

Lilloet Nordlinger McDonnell

**Hannah Director: Jewish Pioneer, Chairman of the
School Board**

Hannah Director (1886–1970) made an indelible mark on Canadian history during the school year of 1917/1918 when she was elected chairman of the school board in Prince George, British Columbia (BC). As the first recorded Jewish Canadian woman elected to public office her achievement was significant. Only a few Jewish Canadians were elected to school boards in the decades before World War Two (WWII). Director's professional and personal integration into Canadian society during the first half of the twentieth century came at a time when the majority of Canada's Jews were not seen as strongly acculturated members of Canadian society. This study asks: what do Hannah Director's social contributions to BC society reveal about Jewish integration in Canada during the early-part of the twentieth century? At its heart, this micro-historical investigation employs parts of Hannah Director's "life story" as a means to provide a fuller understanding of BC's social and cultural landscape.

For most of its history British Columbia's Jewish population has been small and sparsely distributed. Consequently, so too has the number of primary sources relating to it. Research material for this article, which is based on my doctoral dissertation entitled "In the Company of Gentiles: Exploring the History of Integrated Jews in British Columbia, 1858–1971," was found in archival records located at: the Jewish Museum and Archives of British Columbia, the Prince George School Board, the University of British Columbia, and the University of Victoria. Although some of these facilities have expanded their collections in recent years, the available primary sources pertaining to Jewish integration are still relatively small. Correspondingly, the nature of primary sources associated with Hannah Director has been limited. Perhaps the most important type of source for this article have been oral histories, the majority of which originate from a collection of interviews conducted by the Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia (JHSBC) over a thirty year period and carried out by people who remembered Hannah Director or who recalled the experiences of family members living in northern BC during the early part of the twentieth century. These oral histories often emphasized shared memories and communal solidarity, and in this way they have been invaluable in providing a glimpse into Hannah Director's life. Biases that might accompany such oral histories have been somewhat mitigated by analyzing a variety of other primary sources whenever possible, these included photographs and genealogies, and contemporaneous newspapers.

This study makes three contributions to Jewish and Canadian historiography. First, it demonstrates that an individual's career choice and contributions can inform scholars about Jewish history in Canada, particularly the histories of Jews whose lives and contributions fall outside of the overarching macro-histories of traditional communal structures and Jewish institutions. Second, it offers insight into the fluctuating nature of relations between Jews and non-Jews in Canada. Finally, it illustrates how variations in geo-political and socio-historical contexts location can potentially affect the degree to which Jews acculturate into Canadian society.

As a pioneering Jewish woman of relatively modest means living in a remote, rural region of Canada and actively involved in public life, Hannah Director's life and professional contributions provide insight into the varying degrees of Jewish agency and integration during the first half of the twentieth century—an era when northern rail lines expanded and urban frontier settlements were established in places such as Prince Rupert and Prince George, which beckoned potential residents with promises of wealth. Individual merchants, like Director and family, along with homesteaders, ranchers and farmers answered the calls of boosterism and settled in these remote regions of BC. Director's election as chairman of the Prince George school board and other public contributions not only reveal Director's personal choices and ambitions, but they also reveal the fluid nature of social relations, the realities of living in a frontier society, the nature of Canadian women's rights, and the role that provincial educational systems played within the lives of Jews like Hannah Director during this époque.

Early Family Life

The eldest child of Jewish immigrants from the Ukraine, Solomon (1862–1929) and Kate Diamond (b. 1861), Hannah was born and raised in the St. Laurent district of Montréal. Like many “greenhorns,” Solomon Diamond found work in the port where he first docked and he supported his family by working as a mess agent.¹ Censuses from this period reveal that the Diamond family was multilingual and that in addition to Yiddish, they spoke French, English, as well as German.² Typical of Jews from this period, Hannah and her siblings attended Protestant public school.³ It seems that Hannah had a knack for studying; in fact, she was among the top tier of her graduating high school class. Upon graduation, she was presented with a scholarly medal, but instead of receiving silver, as she was supposed to, she received a bronze medal when school officials decided top medals should not be awarded to Jewish students.

⁴ As David Rome noted, this sort of educational prejudice against Jews in Montréal was common at the time.⁵

Shortly after graduating from high school, Hannah met her future husband, Isidor Director (1875–1969)—a newly arrived Jewish retail merchant from Prussia, who had left Europe in order to escape antisemitism and to pursue a better life. (Isidore Director's birth in Prussia would later prove troublesome during the turbulent years of WWI). In 1905, the couple made their way westward in search of economic prosperity. Like so many other Jewish migrants on the move, social connections in combination with potential financial success were the key motivators in the choice of residential re-location. After failed attempts to find work and establish themselves in Sault Ste. Marie, Omaha and Winnipeg, the Directors decided to try their luck in BC.⁶

Rural Jewish Settlement in the West

In 1908 Isidor Director formed a business partnership with Maurice Cohen, an acquaintance he had known from Montréal. Together they walked from Winnipeg to the port town of Prince Rupert. They walked an average of thirty km per day, slept by the tracks at night, and sold their wares to rail workers during the day.⁷ The two men were among the thousands of migrants enticed to northern British Columbia by the arrival of Grand Trunk Pacific Railway (GTP). Other Jews also migrated to the area and by 1911 the thirty one Jews in Prince Rupert formed 0.70 percent of the town's population, a percentage which matched that of Vancouver and which was higher than the percentage of Jews in Victoria during the same period.⁸

When Maurice Cohen and Isidor Director arrived in Prince Rupert, they opened the town's first Jewish business specializing in general merchandise, men's suits and clothing.⁹ Later they would open a second store called Cohen, Director and Co. on 2nd or 3rd Avenue in Prince Rupert (see figure 1). This partnership would eventually dissolve and Isidor Director continued a clothing and jewellery business alone. A year later, Isidor Director was joined by his wife and one year old daughter, Rosalie (Gorosh) (see figure 2).¹⁰ That spring Hannah Director gave birth to her second daughter, Zelna.¹¹ The Directors settled as squatters until the town was incorporated in 1910, at which point residents were allowed to buy real-estate. Two years later, on a trip east to Chicago to see relatives, Director gave birth to the youngest Director child, Stanley Norman (see figure 3).¹²

The Directors' decision to settle in the semi-rural environs of northern BC was not unique in the context of rural Jewish settlement in Western Canada. Indeed, ever since the beginning of the immigration of Eastern European Jews to Canada in the early 1880s, Jews had settled in Canada's rural west, for farming and itinerancy (peddling and petty commerce).¹³ In contrast with the Prairies, agriculture had never been a major industry in British Columbia, nor did it play a significant role in determining Jewish settlement in rural BC. Despite the lack of organized agricultural colonization effort,¹⁴ individual Jews did occasionally take-up homesteading, ranching, farming and small-scale merchandizing on the frontier.¹⁵

Jews in Northern BC

The decision to settle in the promising but remote areas of northern British Columbia was the choice of a select few. The days of the Gold Rush had long since passed, and most Jews, like other settlers to the area, came to urban frontier towns such as Prince George and Prince Rupert, because of the promise of progress and development. Like their predecessors in the nineteenth century, the Jewish settlers of BC's northern outposts, were adventurous and relatively individualistic. By living

so far away from established Jewish centres, broadly speaking these Jewish migrants demonstrated a willingness to integrate into the wider society. Pioneer Jews came to northern BC from the Prairies, Eastern Canada, the US and even England. They became furriers, they entered the mining industry, and they opened small businesses, and helped to lay the foundations of burgeoning frontier communities.

As members of the merchant-class, Jewish residents of Prince Rupert were in a position to contribute to the establishment of institutions of the general community. They did this by raising money to furnish Prince Rupert's much needed General Hospital. Jewish women also worked on the Hospital Auxiliary and contributed to the overall cultural life of the town.¹⁶ The Directors participated in public life in similar ways. Aside from his retail businesses, Isidor Director acted as the director of the General Hospital in Prince Rupert and he presided over the Fraternal Order of Eagles.¹⁷ Hannah Director enjoyed participating in amateur dramatic productions, and her musical talents led her to join the Prince Rupert Orchestra (she sang, played the piano by ear, and was a good violinist).¹⁸ The semi-rural urban-frontier setting of Prince Rupert at once offered Jews the chance to integrate, while at the same time enabling them to maintain informal social networks with other Jews and create a semblance of a Jewish community. Towards these ends, it appears that the Directors played an important role.

Although Prince Rupert did not attract large numbers of Jewish residents, when the Directors arrived in 1908 they decided to live alongside four other Jewish families. In 1909 around twenty five people gathered in the Director's home to observe the High Holidays. Prince Rupert's Jewish merchants and fur traders soon formed an informal *kahal* (community), referring to themselves as Beit Yaacov. The *Canadian Jewish News* even published a list of the *kahal's* board members, including: Mr. Weinstein—president, H. Hoffman—vice-president, J. Levy—secretary, and Isidor Director—treasurer.¹⁹ Although board members were elected, the *kahal* never acquired Torah scrolls, indicative of the community's transient and institutionally incomplete nature. Instead, members used only *siddurim*, common prayer books, whereas normally members of a synagogue would use both.²⁰ When Harry Hoffman's son was born in Prince Rupert the following spring, the town's Jewish population was still not large enough to warrant hiring an official full-time rabbi. As a result, Rev. Jacob Goldberg was brought in from Vancouver in order to perform the *bris-milah* (circumcision). The rarity of the event attracted quite a crowd.²¹ That same year, the Directors once again hosted the High Holidays for about twenty people and the services were conducted by a layman.²² In 1910 Prince Rupert witnessed another birth, that of the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA). The YMHA was geared towards meeting the physical, social and intellectual needs of its constituents and all forty members of the region's Jewish residents registered as members.²³

Despite the initial enthusiasm for the establishment of Jewish institutions in Prince Rupert, maintaining the institutions was more difficult particularly after the Directors left for Prince George in 1913. The *kahal* of Beit Yaacov never developed into a formal synagogue, nor was a Jewish school ever established. It is not known whether the YHMA succeeded on entrenching itself, how long it survived and to what extent it existed as a formal association. According to fellow northern BC resident Esmond Lando, there was no Jewish [religious] life in Prince Rupert after 1913.²⁴ No one observed Passover for example. The reason, according to Lando, was that no one was interested.²⁵ Lando's own upbringing in Prince Rupert included regular attendance at the Presbyterian Church, a practice for which he won medals for good attendance.²⁶ In short, the organized life of the Jewish community in northern BC was limited.

Although perhaps not all Jews in Prince Rupert sent their children to church every Sunday as Lando's father did,²⁷ it seems unlikely that adherence to Jewish principles of faith would have been strictly observed in frontier towns like Prince Rupert. Even Rosalie Gorosh noted that her mother "was very religious when she came out [to Prince Rupert]. [She] bought kosher meat from Vancouver. It got to be too difficult and she got away from it."²⁸ It is hard to know what Rosalie Gorosh meant by "very religious," because Rosalie Gorosh also explained that, "I feel that I am religious in that I do the best that I know how, every day, for everybody."²⁹ And perhaps that is how the Jews of northern BC should be defined, through their sense of "feeling Jewish." As historian Deborah Dash Moore has remarked, "Feeling Jewish is something that occurs to people only when they already see some alternatives to being Jewish."³⁰ Regardless of varying degrees of religiosity, no one could argue that the Jews of northern BC lost their feeling of Jewishness. Director is a case in point.

"Feeling Jewish": Director's Northern Jewish identity

Hannah Director was once described as a woman who "always kept an eye on the common good and also helped to initiate many a cultural project, whether ... in the name of Protestant, Catholic or Jew."³¹ As a resident of BC's northern frontier, Hannah Director had multiple social affiliations, each of which intersected in different ways. She was part of a rural town community; she was a mother, a wife and a friend; she was a musician; she was active in the greater community; she was a pioneer; by association she was part of the business community, members of which were often involved in local governance; and she was Jewish, both religiously and ethnically. Although Director was subject to the pressures of each social affiliation, inevitably a person chooses her primary group affiliation.

Director's photograph album is full of photos of her family and her Jewish friends and associates, suggesting that these were the people to whom she felt closest. Based

on Director's strongest group association, i.e. with her Jewish friends, one can posit that Director's Jewishness was the foundation of her primary social identity, even if she participated in mainstream society to a great extent.³²

In Northern BC Director's Jewish identity was based mainly on informal networks. Recall that in Prince Rupert, aside from Beit Yaacov and YHMA, both of which existed for a very short period of time, there were no formal Jewish communal networks. In Prince George, there were no known formal Jewish institutions. In both places, Jewish communal structure was based mainly on informal networks formed by friendships within the community. When a community exists without formal institutions, interpersonal networks quickly extend outside the community boundaries,³³ thus allowing for a greater transcendence of Jewish/non-Jewish boundaries. Since Director's Jewishness was expressed in an informal manner, it was permeable to outside influences and affiliations.

Aside from friendship, Director also asserted her Jewishness via her interactions with the outside world. One striking incident where Director's Jewishness was publicly demonstrated was when an antisemitic comment was made by one of her daughter's school teachers in Prince Rupert. The children were reading a story titled, "The Queen and the Diadem," which told of a queen who lost her diadem and offered a reward for its return, providing that it be returned within thirty days. A rabbi found the diadem and kept it for the full thirty days before returning it. The teacher then asked the children to re-write the story in their own words and use a different title, "The Honest Jew." The reason for the title change, explained the teacher, was that Jews were rarely honest. The irony of the remark was that Director's daughter was one of the teacher's favourite students. Upon learning of the teacher's remarks from her daughter, Director quickly brought the incident to the attention of the Prince Rupert School Board and the teacher apologized.³⁴

Life in Prince George

In 1913 the Directors moved some 700 km east of Prince Rupert to Prince George, in BC's Central Interior. By that time it was apparent that the great boom anticipated in Prince Rupert was over. Hope for economic advancement still lay in BC's central interior.³⁵ Local newspapers promoted changing Prince George from a "frontier into a metropolis of concrete and steel skyscrapers with electric transportation and all the rest of the metropolitan frills."³⁶ Although the Directors arrived in Prince George in 1913, they did not stay long. The implementation of the 1914 War Measures Act prompted them to move once again, this time, outside of city limits. With the commencement of WWI, immigration from Europe to Canada came to a near standstill. Not only was it dangerous for European migrants to make their way to North America, immigration from countries at war with Canada and Britain (e.g. from

Germany, Austria, the Ukraine, Hungary) was suspended entirely. Residents of Canada who originated from enemy countries were deemed enemy aliens and subject to the terms of the Act, which stipulated that enemy aliens refrain from possessing fire arms, leaving the country without exit visas, from reading or publishing anything in languages other than in the two official languages—French and English—and from joining socialist or communist groups etc. Furthermore, enemy aliens were required to register with the government and carry official identification with them at all times. With the introduction of the War Measures Act, a total of 8,579 enemy aliens (including 1,192 Germans) were interned in work camps across Canada, while others were deported from the country. At first only non-naturalized Germans were affected by the War Measures Act; later the regulations were extended to include second-generation individuals.³⁷

Although he had been a naturalized Canadian since 1909, Isidor Director was born in Prussia and the 1911 census categorized him and his children as racially German (and religiously Hebrew). Therefore, Isidor Director was at risk of being deemed an enemy alien, and as the war progressed so were his children. This was not the case for Hannah Director, who was born in Canada and was recognized as both racially and religiously Hebrew.³⁸ While it remains unclear as to whether Isidor Director was actually registered as an enemy alien in 1914, it is known that with the start of WWI, anti-German sentiments in Prince George were tremendously high.³⁹ Nevertheless, it would have been very unlikely that Isidor Director would have been part of federal round-up, as the government was selective in choosing its internees. Isidor Director's fears likely stemmed from his place as an outsider and the general hysteria with Canadian society towards German speakers, or even towards those with noticeable European accents.

As young men emptied out of Prince George to join the war effort, Isidor Director remained one of the few visibly young and healthy men in the town. The Directors rightly concluded that because of Isidor Director's German background, it would be in their own best interest to keep a low profile and to stay out of the public eye. As Esmond Lando noted, Isidor Director was "German and...so when war broke out, life was pretty miserable for him."⁴⁰ With the start of WWI the family moved to an already built homestead on the outskirts of Prince George along the Fraser River.⁴¹

Rosalie Gorosh recounts that life "was very primitive" on the homestead. The family lived in a log house with packed dirt between wooden floor beams, a wood stove and outdoor plumbing.⁴² In the summer they received their supplies by a boat that came down the Fraser River, and in the winter Isidor Director would hike the thirty five km trek into town. The family kept animals and lived as pioneers did in those days.⁴³ During their homesteading period, Hannah Director insisted on homeschooling her children by government correspondence. By all accounts, she was quite the disci-

plinarian.⁴⁴ She taught her children so well that when they moved back into Prince George they did not have to go back a grade. The Directors homesteaded for about a year before returning to town.⁴⁵ It is not known to what extent the Directors maintained Jewish practices on the homestead, but in all likelihood their isolation would have limited their interactions with other Jews as well as members of general society.

In 1917 the shortage of labourers forced the Canadian government to release enemy aliens from the internment camps, enabling them to return to the cities and work.⁴⁶ This shift in policy likely influenced the Directors to move back to Prince George in the autumn of that year. However, they found that life in the town was different from when they had last lived there. WWI brought several social shifts, particularly with regards to political rights and the economy. The lack of men to fill the labour pool meant that women had become an essential component in Canada's wartime productivity and had replaced the male dominated workforce.⁴⁷ Furthermore, federal franchise was awarded to women in 1918. In view of these changes it is probable that general society in Prince George would have been accepting of Hannah Director, even if her husband's status as an enemy alien was dubious.

In Prince George, the Directors continued to spend their time giving to the community, living as pioneers and integrating into public life like they had in Prince Rupert. Once again, Director involved herself in civic and social activities. She was a socialite and a known frequenter of local dances. Isidor Director would take her to the door and then, not being a dancer himself, he would leave her there to dance the evening away. Director also loved the yearly masquerade balls, and she "won more prizes than anybody" for her costumes. Aside from her costumes, Director also made fur coats, corsets, and won prizes for her handiwork.⁴⁸ Once, she even agreed to the request of an itinerant Catholic priest to play the violin for the midnight mass services.⁴⁹

When the family moved back to Prince George, they bought a building right next to the tracks, the upstairs of which Isidor Director rented out to train conductors and other railway men passing through town.⁵⁰ There were often Jewish news agents on the train and they were brought to the Directors to stay the night. The Directors were also quite friendly with the non-Jewish residents of the town and they "...knew a number of non-Jewish single men,"⁵¹ due to the fact that they often kept single men working as labourers in the local industries as boarders. These men always hung around the house... [and Director] always had sing songs."⁵² *The Prince George Citizen* listed the Directors' social events in its social column. The men used to tease Isidor Director about leaving his wife alone in the company of so many single men. In response, Isidor—a big and strong man—would bend a nickel between his thumb and forefinger, as if to show the men what he would do if anyone made the wrong move.⁵³

One of Hannah Director's most noteworthy achievements came during the school year of 1917–1918, when she was one of three trustees elected to the Prince George School Board. Known as a capable woman and “never afraid of tackling anything,”⁵⁴ Director rose immediately to the position of “Chairman of the School Board.” The other two trustees were men: F.B. Hood and Peter Wilson, secretary. Director once remarked that “she was quite naive in the ways of local politics in those days and at first did not know why she was elected chair of the Board of School Trustees. However, by the time her term ended, “[she] had gained quite a unique education in these matters and felt that [she] had done some good in the field of school administration.”⁵⁵

The discrepancy between nationalist-based discrimination towards particular groups of people (e.g. Canadians of Jewish and German ancestry) and the realities of local interactions is worth noting. Such gaps in social discriminatory thinking perhaps explain why Director's social contributions outweighed any negative labels or socio-religious barriers which could have been imposed. If such social barriers within the public sphere had been impermeable, surely Director, who was Jewish and who was married to a man who would have been considered by many to be an enemy alien due to his Prussian (German) birth, would have been unable to attain the kind of authority she did within the community.

The main reason that communities like Prince Rupert and Prince George could tailor their own social climate, despite the direct influence of both the provincial and national agendas, was because they were fairly isolated. Due to unreliable communication and transportation networks, “each [urban frontier] settlement became a separate society made distinct by features such as unique social composition and personal interests. As a result, each community resembled a clique of sorts.”⁵⁶ As F. J. Turner posits in his *Frontier Thesis* on American settlements in the west, urban frontiers such as Prince Rupert and Prince George often exhibited high degrees of individualism, where persona played a far greater role in determining one's social position than did economic prosperity, skin colour and/or religious orientation.⁵⁷ This was due to the fact that each settler stood more or less on equal economic footing. Prospectors, farmers, trappers, tie-hackers and business men all struggled for economic subsistence. Based on Turner's supposition which is now part of Western American historical discourse, one could speculate that in a place such as Prince George one's personality and character were key factors in facilitating local power and integration.

The school board was also shaped by the same “economic egalitarian forces,”⁵⁸ which influenced other social structures in the region. Trustees became members of the school board via different avenues. In some instances they were able to attract votes on the basis of personal prestige, while in others a potential trustee simply volunteered for the job. Seniority was also another prospective route to acquiring a seat on

the school board. However, once on the board, the power differential among trustees was vague.⁵⁹ Few details are known about Director's actual election to the board. What is known is that she was encouraged by various residents of Prince George to run for nomination.⁶⁰

Director's nomination as a school trustee is a significant achievement in its own right. As a school trustee she served as an intermediary between the Minister of Education, based in Victoria, and Prince George's community of parents with school age children.⁶¹ Although little is known about Director's specific tasks while on the Prince George School Board, it can be surmised that she was likely responsible for keeping local schools aligned with parental and ministerial agendas. As a school trustee Director not only hired and paid teachers but she was also responsible for reprimanding and even firing them if they fell down on the job. School trustees, were also responsible for building and supply maintenance, and raising funds (often through grants and property taxes) to pay for education.⁶²

A main drawback of the local boards was that they were often characterized by "petty local jealousies,"⁶³ Disputes within the school board often reflected social tensions that existed outside of the board, where personal and family concerns erupted in communal conflict. By the same token, social harmony on a communal level was also replicated on the school board level. Interestingly, during the year that Director chaired the Prince George School Board, the Superintendent to Schools, gave the Prince George School Board a very high rating.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Director resigned her post as chairman before her two year term was up. She stated that she had learned a lot by serving as a school trustee but that it was time to move on.⁶⁵

How BC's Social Climate Facilitated Hannah Director's Integration

While personality and character likely facilitated Director's nomination to the school board and her integration into public life in the urban frontier setting of Prince George, larger social forces at work throughout in the province and the rest of Canada also played a role in ensuring Director's integration. These included the advancements being made with regards to women's rights and the strong separation of church and state that existed in BC.

Women's suffrage came to the forefront of the political spectrum due to changes taking place on a number of different levels, including BC's transition from a colony into a Canadian province.⁶⁶ After joining Confederation, the movement for women's rights and suffrage in the province paralleled many national and international trends. Like their American and British counterparts, early forays into feminism in

Canada during the turn of the twentieth century drew on women from the relatively privileged middle- and upper-middle-classes.⁶⁷

The establishment of formal educational systems usurped women's role as primary educators and consequently, many women decided to enter the education sector as teachers. Others continued to influence the education of their children by pushing for the right to vote at school meetings and the right to be elected as school trustees.⁶⁸ In British Columbia, the first bill for women's suffrage was presented to the legislature in 1872. It received only two votes of support. In 1873, women property holders in BC were given the right to vote in municipal elections. Interestingly, no significant numbers of women actually showed-up to vote.⁶⁹ During the 1880s and 1890s, there were nearly a dozen attempts to secure provincial suffrage for women; all of which failed.⁷⁰

In January of 1895 a petition was presented by the Victoria Council of Women (VCW) to the Legislative Assembly with regards to the eligibility for women to become members of the Boards of School Trustees. The petitioners requested that the School Act be amended to include the right of women members.⁷¹ With the help of the VCW, Maria Grant became the first woman in Victoria elected to the school board.⁷² Indeed, all provinces gave female rate-payers "the school vote" by the 1890s.⁷³ In some provinces, including Ontario, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Manitoba, as well as the North West Territories, women were eligible to be elected or nominated as school trustees.⁷⁴ WWI enabled significant changes to take place with regards to women's enfranchisement and between 1916 and 1918 women became enfranchised both federally and provincially.⁷⁵

The early admittance of women to sit on the school board not only paved the way for Hannah Director's entry into public life in British Columbia, but it also paved the way for dozens of other women to enter into the public sphere.⁷⁶ The entry of women into the school administration was only one component which facilitated Director's nomination to the school board. Another factor was the school system's public and strictly non-denominational character.

British Columbia entered confederation as the only Canadian province which did not publicly fund parochial school systems. In the decade leading up to BC's entry into Confederation, the colony was known as a place where men left their religion behind—perhaps as a result of a loss of connection with extended family and established religious community.⁷⁷ Other observers put the blame solely on American migrants who quickly formed "the influential middle-class,"⁷⁸ and were known for their opposition and disapproving attitudes towards religion.⁷⁹ The abundance of single young men, who were attracted to leisure culture, drinking, gambling and prostitution, rather than to church culture, also influenced BC's weakened sense of

religiosity was. Indeed, the region was settled with material rather than religious aspirations in mind. Furthermore, a 1861 schism between the Catholic and Protestant churches resulted in a legal and formal separation of church and colony.⁸⁰ In essence, BC was the first area in Canada where dominant Christian norms had weakened to the point where significant numbers of people could abandon traditional demonstrations of religious adherence.⁸¹ Furthermore, Victoria had progressively become a mixed community, which ultimately led to repudiation of British class divisions, which were partly based on religious lines.⁸² The trend away from entrenched British colonial practices is further evidenced in the movement towards free common schools.

In 1865 the Legislative Assembly of the Colony of Vancouver Island agreed to legislate in favour of the Public School Act; common schools were to be supported by local taxes.⁸³ By the time British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871, it had “the most centralized school system on record,”⁸⁴ and with no obligation to supply funds to parochial schools, as stipulated in the BNA Act.⁸⁵ Widespread implementation of a common school system took full effect after Confederation and when the deteriorating economy necessitated free non-denominational schooling. Without this separation between church and state it is doubtful that Hannah Director, as a Jewish woman, would have had the opportunity to be elected to the school board.

Leaving the North: Life in Vancouver

After Hannah Director ended the school year in 1918, she resigned early from the school board (stating that she had had enough) and the Directors moved back to Prince Rupert, where they remained for four more years. What little is known about the details of their life there indicate that they carried on much as they had in Prince George. Hannah Director was involved in the Prince Rupert community while Isidor Director worked as a longshoreman and the children attended school. In the economic aftermath that followed WWI, Prince Rupert became a fishing centre. The no longer burgeoning frontier prompted many of the town’s Jews to disperse, and by the early 1920s most Jews had left the region altogether. The Directors followed suit and in 1922 they left Northern BC for Vancouver, at a time when the city was experiencing a brief economic revival.⁸⁶

When the Directors arrived in Vancouver there were about 250 Jewish families living there. By 1930 Vancouver’s Jewish population had grown to more than 600 families.⁸⁷ The Directors first settled in the west-end Jewish district of downtown Vancouver before moving to the Kitsilano neighbourhood.⁸⁸ Once settled in Vancouver, the Directors remained integrated in the general community as they had in Northern BC. Isidor Director worked as a stevedore. Hannah Director joined the Women’s Canadian Club; she was president of the Kitsilano Community Choir, sang in the Brahms Choir and worked at the annual Chamber of Commerce Beach Concerts. Like other

Vancouverites, the family took advantage of their surroundings: bathing in English Bay and picnicking and sightseeing in the city.⁸⁹

With the help of his son-in-law, Dr. Jacob I. Gorosh, Isidor Director opened a small print shop, known as “The Printery,” in the basement of the Director home on 337 Smithe Street, later relocating the business to their home on 2355 West Broadway between Balsam and Vine. Isidor ran the business until 1965.⁹⁰ Together, the couple hosted the Kitsilano Show Boat, a waterfront stage established in 1935, which provided local entertainment. As Kitsilano business owners, the Directors were charter members of the Kitsilano Chamber of Commerce and when they retired from being the Show Boat hosts in 1961, they were awarded the Good Citizen’s Trophy by the Kitsilano Association.⁹¹ Although the aforementioned activities meant that they were as integrated as ever, once in Vancouver and in proximity to a sizeable Jewish community, the Directors made conscientious efforts to involve themselves in promoting an institutionalized Jewish presence in the city. These efforts were initially demonstrated through Isidor Director’s publishing business.

Initially The Printery focused on printing calling cards, Christmas cards, New Years’ cards, and the like. However by 1925, J.I. Gorosh, who was active in the Vancouver Jewish community, felt that Vancouver Jewry needed some form of newsletter and suggested to his father-in-law that he begin publishing one. On July 15 of that year *The Vancouver Jewish Bulletin*, the province’s first English-language Jewish publication, was issued.⁹² Although the newsletter was touted as a monthly publication, a total of four issues were published that year.⁹³ Isidor Director was in charge of printing the Bulletin while Hannah Director acted as the business manager and J.I. Gorosh was the editor. The newsletter reflected the communal concerns of its patrons as well as those of its manager and editor. Concern for Jewish community affairs were seen from the first issue, whereby the front page editorial actively promoted the establishment of an official Jewish community centre, something which Vancouver was desperately lacking at that time.⁹⁴

After the publication of *The Vancouver Jewish Bulletin* other Jewish communal publications followed suit, including various versions of *The Jewish Western Bulletin* and became the official news medium of the Vancouver Jewish Community Centre.⁹⁵ The four page weekly publication cost five cents a copy, or a dollar for an annual subscription, and was printed at The Printery.⁹⁶ During its early years some notable editors and publishers worked on *The Jewish Western Bulletin*, including David Rome and Abraham Arnold.⁹⁷ For a short time *The Jewish Western Bulletin* was rivalled by Julius Shore’s *The Independent Jew*. A publication edited by Sim Alfred Goldston, a former pedagogue from the Jewish schools of the Hirsch colony in Saskatchewan. However, *The Jewish Western Bulletin* proved to be formidable competition and *The Independent Jew* soon folded.

Hannah Director also maintained other strong ties to Vancouver's Jewish institutions. The period between 1910 and 1920 had witnessed the birth of several Jewish institutions, including B'nai Brith and the Hebrew Aid and Immigrant Society in 1910, Zionist and Social Society in 1913, and the Hebrew Free Loan Association in 1915.⁹⁸ The Vancouver Jewish community continued to expand its institutions as the population grew between 1920 and 1930. Indeed, the time between 1910 and 1930 is historically considered the founding era of the Vancouver Jewish community, when the core communal institutions were established. As Cyril Leonoff noted, the organizations established during that era ably met the various needs of the mainly immigrant, Eastern European Jewish community.⁹⁹

Since the Directors arrived at a pivotal point in the founding of Vancouver's Jewish institutions and given Hannah Director's interest in communal organizations, she was a charter member of many of the city's Jewish organizations including the Vancouver Chapter 77 B'nai Brith Women (est. 1927), the Beth Israel Sisterhood (est. 1932), as well as a the Lillian Freiman Chapter of Hadassah (est. 1920). Director also served as the representative for the National Council of Jewish Women on the Vancouver Council of Women (est. 1924); and she served as secretary of the Jewish Community Chest (est. 1924) for eight years.¹⁰⁰ This organization eventually became the Jewish Community Council, and functioned as the model for "one of the founding agencies of the city-wide organization," known as the Vancouver Community Chest, which eventually became the United Way.¹⁰¹

Concluding Remarks

While the characteristics of BC's mainstream society were vital to her integration, Director's Jewishness also played a central role. Born into a family of recently-immigrated Jews, Director's earliest primary identity would have most certainly been as a Jew first and foremost—she lived in a Jewish neighbourhood and attended school where the majority of the student body was Jewish. Her later migration to Northern BC, a region with very few Jewish inhabitants and even fewer formal Jewish institutions, would have necessitated that Director adapt her Jewishness and become more oriented towards general society. By making substantial contributions to the greater good of society, however, Director constructed her Jewish identity in such a way that it allowed her to move between Jewish and non-Jewish settings. Nevertheless Hannah Director still made a concerted effort to help establish and maintain Jewish networks on an informal basis. That she continued to maintain her primary identity as a Jew during this period is indicated by looking at her closest social circle, which (in addition to family members) places particular emphasis on her Jewish friends and associates. When Director moved to Vancouver, that city's larger and more established community enabled her to accentuate her Jewish identity in a more formal way. Consequently, she and her family became increasingly involved in the

affairs of the Jewish community while at the same time maintaining their status as integrated Jews.

Typically when we think of Canada's Eastern European Jewish immigrants we think of members of the close-knit, Yiddish-speaking urbanized communities of Toronto and Montreal and of Jews that were involved in industry and who expressed varying degrees of interest in religious and cultural matters, as well as different of political views and who had limited (and often unpleasant) interactions with non-Jewish sectors of Canadian society. Hannah Director's social contributions reveal that Jewish integration in Canada during the early-part of the twentieth century is multifaceted. Director is imbued with many of the qualities of her natal community and yet steps beyond its confines and into a more integrated Jewish Canadian identity by virtue of her move to Prince Rupert and Prince George. It is in Northern BC that Director finds herself in small and relatively hospitable milieu and it is there that she does her utmost to express the Jewishness and sense of community that she was raised with.

As noted in the introduction, this exploration of Hannah Director's life story is, for the most part, based upon the oral history resources available at the Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia, which was founded in 1971 in Vancouver by engineer come archivist-historian Cyril Leonoff. Like other oral history collections initiated during this era, the JHSBC collection contains recorded interviews which were also summarized, and sometimes transcribed. The JHSBC interviews contain information about various members of BC Jewry, focusing on their lived experiences, be they specific events, or particular life phases, or simply related to a relevant topic in that person's life. Sometimes there is an attempt to record a complete life history of the person.¹⁰² Leonoff's passion for BC Jewish history led him, along with a cadre of volunteers, to collect over four decades (and counting) worth of oral histories for the JHSBC. Under Leonoff's guidance, the JHSBC subsequently founded *The Scribe: Journal of the Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia* in 1978 and the Jewish Museum and Archives of British Columbia in 2007. This exploration of Hannah Director's entrance into Canada's public sphere is a direct by-product of those efforts.

The creation of the JHSBC oral history collection directly correlates to broader changes taking place within the field of social history on national and international levels. Beginning in the 1960s social history started to become less scientific—less of an aggregation of experiences that fit no one in particular. As historians began exploring the histories of women, labourers, ethnic minorities, and other marginalized people, they legitimized the idea that the experiences of individuals need not fit within the norms established by a broad all-encompassing narrative.

Tied to the political goal of creating a more inclusive society, oral history methodology was seen as a way to “democratize”¹⁰³ history. At first, in part due to the intuitive

nature of the methodology a diverse group of people outside of academia, including local self-trained historians, archivists, and journalists embraced the methodology.¹⁰⁴ Often based at the grassroots levels within local communities, their efforts ultimately generated a worldwide oral history movement.¹⁰⁵ However, not everyone took to the methodology immediately.

Canadian academic historians initially resisted oral history, as manifested in the lack of oral history based articles in the *Canadian Historical Review*.¹⁰⁶ They perceived oral history interviews to lack a factual basis (i.e. memories were faulty and people tended to exaggerate, misremember, forget, or lie about the past).¹⁰⁷ Some academics questioned the usefulness of the collected information in understanding the socio-economic forces that shaped social relations. Others noted that the collected oral interviews completely lacked objectivity and tended towards populist histories.¹⁰⁸ Others posited that oral history interviews were difficult to access (i.e. the recordings were long and untranscribed).¹⁰⁹ (Indeed, it was the 2007 public opening of the Jewish Museum and Archives of British Columbia, with easy onsite access to oral histories and online access to other sources that inspired this investigation into the lived experiences of Hannah Director.)

Over the course of the last thirty plus years, academic historians, particularly ethnic historians, have become more receptive to oral history, seeing it as part of a larger archive of evidence.¹¹⁰ Oral history is also seen as a means of detailed investigation, one that allows historians to gain better understanding into the functions of memory, ideology, and identity.¹¹¹ Oral histories also allow researchers to demonstrate the diversity that exists within ethnic groups—showing just how differentiated they are and that other markers of identity (i.e. gender, class, region, religion, and so on can be as “important as ethnicity or race.”¹¹²

Due to the reticent entry of academic historians into the field of oral history there exists an abundance of oral sources created by community insiders.¹¹³ This has created a perception of imbalance in the historiography of ethnic histories in Canada. Patricia Wood noted in 2002 “rare are the works on immigrant communities written by an ‘outsider.’”¹¹⁴ Oral historian, Alexandre Freund, noted in 2014 insider “researchers were often motivated by the goal of letting their communities finally tell their own stories. Insiders were fundamental to democratizing Canadian history. Without them and their informants, our history would be much paler.”¹¹⁵ There is no denying that the interviewer invariably shapes the oral data collected, and although the insider-outsider dichotomy is worth noting it is futile to argue which historical investigator has greater perspective. Each will invariably bring advantages and disadvantages in the collection of oral history data. Perhaps 12th century Rabbi Isaiah di Trani sums it up best when he writes:

The wisest of the philosophers asked: “We admit that our predecessors were wiser than we. At the same time we criticize their comments, often rejecting them and claiming that the truth rests with us. How is this possible?” The wise philosopher responded: “Who sees further, a dwarf or a giant? Surely a giant, for his eyes are situated at a higher level than those of the dwarf. But if the dwarf is placed on the shoulders of the giant who sees further? ...So too we are dwarfs astride the shoulders of giants. We master their wisdom and move beyond it. Due to their wisdom we grow wise and are able to say all that we say, but not because we are greater than they.”¹⁶

Through the oral histories collected by the JHSBC, the picture of Canadian Jewry has been extended beyond the norms of the established narrative. This is perhaps the greatest lesson that we can take away from the story of Hannah Director. How many unheard oral histories are waiting in the repositories of local Jewish archives across this country—waiting for someone to incorporate them into and expand Canada’s Jewish narrative?

1

Statistics Canada, *1901 Census of Canada*, 5-Archives Microfilm: T-6535.

2

Statistics Canada, *1901 Census of Canada*, 5-Archives Microfilm: T-6535.

3

Statistics Canada, *1901 Census of Canada*, 5-Archives Microfilm: T-6535.

4

Cyril Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, (Vancouver: Jewish Historical Society of BC Oral History Project): 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

5

Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883: 69; David Rome, *On the Jewish School Question in Montréal, 1903-1931* (Montréal: National Archives, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1975): 5, 136.

6

Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883: 69.

7

Cyril Leonoff, *Rose Cohen*, (Vancouver: JHSBC Oral History Project): 1975-76:18 PABC Tape Number: 3883:63.

8

Statistics Canada, *Religious Denominations of Canada 1871-1941* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1941), 1.

9

Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

10

Ibid.

11

The census of 1911 lists her as being born Galina. Statistics Canada, *1911 Census of Canada*, 6.

12

Rosalie Gorosh reported visiting an aunt in Chicago as a child. Director’s sister Hilda Armin and brother Zack Diamond both lived in Chicago at the time of Hannah Director’s death. Perhaps Director had other relatives there as well. Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

13

The opening up of western Canada by rail and the federal government’s desire to populate the Prairies coincided with the Jewish exodus from Tsarist Russia in the early 1880s. For the likes of various benefactors, such as Hermann

Landau, the Baron Maurice de Hirsch, and the Russo-Jewish Committee, who were concerned with the fate of their Eastern European Jewish brethren, the Canadian West seemed to provide the ideal location for Jewish colonization.

14

The two exceptions to this were that circa 1911 the ICA contemplated starting a large colony of fruit growers in the southern Okanagan and four thousand acres of land was purchased in the Kootenay region of the province just north of Cranbrook. However, the land was found to be unsuitable for cultivation and the project was abandoned in 1929.

15

Some examples include William Benjamin Sylvester, who owned the Gap Ranch at Shawinigan Lake on Vancouver Island; Jacob Wasserman established a fruit farm in Naramata in the Okanagan; and the family of Philip and Lottie Adelberg also became pioneer homesteaders in Peace River region of BC.

16

The other Jews included Maurice and Freda Rose Cohen, Mr. and Mrs. David Cohen, the Holtmans, and the Isaac brothers from Calgary, who owned a china shop Other Jews in town included Mr. and Mrs. Weinstein, who owned the tailor shop; the general-store keeper Nathan Scheinman from England; Louis Ripstein, who owned a jewellery business; Harry Frome from Winnipeg, Charlie Cohen from Chicago, William Zackon, Morris Soskin, Zebulon (Billy) Goldbloom from Winnipeg, Mr. and Mrs. Gutstein from Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Max Herman, and Mr. and Mrs. Rubinovitch. The Landos came to Prince Rupert from England in 1912-1913. Sarah H. Tobe, "Hannah Director's Album of Memories 1908-1975," in *Pioneer Jews of British Columbia*, ed. Cyril Leonoff (Calabasas, CA: Western States Jewish History, 2005), 187-201.

17

Naomi Pellin, "The Directors - An outstanding pioneer couple," *The Jewish Western Bulletin*, (Friday March 2, 1956), 8.

18

Pellin, "The Directors - An Outstanding Pioneer Couple," 8.

19

Canadian Jewish News, (October 22, 1909): 12, 45.

20

Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

21

Canadian Jewish News, (October 22, 1909): 30.

22

Ibid., 31.

23

Ibid., 31.

24

Irene Dodek, *Esmond Lando*, (Vancouver: JHSBC Oral History Project): 19-86:05.

25

Irene Dodek, *Esmond Lando*: 19-86:05.

26

Ibid.

27

According to Esmond Lando, his father, Lou Lando, hated religion. The family name "Lando" was an Anglicized version of Armalanda. The family was Sephardic and migrated from Prussia and Poland to England and then to Canada. Dodek, *Esmond Lando*, 19-86:05.

28

Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

29

Ibid.

30

Deborah Dash Moore, *American Jewish Identity Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 6.

31

Pellin, "The Directors - An Outstanding Pioneer Couple," 8.

32

According to sociologists Blau, Beeker and Fitzpatrick people find friends in accordance with their strongest in-group preferences. Blau, Peter M., Carolyn Beeker, and Kevin M. Fitzpatrick, "Intersecting Social Affiliations and Inter-marriage," *Social Forces* 62, 3 (1984): 585-606. See also McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. "Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks." *Annu-*

al Review of Sociology (2001): 415-444. Dribe, Martin, and Christer Lundh. "Marriage choices and social reproduction: The interrelationship between partner selection and intergenerational socioeconomic mobility in 19th-century Sweden." *Demographic Research* 22, 14 (2010): 347-382.

33
Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *The American Journal of Sociology* 70.2 (1964): 193-205.

34
Pellin, "The Directors - An Outstanding Pioneer Couple," 8. The incident took place in 1918, after Director had chaired the school board in Prince George, but had returned to Prince Rupert.

35
Robert George Dennison, *A Study of The Prince George Citizen, 1957-61* (Vancouver: UBC, 1984), 8.

36
Dennison, *A Study of The Prince George Citizen, 1957-61*, 8.

37
"Immigrations Acts 1866-2001," [http://www.canadiana.org/citm/specifique/immigration_e.html].

38
Statistics Canada, *1911 Census of Canada*, 6.

39
The Prince George Citizen 3, no. 31 (2 August 1918), 2; no. 32 (6 August 1918), 2.

40
Dodek, *Esmond Lando*, 19-86:05.

41
Cyril Leonoff, *Pioneers, Pedlars, and Prayer Shawls: The Jewish Communities in British Columbia and the Yukon* (Victoria, BC: Sono Nis Press, 1978).

42
Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

43
Dodek, *Esmond Lando*, 19-86:05.

44
Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

45
"And then the war broke out. We went homesteading because Dad was German and it was very difficult for him to stay. We were only [away] for a year then we went back." Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69. This contradicts what Sarah Tobe writes in her article. "...while they were living on the homestead, Director had taught the children herself for three years..." Tobe, Mrs. *Director's Album of Memories 1908-1975*, 224.

46
Canada in the Making, *Immigration Acts 1866-2001*.

47
Moiria Armour and Pat Staton, *Canadian women in history* (Toronto: Green Dragon Press, 1990), 29.

48
Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

49
This occurred in South Fort George and none of the other musicians were Catholic either. Pellin, "The Directors - An outstanding pioneer couple," 8.

50
Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

51
Ibid.; Statistics Canada, *1911 Census of Canada*, 6.

52
Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

53
Ibid.

54
Ibid.

55
Pellin, "The Directors - An Outstanding Pioneer Couple," 8.

56

Paul James Stortz, *The Rural School Problem in British Columbia in the 1920s* (Vancouver: UBC, 1988), 109.

57

Frederick Jackson Turner, *Shaping the American Character: The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Now and Then Reader LLC, 2012).

58

Stortz, *The Rural School Problem in British Columbia in the 1920s*, 112.

59

Ibid.

60

Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

61

Thomas Fleming, "In the Imperial Age and After: Patterns of British Columbia School Leadership and the Institution of the Superintendency 1849-1988," *BC Studies* 81 (1989): 53.

62

Ibid.

63

Stortz, *The Rural School Problem in British Columbia in the 1920s*, 111.

64

Stortz, *The Rural School Problem in British Columbia in the 1920s*, 111-12.

65

Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh*, 1977:03-PABC tape number: 3883:69.

66

Elizabeth S. Clemens, "Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women's Groups and the Transformation of US Politics, 1890-1920," *American Journal of Sociology* 98.4 (1993): 760.

67

Beth Light and Joy Parr, *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press and OISE, 1983), 246.

68

Light and Parr, *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920*, 224.

69

Light and Parr, *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920*, 56.

70

Ibid.

71

Ibid.

72

Michael H. Cramer, "Public and Political: The Women's Suffrage Campaign in BC, 1871-1917: The View from Victoria," in Gillian Laura Creese and Veronica Jane Strong-Boag, eds. *British Columbia Reconsidered: Essays on Women* (Vancouver, BC: UBC, 1992), 55.

73

Lynne Marks, "'Leaving God behind when they crossed the Rocky Mountains': Exploring Unbelief in Turn of the Century British Columbia," in *Household Counts: Canadian Households and Families in 1901*, eds. Eric W. Sager and Peter A. Baskerville (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007): 325-326.

74

Marks, "'Leaving God behind when they crossed the Rocky Mountains,'" 325.

75

Armour and Staton, *Canadian Women in History: A Chronology*, 29.

76

BC Education survey commission et al, *Survey of the School System* (Victoria, BC: C.F. Banfield, 1925), 2.

77

Marks, "'Leaving God behind when they crossed the Rocky Mountains,'" 371.

78

Ibid.

79

Vincent McNally, "Church State Relations and American Influence in British Columbia before Confederation," *Journal of Church and State* 34.1 (1992): 93-110.

80

Previously Anglican clergy received free passage to the colonies, paid positions within Hudson's Bay Company ranks, and land endowments. Prior to 1861 they enjoyed an unofficial status of church of the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Indirectly, the 1861 verdict also prevented any church from holding an official status, ever. McNally, "Church State Relations," 93-110.

81

Marks, "Leaving God behind when they crossed the Rocky Mountains," 371.

82

Jean Barman, "The Emergence of Educational Structures in Nineteenth-century British Columbia," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland and Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1995), 15.

83

McNally, "Church State Relations," 93-110.

84

F. Henry Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC, 1964), 88.

85

Section 93 (3) of the BNA Act obligated Provincial governments to uphold agreements between separate or dissentient schools and previous colonial legislatures. James B. London, *Public Education, Public Pride: The Centennial History of the British Columbia School Trustees Association, 1905-2005* (Vancouver: BC School Trustees Association, 2005), 17.

86

Sarah H. Tobe, "Hannah Director's Album of Memories 1908-1975," in *Pioneer Jews of British Columbia*, ed. Cyril Leonoff (Calabasas, CA: Western States Jewish History, 2005), 225; Leonoff, *Rosalie Gorosh, 1977:03-PABC* tape number:3883:69.

87

Leonoff, *Pioneers, Pedlars, and Prayer Shawls: The Jewish Communities in British Columbia and the Yukon*, 86.

88

Tobe, *Hannah Director's Album of Memories 1908-1975*, 286.

89

Ibid., 225.

90

Leonoff, *Pioneers, Pedlars, and Prayer Shawls*, 143.

91

Tobe, *Hannah Director's Album of Memories 1908-1975*, 226.

92

Leonoff, *Pioneers, Pedlars, and Prayer Shawls*, 143.

93

Ibid.

94

Ibid., 144.

95

Ibid., 143-44.

96

Ibid., 146.

97

Ibid., 146.

98

Ibid., 86.

99

Ibid., 86

100

Tobe, *Mrs. Director's Album of Memories 1908-1975*, 226.

101

Ibid., 86.

102

Alexandre Freund, "Oral History and Ethnic History," *The Canadian Historical Association: Immigration and Ethnicity in Canada Series 32* (2004): 4, 6.

103

Freund, "Oral History and Ethnic History," 8.

104

Ibid.

105

Ibid.

106

ibid., 12.

107

ibid., 8.

108

ibid., 20.

109

ibid., 12.

110

ibid., 18.

111

ibid., 15, 17.

112

ibid., 19.

113

ibid., 21.

114

ibid., 21.

115

ibid., 21.

116

Shnayer Z. Leiman, "From the Pages of Tradition: Dwarfs on the Shoulders of Giants," *Tradition* (1993): 91