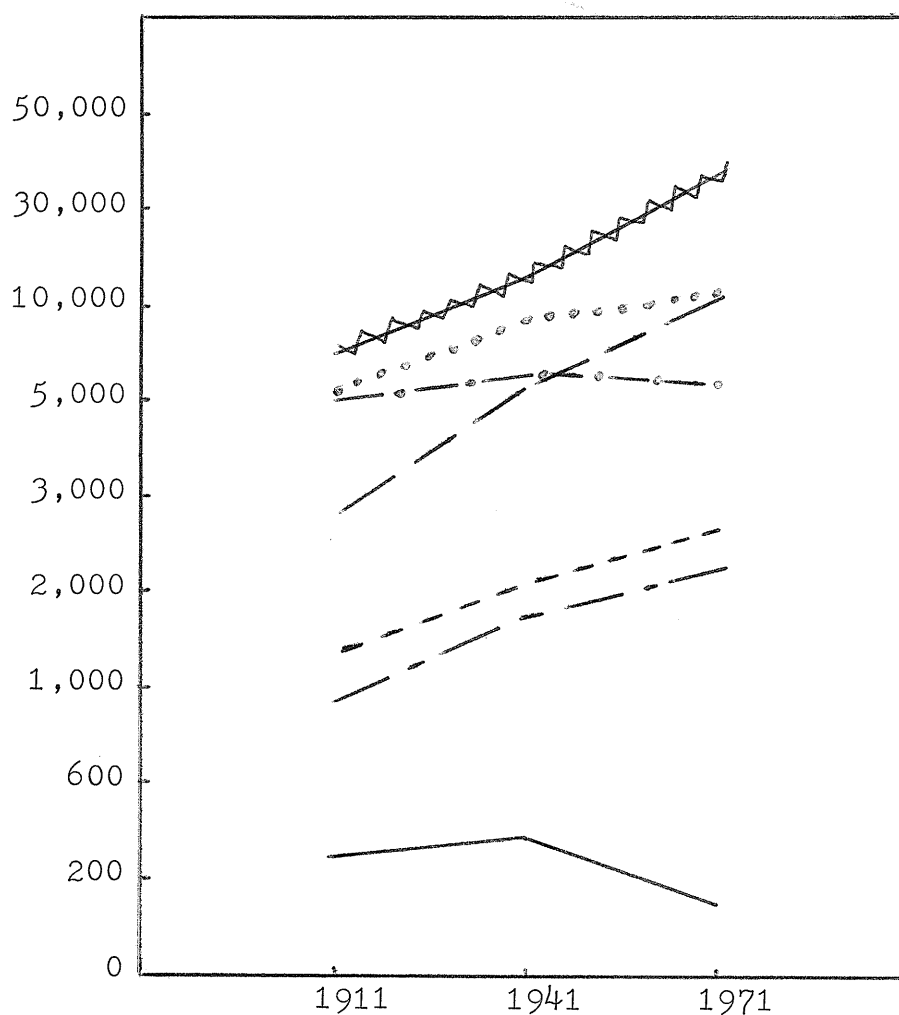
<sup>1</sup>Visual examination of the population figures indicates a decline in the Jewish population. Statistical analysis of the population (presented in Appendix ii) indicates that this population is indeed declining.

Figure 2:e

Population of Thunder Bay by Selected Religious Denominations:\*

1911 - 1941 - 1971

Key: Anglican	.....	Lutheran	————
Baptist	————	Presbyterian	———
Greek Orthodox	———	Roman Catholic	▲▲▲▲
Jewish	————		



\*This does not represent an exhaustive survey of all the religious denominations in Thunder Bay.

The conditions which have brought about this decline are the subject of this thesis. In order to place this decline in historical perspective, the history of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay will now be presented.

### History of the Thunder Bay Jewish Community

The immigration of Jews to Canada has been and is an ongoing process. When the French first settled along the St. Lawrence River during the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, an occasional Jew managed to settle in New France despite the regulations of the French government. These regulations forbade entrance of any non-Catholic settlers into New France. However, "some non-Catholics, including an occasional Jew, did evade the edict..." (Craig 1959: 3) and settled in the French colony. In 1759, the first permanent Jewish settler, Aaron Hart, arrived in Montreal. His arrival was the occasion for a national bicentennial celebration in 1959 by the Canadian Jews (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 18).

Britain gained control of Canada in 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris. The British government placed no restrictions on Jewish immigration to Canada, and the Jews were permitted to settle freely in the new British colony. This liberal attitude toward Jewish settlement was an extension of the policy initiated by the British government in 1656. At that time, Jews were allowed to re-settle in England after an expulsion of more than three hundred years (Craig 1959: 5).

The majority of the early Jewish settlers in Canada prior to Confederation were from England and Germany. The earliest Jewish community, centered in Montreal, had been Sephardic<sup>1</sup> in background, but later Jewish immigrants from England and Germany established sizable Ashkenazic<sup>2</sup> congregations, first in Montreal and then in Toronto. By the end of the 1850's, the few hundred German and English Jews, located in Montreal and Toronto, formed the basis for the communities to be built up during the period of extensive Jewish immigration which began in the 1880's and 1890's (Craig 1959: 6-7).

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, immigration from the British Isles was supplemented by immigration from central and eastern Europe, particularly Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, as well as from the Balkan countries and Italy.

<sup>1</sup>Sephardim are the descendants of the Jews who lived in Spain and Portugal before the expulsion of 1492. Sephardic is the adjective used to designate these Jews (c.f. Zborowski and Herzog 1952; E.J. 1971: 14: 1164).

<sup>2</sup>Ashkenaz is the designation for the first relatively compact area of Jewish settlement in N.W. Europe on the banks of the Rhine. The term became identified with, and denotes in its narrower sense, Germany, German Jewry, and German Jews, Ashkenazim, as well as their descendents in other countries. It has expanded its meaning to denote the entire Ashkenazi Jewish cultural complex. Ashkenaz is used in clear contradiction to Sephard, the Jewish cultural complex originating in Spain (c.f. Zborowski and Herzog 1952; E.J. 1971: 3: 719).

This period of immigration, often referred to as the 'mightiest movement of people in modern history,' continued until the outbreak of World War I in 1914 (Craig 1959: 7-8).

Conditions in Europe prompted this massive immigration. European social structure was collapsing, agriculture and industry were being mechanized, and the populations of Europe were rapidly increasing. Latin America and the United States received the larger proportion of these immigrants until the late 1890's, when changing conditions in Canada began to attract the settlers. The Yukon gold rush, the building of a continental railway, the closing of the American frontier, new dry-land farming techniques, and the Canadian government's immigration policy to settle the Prairies through large scale immigration, all operated to attract large numbers of immigrants to Canada. In all, over three million settlers arrived during the period from 1896 to 1914 (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 22).

As a result of this immigration, there were over one hundred thousand Jews in Canada by 1914. They had come to Canada from central and eastern Europe, particularly from Russia-dominated Poland and Roumania. Jews left their homelands for the same reasons that sent millions of other central and eastern Europeans to North and South America. However, the Jews had an additional and pressing need to leave (Craig 1959: 9)

As East European society disintegrated... the Jew was made to serve as scapegoat. Bewildered peasants, encouraged by the Czarist government, looked upon the Jews as the cause of their troubles. At periodic intervals after 1870, Jewish lives and property were destroyed in a series of bloody pogroms.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances Jews saw no alternative but to flee to the west as rapidly as possible. Thus to the small number of German and English Jews, and the much tinier Sephardic community, were now added many tens of thousands of Jews from eastern Europe, coming to Canada after centuries of ghetto life and fleeing from eastern Europe (Craig 1959: 9).

A large percentage of these new arrivals settled in the previously established Jewish communities in Montreal and Toronto. Toronto's Jewish population of 500 in 1881 increased

<sup>1</sup>Pogrom is a Russian word designating an attack, accompanied by destruction, the looting of property, murder, and rape, carried out by one section of the population against another. It is employed, as an international term, to describe the attacks, accompanied by looting and bloodshed, against the Jews in Russia. Pogrom designates more particularly the attacks carried out by the Christian population against the Jews between 1881 and 1921. The civil and military authorities remained neutral and occasionally provided their secret or open support for these attacks during periods of severe political crises in Russia. They were ourbreaks of violence linked to social upheavals and nationalist involvement in Eastern Europe (E.J. 1971: 13: 694-695).

to 1,500 by 1891, to 3,000 by 1901, and to 18,000 by 1911 (Craig 1959: 9). This increase from 500 to 18,000 Jews in thirty years represents an increase of 360%.

Many of these new immigrants chose not to live in either Montreal or Toronto, and moved further west, establishing a third sizable Jewish community in Winnipeg. Other Jewish immigrants attempted to revive their long-lost agricultural heritage by settling on the Prairies. The Canadian government was attempting to populate the Prairies, and the 'back to the land' sentiments of many of the Jews and of the Jewish philanthropists, provided the incentive for the establishment of farming colonies across the Prairies (Rosenberg 1970: 81-84). These colonies were not very successful, and many of these would-be farmers returned to urban settings and the Jewish communities in the cities of Canada (Craig 1959: 9-10).

The first Jewish settlers arrived in Thunder Bay during the late 1890's and early 1900's. They were representatives of the mass immigration into Canada from central and eastern Europe, and were among those Jews who chose not to settle in the established Jewish centers in Montreal and Toronto.

These first Jews were often poor, as many had left their homeland both for economic reasons and to escape the pogroms prevalent at the time. Many of these immigrants became laborers. Some were homesteaders and others were shopkeepers, merchants and small businessmen. Very few professionals appeared among the ranks of this first group of Jews to settle in Thunder Bay.



Families and friends soon arrived to increase the size of this Jewish population. In the words of one informant, "It seemed as if everyone was a relative of someone else. Someone always followed someone else to Thunder Bay as soon as they were in a position to offer job security or sponsoring of some kind or other."

Some of the young men had left their wives and children in Europe, and worked to earn passage money for their families. Then, when the necessary papers had been obtained, they were again united in their new home.

These immigrants lived in a closed group. They had few friends outside of the small circle of Jews. To be socially friendly with Gentiles, to participate socially outside of the Jewish community, was not popular. Secondary group contacts did occur, primarily through business transactions, but primary group contacts were few. The people, and their social life, were centered around each other, with their religion at the focal point. In effect, these first Jews to settle in Thunder Bay formed an island of communication and interaction, that closely resembled the life-style of the shtetls<sup>1</sup> they had come from.

<sup>1</sup>Shtetl is a Yiddish word used to refer to the small-town Jewish communities of Eastern Europe. These shtetls were located near small Gentile towns and the Jews were usually middlemen for the town businessmen and the farmers in the surrounding area (c.f. Zborowski and Herzog 1952).

Thunder Bay's Jewish population increased, aided by the continuing immigration before World War 1 and by natural means. In 1911, there were three hundred and forty-three Jews living in Port Arthur and Fort William. This represented a substantial increase over the thirteen recorded for the two towns in 1901 (Fourth Census of Canada 1902: Table x; Fifth Census of Canada 1913: Table ii). (Refer to Figure 2:f).

In 1908, the Jewish community obtained its charter, and religious services were held in a small wooden building on Prince Arthur Boulevard in Fort William. Services in Port Arthur were held in a private home. The first rabbi, A. Katz, arrived at approximately the same time that the charter was obtained. He remained in Thunder Bay until 1933, when he moved to live closer to his grown children. During his stay, Rabbi Katz served as spiritual leader and shohet.

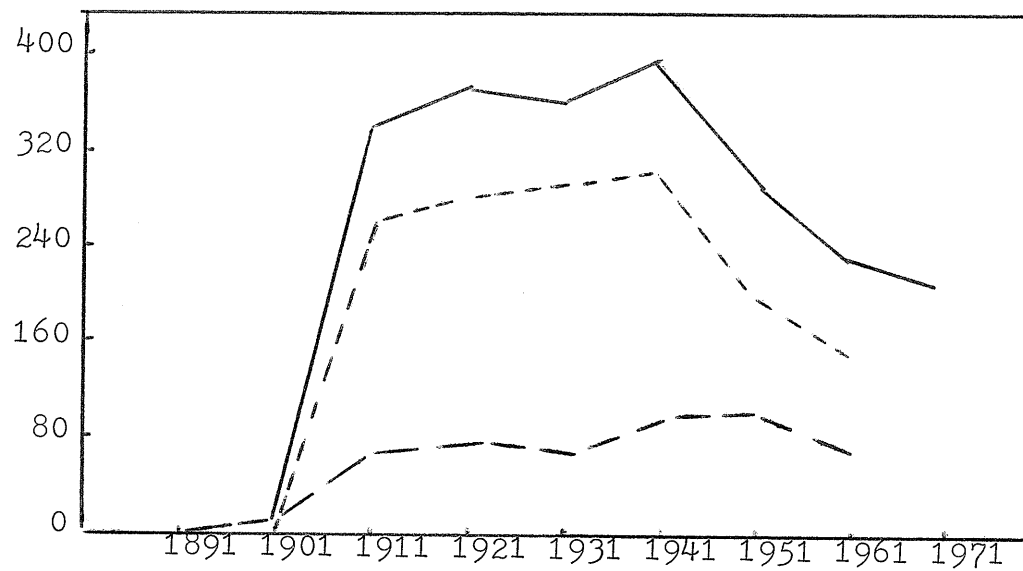
The Fort William congregation moved to a new location, on the corner of Finlayson and MacKenzie Streets, in 1913. The Port Arthur group continued to maintain itself as a separate congregation until the late 1920's, at which time, they joined the Fort William synagogue.

There were sufficient numbers of Jews living in Port Arthur prior to the amalgamation of the two congregations to warrant separate services. In addition, it was too far to walk to services at the Fort William synagogue. Jews did not work on the Sabbath, and they extended this ban on work to their animals. They did not drive a horse and buggy on

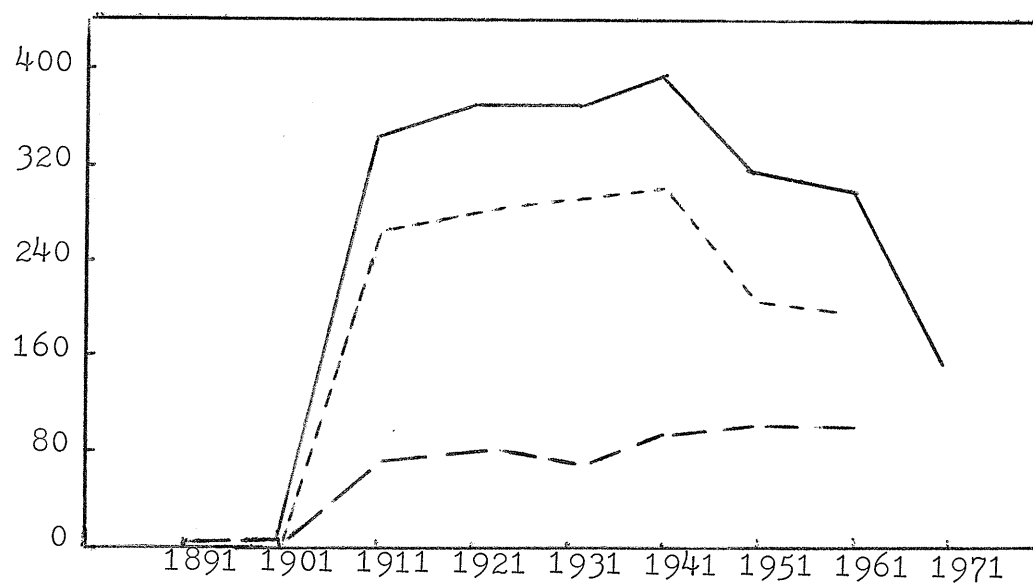
Figure 2:f

Jewish Population of Thunder Bay: 1891 - 1971Jewish Ethnic Group

Key: Fort William ---  
 Port Arthur ---  
 Thunder Bay —

Jewish Religious Denomination

Key: Fort William ---  
 Port Arthur ---  
 Thunder Bay —



the Sabbath, or a car, as this was considered work.<sup>1</sup>

The exact reasons for the merging of the two congregations is unknown, but the slight decline in the Jewish population in Port Arthur during the late 1920's may be associated with this merger. One informant suggested that the joining of the two congregations was brought about by the move of a number of Port Arthur Jews to Fort William or to another city.

At the time of the merger, a community hall, financed by the men of the local B'nai Brith Lodge,<sup>2</sup> was built one block away from the synagogue. The B'nai Brith is a Jewish fraternal and service organization. Its members are involved in numerous charitable undertakings, including hospitals,

<sup>1</sup>The Jewish Sabbath falls on the seventh day of the week, Saturday, and is a day of rest and abstention from work. According to Exodus 23: 12 and 34: 21, work is to cease on the seventh day in order to give slaves and draft animals a rest. This is to be observed even during the critical seasons of plowing and harvesting.

Orthodox beliefs forbid travel by automobile, but Reform beliefs permit it on the Sabbath. Conservative beliefs generally permit such travel solely for purposes of attending synagogue services.

Orthodox Jews generally refrain from using electrical appliances, although some will use electrical appliances operated by time switches set before the Sabbath begins.

The Sabbath is the official day of rest on which all business and stores must close (E.J. 1971: 14: 566-567).

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter Five for a discussion of B'nai Brith in Canada, and in Thunder Bay.

disaster relief, and summer camps for Jewish children. The Thunder Bay B'nai Brith Lodge received its charter in 1911.

The massive immigration to Canada at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was halted by the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The number of Jews in Canada shortly after the end of this War was 126,000. This represented an increase of 78.26% from the 1901 figure of 16,100 (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 25).

During the early 1920's, the immigration regulations became restrictive, and the flow of new Jewish immigrants, as well as others, was greatly reduced. Post-war readjustments hindered immigration for several years after 1918. A second wave of immigration started in 1923, however, and continued until the outbreak of the Depression in 1931. At this time, the Canadian government restricted immigration to some extent, but did not establish a formal quota system, as did the American government. Rather, the Canadian government created a list of 'preferred' and 'non-preferred' countries from which to recruit immigrants (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 25).

Between the two World Wars, 20,200 Jewish immigrants settled in Canada, the majority establishing themselves in large urban centers. During this period, Canadian immigration authorities placed restrictions upon the Jews seeking entrance into Canada (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 27). The authorities severely limited immigration from both Central Europe and the Soviet countries, which had accounted for most of the Jewish immigrants in the past (Rosenberg 1970: 224).

In the late 1930's, economic recovery from the Depression was slow, and the Canadian government was reluctant to accept even the victims of Nazi Germany (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 28).

The tendency to give economic considerations priority over humanitarian ones was probably buttressed by the anti-Semitism expressed by small but noisy and even violent minorities in various parts of Canada in the 1930's (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 28).

In Thunder Bay, Rabbi Katz was succeeded by Rabbi Polonski in 1933. He assumed the duties of shohet as well. During his stay, a second wave of immigration increased the local Jewish population to three hundred and ninety individuals by 1941 (Eighth Census of Canada 1944: Table 38). These new settlers were among the influx of immigrants into Canada between the two World Wars.

Shortly after the end of World War II, immigration to Canada was again underway and the Jews were among those groups which were the most numerous. Italian, German, Dutch and Polish immigrants were also numerous. Toronto and Montreal were again the favored destinations of these new immigrant Jews from Germany, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Egypt, North Africa and the Middle East (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 29-30).

Many of the Jewish immigrants to Canada since 1945 have been well-educated and highly skilled individuals. This phenomenon is part of the general trend in Canadian immigration since World War II. Economic and social conditions in this

country during the last thirty years have made Canada an attractive destination to such individuals, Jew and Gentile alike. Government policy has also made admission into Canada less difficult for immigrants with education and skills (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 30).

The peak of the Thunder Bay Jewish community came between 1935 and 1950 approximately. This climax was in terms of population and of synagogue attendance, social activities, and community solidarity. One informant referred to this peak as "the flowering of the Thunder Bay Jewish community in terms of numbers and vitality - it was a viable sub-community of Thunder Bay."

Many of the local Jews were still living in the vicinity of the Fort William synagogue, although a few had moved into other areas of the two cities by the 1950's. This decentralization of the community was soon to become a general trend among these Jews, but despite this gradual dispersal, interaction among them remained centered around their synagogue and community hall, as it had been when the community was first established. There was little social interaction with Gentiles beyond everyday business transactions. Consequently, the social activities of the group were at their height. There was some form of activity occurring virtually every day of the week at the community hall or synagogue. Dinners, dances, concerts, plays, and card parties were held regularly. The men of the B'nai Brith held their meetings at the hall and were active in fund raising activities.

The women also held their meetings at the hall. They had two organizations: Hadassah, and the local chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women were both active in raising funds. Hadassah is the Jewish women's Zionist organization of America. This group raises funds to maintain medical and child welfare services in Israel, and educational services in America. The National Council of Jewish Women raises funds to help the needy, both Jew and Gentile, in the various chapters' local areas.<sup>1</sup>

Other aspects of the institutional base of a Jewish community were present at the time of the peak. Kosher meats could be purchased from a local Kosher meat market, and a Hebrew school (Talmud Torah) operated in both Fort William and Port Arthur, as there were sufficient numbers of children to attend two schools. This school taught the children about Jewish tradition and also instructed them in the Hebrew language to enable them to read the Torah. Young boys were prepared for their Bar Mitzvahs<sup>2</sup> and young girls were taught how to keep Kosher homes and how to prepare for the various holidays.

<sup>1</sup>For further discussion of these two organizations, refer to Chapter Five.

<sup>2</sup>Bar Mitzvah is the Hebrew term denoting both the attainment of religious and legal maturity, as well as the occasion at which this status is formally assumed. Boys attain this status at age thirteen plus one day, and girls at age twelve plus one day (Bat Mitzvah). The initiate is obliged to fulfill all the commandments and can perform acts having legal implications, such as being recognized as part of a minyan (E.J. 1971: 4: 243-244).



One informant stated that the Hebrew school was taken much more seriously during the peak than it is at the present. To support her statement, she said that there had been a Jewish Board of Education and report cards were sent home to parents. The children were supposedly more interested in the school as they attended with many other Jewish children. However, this informant failed to take into account the fact that the classes at the school would have been larger during the peak period than they have been in the last ten to fifteen years simply because the Jewish population in the past was larger and demographically younger than it is at the present time.

Rabbi Polonski retired in 1948 and several rabbis have arrived over the years to serve the Jews in Thunder Bay. None of these stayed for lengthy periods of time; the average period spent in Thunder Bay by any of these several rabbis was three to five years. The departure of Rabbi Polonski marked not only the departure of the last long-term rabbi, but also of the last shohet. Consequently, the local Jews had to import Kosher meats from Winnipeg or Toronto, the closest, large Canadian Jewish centers, or eat non-Kosher meats.

During the mid 1950's, the members of the community decided to build a new synagogue. Several reasons prompted this decision. First, the building they were using on the corner of Finlayson and MacKenzie was quite old and was labelled a fire-trap. Second, the community was receiving

strong support from its members. Although the population had dropped slightly from three hundred and ninety-one in 1941, to three hundred and sixteen in 1951, the effects of the peak were still being experienced.

Third, many of the families had moved into other areas of the two cities, and there was no longer the concentration there had been in the past around the old synagogue. The causes for this dispersal were the recent changes in the economic positions of the Jews (and the other inhabitants of Thunder Bay). Many had the opportunity to seek employment as professionals, or had been successful in expanding the businesses established by their fathers. Consequently, they were able to move out of the low-income area surrounding the old synagogue and move into the higher income areas throughout the two cities.

The fourth reason prompting the building of a new synagogue was proximity. Nearness to the synagogue was no longer a major factor in the choice of where the Jews lived. More were willing to drive to services at the synagogue, and living within walking distance was no longer as important a factor as it had been in the past. The new building was provided with a large parking lot to accomodate the cars of the members.

This willingness to drive to services presents a rather interesting contradiction. Many informants stated that they considered themselves to be Conservative Jews at home, but they wanted to attend Orthodox services at the synagogue.

On November 22, 1956, the Jewish community bought the site for their new synagogue and community hall on Grey Street. The first sod was turned on May 15, 1960, after an extensive campaign to raise the necessary funds for the construction of the building. Services were held for the first time in the new synagogue on December 30, 1960.

By the time the new synagogue had been completed, an irreversible process had been set in motion which would be felt drastically during the next fifteen years. The Jewish community was declining. This decline was apparent in the decreasing number of Jews living in Thunder Bay, in the weakening of the community's solidarity and institutional base, and in the decreasing frequency with which social activities within the community occurred.

The Jewish population in 1951, just before first thought was given to the building of the new synagogue, was three hundred and sixteen individuals. By the time that the building was completed and being utilized, the population had dropped slightly to three hundred and one persons. In 1971, there were one hundred and fifty Jews left to use a synagogue built for over three hundred members.

The once-active social organizations declined in activity during the fifteen years after the building of the new community hall. The new hall, in the synagogue building, had been designed to accomodate the meetings and affairs of the community's social organizations. At present, B'nai Brith is no longer active, and the two women's groups have found it

to be more expedient to join forces as one small, united organization in order to carry on their charity work.

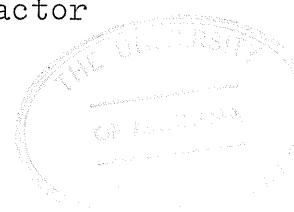
The last rabbi left Thunder Bay in the Fall of 1974 and has not yet been replaced. Informants stated that it is not likely that they will hire a new rabbi as they will be unable to support him.

The few children that live in this Jewish community do not attend a Hebrew school, as there is not a teacher available. When required, a young boy can receive the necessary training for his Bar Mitzvah from one or two of the older men, or by listening to taped lessons.

### Summary

The Jewish community in Thunder Bay, and in other Canadian cities, was established by the waves of Jewish immigrants from Europe in the late 1890's and early 1900's. They created small enclaves of shtetl life in their new homeland and, in the majority of instances, were able to survive and grow as a distinct ethnic group in the cities they chose to settle in. After the immigration forces subsided, these communities increased or stabilized their populations, and maintained their community solidarity, built upon a firm institutional base.

In a few instances, such as in Thunder Bay, the Jewish community was unable to maintain itself and the decline of the community began. The causes for this phenomenon in Thunder Bay's Jewish community are interrelated. One factor



did not necessarily occur before or after another. Rather, all the factors involved took place simultaneously, each affecting the others in a positive feedback fashion. These factors - economy and education, kinship and marriage patterns, the degree of participation in Jewish and non-Jewish voluntary organizations - have operated in the past and are presently operating within the local Jewish community to effect and continue the decline of the institutional base and reduce the solidarity of the Jews in Thunder Bay.

CHAPTER THREE  
ECONOMY AND EDUCATION

The ethnohistory of and the available demographic data for the Jewish community in Thunder Bay have demonstrated that this community is declining. Previous researchers hypothesize that similar communities have been able to survive by maintaining their institutional base and thus preserving their community solidarity. The obverse of this hypothesis is applicable to the situation in the Jewish community in Thunder Bay, and the causes for this decline will be presented in the following chapters.

Abraham Arnold (1976) mentions briefly the reasons for the decline of Jewish communities in small towns. He states that:

The gradual disappearance of Jewish life in the small towns has been due not only to changing economic factors and the consequent inability to maintain schools and synagogues, but also due to the long-time pursuit of higher education by Jews no matter where they lived (Kurelek and Arnold 1976: 73).

Thunder Bay, with a population of 108,440 in 1971, cannot be considered a 'small town,' however his explanation would appear to be applicable to the Jewish community here.

The economic and educational aspects of the institutional base of this Jewish community have been weakening over the past twenty years, and inducing the decline of the community's

solidarity. These two aspects, although they cannot be considered as the primary elements of the institutional base, are nevertheless integral to the survival of any Jewish community.

The community members must be able to provide themselves with an income of some sort. Without a livelihood, it would be difficult for the individual to remain in the community and in the city that it is located, regardless of the efficiency with which the remaining elements of the institutional base fulfilled his needs. Success in securing a livelihood is therefore primary, not only for the survival of the individual, but also for the community as a whole of which he is a part.

Education is the means by which a livelihood may be secured and the economic base thus maintained. When the desired form of education is not available locally, then it is necessary to look elsewhere, or resort to an alternative that is locally available. If the individual should choose to leave his community for purposes of education, he may return if an opportunity exists in the community's area for employment. Thus, education received from an institution outside of the community's area does not necessarily entail employment outside, unless there are no opportunities for employment within the community's area.

A second type of education forms part of the institutional base of a Jewish community; religious education. This is obtained through attendance at the Hebrew school, from home

and services at the synagogue, and from a parochial school, if there is one in the area. Religious education, although important, is usually not integral to securing a livelihood for the average individual.

The economic and educational aspects of the institutional base of Canadian Jewish communities have been affected by historical factors, such as the Jewish patterns of settlement and the time of the Jews' arrival in Canada. Ethnic occupations, ethnic values, and discrimination have also played a role in the formation of these two aspects of the institutional base.

#### Occupational and Educational Structure of Canada's Jews

Few farmers have appeared among the ranks of those Jews who settled in Canada. The majority were tradespeople<sup>1</sup> during the period of massive Jewish immigration. The shtetls from which they came were not urban by North American

<sup>1</sup>"Jews did not originally become traders because of an inborn ability. They were forced into it by the pressures of events dating back to seventh century of the Christian era...As they were driven off the land, many Jews gradually moved into trading and peddling. Some became successful merchants and a few became financiers or entered the learned professions. But many remained peddlers - buyers and sellers of old clothes and other second-hand wares. Eventually they were restricted to this occupation by law in many parts of continental Europe, and it was thus that Jews acquired "a preternatural acumen" for trading..." (Kurelek and Arnold 1976: 49).



standards, but neither were they rural by European standards. A number of schemes were created nonetheless by the Canadian government to settle Jews on farm land during the days of Prairie settlement. Some Jews established themselves in agricultural centers as merchants and professionals. They were, in this way, able to provide the European farmers in Canada with services they had formerly received from Jews at home. The majority of Jews chose to settle in urban centers, however (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 44-45).

For the first seventy-five years of the nineteenth century, there were substantial Jewish communities in Montreal, Toronto and Victoria only. The members of these communities, mainly German and English Jews, participated in virtually every sphere of industry and commerce, such as the fur trade, the clothing industry, banking, and insurance. They were also active in medicine, law and academic life. Not all were rich or well off, though. Poor Jews are mentioned in the records of the philanthropic societies of these large cities, but their occupations are difficult to determine (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 45).

The first large movement of Jews into Canada occurred at the end of the nineteenth century. These east European immigrants entered Canada's occupational structure at its lowest levels, despite the skills, business experience and education they possessed, because they were unfamiliar with the English or French languages. They were forced to take on railway, sewer and building construction jobs in Winnipeg, or

seek employment in the garment industries and bakery shops of Montreal and Toronto. Some became peddlers until they were able to set up small shops of their own. When the language of their new homeland was mastered, then they spread rapidly into the other occupations (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 45).

After the Second World War, Jewish immigrants to Canada were mainly professionals and possessed skilled occupations. Previous to this time, they had been laborers, merchants and shopkeepers. This change in occupational status is also evident among other immigrant groups and reflects the entrance priority given by the Canadian government to persons possessing such skills and education (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 50-51).

Jewish immigrants occasionally made a living by filling the needs of the members of their community; by taking on ethnic occupations. They would provide goods and services to the other members which they were unable to receive from individuals outside of the community, or which they did not want to receive from outsiders. For example, rabbis, teachers of Hebrew, and operators of meat, poultry, and fish shops, bakeries, delicatessans and restaurants are ethnic occupations characteristic of Jewish communities. Such enterprises were often successfully expanded into major business concerns and served not only the Jews, but the general population as well (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 53).

Education, both secular and religious, has traditionally

been emphasized by Jews. As a result, they tend to enter the labor force at a later age than do members of other ethnic groups (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 56). This emphasis on education has placed them in the position of the most highly educated ethnic group in Canada. In 1951, for example, they were overrepresented by 11.1% in school attendance for males between five and twenty-four years of age. Asians, the group closest to the Jews in school attendance, were overrepresented by 7.5%. In 1961, Jews were again overrepresented by 16.5% in school attendance, followed by the Asians at 5.3% (Porter 1965: 88-89).

There are several reasons why the Jews are in this position of the most highly educated ethnic group in Canada. According to Arnold (1976), Jews were more mobile than was the average immigrant. When Jewish immigrants came to Canada in the 1880's, they usually entered the economic structure of this country at the bottom, as did members of other ethnic groups. However, the members of these other groups were "...so wedded to (their) social and economic position that it usually took (them) much longer to become upwardly mobile" (Kurelek and Arnold 1976: 73). In addition, the Jews were encouraged to advance by their desires to provide their children with good educations as soon as possible, and were thus willing to make any necessary sacrifices from the beginning (Kurelek and Arnold 1976: 73).

The difficulty Jews encountered when seeking entrance to universities in Canada during the first half of this

century is another reason for the high educational level of Canadian Jews. Some universities required Jewish students seeking admission to have higher average marks in high school than Gentile students. This meant that those admitted were closer to the top than were most non-Jews. In addition, a quota system, which was not dropped till the 1940's, restricted the number of Jews admitted to medical schools (Kurelek and Arnold 1976: 73).

In summary it may be said that the unforeseen results of racial discrimination added to the special striving of Jews for the best possible schooling, helped them to get to the top of the educational ladder (Kurelek and Arnold 1976: 73).

Throughout Canada, Jews tend to be overrepresented in the managerial and professional and technical occupations, as well as the tertiary occupations, such as clerical, sales, and service occupations. In contrast, they are underrepresented in the transport and communication categories and in all primary and secondary occupations (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 38-39).

In the professional and financial occupational classes (4.8% of the labor force) for 1931, Jews were overrepresented, as 7% of this group was in the professional category. They were the most underrepresented group, at 3.2%, in the low level, primary and unskilled occupations (17.7% of the labor force). Jews were also underrepresented, at 1.6%, in agriculture, as 34% of the labor force was employed in agriculture in 1931 (Porter 1965: 80).

The primary and unskilled occupational class in 1951

made up 13.3% of the labor force, and Jews were again underrepresented, at 1.8%. They were overrepresented (10.2%) in the professional and financial class, which made up 5.9% of the total labor force. Jews were as underrepresented in agriculture in 1951 as they had been in 1931 (Porter 1965: 83-84). When one considers the occupations of Canada's Jews, it is not out of character to find that they rank first in average total income over all the other ethnic groups in Canada (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 40).

### Example

Gillis and Whitehead's study of the Halifax Jewish community provides us with an explicit example of this overrepresentation in professional occupations. Twenty percent of this population are professionals, 20% are in the category 'proprietors, managers and officials, large,' and 44% are in the category 'proprietors, managers and officials, small.' The remaining 16% of the Jewish population receive their income through property holdings (10%) or are employed as clerks and sales persons (6%). There are no semi-professionals, skilled or semi-skilled workers, or farmers among the members of the Halifax Jewish community (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 88).

### Discrimination

We have seen that Jews rank high in occupational status and in income. Their positions are partly the result of the

fact that many are self-employed business owners or professionals, and partly because they are generally well-educated. But despite their occupational status and high income levels, they are subject to discrimination. The high level of self-employment found among Jews (nearly 50%) is, to some extent, a response to this discrimination; because they are self-employed, they tend to remain in the labor force till late in life and they enter the work force late because of their concern for education (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 62-63).

In the past, certain occupations, such as engineering and teaching, were virtually closed to Jews and very few made the effort to enter these occupations. Since World War II, however, these occupational barriers have been broken down, yet research indicates that the anticipation of discrimination still influences occupational distribution among Jews. Consequently, they have chosen to specialize, for example, as sub-contractors in the mechanical trades, as Jewish engineers feel that they would encounter difficulty in progressing as professionals. They therefore turn to other applications of their training, such as mechanical contracting, and their firms profit from being headed by persons with advanced professional training (R.C.B. & B. 1970: 63).

Gillis and Whitehead's (1971) explanation for the occupational distribution of the Jews in Halifax was presented in the Introductory Chapter. Their explanation is similar to the one presented above in that they state that discrimination on the part of the Halifax Gentile businessmen and the anti-

Gentile feelings of the Jews are responsible for the complete lack of semi-professional occupations, as well as the high incidence of self-employment, among these Jews (Gillis and Whitehead 1971: 89).

Occupational and Educational Structure of the Thunder Bay Jews

The Thunder Bay Jewish community presents a concentrated example of the general Canadian Jewish economic and educational history. The situation in Thunder Bay, however, began to vary from this general picture about twenty years ago. Evidence indicates that this variation corresponds with other institutional base changes and, therefore, is jointly responsible for the decline of this community's solidarity.

The first Jews to settle in Thunder Bay possessed a variety of skills and knowledge. Many were shopkeepers and small businessmen; others were tradesmen. The economic situation in Thunder Bay during the early 1900's was such that individuals were able to set up their small businesses with little difficulty. Large enterprises had not yet established their monopoly situations and the small businessman was usually able to make a success of his commercial undertaking.

Many of Thunder Bay's present businesses were established by these first Jews. Two scrap metal yards, several furniture stores, a wholesale outlet, clothing stores, a hotel, a wholesale butcher shop, and several fur stores are still operating successfully in the city. These enterprises serve

the populace, not just the Jews, of Thunder Bay. If the owners and managers of these businesses relied solely upon the local Jews as customers, they would be unable to operate successfully. There are not enough Jews living in the city at present to support exclusive ethnic enterprises.

Other businesses set up by the first Jews included such endeavors as cattle-buying and a butcher shop. The occupations ranged from accountant, to salesman, to jeweller, to businessman, to store manager and merchant. Thus, the first generation of Jews in Thunder Bay were representative of the general Canadian picture. They were mainly shopkeepers and tradesmen, transferring their skills from their homelands to their new country. Figure 3:a presents the known occupations of these first Jews, as well as of their offspring.

The relative success met with in establishing and running their small businesses enabled the first generation to provide their children with advanced educations. Consequently, professional occupations appeared in the second generation. Optometry, dentistry, medicine, teaching, engineering, and law are the professions that were opted for by a few of the members of the second generation.

Others chose to continue with their fathers' businesses. A wholesale outlet, an hotel, a fur store, two scrap metal yards, furniture stores and clothing stores were expanded by the offspring of the first members of this community.

In addition, new businesses were introduced to the economic structure of the Jewish community, either by the



Figure 3:a

Male Occupational Structure of Thunder Bay's Jewish Community

Key: \* - has left Thunder Bay

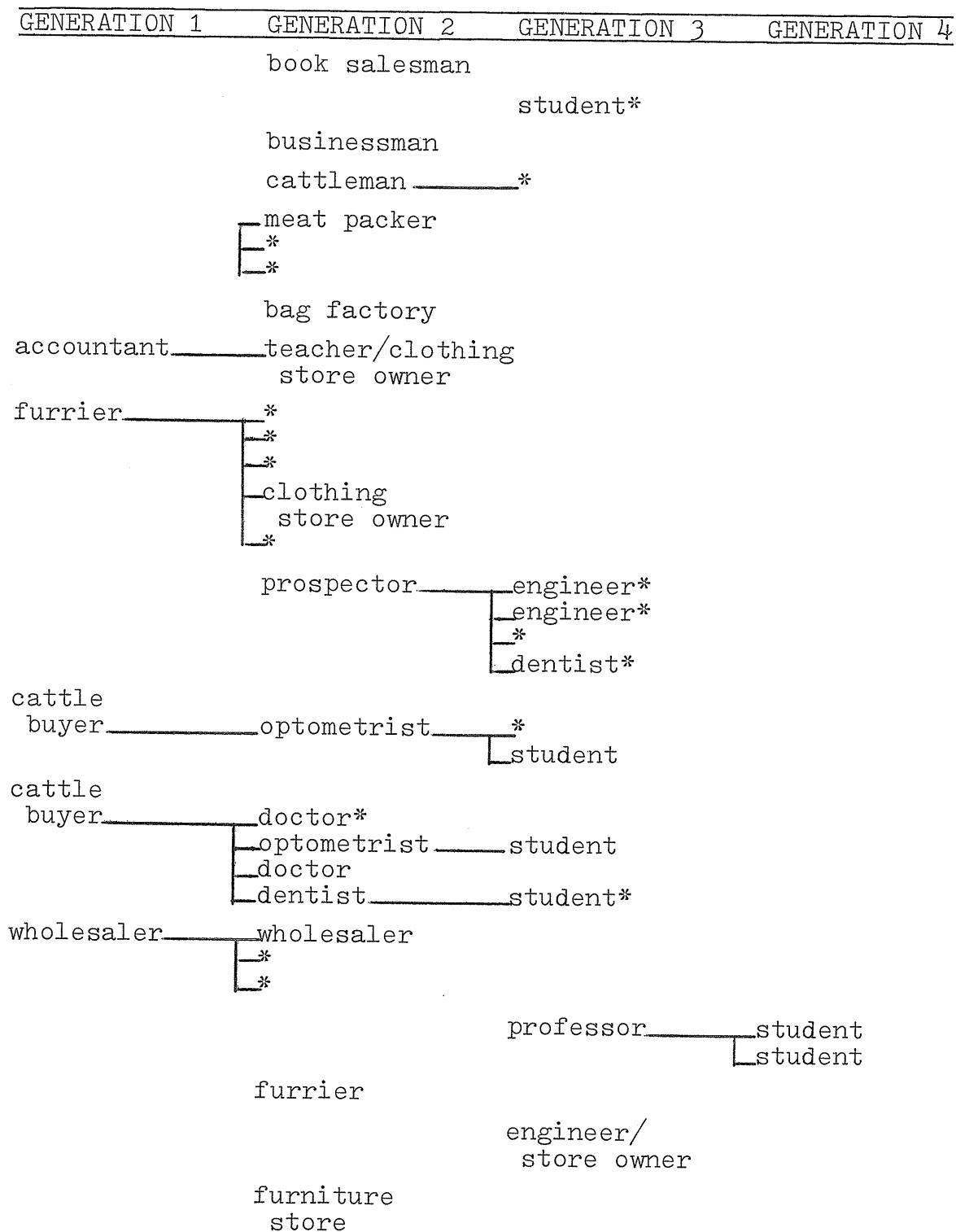


Figure 3:a (cont'd)

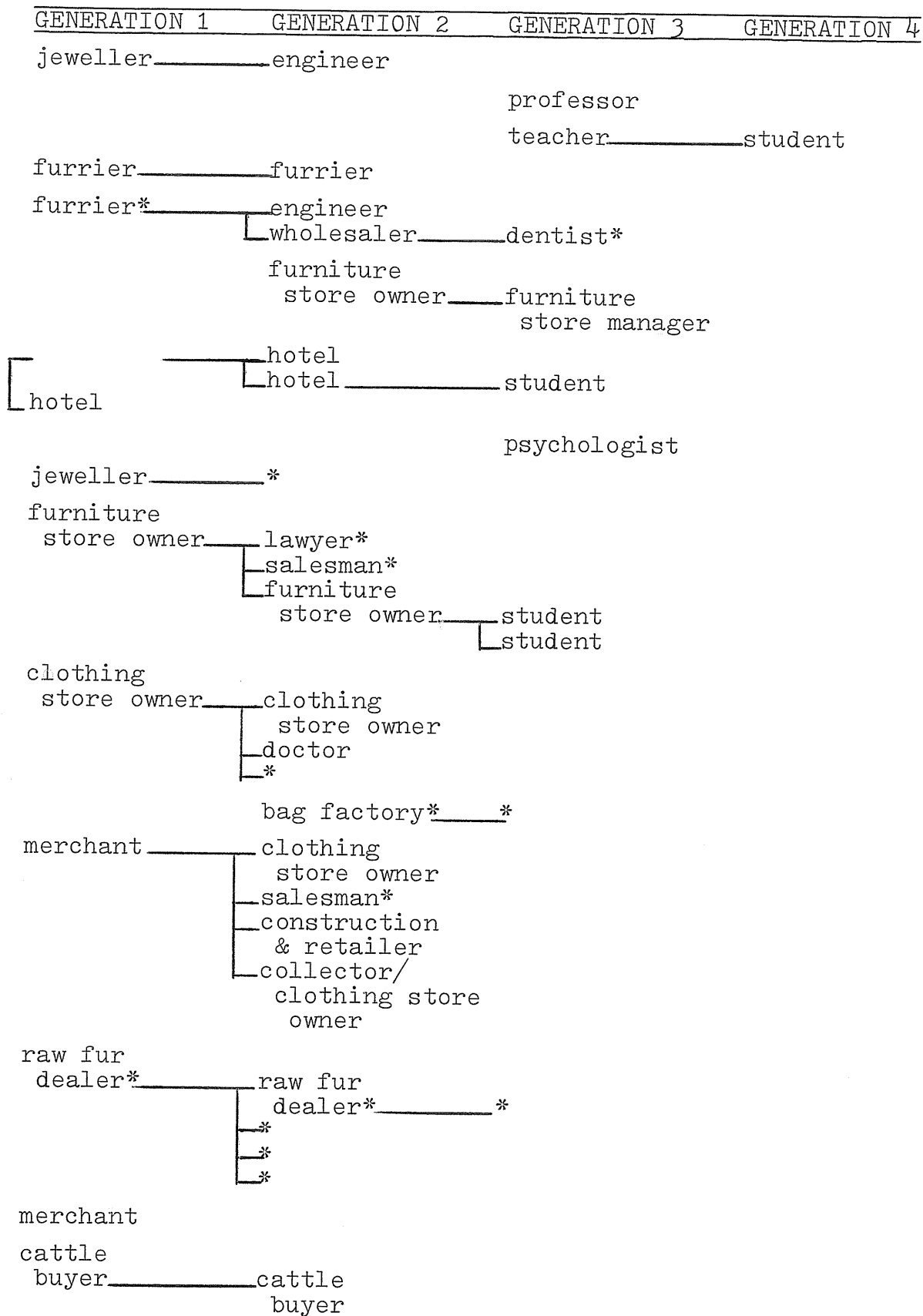


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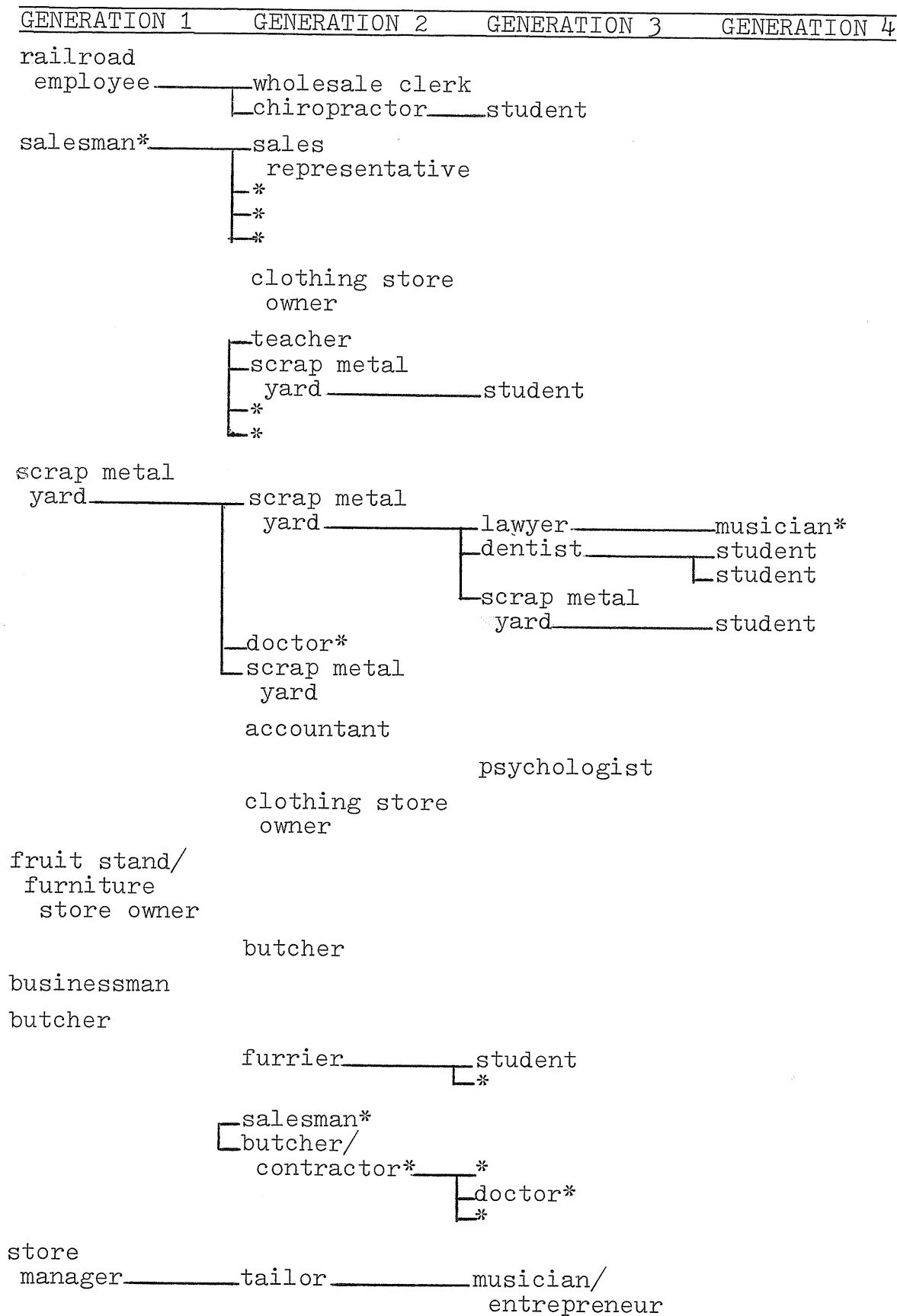
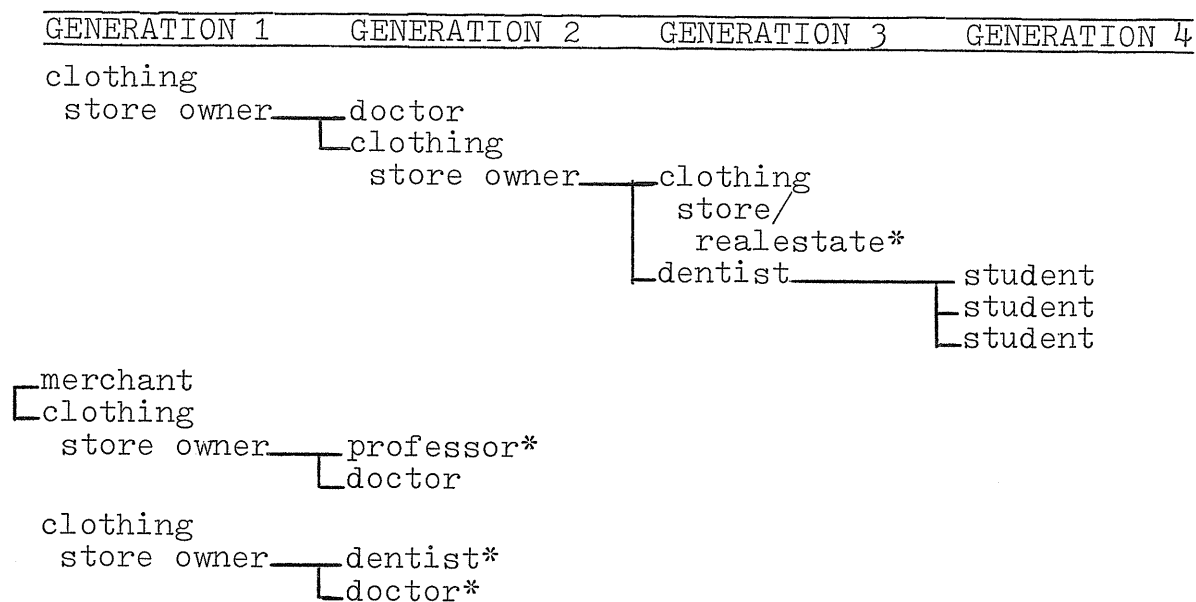


Figure 3:a (cont'd)



offspring of the first generation, or by new members of the community. Clothing stores and a bag manufacturing factory were among these new enterprises.

When the known occupations of forty-four members of the second generation were examined, the following pattern emerged. Ten individuals continued with their fathers' businesses and new occupations were introduced into the economic structure of the community by thirteen other members. Twenty-one individuals chose to leave Thunder Bay and settle elsewhere.

The ability of these Jewish parents to provide their children with post-secondary education introduced a new element into the community. It provided new professional occupations to choose from, but it also added an impetus for movement out of the community. Those individuals who were not able to find employment in Thunder Bay after receiving professional training, settled elsewhere. Often, they moved to the city where they had attended a post-secondary institution. This out-movement of the second generation did not immediately affect the Jewish population as there were new families moving into the community, and there were young families, already in the community, raising families of their own. This out-movement, however, split up families and dispersed them across Canada and the States.

As an example of the dispersal of family units, we will examine family # 19. The first member of this family to live in Thunder Bay settled in what was then known as Port Arthur

in 1908, and began farming. He had been born in Russia, and came to Canada in 1905, living in Winnipeg for three years before moving to Port Arthur. In 1919, he had amassed sufficient capital to open a furniture store.

His oldest son attended law school at the University of Toronto. He eventually settled in Ottawa, where he occupies a high position in Canada's judicial system. This individual's two children left Thunder Bay with their parents.

The second oldest son moved to Winnipeg and then Toronto in 1950, where he worked as a manufacturer's agent and businessman. His two children moved with him from Thunder Bay.

The youngest son remained in Thunder Bay and assumed the ownership of his father's furniture store. He held office for several terms on the city council, in addition to his work as store manager and owner. Of his five children, three are attending post-secondary institutions outside of Thunder Bay and a fourth is in a local high school. The oldest has settled outside of Thunder Bay, as her occupation has precluded her employment in the city. The wife of this youngest son stated that she cannot see her children ever returning to Thunder Bay because job opportunities are lacking in the area.

The economic and educational history of this family has demonstrated the effects that post-secondary education and the lack of local professional employment opportunities have had on Jewish families in Thunder Bay. Several other examples

are available and can readily be discerned in Figure 3:a.

The third generation was and is being provided with opportunities for post-secondary education on a larger scale than was previously available. As a result, the range of professional occupations is increasing to include university professors and psychologists, as well as the teachers, engineers, dentists, lawyers, accountants and doctors of the previous generation. Many of the third generation have not yet entered the labor force, as they are presently attending post-secondary institutions in other large centers, such as Winnipeg and Toronto.

Post-secondary education has, in the past, provided members of the second generation, and is again providing members of the third generation, with new opportunities. Not only are they able to secure professional training, they are also able to meet a wider circle of Jews. This is facilitated by their attendance at institutions outside of Thunder Bay. There is a local university and community college, but the majority of young Thunder Bay Jews do not attend these institutions. They go to the larger urban centers for their education, as did the members of their parents's generation, when there were no post-secondary institutions in Thunder Bay. Marriage to Jews from outside communities is thus made possible and the effects of this are discussed in Chapter Four.

After completing their professional training, members of the community find that the opportunities for employment in Thunder Bay are limited. The city is expanding, but it is not

growing quickly enough to absorb all the local residents, both Jew and Gentile, into the job market. Consequently, the professional Jew is left with three possibilities. He or she can follow the pattern established in the second generation, or can remain in Thunder Bay and find a job unlike the one that he trained for, or he can continue with his father's business.

Evidence indicates that the majority are following the pattern established previously, and are leaving to settle in a city that will provide them with work in their chosen fields. This decision is reducing the size of the Jewish population in Thunder Bay and is removing those Jews who would be producing the next generation under different circumstances.

In a sample of twenty-three members of the third generation, three have remained in Thunder Bay and continued with their fathers' businesses. Four other members established themselves in the city in new occupations, and eight people left to settle elsewhere. The occupations of those who left are not the same as their fathers' and are mainly professional ones. The remaining eight individuals in the sample are students.

As one informant explained, the Jewish parents are encouraging their children to leave Thunder Bay and to go to larger urban centers, such as Winnipeg and Toronto. These parents believe that their children will thus have better opportunities for education and for employment when they graduate.



The fourth generation is attending primary and secondary schools in Thunder Bay. The parents of these children express doubt with regard to the possibility that their children will settle in Thunder Bay after their post-secondary educations. This doubt is based upon the likelihood that their children will be unable to find work in their chosen fields in the city. It is also based on the past experience of the parents. Even though they represent those Jews who remained in Thunder Bay, they believe their children will fall into the pattern of leaving to settle elsewhere, as have so many before them. They also believe that their children will find greater opportunities elsewhere.

During the last fifteen years, six new Jewish families have settled in Thunder Bay. With two exceptions, these new members are professionals. Their occupations range from university professor to psychologist to an engineer who opened a specialty shop. These individuals will, in all likelihood, remain in the city only for as long as their employment lasts, as they were brought to the area by their jobs, not by the sole desire to live in the Thunder Bay area.

#### Religious Education in the Community

A parochial school was not established in Thunder Bay, and the Jewish children received their religious educations from the Talmud Torah, and from the synagogue services and their parents. When the last rabbi left the city, in the Fall of 1974, the Talmud Torah ceased to operate. One of

the main functions of the school was to prepare young boys for their Bar Mitzvahs. Now, when such religious training is required, the boy must rely upon the knowledge of the older men in the community or listen to taped lessons. As there are few Jewish boys approaching the age of thirteen in the community, there is not a great deal of pressure upon the older men to provide the required knowledge.

In the past, there had been two Talmud Torahs. The Jewish population was demographically young at that time, and thus the two schools, one for the Port Arthur group and one for the Jewish children in Fort William, were warranted. These schools were initially operated by Hebrew teachers and were attended by all the Jewish children after their public schools were closed for the day.

The two Hebrew schools were eventually united into one, probably shortly after the Port Arthur congregation joined the Fort William synagogue. The various rabbis that served the local Jews assumed the duties of Hebrew teacher as the number of children attending the classes declined. The Thunder Bay Talmud Torah closed when the last rabbi left the city.

### Summary

The occupational structure of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay is characterized by upward mobility in the second and third generations. The first members of the community were tradesmen, shopkeepers, and small businessmen. They were able to provide their children with educational

opportunities or they passed on their businesses to them. The second generation thus became professionals or expanders of their fathers' enterprises. Many of those who became professionals left Thunder Bay and split up their families in this way.

The third generation was also provided with educational opportunities or the chance to take over their fathers' businesses. Professional occupations were generally opted for and many left Thunder Bay to find employment that was not available in the local area. The family units were again split up and dispersed across the country.

Young professional Jews have been settling in the city, but they have not been numerous enough to replace those members of the community who have left. The number of new Jewish families that can possibly settle in the city is limited by the same factors that are forcing the local Jews to leave the area, namely, limited employment opportunities.

Thus, it is evident that the trend of upward mobility, combined with the lack of employment opportunities, is reducing the Jewish population in Thunder Bay. The economic and educational aspects of the institutional base have been weakened by this trend, and many of the community members, unable to make a living in the area, are leaving to settle elsewhere.

CHAPTER FOUR  
KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

In the foregoing chapter, we examined the effects that the weakening of the economic and educational factors of the institutional base have had on the Jewish community in Thunder Bay. Two additional aspects of the base, namely kinship and marriage, will be dealt with in this chapter with a view to determining how they have affected the decline of this community.

The Jewish Family in Historical Perspective

The family has been considered a sacred Jewish institution since earliest times. Ideally, familial ties tend to be very strong, and the relationships between husband and wife, parent and child, are highly valued and treasured. Peace within the home (Sholem Bayis) is also highly valued and a quiet, dignified family life is insisted upon, is regarded as the ideal. Children are considered a blessing (Grayzel 1968: 228-229) and marriage, contracted for purposes of companionship and procreation, is an intrinsic good, a commandment and an obligation (Kitov 1963: 19).

The behavior of family members in traditional Jewish homes has been guided for centuries by written codes that

standardize behavior patterns. The Shulkan Arukh,<sup>1</sup> Jewish Code of Law, outlines the role of marriage, the role of husband and of wife, the conduct of children and their relationships with their siblings and parents, and the rules for the choice of a marriage partner (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 448-463).

The husband is responsible for the propagation of the family, and, after ten years of childless marriage, he is enjoined to secure a divorce and remarry in order that he may produce offspring. He is to study sacred literature and to promote the tradition of book learning. Ideally, he should be a successful businessman as well as a scholar. The husband is also responsible for certain domestic rituals<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Shulhan Arukh is the name of a code written by Joseph Caro. It was first printed in Venice in 1565 and ultimately became accepted as the code of Jewish law par excellence after amendments were made to the original version. The code is divided into four sections. The first, Orah Hayyim, deals with the daily commandments, the Sabbaths and festivals. The second, Yoreh De'ah, discusses dietary laws, interest, purity and mourning. Even ha-Ezer, section three, pertains to marriage, divorce and other related topics. The last section, Hoshen Mishpat, covers civil and criminal law (E.J. 1971: 14: 1475).

<sup>2</sup>The Kiddush (sactification) prayers must be said over wine on the Sabbath and holidays, the feast of the Passover, and the pinning of the mezuzah on the door-jamb of the house by the husband (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 449).

and for his wife's general well-being (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 449-450).

The wife's role is both complimentary to, and subordinated to and dependent upon, her husband's. She shares the responsibility for the dietary regulations and prohibitions with her husband, but is charged with their proper functioning in the home. She is also responsible for performing her own female rituals<sup>1</sup> which bring about the family's well-being (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 450).

Husband and wife together fulfill the object of marriage by raising their children. They jointly support their children, provide for their education, and for the rites of passage, such as circumcision, Bar Mitzvah, marriage, and even death. Male offspring are preferred by both father and mother, and the first-born son becomes his father's heir (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 450). Jewish parents center their lives around their children (Kitov 1963: 155), and the proper upbringing of one's sons and daughters is the most praiseworthy activity that a person can engage in (Kitov 1963: 199).

Children in return are expected to show consideration for and obey their parents (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 451).

<sup>1</sup>Married women must take the ritual bath (Mikvah) after their menstruation periods. The wife is also responsible for lighting and blessing the Sabbath candles, and offering God a portion of the dough from the Sabbath loaf (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 450).

The son usually has a closer relationship with his mother than with his father, however. There is no avoidance behavior between mother and son, and she personifies warmth, security, food, intimacy, unconditional love, and practical reality. Father, on the other hand, is remote from his son, both physically and emotionally, as he acts as teacher and a model to be followed (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 454).

Father and daughter have an affectionate relationship and the daughter is the one member of the family in whose company he can relax. He is indulgent and undemanding towards her, as she is the only female, other than his wife and mother, with whom he may be alone. With the exception of incest, there are no norms in the Code or in Jewish tradition upon which to model the father-daughter relationship (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 446).

The mother-daughter relationship, however, is perforated with hostile nagging. The daughter must be reared to resemble the mother's position, yet mother is determined to keep her in a junior position for as long as she lives in her parents' home. As soon as the daughter marries, however, her position moves to a more egalitarian one, as her new status (i.e., wife) approaches that of her mother's (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 456-457).

Siblings of opposite sex tend to avoid each other if they are close in age, and any relationships between them are generally permeated with quarreling or silent hostility. Such avoidance behavior may act as a barrier to incest.

Opposite-sexed siblings with greater age differences tend to be more tolerant of each other and their relationships tend to take on some of the characteristics of the mother-son, father-daughter roles. Relations between same-sexed siblings follow a similar pattern, but with differing qualities. For example, the older brother shares the ritual and statutory authority of the father, which is mutually ignored among coeval brothers, but reappears in the relationship with the younger brother (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 457).

Marriage among Jews is ideally contracted for purposes of companionship and procreation. When the young Jew reaches the age of eighteen, he or she is considered to be eligible for marriage and is urged to begin contemplating matrimony. Ideally, marriage should not be delayed too far beyond twenty years of age (Kitov 1963: 25).

In the European shtetls, the parents determined who was to marry whom, although the bride's consent was asked for on occasion, and romantic unions were not uncommon (E.J. 1971: 11:1027). The mother would select her daughter-in-law

...carefully, appraising the social and financial standing of her parents, demanding dowry and <sup>1</sup>kest to correspond to her son's intellectual talents, examining the future bride's housewifely abilities, and

<sup>1</sup>The period immediately after marriage during which the couple either lives with the wife's parents or the husband's parents while the husband pursues his religious training.



generally measuring her by severe personal and role specifications (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 458).

The father, correspondingly, would select his son-in-law, "...after testing him for family and personal qualities, stressing scholarly accomplishments over physical and economic qualifications" (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 459).

Quite often, the shadchan (marriage broker) arranged a match before the parents knew about it, or the shadchan might suggest a possible match to the parents after eliminating all other possibilities and then act as negotiator between the two families in matters of dowry and other necessary arrangements. When agreement was reached, the affair was sealed by the signing of the betrothal pact (tena'im). The actual marriage was often delayed for a long period of time (months or even years) until the groom had completed his studies and the bride her trousseau (Grayzel 1968: 482).

There are few indicators for the choice of a marriage partner in traditional law, although individuals tended to marry within the same clan. The main restriction states that if a man chooses a wife from among his kin, he may marry only in collateral lines of descent, that is, nieces. Traditional law also specifies the levirate; an unmarried man should marry his brother's widow if she is childless (Landes and Zborowski 1950: 461; E.J. 1971:11:1027-1028).

Rules of marriage for members of the various tribes are not extensive, but are explicit. A male Kohen is not permitted to marry a divorcee or remarry his own divorcee. An

Israelite or a Levite may remarry his own divorcee, but only if she has not remarried in the interim (Kitov 1963: 25).

In the shtetls of Europe, it is likely that the frequency of intermarriage was low. Intermarriage between Jew and Gentile was frowned upon then and is frowned upon now. But the chances of it occurring in the shtetls was slim, as most marriages were arranged by parents anxious to have their children marry within their faith. This anxiety would likely have been reinforced by the attitudes of the surrounding non-Jews, who were also anxious that their children marry within their respective faiths. In addition, the infrequency with which Jew and non-Jew met on a social basis would also reduce the possibility of intermarriage.

### Intermarriage

When the European Jews immigrated to Canada, they encountered a freer atmosphere than had been prevalent in Europe. The offspring of these early Jewish settlers grew up under different circumstances than their parents and the rate of intermarriage was greater among the offspring and their offspring than it had been among the early settlers. For example, the national Jewish rate of intermarriage in Canada was 2.5% from 1926 to 1930. This rate increased to 7.5% for the period from 1956 to 1960. This trend is possibly a reflection of the general environment in Canada, as other religious denominations are experiencing similar increasing rates of intermarriage (Rosenberg 1971: 85-86).

Rosenberg (1971) has attributed this increasing rate among the Jews to several factors. He lists as the most frequently named factors,

...the breakdown of family authority and the central decision-making role of Jewish parents; concomitantly, the new freedom for both daughters and sons to shape their own lifestyles without fear or guilt, the increasing number of young Jews now attending university and the growing number of private options they are seeking (Rosenberg 1971: 87).

Intermarriage between Jew and Gentile tends to be more frequent in the smaller, more remote towns of present-day Canada, according to Rosenberg (1970). In support of this statement, he reports that during the 1950's, intermarriages had taken place in ten out of thirty-seven households in Sault St. Marie. There were 115 Jews in this city in 1951. Chatham, with a Jewish population of 147 in 1951, had eight intermarriages out of a total of forty-five households during the 1950's. In Sudbury, twelve out of seventy-three households experienced mixed marriages during the 1950's. There were 184 Jews living in Sudbury in 1951 (Rosenberg 1970: 104; Ninth Census of Canada 1953).

These three cities, Sault St. Marie, Chatham and Sudbury, have experienced decreases in the Jewish populations over the last twenty-five years. In this respect, they are similar to Thunder Bay, although their Jewish populations in 1951 were smaller than in Thunder Bay for the corresponding census period.

It will be interesting to determine whether or not the Jewish population in Thunder Bay has shown an increase in the frequency of mixed marriages over the past twenty years. If intermarriage has not increased appreciably, then what is the pattern of marriage for this Jewish community?

#### Analysis: Age-Group Model

The analysis of the kinship and marriage patterns of the Thunder Bay Jews is handled by means of an age-group model. Five age-groups, each consisting of twenty years, are involved and cover a total of 100 years, from 1864 to 1964. Each age-group has been given an identifying number, which indicates the sequential order of the age-group. Thus, those individuals born between 1864 and 1884 are members of age-group #1, and those born between 1885 and 1904 are members of age-group #2, and so on.

The age-group analysis has been restricted to eighty-four couples. Two requirements were necessary for inclusion in the sample: the date and place of birth for at least one member of the married couple, as well as the date and place of marriage for the couple. There were eighty-four couples for whom this necessary information was known.

#### Thunder Bay Jewish Marriage Patterns

By analyzing the kinship and marriage in this manner, it is hoped that a pattern will emerge. In all likelihood, this pattern will reflect the increasing number of marriages to

outside Jews, which has been necessitated by the lack of eligible spouses within the Thunder Bay community, and facilitated by the economic and educational patterns of these Jews.

Seventeen of the eighty-four couples in the sample fall into the first age-group; that is, they were born between 1864 and 1884. None of these thirty-four individuals was born in Thunder Bay. Rather, they came mainly from various places in Europe, such as Russia, Austria, Roumania and England, and had settled for a brief period in larger Canadian cities, such as Montreal and Winnipeg, prior to settling in Thunder Bay.

Among these first age-group couples were fourteen who were married before their arrival in Thunder Bay. One couple married after their separate arrivals in Thunder Bay, and two other individuals, one male and one female, married Jews from Winnipeg after their arrival in the city.

In age-group #2, there are fourteen couples, born between 1885 and 1904. This age-group, like the first, was generally not born in Thunder Bay and had come to Canada from several European countries. Seven of these couples were married before they settled in Thunder Bay. Four males, who had come to the city with their parents, married Jewish women from other centers, such as Winnipeg and Toronto, and Newark, New Jersey. The remaining three couples of this age-group were local marriages.

The third age-group involves the largest number of couples

in the sample. Of the fifty-six members in this age-group, only one couple was married before they arrived in Thunder Bay. Seven couples represent local marriages, and there was one marriage involving a local non-Jewish male. Fifteen men married Jewish women from outside of the local community, and four females married Jews from outside.

There are thirty-six individuals included in age-group #4, none of whom married a local Jew. Seven men married Jewish spouses from an outside community, as did four women. These outside spouses came from Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, New York and Philadelphia.

Seven couples from age-group #4 settled in Thunder Bay after their marriages. Three of these had one non-Jewish partner. A local mixed marriage is also included in this age-group.

The remaining six of the eighty-four couples in this sample are members of the fifth age-group. As in the preceeding group, one of the individuals included in this 1945 to 1964 age-group married a local Jew. Two males were married to a local non-Jewish female, and one female married an outside non-Jewish male. Three local females married outside Jewish males from Winnipeg and London. No previously married couples in this age-group settled in Thunder Bay. Table 4:1 summarizes the marriage patterns for these five age-groups of the Thunder Bay Jewish community.

Although the sample used is small, there appears to be a pattern emerging for the five age-groups. For the first

Table 4:1

Marriage Patterns by Age-Groups for the Thunder Bay Jews

AGE-GROUP*	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	
MARRIED LOCAL JEW	1	3	7	0	0	
MARRIED OUTSIDE FEMALE JEW	1	4	15	7	0	
MARRIED OUTSIDE MALE JEW	1	0	4	4	3	
TOTAL MARRIED OUTSIDE JEW	2	4	19	11	3	
MARRIED TO JEW WHEN ARRIVED	14	7	1	4	0	
MARRIED TO LOCAL FEMALE NON-JEW	0	0	0	1	2	
MARRIED TO LOCAL MALE NON-JEW	0	0	1	0	0	
TOTAL MARRIED LOCAL NON-JEW	0	0	1	1	2	
MARRIED OUTSIDE FEMALE NON-JEW	0	0	0	0	0	
MARRIED OUTSIDE MALE NON-JEW	0	0	0	0	1	
TOTAL MARRIED OUTSIDE NON-JEW	0	0	0	0	1	
MARRIED TO NON-JEW WHEN ARRIVED	0	0	0	3	0	
TOTAL COUPLES	17	14	28	19	6	84

\* #1 - born between 1864 and 1884

#2 - born between 1885 and 1904

#3 - born between 1905 and 1924

#4 - born between 1925 and 1944

#5 - born between 1945 and 1964

three groups, there is a decrease in the number of married couples that settled in Thunder Bay from the first to the third respectively. This decrease could be a reflection of the reduction in the number of Jewish immigrants entering Canada from the initial period of Jewish immigration in the late 1800's to the start of the Second World War.

Corresponding to the decrease in the number of new couples, there is an increase in the number of local marriages that were contracted, as well as an increase in the number of marriages involving a local Jew and an outside spouse. These increases, climaxing with the third age-group, likely reflect the increasing population of the local Jewish community. The members of the third age-group would have married during the 1930's and 1940's, during which time the Thunder Bay Jewish population was at its highest point.

The pattern of marriage shifts for the fourth and fifth age-groups. There were no local Jewish marriages for either of these two groups, although there were three mixed local marriages. Seven new couples arrived in Thunder Bay and fourteen marriages were contracted with outside Jews. Thus, the pattern of increasing local marriages was broken, but the tendency to marry an outside Jew was continued by members of the fourth and fifth age-groups.

Marriage to outside Jews and the complete lack of local Jewish marriages for these last two age-groups indicates that there were not sufficient numbers of eligible spouses within the local Jewish community. Figure 4:b supports this finding.



Figure 4:a

Kinship Chart of the Thunder Bay Jewish Families

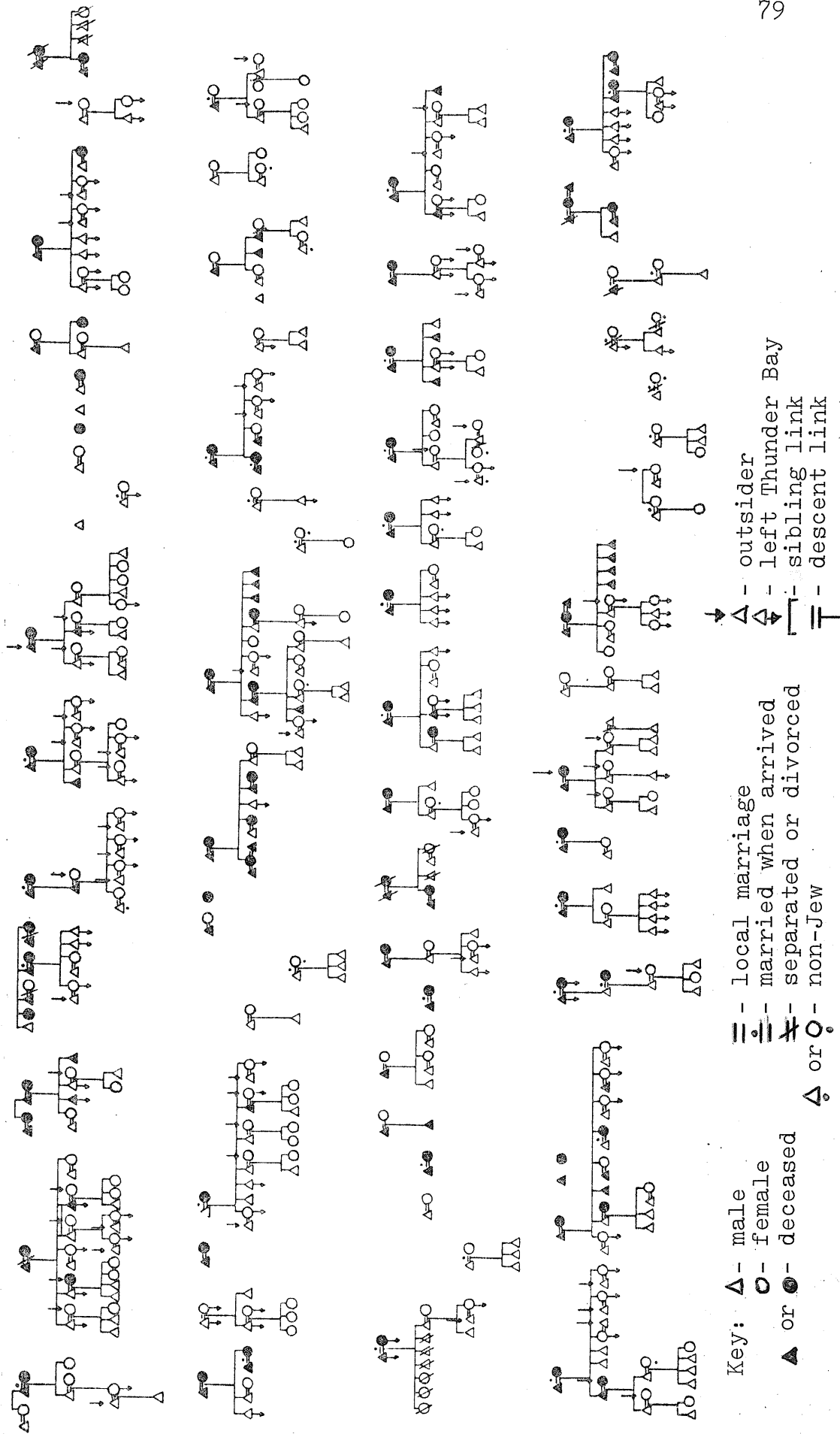


Figure 4:b

## Eligible Marriage Partners for Local Jews

Key: X- eligible marriage partner

N.J. - non-Jew

Out - outsider

individual identification - first number indicates family

- M or F indicates sex

- last number indicates age-group

[illegible]

In the sample used for the analysis of the marriage patterns, there were forty-one local males and twenty-seven local females. As there were not sufficient numbers of eligible females for the local Jewish males to marry, many looked to the larger centers for wives. Twenty-six of the forty-one local males married Jewish women from outside of the Thunder Bay community, eleven married local Jewish women, three married non-Jewish women, and the one remaining male in the sample is not yet married.

The twenty-seven local women were also presented with the problem of a lack of eligible local spouses, even though there were more males than females in the sample. Their problem was created by the feedback from the local males' predicament. In other words, the men, unable to locate an eligible spouse locally, looked elsewhere, and when the local women were ready for marriage, there were few unmarried males locally available. Consequently, eleven of the women married outside Jewish men, two married non-Jews, eleven married local Jews, and three are not yet married.

It is evident that as eligible spouses became fewer, the Thunder Bay Jews looked to other Jewish communities for their spouses rather than marry a local non-Jew. This pattern of marriage contradicts Rosenberg's statement that intermarriage between Jew and Gentile tends to be more frequent in the smaller, more remote towns of present-day Canada (Rosenberg 1970: 104).

There are a few instances where intermarriage has occurred

in this Jewish community, and in most cases, the non-Jewish partner has converted to Judaism. Many of the informants, when questioned about conversion, stated that "it's not the same as being born a Jew." The convert is not regarded as being a "true Jew" by many of these informants.

None of the individuals interviewed stated that there was direct pressure brought to bear upon their children to marry other Jews. Many parents, however, did express the desire for their children to marry other Jews if at all possible. The children are encouraged to leave Thunder Bay to attend large universities and colleges elsewhere. This encouragement is given by the parents to prompt an education for their offspring that they feel is not available locally, and to increase the number of young Jews their children will come in contact with, in the hopes that they will marry within their faith.

This parental strategy and its effects are evident in the low percentage of intermarriage for the Thunder Bay Jewish community. Five of the sixty-eight local Jews in the sample married non-Jews. The small size of the community is not bringing about intermarriage, and the local Jews are seeking Jewish marriage partners outside of the local Jewish community.

### Local Kinship Links

The search for Jewish mates in other communities has been facilitated by the economic and educational patterns of the Thunder Bay Jews. In the preceeding chapter, we found

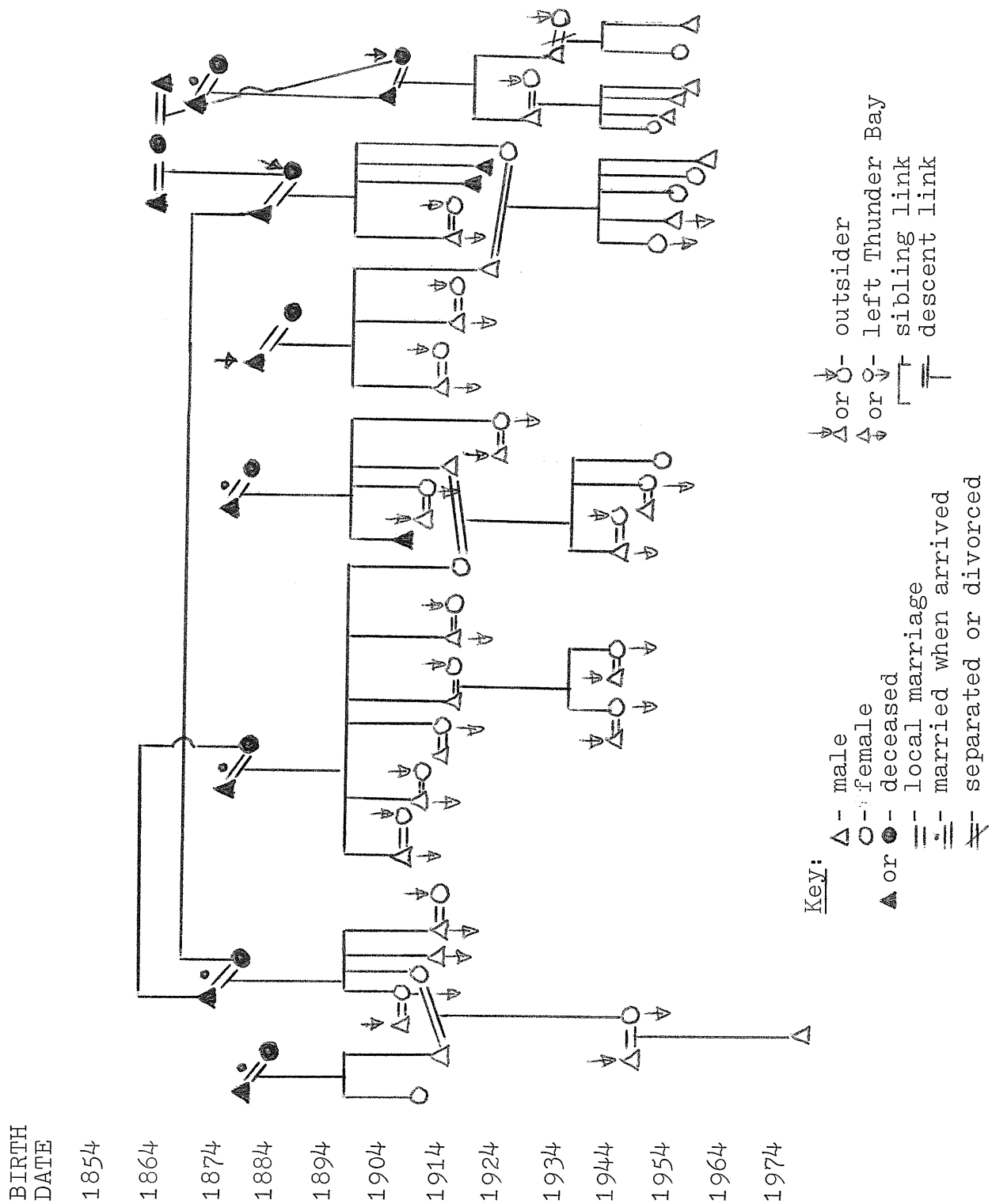
that upward mobility has taken many of the local Jews to other cities, such as Winnipeg and Toronto. There are large Jewish populations in these cities and many local Jews have married members of these outside communities while attending post-secondary institutions or making a livelihood in these cities.

Marriage to outside Jews has thus been a function of numbers and of upward mobility. However, an additional factor has prompted these outside marriages; extensive kinship links were created by the local marriages and reduced the number of eligible spouses for the succeeding generation. In order to demonstrate the extent of the kinship links created by the local marriages, seven families have been selected and are presented in Figure 4:c.

Not all the Jewish families in Thunder Bay have such extensive kinship links, as do the seven presented in the figure. There are, however, numerous sibling links and affinal ties which have appreciably reduced the number of eligible spouses.

The out-movement of many of the local Jews also reduced the number of eligible spouses by removing the offspring of these out-moving individuals and couples. As indicated in Figure 4:c, twelve members of the community, born between 1904 and 1924, left Thunder Bay. This reduced the number of eligible spouses for the succeeding generation by possibly twelve to twenty-four or more. The effect of this reduction is significantly demonstrated by the out-marriage of the offspring of the parents who chose to remain in Thunder Bay.

Figure 4:c

Kinship Links of Seven Thunder Bay Jewish Families

### Strong Familial Ties

As mentioned previously, familial ties tend to be strong in Jewish families. The families in Thunder Bay have been split up by the upward mobility of their members and by out-marriage. Parents find themselves living in Thunder Bay, their children and siblings living elsewhere. Strong familial ties may be prompting many of these older Jewish couples to leave the city when they reach retirement age, and to resettle closer to their married children and grandchildren.

For example, during the summer of 1975, an older, retired couple left Thunder Bay for Toronto. Their son and daughter had settled in Toronto several years earlier, and were married to Toronto Jews. It is likely that this older couple decided to move to Toronto in order to be closer to their children and grandchildren.

### Summary

The kinship and marriage patterns presented in this chapter have demonstrated further cause for the decline of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay. The increasing lack of eligible spouses within the community has induced the local Jews to seek elsewhere for Jewish mates rather than marry local non-Jews, and the out-movement created by upward mobility has facilitated this search.

The local marriages have created extensive kinship links in the community and reduced the number of eligible spouses for the offspring of the parents who married locally. The

offspring thus look outside the community for Jewish marriage partners.

The kinship and marriage base of the Thunder Bay Jewish community, in one sense, has not been weakened. As representatives of Jews in general, they are maintaining the norm of endogamous marriage. On the other hand, this base has been weakened. The Thunder Bay Jewish community is becoming more and more exogamous as the frequency of marriages to individuals from other communities increases. These 'local-community-exogamous-marriages' are contracted in an effort to maintain the norm of endogamous marriage, and are, as a result, reducing the solidarity of the local community and effecting its decline.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

It may be feasible that the viability of a community is most readily apparent, both to outsiders and to the members themselves, in the social activities identified with the community, as these activities and their associated organizations are, in all likelihood, the most visible aspects of the institutional base. When there are numerous and frequent social functions taking place, it may be feasible to assume that there are sufficient numbers of people willing to participate, both as organizers of, and as participants in, these events. It may also be possible to assume that there is an active interest in the activities of the community, and this interest encourages support from the members for these activities. This last assumption may very well be the primary element involved in the degree of participation evidenced in a particular community.

The level of social activity feasibly drops when interest in the community wanes and/or when there are not enough people to organize, and participate in, the social functions. If this situation should occur, members of the community may look outside of their own community for social activities, rather than attempt to maintain the level of social activities within their community at an unsatisfactory level. They may broaden their interests and social contacts to encompass persons and activities that they might not have encountered

had the level of activity within their own community not declined. These outside interests may further reduce the activities of the community and increase the possibility of a complete halt in the community's social activities.

This situation is not necessarily the case in every community. However, it is quite likely a feasible explanation for the Jewish community in Thunder Bay.

### Jewish Voluntary Associations

There are numerous social activities and organizations associated with a Jewish community that are distinct from those of the larger social system. B'nai Brith, the National Council of Jewish Women, and Hadassah are the major distinguishing organizations, and are usually found in every Jewish community of substantial size in Canada.

B'nai Brith, Hebrew for "Sons of the Covenant," is the oldest and largest Jewish service organization. First founded in New York in 1843, it moved to Canada in 1875 when the first Canadian lodge was established in Toronto. Other lodges soon followed, in Montreal in 1881, and in Victoria in 1886. Twenty years later, these three lodges were disbanded due to dwindling interest and inactivity (Rosenberg 1971: 71).

These early lodges provided an important social function for the immigrant Jews. They represented

...islands of communication and a nucleus of respectability in the midst of strange, often dangerous country, filled with transient folk, most of whom had not yet

put down roots...B'nai Brith provided a centre for fraternity and friendship (Rosenberg 1971: 71).

In view of this function, it is surprising that the first three lodges in Canada disbanded at a time when Jewish immigration to Canada was an ongoing concern. It is not surprising, however, that new lodges were soon established.

In Winnipeg, a lodge was founded in 1909, followed by another in Thunder Bay (then Port Arthur and Fort William) in 1911. Edmonton, Montreal, and Saskatoon opened their lodges in 1913, and Toronto reactivated the first Canadian B'nai Brith Lodge in 1919. Then, in 1964, the eastern Canadian lodges separated from their American counterparts, and organized under the name of the Canadian District Lodge No. 22 (Rosenberg 1971: 71-72).

B'nai Brith has sponsored blood banks, vocational services, fund-raising activities to fight diseases, programs in aid of Israel, adult Jewish education projects, youth activities, and programs at old folks' homes. The lodges have also sponsored a network of summer camps across Canada and camping weekends for Jewish children (Rosenberg 1971: 72; E.J. 1971: 4: 1144-1147).

Hillel Foundations on university campuses are also sponsored by B'nai Brith. These institutions aim at strengthening Jewish identification by expanding religious knowledge. They also sponsor a variety of services and programs on campus, such as hot Kosher lunches, and major lecture series (Rosenberg 1971: 72).

The National Council of Jewish Women was first organized in Chicago in 1893, and its members worked in areas of philanthropy, social reform, and assistance to new immigrants. This organization was brought to Canada and Toronto in 1897, and then to Montreal in 1918. The development of the Council in various cities was often slowed by the attitudes of the men, who did not feel that another organization was needed to help newcomers (Rosenberg 1971: 77-78), and who were not ready "...to accept the idea of an independent council of Jewish women - with ideas, programs, and policies of their own" (Rosenberg 1971: 78). Prior to the formation of the Council, the women's groups had been auxiliaries of the men's organizations and, thus, under the control of the men.

The Canadian National Council of Jewish Women did not separate from its counterpart in the United States until 1963. The members have set up programs of social welfare for pre-school nursery children and for senior citizens in its old age clubs and workshops. The social work education and civic awareness programs of this group have also been expanded (Rosenberg 1971: 78; E.J. 1971: 12: 869-871).

Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization, first appeared in 1912 in the United States and was introduced to Toronto in 1916. It is the most active Zionist organization in Canada and is the main source of funds for Zionism. Resources are accumulated by means of art shows, book fairs, donar luncheons, and bazaars. The funds are then used to support children's villages in Israel, hospitals at Eilat and

Sarafand, a rehabilitation-training school for young Jewish refugees at Magdiel, and homes for babies at Jaffa and Acre. Hadassah also raises funds to resettle Jews in Israel (Rosenberg 1971: 21-24; E.J. 1971: 7: 1041).

These three organizations, B'nai Brith, the National Council of Jewish Women, and Hadassah, are found in virtually all Canadian Jewish communities. They bring the members together at the various meetings, social events, and fund-raising activities, and thus form an integral part of the institutional base of the community. They help to maintain the community's solidarity. These organizations and their activities are perhaps the most visible aspect of the community and serve as agents of self-ascription for the members, and as agents of ascription for outsiders. Members of the community are thus identified by their participation in these organizations.

#### Jewish Voluntary Associations in Thunder Bay

The social activities and associated organizations of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay are greatly reduced from their conditions of twenty years ago. It is difficult to determine whether the level of activity dropped as a result of the general decline of the community, or whether the decline of the community is a result of the decreasing level of activity. It is likely a combination of both, which, when combined with the weakening of the other aspects of the institutional base, have brought about the present state of the Jewish community

in Thunder Bay.

This community had an active B'nai Brith, an active chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women, and an active local chapter of Hadassah twenty years ago. Since that time, however, these voluntary organizations have become less and less active. B'nai Brith has ceased to function, and the two women's groups have been united into a single organization, the Thunder Bay Council of Jewish Women, in order to undertake the few activities they still manage to accomplish.

The local B'nai Brith lodge, established in 1911, was one of the first lodges in Canada. Its members raised funds to send local Jewish children to a summer camp near Kenora, Ontario, and to sponsor speakers from outside of the community. The local lodge was also active in raising funds for financial aid for Israel.

A Hillel Foundation was not established on the local university campus, however, likely due to the fact that the majority of the young local Jews went to universities outside of Thunder Bay.

The Thunder Bay chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women was active in raising funds for the local needy, Jew and Gentile alike. When they heard of a family in need, they collected the necessary items or the funds, and presented them to the family.

An older informant recounted the time that the Council members heard of a family in need. The mother was pregnant and the family could not afford to purchase coal for heat

nor clothing for the expected baby. The women of the Council collected the required coal and baby clothing, and presented them to the family. This informant also stated that at Christmas, they had provided food and a few gifts for needy Gentile families because "it is their big holiday and wouldn't be very nice for them if they went without."

Hadassah members were involved in raising funds for Israel. It appears that the main sources for these funds were a regular tea and fashion show, rummage sales and bazaars. Most of the women belonged to either Hadassah and/or the National Council of Jewish Women, and were thus active in supporting both the local needy and the people of Israel.

The peak of activity in the Jewish community is well exemplified by the building of the new synagogue. It took several years to raise the funds to buy the land for the new synagogue and to finance its building, but it was accomplished and there are no outstanding debts for the new building. At present, however, sufficient funds cannot be located to replace a cracked window in the front of the synagogue.

The size of the synagogue building is indicative of the activity in the community during its peak. The building was designed with a large community hall to accomodate the meetings and functions of the community's organizations. This hall is not used as often as had been intended.

The three voluntary organizations of the community were very active in the past. Most of the members participated in at least one of these voluntary associations and many have

served as executive officers. Social interaction was primarily with other members of the Jewish community and few of the local Jews had outside interests beyond their business transactions with the Gentiles.

In the last twenty years, the level of activity in this community has decreased. The most visible aspect of this decline is evident in the organizations themselves. The B'nai Brith lodge has, for all intents and purposes, terminated its operations. Funds are no longer raised to send the local Jewish children to summer camp, and there are few speakers brought in. Interestingly enough, the last guest speaker, a rabbi from Toronto, spoke to the members of the community, in July, 1975, about the decline of Jewish communities in western Canada.

The local chapters of Hadassah and the National Council of Jewish Women were united into one small organization in an attempt to continue with their work. There were few women who were willing to assume office in these organizations and few who were willing to organize the traditional fund-raising and charitable activities. Consequently, the two organizations could not function separately, and it was hoped that they might be able to continue if united. The success met with by this plan of action is somewhat dubious, however, as the last annual fashion show had to be cancelled due to a lack of women willing to organize this fund-raising event.



### Reasons for the Activity Decline

Several explanations for this drop in the level of social activity are evident. The primary factor is the demographic composition of the community. The majority of the members are older individuals who no longer play a very active role in the community's voluntary organizations. During their younger years, they were instrumental in perpetuating the social events and organizing the community's organizations. These older members feel that it is now time for the younger community members to step in and assume the duties, for example, of officers in the B'nai Brith or Hadassah, or of organizers for the fund-raising drives. However, there appear to be few young Jews prepared to assume the vacancies left by the older element. Thus, we find the older members retiring, as it were, from the voluntary organizations and this retirement is accompanied by little promotional movement from the younger ranks into these organizations.

Thus, a secondary cause of the activity decline is the lack of young Jews prepared to replace the older, retiring Jews in the community's organizations. One possible explanation for this lack is a function of numbers; there are proportionately fewer young Jews (i.e., of family-raising age) than there are older Jews.

An additional reason, and this would appear to be the primary one, is the lack of interest on the part of the young Jews; they do not seem to be very interested in assuming the positions of the retiring element. There does not appear to

have been an extensive effort on the part of the now-retired organizers and officers to gradually recruit new members. On the other hand, there does not appear to have been many young Jews voluntarily joining and participating in the local organizations. Consequently, as these older individuals relinquished their positions, those remaining in the organizations assumed the extra duties created by the departure of the older members. As more individuals left, the hangers-on found themselves burdened with more than they could effectively manage; the same persons were repeatedly called upon to organize the fund-raising drives and to hold office in the organizations. They attempted to keep these voluntary organizations functioning by reducing the frequency and number of activities. Few new faces appeared among the diminished ranks, and the organizations are now almost totally inactive.

Those few young members who did join the organizations found themselves in the same position as the older members. They were called upon again and again to perform the same duties. Many of the young Jews consequently chose to join non-ethnic organizations in which they would be called upon to do only their 'fair share' of the work involved in running the affairs of the organization.

### Summary

The level of activity in the Jewish community in Thunder Bay has declined significantly from its peak of twenty years

ago. The retirement of the older members from the organizations and the lack of replacements for these individuals, coupled with the lack of interest among the younger Jews and their participation in non-ethnic organizations, has weakened the more visible aspect of the community's institutional base.

Therefore, the decline of the activity aspect of the institutional base has been partially responsible for the decline of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay. With decreased participation in the organizations identified with a Jewish community, the members' sense of solidarity declines and the community's institutional base weakens. The most visible means of ascription also disappears with the reduced levels of social activity.

CHAPTER SIX  
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay has utilized the concept of institutional base, which encompasses economic organization, educational institutions, kinship patterns, religious organizations and communal institutions as its primary interdependent elements. Researchers, such as Gillis and Whitehead (1971) and Barth (1969), have developed an hypothesis for this concept, which states that the solidarity of a community is established and maintained by means of a solid institutional base. That is to say, the survival of a community, as a group distinct from the larger social system in which its members live, is dependent upon the ability of the several interdependent elements of the institutional base to maintain the solidarity of the community members. This solidarity is effected by the community members' awareness of behavioral differences between themselves and outsiders. Behavioral differences are instrumental in the formation of a social boundary between the members and outsiders.

The ethnohistory of the Thunder Bay Jewish community, presented in Chapter Two, demonstrates that there had been a strong institutional base in the past, although it is apparent that this is no longer so. The available data indicates that the institutional base weakened over the last twenty years and, concomitantly, this Jewish community has declined, both

solidarity-wise and number-wise. The weakening of the base has been the result of the inability of the interdependent elements to maintain community solidarity. Therefore, the obverse of the hypothesis developed by other researchers has been applied to the explanation of the decline of this community: the weakening of the institutional base has reduced the solidarity of the members and brought about the decline of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay.

The analysis of the economic and educational aspects of the institutional base, dealt with in Chapter Three, indicates that the upward mobility of the community's members advanced them from shopkeepers, tradesmen, and small businessmen to professionals - doctors, lawyers, professors, engineers, and dentists - in three generations. Opportunities for education were increased with each succeeding generation, and as many offspring as possible were sent to post-secondary institutions in larger urban centers. This strategy was necessary before the establishment of the local university and college, and was carried on after for several reasons. Parents believed their children would receive better educations elsewhere and would have greater opportunities for employment elsewhere. They also believed that their children would meet a wider circle of Jews and would thus increase their chances of marrying within their faith.

The upward mobility of the Thunder Bay Jews has broken the economic continuity between the first community members and the present members. This would not have weakened the

institutional base of the community had it been possible for the upwardly mobile Jews to find employment in Thunder Bay. However, since employment opportunities are limited, these Jews are going to other urban centers to make a livelihood and, concomitantly, weaken the economic element of the institutional base, and reduce the population of the community.

Religious endogamy and close kinship links within the local community were discussed in Chapter Four and found to be responsible for the weakening of the kinship and marriage aspects of the institutional base. The marriages of early community members created extensive family groupings and reduced the number of potential marriage partners for succeeding generations. Many local Jews married individuals from outside Jewish communities while attending post-secondary institutions or earning a living in larger urban centers. Few intermarriages have been contracted between local Jews and Gentiles because the community members chose to marry outside of their local community and within their faith, rather than marry a local non-Jew.

The available data gives every indication that the kinship and marriage aspect of the institutional base was strong when the Thunder Bay Jewish community was first established. However, the subsequent kinship ties reduced the number of potential marriage partners and the local Jews, wishing to remain religiously endogamous, became community exogamous and married Jews from other communities. These outside marriages have been facilitated by the economic and

educational patterns of these Jews.

Analysis of the kinship and marriage, and economic and educational patterns has shown them to be causes for the weakening of the institutional base, as they are no longer able to maintain the solidarity of the community members at its previous level. They are unable to maintain the behavior patterns associated with these aspects of the institutional base and the community members are leaving Thunder Bay to live in other communities which are able to maintain the behavior patterns associated with a Jewish community. Consequently, the Jewish population in Thunder Bay has declined sharply in the last twenty years.

The population decrease is a visible indicator of the community's decline. However, the level of activity within the community is the primary indicator of the strength of the community's solidarity. It is likely the most visible means of identification for both community members and outsiders, and a fluctuation in the level of activity indicates a change in the solidarity of the members. Therefore, the decreasing frequency of social activities within the Thunder Bay Jewish community reflects the weakening of the institutional base and the decline of solidarity.

The once-active voluntary organizations, such as the local chapters of B'nai Brith, Hadassah, and the National Council of Jewish Women, have almost ceased to function due to disinterest and lack of support from community members. The more visible means of identification for both members and

outsiders has been minimized, and many of the local Jews are now participating in activities outside of their community, such as non-ethnic voluntary organizations. Thus, the Jewish organizations no longer provide tangible evidence of the community solidarity that was so visible twenty years ago.

The activity within the community has decreased in response to the weakening of the other aspects of the institutional base and to the population decline. The economic and educational patterns, the kinship and marriage patterns, and the level of participation in community organizations are operating in a positive feedback fashion, as each factor affects the others in turn. The result of the particular circumstances surrounding each of these elements has been the weakening of the institutional base, and of the members' solidarity which, concomitantly, has effected the decline of the Jewish community in Thunder Bay.

#### Future Research

The explanation for the decline of this Jewish community could not have been accomplished by means of a single determining factor. Rather, it was necessary to consider all the aspects integral to the maintenance of the institutional base. This integrative explanation has been applied only to the particular circumstances found in the Jewish community in Thunder Bay. It may be possible, however, for future researchers to use the obverse of the institutional base hypothesis as an explanation for the decline of other communities. If so, then a further dimension may be added to Anthropology's concepts.



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# APPENDIX I

## Statistical Procedures Undertaken to Test the Claim that the Jewish Population in Thunder Bay is Declining

We wish to determine whether or not it is a fair statement that the Jewish population in Thunder Bay is declining.

We will test the hypothesis that, in each census year, the ratio of Jews relative to non-Jews remains constant, against the hypothesis that the ratio varies.

Define  $p_1$  = the proportion of Jews in the total population of Thunder Bay in 1911,

$p_2$  = proportion in 1921,

$\vdots$

$p_7$  = proportion in 1971,

$p$  = the constant which would show the proportion of Jews in the population at any time if the relative size of the community is static.

Our hypotheses are:

$H_0$ :  $p_1 = p_2 = \dots = p_7 = p$

$H_1$ : not all proportions are equal (i.e.,  $p$  does not exist).

If we assume that all the  $p_j$  are equal, then we could estimate  $p$  by  $\hat{p} = \frac{\sum x_j}{\sum n_j}$

where  $x_j$  = the number of Jews in the total population in the  $j^{\text{th}}$  year of census, and

$n_j$  = the total population in the  $j^{\text{th}}$  year.

Note that  $\hat{p}$  is the probability of obtaining a Jew when the population is sampled, this figure being empirical.

Our sample statistic is  $\chi^2 = \sum_{i=1}^2 \sum_{l=1}^k \frac{(f_{ij} - e_{ij})^2}{e_{ij}}$

with  $Y = k - 1$

where  $f_{1j}$  = the reported number of Jews in the population at the time of the  $j^{\text{th}}$  sample,

$f_{2j}$  = the reported number of non-Jews in the population at the time of the  $j^{\text{th}}$  sample,

$e_{1j}$  = the number of Jews we would expect to find in the population at the time of the  $j^{\text{th}}$  sample,

$e_{2j}$  = the number of non-Jews we would expect to find in the population at the time of the  $j^{\text{th}}$  sample, and

$k$  = the total number of samples.

The figures  $e_{1j}$  are arrived at by calculating the product of the probability of obtaining a Jew and the population of the city in a given year.

$$e_{1j} = \frac{n_j \sum x_j}{\sum n_j} \\ = \hat{p} n_j$$

Note that  $x_j = f_{1j}$ .

Similarly, the values of  $e_{2j}$  are arrived at by taking the product of the probability of obtaining a non-Jew and the population size.

$$e_{2j} = \frac{n_j (\sum n_j - \sum x_j)}{\sum n_j} \\ = (1 - \hat{p}) n_j$$

Note that  $n_j - x_j = f_{2j}$  and that the terms  $\frac{\sum n_j - \sum x_j}{\sum n_j}$

and  $\frac{\sum x_j}{\sum n_j}$  will be constants for any given set of data, i.e.,

they will be  $(1 - \hat{p})$  and  $\hat{p}$ , respectively. Also,  $\sum \sum f_{1j} = \sum \sum e_{1j}$ .

Now we proceed with the calculation of the test statistic.

Note that  $k = 7$  for this set of data. We find that

$$\chi^2 = 930.7554 \text{ with } \nu = 6.$$

Since the nature of statistics will not allow us to draw conclusions with 100% accuracy, we must now decide with what probability, i.e., degree of assurance, we wish to state our conclusions.

Define  $\alpha$  = the probability that we draw the wrong conclusion from our analysis of the data.

Let  $\alpha = .005$ , that is, let us allow only 5 chances in 1,000 that our analysis has led us to the wrong conclusions.

We find from standard tables that  $\chi^2_{.005} = 18.548$  when  $Y = 6$ .

Comparing our test statistic with this standard value, we find  $\chi^2 > \chi^2_{.005}$

Now, what we have done in the calculation of our test statistic is compared the actual number of Jews in the community ( $f_{1j}$ ) with the number of Jews we should expect to find if the proportion of Jews remains constant ( $e_{1j}$ ). Our test statistic,  $\chi^2$ , assigns a value to the degree with which the  $f_{1j}$  resemble the  $e_{1j}$ . We can then compare this value with a standard value  $\chi^2_{\alpha}$  which is the maximum value that  $\chi^2$  can assume if we are to maintain that the differences between the  $f_{1j}$  and  $e_{1j}$  are insignificant.

Since the calculated value of  $\chi^2$  exceeds the allowable value  $\chi^2_{.005}$ , we may now conclude that, at 0.5% level of significance, the hypothesis  $H_0$  is incorrect; i.e., the proportions of Jews in the city, from census year to census year, is not constant; i.e.,  $p$  does not exist; i.e., we conclude that the Jewish community is either increasing or decreasing relative to the population of the city, and there is only a probability of .005 that the data has led us to the wrong conclusion.

The above is all that this statistical procedure can demonstrate. By inspection, however, it is safe to conclude that the data reflects a decline, rather than an increase, in the relative size (proportion) of the Jewish population.

APPENDIX II

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Open ended interview:

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ File No. \_\_\_\_\_

No \_\_\_\_\_

1.01 Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
-----1.02 Education: \_\_\_\_\_  
-----1.03 Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_  
-----1.04 Place of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_  
-----1.05 If birthplace is not in Canada:  
When did you come to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_  
-----1.06 Date of Death: \_\_\_\_\_  
-----1.07 Place of Death: \_\_\_\_\_  
-----1.08 Place of Residence:  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
Ward or District \_\_\_\_\_  
-----1.09 Have you always lived in this house?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_  
No \_\_\_\_\_ Go to next question.  
-----

Houses Lived In Before Marriage	1.10 Location of House				1.11 From What Month- Year Did You Live There		1.12 Who Was Head Of This Household	
	State, Prov., or Country	City	District, Municipality or Ward	Was This a Jewish Neighborhood	From	To	Name	Relationship To You
FIRST								
SECOND								
THIRD								
FOURTH								
FIFTH								
SIXTH								115

Table Cont'd.



Houses Lived In After Marriage	1.15 Location of House				1.16 From What Month- Year Did You Live There		1.17 Who Was Head Of This Household	
	State, Prov., or Country	City	District, Municipality or Ward	Was This a Jewish Neighborhood	From	To	Name	Relationship To You
FIRST								
SECOND								
THIRD								
FOURTH								
FIFTH								117
SIXTH								

Table Cont'd.

[illegible]



We would like to find out about your relatives who live in Thunder Bay. (Note first grandparents, parents, uncles and aunts - paternal and maternal - brothers, sisters, half-brothers, half-sisters, children)

1.20 Relationship	1.21 Sex	1.22 Name (Maiden & Married)	1.23 Date of Birth	1.24 Place of Birth	1.25 Date of Death	1.26 Place of Death	1.27 Occupation	1.28 Years of School

We would like to find out about your relatives who have moved away from Ihunder Bay.

1.29 Relationship	1.30 Sex	1.31 Name (Maiden & Married)	1.32 Date of Birth	1.33 Place of Birth	1.34 Date of Death	1.35 Place of Death	1.36 Occupation	1.37 Years of School	1.38 Reason for Leaving

We would also like to find out about marriage.

Date(s) of Marriage	1.39 Place of Marriage	1.40 Date(s) of Divorce	1.41 Place of Divorce	1.42 Date(s) of Separation	1.43 Place of Separation	1.44 Name of Spouse	1.45 Is Spouse Jew or Gentile
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th		

Who are your three best friends?

Name	2.01 Place of Residence	2.02 Occupation	2.03 Chosen for Being a:		
			Relative	Work Companion	Other (Specify)
If not all in Thunder Bay, who are your three best friends here?					

Are you, or were you, a member of any of the following Jewish organizations?

Name of Organization	2.04 Dates of Participation		2.05 Position in Organization	2.06 Why Did You Join	2.07 Why Did You Stop Participating	2.08 Did You Support This Organization Financially
	From	To				
Synagogue						
B'nai Brith						
United Israel Appeal						
Hadassah						
National Council of Jewish Women						
Chevra Cadesha						
Other (Specify)						
						123

2.09 How much education do you think your son(s) should have?

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2.10 How much education do you think your daughter(s) should have?

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2.11 What kind of work would you like your son(s) to have?

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2.12 What kind of work would you like your daughter(s) to have?

---

---

2.13 Where would you like your son(s) to live? \_\_\_\_\_

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2.14 Where would you like your daughter(s) to live?

---

2.15 Where would you most like to live? \_\_\_\_\_

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Why? \_\_\_\_\_

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2.16 Do you think a person should leave Thunder Bay if he/she can find a good job elsewhere?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_

No \_\_\_\_\_

Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

-----

2.17 Do you think a person should leave Thunder Bay if he/she can find a job elsewhere even though all his/her relatives live here?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_

No \_\_\_\_\_

Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

-----

2.18 Do you and your wife (husband) visit any relatives together?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_

No \_\_\_\_\_

-----

2.19 Which relatives do you and your wife (husband) visit most often? Indicate if they are relatives of yours or of your wife's (husband's).

1. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2.20 Did you visit any cities during the past year?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ How many times? \_\_\_\_\_

No \_\_\_\_\_

-----

2.21 What was the purpose of the majority of your trips?

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

-----

2.22 Could you tell me three things that would be necessary in order for the Jewish Community of Thunder Bay to progress.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
  2. \_\_\_\_\_
  3. \_\_\_\_\_
- 

2.23 What would be the three things that would do the community the most harm?

1. \_\_\_\_\_
  2. \_\_\_\_\_
  3. \_\_\_\_\_
- 

2.24 Compared to ten years ago, do you think the community is:

1. Better? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Worse? \_\_\_\_\_
3. The Same? \_\_\_\_\_

Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



2.25 In five years, do you think the community will be:

Better? \_\_\_\_\_

Worse? \_\_\_\_\_

The Same? \_\_\_\_\_

Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3.01 What is (was) your father's religion?

\_\_\_\_\_

3.02 What is (was) your mother's religion?

\_\_\_\_\_

3.03 What is your children's religion?

\_\_\_\_\_

3.04 What is your religion?

\_\_\_\_\_

3.05 Do you carry out the following religious acts.

		No	Yes	How Often?
3.06	1. Keep a kosher home?			
3.07	2. Light candles at home (friday evening)?			
3.08	3. Attend Friday evening services?			
3.09	4. Attend high holiday services?			
3.10	5. Attend a passover service?			
3.11	6. Hold a passover service?			
3.12	7. Attend the community passover service?			
3.13	8. Light Chanuka candles?			
3.14	9. Observe yorseit?			

- 3.15 The Jewish people of Thunder Bay are a distinct community within the large community of Thunder Bay.
- 3.16 It is necessary for a Jewish community to have a rabbi.
- 3.17 It is necessary for a Jewish community to have a synagogue.
- 3.18 It is necessary for a Jewish community to have a Jewish school.
- 3.19 It is necessary for a Jewish community to have a kosher butcher.
- 3.20 It is necessary for a Jewish community to have communal organizations.

YES	NO

- 3.21 How many people are necessary in order to have an active Jewish community?

less than 100 \_\_\_\_\_

100-200 \_\_\_\_\_

200-300 \_\_\_\_\_

300-400 \_\_\_\_\_

400-500 \_\_\_\_\_

more than 500 \_\_\_\_\_

- 3.22 When was the Jewish community of Thunder Bay the most active?

before 1930 \_\_\_\_\_

1930-1940 \_\_\_\_\_

1940-1950 \_\_\_\_\_

1950-1960 \_\_\_\_\_

1960-1970 \_\_\_\_\_

- 3.23 Is the community as active now as it was then?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_

No \_\_\_\_\_

- 3.24 If not, when did the activity within the community start to decline?

\_\_\_\_\_

3.25

Why is the community not as active now?

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