"'Not being religious didn't take away from their Jewishness': The complexities of lived religion among late 19th and early 20th century B.C. Jews"

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A recent survey of Jews in the United States by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life reported what appeared to some commentators to be rather surprising findings. While Jews are at least as likely to belong to synagogue and to send their children to religious schools as their Christian counterparts, they are much less likely to attend services, to pray on their own, or to believe in God than Christians. In fact on a number of these measures of religiosity, American Jews who are affiliated to synagogues look no more religious than Christians who are not affiliated to churches. One commentator argued that such data points out that for Jews it's not as much about personal religious faith, "it's a matter of group belonging, which includes secular reasons for belonging".[1] Is this mix of religiosity, a need to belong and what we might see as more secular behaviours a recent phenomenon among North American Jews? Were Jews more traditionally "religious" in the past? The North American literature tends to suggest that this was the case, at least for the majority of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Jewish immigrant generation.[2] This paper explores this question by looking at the complex relationship between religious belief, practice, community and a sense of Jewishness among late nineteenth and early twentieth century Jews in a small corner of North America, the westernmost Canadian province of British Columbia.

We currently know very little about the history of Jews in British Columbia. Jews have been largely ignored by historians of British Columbia, after some mention of their active involvement, primarily as merchants, in the 1858 Fraser River gold rush in British Columbia. At

this time the existing small European settlement on the southern tip of Vancouver Island was overwhelmed by over 30,000 people, mostly male, who came up from California, through Victoria, on their way to the diggings on the Fraser River. Many Jews settled in Victoria at this time, serving as merchants both during this gold rush and the Cariboo gold rush of the early 1860s. Within Canadian Jewish history B.C. Jews have also received little attention, perhaps because, until the postwar period, the Jewish communities of the province remained relatively small.[3]

This paper hopes to help to redress the lacuna in the scholarly literature on the history of the Jews and Jewish communities of British Columbia, particularly for the period from the 1880s to the 1920s. At the same time, the questions asked here are not just relevant to the history of Jews in B.C. or in Canada as a whole, but are of larger relevance to our understanding of the history of Jewish ethnic and religious practice and identity. This paper looks closely at the ways in which late nineteenth and early twentieth century B.C. Jews defined themselves as Jews – looking at the complex mix of religious and irreligious practices that they followed, and at how such practices and beliefs often did not fit into the nice neat categories that have been developed by historians of North American Jewry, such as religious Jew vs. atheist, the Orthodox or the socialist.

I argue in this paper that part of the reason why the self-definition of B.C. Jews did not always fit into these categories, which were constructed by historians of larger communities of North American Jews, can be explained by their particular circumstances in British Columbia, in that they lived in small, or in some cases extremely tiny Jewish communities, which often required them to make major compromises in their religious and community practices. As well,

like the entire Pacific Northwest, which tended (and still tends) to be more secular than the rest of North America, British Columbian society was definitely less religious on a number of measures than that of the rest of Canada. As I argue here, this may have also have affected the nature of Jewish self-definition in the province, particularly for young men.[4] At the same time, the complex mix of religious, semi-religious and irreligious Jews I found in B.C., all of whom identified very much as being Jewish, is not just a local story, but is also very much part of a larger, transnational story of Jewish immigration, particularly the massive nineteenth and early twentieth century immigration of Eastern European Jews, who fled persecution, and immigrated to a range of countries, including Canada, the US, Britain, Argentina and South Africa.

I identified the transnational nature of the BC Jewish experience for a number of reasons, not the least of which was the resonance of what I found here with the stories my mother and father have told me about their own childhoods, growing up in South Africa with parents of Eastern European Jewish heritage. My mother`s family was from a Jewish socialist atheist background, while my father`s was Orthodox – but neither label did justice to the mix of contradictory and complex religious, semi-religious and secular practices with which my parents grew up. My father's mother, for example, kept scrupulously kosher, with four sets of dishes, dairy and meat, as well as separate dishes for Passover, but my father cannot remember her ever lighting Shabbat candles on Friday nights. My father's father went to synagogue every morning of the week – except Saturday – which was the busiest day in his shop.[5] My mother's father's family were staunch socialist atheists, spending much time in heated political debates over articles in the socialist paper the *Forward* they received from New York, and derided Jewish religious practices, but her father, while remaining an atheist, insisted that his son have a bar

mitzvah, because he himself had "missed out" on this as a child.

In addition to my own family stories the broader international literature on Jewish immigration history also helped me to place turn of the century B.C. Jews in a larger context. This literature is very strong in many ways, particularly in the U.S. context. However, even in U.S., much of the focus has been on broader patterns of institutional and cultural changes among American Jews, on economic development and changes over time and generation regarding questions of assimilation, secularization and the complex relationship between ethnicity and religion. There has been much less examination at the level of individuals and families within generations that explores the complex, messy nature of what can be called turn of the century Jewish "lived religion". American scholars such as Robert Orsi and David Hall coined the term lived religion in studying Christians, demonstrating how ordinary people took what they wanted or needed from dominant religious beliefs and practices, mixing the sacred and the secular, in ways that often did not fit with theological orthodoxies, or ministerial expectations, but worked for the people involved. For some people "lived religion" provided the basis for profound challenges to existing religious and political structures, but for most, it helped them to make sense of their worlds, and provided them with the cultural and spiritual resources to navigate the contradictions and hardships of their lives.[6] Other than some very recent studies by Annie Polland of Jews in early twentieth century New York City, lived religion has not been a focus of Jewish historians.[7]

The concept of lived religion is particularly complex in studying an ethno-religious group like the Jews, for whom (as others have noted) religious practice or affiliation can be as much or more about ethnic identification, with maintaining a sense of Jewishness, as it has to do with

religious belief – while for some a sense of Jewishness can have nothing to do with religious belief at all.[8] Scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Eastern European immigrant generation have argued that for this generation, issues of ethnicity and religion were more firmly fused than was later to be the case, other than for the large minority of socialist Jews of this period, who rejected religious belief and saw their sense of Jewishness, or "Yiddishkeit", in terms of a more secular ethnicity. Like Annie Polland, who examines "lived religion" in the context of New York City Jews, I suggest that we need to move away from the rigidities of this binary. The literature tends to see a clear dichotomy among Eastern European immigrants between socialists, who may have come from various political factions, but who generally were atheists and thus actively hostile to religion, although not necessarily to Jewishness, and the Orthodox who believed that they remained true to Biblical teachings by following Jewish laws on a range of matters which included keeping Jewish dietary laws (keeping kosher), attending synagogue regularly, and keeping the Sabbath by following a range of prohibitions against working, driving, lighting fires and many other activities on Saturdays.[9]

I do not want to suggest that these patterns did not exist. They were very real for many Jews. At the same time I argue that such binary analyses do not always get at the messiness and complexity of everyday experiences, and understandings of the world, both of families, and of individuals within families. Some historians have noted conflicts over religious practice between immigrant parents and more acculturated children, but my evidence demonstrates that Jewish husbands and wives often themselves had very different understandings of the meanings and practices of Judaism.[10]

The arguments presented here are based primarily on evidence gleaned from the

extensive collection of interviews conducted by the Jewish Historical Society of B.C., beginning in the early 1970s, and currently held by the archives of the Society.[11] I have also consulted tapes of relevant interviews conducted for the B.C. Sound Heritage Strathcona Project in the 1970s. This paper also makes use of the Victoria synagogue records held by the B.C. Archives, and manuscript census databases for the 1901 B.C. census created for the Canadian Families Project.[12] The oral history interviews that form the main basis of this paper were conducted primarily with Jews who either came to Canada as immigrants from Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, or whose parents had immigrated from Eastern Europe during this period, with the interviewees being born in Canada a few years after their parents' arrival. In the case of second generation interviewees, this paper has been particularly focused on determining the religious/irreligious world view, practices and sense of Jewishness of their parents' generation, although insights have also been gleaned about the interviewees own sense of Jewishness, particularly as younger people. A few interviewees were also from German Jewish backgrounds. In these cases their families had generally been in British Columbia for a longer period, sometimes dating back to the 1860s.

Most scholarly literature tends to study Jews in larger North American cities, with very large Jewish communities. Two important exceptions in the American context are the work of Lee Shai Weissbach, who provides a valuable overview of patterns of small town Jewish life in towns across the U.S. and Ewa Moraska, who presents a more in depth, culturally nuanced examination of Jewish life in one smaller community.[13] There have not been similar scholarly works in the Canadian context. The Jews I study in this paper either lived in very small towns in B.C. and were among the very few Jews in these communities, or if they lived in Vancouver and

Victoria, they were still part of very small Jewish communities in these cities. Over the 1891-1931 period the Jewish population of Victoria declined from148 Jews in 1891 to 102 Jews in 1931. Over the same period Vancouver's Jewish population grew significantly, from 83 people in 1891 to almost 2,400 in 1931. At the same time, Vancouver's Jewish community remained very small compared to Jewish communities in other large Canadian cities. In Toronto there were over 45,000 Jews in 1931 and in Winnipeg there were over 17,000 in the same year.[14] As a result, Jews in British Columbia faced challenges that were often quite different from those of the Jews of larger US and Canadian cities. My findings are therefore particularly relevant to the B.C. situation, and contribute to the as yet largely unwritten history of Jews in this far Western province. They also contribute to our as yet limited understanding of Jewish life in smaller North American communities, as well as pointing to the potential importance of using a lived religion lens in other Jewish contexts.

In my examination of the oral history interviews I found that some people fit nicely into the Orthodox/socialist binary identified by Jewish scholars. One of several examples of those on the Orthodox side of the binary was Myer Freedman, who was born in 1910. Myer talked at length about how Orthodox his family was when he was growing up in Vancouver, describing how his immigrant father closed his business on Saturday, although "Saturday was the busiest day on the street". Every Saturday he and his father went to the synagogue to pray, walking there and back, and then going home to study religious texts with his father. As was the norm in Orthodox families, his sisters were not included in such study. In keeping with Jewish law his family could not light the stove on the Sabbath, so they would pay a young non-Jewish neighbour to come and do it for them.[15] Other interviews suggest that Myer's family was not

alone in their observant ways.[16] As well, the first successful synagogue in Vancouver was an Orthodox one, founded primarily by Eastern European immigrants, while in the 1920s there was enough business in Vancouver to sustain three kosher butcher shops.[17]

However, in Vancouver, with a small Jewish population and only one synagogue, the existence of Orthodox institutions did not reflect the existence of a purely Orthodox Jewish population. In fact, the building of the Orthodox synagogue in 1920 reflects some of the compromises that can be required of Jews in smaller communities. Some of the earliest Jewish arrivals to Vancouver adhered to a more Reform version of Judaism, in which Jews left behind many of what they saw as the more rigid religious laws relating to the Sabbath, to kosher food and to other matters that remained important to Orthodox Jews. English also predominated in Reform services, while Orthodox services were held in Hebrew. While there had been a Reform congregation in Vancouver since the 1890s, they gave up their efforts to build a synagogue during World War I, realizing that there were not enough Jews in Vancouver to sustain two synagogues, and that the Orthodox community was the larger one, as a result of increasing immigration from Eastern Europe. Leaders of the Reform congregation joined instead with the Orthodox congregation to build one viable synagogue, Schara Tzedeck.[18] Cyril Leonoff has noted that "the forced union was never a happy one", but it demonstrates the heterogeneous nature of Orthodox synagogues in smaller communities.[19] The fact that the majority of members of this Orthodox synagogue only attended services at Passover and the High Holidays, with many not keeping kosher, also points to the complex nature of this supposedly Orthodox congregation.[20]

The interviews provide further evidence of complexity within the Orthodox congregation, as well as revealing the limitations of the socialist/Orthodox binary. A number of Vancouver Jews who defined themselves as socialists did not fit clearly into the "irreligious socialist" model of the historical literature, often playing significant roles within Vancouver's Orthodox institutions, most particularly the synagogue. For these Jews it was less a question of feeling that they had no choice but to join the synagogue, as was the case with the Reform Jews, but more a sense of there being no contradiction for them between socialism and some level of Orthodoxy.

There was not a big socialist community in Vancouver, as there was in Winnipeg, Toronto and many larger American cities in the early 20th century. There was, however, a socialist organization, The Arbeiter Ring, (Workmen's Circle) founded in 1910, and other socialist organizations formed in the 1920s.[21] Some Vancouver interviewees identified themselves or their parents as having been socialists in this period. Among most socialists who were interviewed, this did not seem to have precluded their following at least some of the tenets of Orthodoxy.

For example, Betty Averbach regularly marched with her mother in the annual Vancouver May Day parades, and her parents were active in Vancouver's Shalom Aleichem society, a socialist, Yiddish organization founded in the 1920s. Betty's mother also received the *Forward*, the Yiddish socialist newspaper from New York. At the same time, her socialist mother was, according to Betty, "very observant", and they celebrated all of the Jewish holidays. Both of her parents were also very active in the orthodox synagogue. Betty noted with pride that

when her parents died the doors of the synagogue were opened in their honour, apparently reflecting the major roles they had played there.

At the same time, being “very observant” did not mean the same to everyone. When asked if her mother wore a wig (as very Orthodox women did), Betty replied that she was “not like that”. Unlike the Freedmans, Betty’s family rarely attended Sabbath services, mostly attending only for major Jewish holidays, and they drove to synagogue at a time when the more observant still walked.[22]

Gloria Harris’s father was also a socialist, and again, her family went to synagogue, although not weekly. On the High Holidays (the most important Jewish holidays of Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur) the family went to synagogue, and her parents fasted on Yom Kippur. Gloria’s brother had a bar mitzvah, another indication of religious practice. Gloria’s interview reveals clearly that Judaism was very important in her family’s home. She spoke of how her mother cleaned the house every Friday night, had a clean white tablecloth and lighted the Sabbath candles. Gloria noted that, Friday night, no matter how hard up they were, “was a beautiful time”. She paints here a very traditional religious image of a Friday night experience.[23]

The Averbach and Harris interviews, as well as others, point to the dangers of setting up too clear a distinction between socialist freethinkers and the Orthodox, given the ability of these families to combine synagogue involvement and domestic Judaism with socialism. These socialists saw no contradictions between their politics and some level of orthodoxy, but in smaller communities like Vancouver, even socialists who were much less keen on organized Jewish religion could not always stay away from it.

One can see this clearly in the interview with Dora Roseman. Dora was very active in the Mutter Fareyn, a socialist women's group that developed the Sholom Aleichem school in the 1920s, which later became the Peretz school, a socialist, Yiddish school, that taught Jewish history but not Jewish religion. In the interview Dora was quite negative about religiously observant Jews. For example, she talked critically about the fact that increasing numbers of young people were attending synagogue in the 1970s, stating dismissively that she doesn't "know what they'll find in that religion". She also suggested that young people went to the Talmud Torah (the religious Jewish school) instead of to the socialist Peretz school, for socio-economic reasons, because they "think they get better boyfriends if they belong to the religious school".

However, when she was asked if she and her husband were Orthodox when they first immigrated to Vancouver, Dora seemed somewhat embarrassed in her answer, but she said that:

> We had just come, there was no place to go [when she came in 1913], nothing to do so we just went occasionally, you know, High Holidays – met [Jewish] people there, the people even if they [preferred] somewhere else – still had to go there [because] there wasn't anything else.

She seemed to suggest that she was not alone in this approach, and that certainly in the earlier decades of the century most of "the Jewish people went only the High holidays to the shul [synagogue]", and that only a few old people went regularly every Sabbath.[24]

Another socialist, the father of interviewee Fred Schwartz, was also not terribly interested in religion. He immigrated from Russia, where he had been part of an irreligious socialist movement. Nonetheless, he joined the only synagogue existing in Vancouver when they arrived there. His wife was much more interested in synagogue involvement than he was.

As Fred noted of his father's relationship to the synagogue: "it was not sort of active necessarily, but he was there".[25] Again, finding a sense of Jewish community may have overcome socialist scruples.

The centrality of a synagogue to a sense of Jewish belonging in small communities is even more evident in the very small Jewish community of Victoria. Victoria had a synagogue long before Vancouver. The handsome brick building had been built in more prosperous times, in the early 1860s, the gold rush era. The Jews in turn-of-the-century Victoria included a mix of older German immigrants, who had often arrived in British Columbia via the US with the gold rush, and Eastern European Jews, many of whom had immigrated more recently, and who tended to be more Orthodox. As a result the small community included a mix of Orthodox and Reform families. This diversity apparently created tensions over the years. For example, in the 1890s the majority of Eastern European immigrants were unhappy with their rabbi, who led prayers and used rituals from a very Reform tradition. He did not last long, leaving the congregation after three years. Despite recurrent tensions over such differences the synagogue was clearly the hub of Victoria's Jewish social life.[26]

The complex reasons that could lie behind synagogue involvement are revealed in the 1901 manuscript census for Victoria, where one of the 47 Jews listed in synagogue records as members or contributors to the synagogue was defined in the census as an atheist. For this man the synagogue was clearly important for a sense of ethnic belonging but not for belief. A large majority of Jewish families in Victoria appear to have sought affiliation with the synagogue, since 74 per cent (26 out of 35) of Jewish household heads in Victoria were listed either as a member of the synagogue or as a regular contributor.[27] This is a much higher percentage of

involvement among household heads than was common in Protestant churches at this time. Even in central Canada the average percentage of church members to those claiming adherence to the denomination was below 50 per cent. In British Columbia, which had a well deserved reputation of being the least religious province in Canada, Protestant church membership levels were considerably lower, reflecting patterns of greater secularity common to the Pacific Northwest as a whole.[28]

In Ewa Moraska's study of small town Jews in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, she also found high levels of synagogue involvement among local Jews. She argued that the fact that the surrounding Christian community also tended to have very high levels of religious affiliation helps to explain why synagogue affiliation, and religious practice in both home and synagogue was so important to Johnstown Jews, and indeed remained important to the vast majority of second generation Jews in that community. She compares this to Jews in larger cities, who by the early twentieth century were much less likely to belong to synagogues, in part because the surrounding non-Jewish communities were also less religious, as well as because of the array of alternative more secular Jewish organizations available to big city Jews.[29] Morawska also noted that the Johnstown Jewish community was fairly inward looking, with little interaction between the local Jews and the larger Christian community.[30] This was not the case in Victoria, where representatives of the entire community, including the major fraternal orders and ethnic associations, turned out to lay the cornerstone of the synagogue in 1863, and where relationships between Jews and other members of the racially and religiously diverse community of Victoria appear to have remained significant into the twentieth century.

[1]Notes

Anthony Weiss, "Survey Numbers Show American Jews To Be Less Religious on Many Measures" *Jewish Daily Forward*, October 10, 2008. Data taken from the U.S. Religious Landscape Survey by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life.

[2]The literature suggests that things started to change for the second generation, although that seemed to vary significantly by location. See, for example, Ewa Moraska, *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) and Deborah Dash Moore, *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews*, (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1981).

[3]Gerald Tulchinsky mentions the Jewish communities of B.C. several times in his major works of Canadian Jewish history, but given the breadth of what he is covering, cannot go into much detail. David Rome has also done some work on the subject, but the major historian of B.C. Jewish communities has been Cyril E. Leonoff, who has published several works on the subject, most recently *The Rise of Jewish Life and Religion in British Columbia, 1858-1948* , published in *The Scribe*, The Journal of the Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia, (Vancouver, 2008). Leonoff's work has focused on the development of Jewish institutions in British Columbia, primarily in Vancouver, home to most British Columbia Jews, as well as on providing important information on the backgrounds of the men and women who were most active in B.C.'s Jewish communities. See Gerald Tulchinsky, *Taking root: the origins of the Canadian Jewish community* (Toronto: Lester Pub., 1992) and *Branching out : the transformation of the Canadian Jewish community* (North York, Ont., Stoddart, 1998); David Rome, "Jews in the Cariboo,", reprinted from the *Canadian Jewish Yearbook*, 1939-40, *Jewish Western Bulletin*, B.C. Centenary Ed., 1858-1958, June 30, 1958 and "Notes on Some of the First Jews West of Ontario", Canadian Jewish Historical Society *Journal*, Vol 2, No. 1, Spring 1978; Cyril Leonoff, *Pioneers, Pedlars and Prayer Shawls: The Jewish Communities in British Columbia and the Yukon* (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1978) and *The Rise of Jewish Life and Religion in British Columbia, 1858-1948.* Also see the special issue on Jews in British Columbia published by *Western States Jewish History*, 2005, vol 37, (3-4) and Richard Menkis and Ronnie Tessler. "History of the Jews of British Columbia", for the Jewish Historical Society of BC (2001) http://www.jewishmuseum.ca/timeline/Pages/main.html.

[4] For the more secular nature of the entire Pacific Northwest see, for example, Patricia O'Connell Killen and Mark Silk, eds., *Religion and Public Life in the Pacific Northwest: The None* Zone (Walnut Creek: Altamria Press, 2004); Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival, and Cult Formation*, (Berkeley, 1985)and Tina Block, "Every day Infidels: A Social History of Secularism in the Postwar Pacific Northwest" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Victoria, 2006). For the B.C. context see Lynne Marks, "Leaving God Behind when They Crossed the Rocky Mountains: Exploring Unbelief in Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia" in P. Baskerville and E.W. Sager, eds., *Household Counts Canadian Households and Families in 1901* (University of Toronto Press, 2007).

[5] For a discussion of this phenomenon in the U.S. context see Annie Polland, "Working for the Sabbath: Sabbath in the Jewish Immigrant Neighbourhoods of New York", *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, Spring 2009, 6, 1

[6] See for example, David D. Hall, ed., *Lived Religion in America: Towards a History of Practice* (Princeton, 1997), Robert Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of*

Hopeless Causes, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) and Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Consumer Rites The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

[7] Annie Polland, "Public History and Gender Studies at the Eldrige Street Synagogue" paper presented at the Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, June 2008, Minneapolis, Minnesota and Polland, "Working for the Sabbath". For some reference to these ideas also see Paula Hyman, "Immigrant Women and Consumer Protest: The New York City Kosher Meat Boycott of 1902", in *American Jewish Women's History: A Reader*, (New York: New York University Press, 2003) 123-124.

[8] For more sociological discussions of the link between religion and ethnicity among present day Jews see, for example, Uzi Rebhun, "Jewish Identity in America: Structural Analyses of Attitudes and Behaviours", *Review of Religious Research*, 46, 1 (2004) or Vivian Klaff, "Defining American Jewry from Religious and Ethnic Perspectives: The Transitions to Greater Heterogeneity", *Sociology of Religion*, 67, 4, (2006) .

[9] See, for example, Susan Glenn, *Daughters of the Shtetl: Life and Labor in the Immigrant Generation* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990) and Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers*, (
New York : Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976).

[10] For a discussion of the relationships between immigrant Jewish parents and their children, see, for example, Howe and Glenn.

[11] Copies of interviews done by the Jewish History Society of B.C. in the 1970s and 1980s are also held by the B.C. Archives,

[12] For further discussion of the Canadian Families Project see P. Baskerville and E.W. Sager, eds., *Household Counts Canadian Households and Families in 1901* (University of Toronto Press, 2007).

[13] Two significant exceptions in the American context are Lee Shai Weissbach, *Jewish Life in Small Town America: A History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) and Moraska, *Insecure Prosperity*. Neither of them uses the concept of "lived religion", although Moraska does look at shifting patterns of religiosity in these communities.

[14]Canada. Department of Agriculture, *Census of Canada, 1890-91* (Ottawa, 1893), Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *7th Census of Canada, 1931* (Ottawa, 1933).

[15] Interview with Abraham Myer Freedman, interviewed by Carole Itter and Daphne Marlatt, July 19, 1977. Part of Strathcona Project. Public Archives of B.C. (PABC) T2683:0002.

[16] See for example, interview with Myer and Flori Brown, interviewed by Ann Kreiger, July 6, 1971. Jewish Historical Society of B.C. collection, PABC T3883:0004; Interview with Kiva Katznelson; interviewed by Myer Freedman, April 30, 1975, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. collection, PABC T3883:0003 and interview with Isaac Lipovsky, interviewed by Irene S. Dodek and Sally Tobe, February 4, 1974. Jewish Historical Society of B.C. collection, PABC T3883:0020.

[17] Leonoff, *The Rise of Jewish Life and Religion* and interview with Charles Davis, interviewed by Myer Freedman, March 6th, 1975, Jewish Historical Society of BC Oral History Project, Public Archives of BC Oral History Project, 3883:65.

[18] Leonoff, *The Rise of Jewish Life and Religion,* 85. The Orthodox congregation had built a smaller synagogue in 1911, the Sons of Israel, which was replaced by Schara Tzedeck in 1920. Leonoff, 100-107
[19] Leonoff, 85.
[20] Interview with Benjamin Pastinsky (son of the Orthodox rabbi of Vancouver) – born 1908; PABC 3883:82 and interview with Dora Roseman, interviewed by Sandy Fuchs and Mrs. M. Katz, 1972. Part of Reynoldston Research and Studies oral history collection, PABC T0053:0001.
[21] Menkis and Tessler. "History of the Jews of British Columbia", http://www.jewishmuseum.ca/timeline/Pages/main.html
[22] Interview with Betty Averbach, interviewed by Leora Raivich, August 11, 2004, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Oral History Project, tape 20:04:20.
[23] Interview with Gloria Harris, interviewed by Carole Itter and Daphne Marlatt, 1977. Part of Strathcona Project. PABC T2800:0001.
[24] Interview with Dora Roseman, PABC T0053:0001.
[25] Interview with Fred Swartz, interviewed by Leora Raivich, 2004, Jewish Historical Society of B.C. Oral History Project, tape 20-04:24.
[26] Leonoff, *The Rise of Jewish Life and Religion* and interview with Josephine Lancaster and Daisy Salmon Minchin, interviewed by Cyril Leonoff, July 23, 1972. Part of Jewish Historical Society of B.C. collection, PABC T3883:0075
[27] Congregation Emmanuel Records, PABC MS-0059 and 1901 manuscript census for Victoria (computerized version made available by the Canadian Families Project).
[28] Lynne Marks, "Church Involvement Across Canada in 1901: A Macro and Micro Study", paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association annual meeting, Toronto, May 2002 and Marks, "Leaving God Behind". For the Pacific Northwest as a whole, see, for example, Block, "Everyday Infidels".
[29] Morawska, *Insecure Prosperity*, 135-137.
[30] *Ibid*, chapter 5.