

# THE JEWISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

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VOLUME XXXVIII : NUMBER 1 : JUNE 1996

## CONTENTS

Permanent Impermanence: Israeli Expatriates in  
Non-Event Transition

RUTH LINN and NURIT BARKAN-ASCHER

Israelis in Toronto: The Myth of Return and the  
Development of a Distinct Ethnic Community

RINA COHEN and GERALD GOLD

The Jewish Community of Stroud, 1877-1908

HAROLD POLLINS

The Image of the Jew in Asia

WALTER P. ZENNER

Book Reviews

Chronicle

Editor: Judith Freedman

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## CONTENTS

Permanent Impermanence: Israeli Expatriates in Non-Event Transition RUTH LINN and NURIT BARKAN-ASCHER	5
Israelis in Toronto: The Myth of Return and the Development of a Distinct Ethnic Community RINA COHEN and GERALD GOLD	17
The Jewish Community of Stroud, 1877-1908 HAROLD POLLINS	27
The Image of the Jew in Asia WALTER P. ZENNER	42
Book Reviews	47
Chronicle	63
Books Received	66
Notes on Contributors	68

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## BOOKS REVIEWED

<i>Authors</i>	<i>Titles</i>	<i>Reviewers</i>	<i>Page</i>
E. Conte and C. Essner	<i>La quête de la race. Une anthropologie du nazisme</i>	Jacques Gutwirth	47
M. Keren	<i>Professionals Against Populism: The Peres Government and Democracy</i>	Max Beloff	50
J. Kershen and A. Romain	<i>Tradition and Change: A History of Reform Judaism in Britain, 1840-1995</i>	Harold Pollins	52
G. Kostyrchenko	<i>Out of the Red Shadows: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia</i>	Max Beloff	55
M. Shokeid	<i>A Gay Synagogue in New York</i>	Leonard Mars	58
E. Szép	<i>The Smell of Humans: A Memoir of the Holocaust in Hungary</i>	Colin Holmes	60
P. Vidal-Naquet	<i>Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust</i>	Colin Holmes	61

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# PERMANENT IMPERMANENCE: ISRAELI EXPATRIATES IN NON-EVENT TRANSITION

Ruth Linn and Nurit Barkan-Ascher

## *Introduction*

**T**HIS paper examines the phenomenon of non-event among Israeli expatriates. According to Nancy Schlossberg a non-event is an expected life event which has not in fact occurred.<sup>1</sup> It is often said to be experienced as a stressful life event by the person who has to master all personal resources in order to face a transition of a significant magnitude.<sup>2</sup> Such transition, unlike other milestones, has been said to have few, if any, prescribed rituals,<sup>3</sup> although it involves identity, self-worth, comfort, and security.<sup>4</sup> Uprooting may also lead to the realization that the expectations, hopes or dreams, have not been fulfilled.

According to Sartre<sup>5</sup> and Merleau-Ponty<sup>6</sup> all human consciousness is filled with expectations which can at any time be thwarted, and lead to frustration, disappointment, and despair. The thwarted expectations are experiences of non-events and require a change in an individual's assumptions and definition of self, and in the values attached to this change.<sup>7</sup> As far as we are aware, no published research has dealt with the situation when persons believe that they are personally responsible for 'breaking the dream'. It is not only novelists and poets who write about dreams or unfulfilled expectations; social scientists are also concerned with the effects of such intense disappointments. Levinson postulated that when dreams are not met, there is then a situation of crisis.<sup>8</sup> Markus and Nurius comment on the anguish of coming to terms with the fact that 'a cherished possible self is not to be realized, even though this possible self remains as vivid and compelling as the day it was constructed'.<sup>9</sup> Viorst points out that it is a 'necessary loss', 'it is fundamental to existence', the 'price we pay for living'.<sup>10</sup> Markus and Nurius have added that it is important to focus on what happens when dreams fail to materialize.<sup>11</sup>

The term 'non-event' has been used in more recent literature on adult development; earlier studies on adult transition focused on normative

and non-normative life events, although the phenomenon of non-event was recognized<sup>12</sup> and its importance was noted.<sup>13</sup> However, we know of only one study investigating a specific non-event.<sup>14</sup> And while Nancy Schlossberg and her associates have been compiling data on non-events (infertility) as a step toward a theoretical model, a theoretical and descriptive study of a non-event should be attempted. Schlossberg has observed that a non-event — the realization that the expected did not and would not occur — may alter our self-conception, our relationships, and our general assumptions.<sup>15</sup> Examples are the projected marriage which did not take place, the promotion which never happened,<sup>16</sup> or the child that was never born.<sup>17</sup> But the study of non-events among immigrants should also be undertaken.

Sartre in 1956<sup>18</sup> and Nancy Schlossberg in 1989<sup>19</sup> have commented on the fact that we are acutely aware of the absence of an event which we had anticipated. Non-events may cause more stress than the occurrence of normative, expected events.<sup>20</sup> According to George and Siegler, the issue has been 'logically ignored by investigators employing traditional life events approaches because stress is assumed to reflect degrees of change — and non-occurrence of an event presumably will also mean no change'.<sup>21</sup>

### *Israeli Expatriates*

Israeli expatriates have been said to present a somewhat 'deviant' case on the immigration scene.<sup>22</sup> We maintain that the experience of non-event seems to be central to the life of the Israeli expatriates in North America, and therefore may present a unique potential for understanding their immigration experience on the one hand and the nature of non-event transitions on the other hand. One of the most unusual characteristics distinguishing Israeli immigrants from other newcomers to North America has been the self-presentation of many of them as 'temporarily uprooted',<sup>23</sup> and their continued stated hope, intention, and commitment to return to Israel. However successful they are in the host countries, and although they may remain abroad for their entire lives after leaving Israel, many never sever their ties with the homeland and always view themselves as foreigners in their host country.<sup>24</sup>

Israeli immigrants are comparatively successful professionally and financially, and they apparently have little difficulty in adjusting to the North American life style. However, they often seem to manifest characteristics which usually are found among refugees, and they 'remain anchored in the past, in a state of permanent collective remembrance, and involvement' with the earlier circumstances.<sup>25</sup> They also resemble refugees because, like them, they look back to what they have left with longing and moreover they experience guilt and self-doubt. Most of them remain emotionally and legally members of the State of Israel and tend



## ISRAELI EXPATRIATES

to cling to the myth of return — however unrealistic it may be. *Aliya* (immigration to Israel) usually has positive connotations, while *yerida* (emigration from Israel, the emigrant being a *yored* — plural *yordim*) implies a rejection of Israeli life. A *yored* is one who has literally gone down, descended, and there is an implication that the citizen who has left Israel is guilty of a subtle form of betrayal of the shared obligation to protect the land of Israel.<sup>26</sup>

*Yerida* is not a new phenomenon but it is only recently that it has become a subject of social research.<sup>27</sup> Israel is largely a society of immigrants and of the descendants of immigrants, and it has been obsessed with the wish for more immigration and with concern about those who emigrate. These obsessions are rooted in both pragmatic and ideological considerations. Israel is a small country, with four million Jewish citizens, eight miles wide at its narrowest point (before the Six-Day War of 1967) and for more than 40 years it was surrounded by more than 200 million hostile neighbours who have threatened the Jewish State ever since its establishment in 1948.

Every loss of a citizen through emigration is conceived as a weakening of the defence of the country.<sup>28</sup> The unique characteristic of Israeli citizenship is the involvement of a very large segment of the Jewish population in active military duty. There is a continuing obligation to serve in the defence forces for a specified term from the age of 18 for three years, and from the age of 21, one month a year in the Reserves for males until the age of 55 — which accounts for the popular saying that every Israeli citizen is a soldier on annual leave of 11 months while every soldier is a citizen on duty.<sup>29</sup> Each male emigrant is therefore diminishing the total number of soldiers and those who have left the country have been censured for their lack of patriotism in choosing to settle elsewhere.<sup>30</sup> As we noted above, the term *yordim* has a pejorative connotation and the emigrants are acutely aware of that fact and are consequently subject to feelings of vulnerability and guilt.<sup>31</sup>

It has been said that emigration from Israel may provoke unique emotional distress owing to a 'peculiar social pathology of over-identification' which is the hallmark of the relationship between Israelis and their country.<sup>32</sup> Some studies have claimed that Israeli emigrants have to endure two related sources of identity ambiguity: 1) a unique psychological, historical, moral, and ideological attachment to Israel, and 2) an ambivalent relationship with their 'natural' ethnic group, the Diaspora Jews. The effects of a collective memory of the Holocaust, of violent uprooting, and of living in a war zone have been shown to account for the sense of commitment of the Israelis to their peers, their country, and the country's army.<sup>33</sup> It is often suggested that for most Israelis individual identity is embedded in their national identity, so that separation from the nation may result in an identity conflict.<sup>34</sup> Transitions which change one's definition of who one is are often regarded in the

literature as the most difficult transitions to endure.<sup>35</sup> If the nation is part of oneself, then leaving the nation is like losing part of oneself — a very difficult situation to cope with.

The identity conflict in Israeli expatriates is rooted in the ideology that for a Jew, only life in Israel is authentic living, and being a Jew in the Diaspora is unauthentic.<sup>36</sup> Consequently, joining a group which is conceived in negative terms is likely to create an identification conflict.<sup>37</sup> The Israeli expatriates have to confront the dilemma of wishing to strive for personal developments and rewards abroad while feeling that their attachment and loyalty to the Jewish State calls for their continuing shouldering of the national burden.<sup>38</sup> Researchers and clinicians have analysed the experience of loss, dejection, and depression<sup>39</sup> of the immigrants, their feelings of dissonance,<sup>40</sup> guilt, self-inadequacy, ambivalence, and lack of emotional fulfilment.<sup>41</sup>

In this paper, we seek to put forward the effects of the non-event as perceived by the immigrants themselves.<sup>42</sup> We therefore needed to obtain data about the circumstances of our respondents, the personal significance which they attributed to the non-event, and the ways in which they reacted to that non-event.<sup>43</sup>

To facilitate a formulation of the research problem, we carried out a small pilot survey and then interviewed 20 Israeli expatriates from different sectors in the community — some who were involved in community activity, some who were not involved, and people who had left Israel at different periods, but at least eight years earlier — about their experience of non-event in order to discover in some detail 'the sense that is lived through by oneself or by another'.<sup>44</sup> This type of research requires a variation of the researcher-respondent traditional technique: the respondents are approached as experts about their own experience and are treated as competent partners in the process of research so that a situation of trust and respect is established. We did not attempt to make generalizations on the basis of the results of our findings among our sample. We intended only to put forward suggestions arriving at a more adequate theoretical conceptualization of non-event experience.<sup>45</sup>

Intensive exploratory interviews were carried out to obtain individual descriptions<sup>46</sup> and the issue of validity was explored by the process of triangulation: the phenomenon of non-event was analysed from the response of different participants and from data acquired from different sources. Patterns were compared, matched and corroborated so that our findings and conclusions were based on the various data and the congruence among the multiple perspectives.<sup>47</sup>

The participants were 20 Israeli expatriates (11 women and 9 men) who lived in Western Canada; they were chosen according to several criteria: years in the Diaspora, type of occupation, community involvement, and varying social and family factors. They ranged between the

## ISRAELI EXPATRIATES

ages of 39 and 48. The majority (80 per cent) were born in Israel; 17 were married and three were divorced; 11 were married to Israeli expatriates, five to Canadian Jews, and one to a European non-Jew; and 15 had adolescent and older children. About two-thirds, 13 participants, came from the three major cities of Israel: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa; four from *moshavim* (co-operative farms); two from kibbutzim; and one from a small town. All but one had served in the Israel Defence Forces and all but two were secular. The large majority (15, or 75 per cent) were college graduates; six of them had continued their studies at the postgraduate level, with four participants having obtained a Ph.D. from American or Canadian universities. All 20 had lived in Canada for a minimum of eight years; one of them had left Israel 35 years earlier. At the time of the interview all but one of the participants were still Israeli citizens, and all but two had dual citizenship (Canadian or American as well as Israeli).

We agreed with the view that the participants in our type of research must have been sufficiently distant from the experience which we asked them to recollect and comment upon as fully as possible.<sup>48</sup> We also thought that ample time was necessary before the respondents had come to terms with the reality of their broken dream and decided therefore to set the time span from departure from Israel to the present at a minimum of eight years. Another criterion for participation was that the respondents must have the ability to articulate their experiences.

Each participant was interviewed separately at a mutually-agreed location, and was asked to sign an informed-consent agreement before the interview. The focus was on the perceptions, thoughts, and feelings of the participants about their experiences of the unfulfilled expectation to return home to Israel — although some specific questions differed according to particular circumstances. The participants were told at the outset about the nature and the aim of the research and they were requested to describe their expatriate experiences with as much detail as possible. The interviews were largely open-ended, but some questions were targeted at clarification, at resolving ambiguities, or at seeking additional details. For example, we might ask, 'How do you define the term *yored?*', or we might ask if there had been a specific marker which made it clear that the expectation to return permanently to Israel was not going to be realized; and we might finally ask, 'How do you look upon the unfulfilled expectations now?'

The interviews were audio-taped and later transcribed. The language used was exclusively Hebrew. We used a qualitative descriptive and inferential procedure for data analysis.<sup>49</sup> Triangulation, refinement, and elaboration of the various data continued until a pattern of meaning emerged which was deemed to yield a sufficient degree of cohesiveness and completion. As saturation was reached, related key phrases or themes were collapsed under more abstracted concepts, toward a conceptual formulation. The data were integrated into a very full

description of the subjective experience of non-event as communicated by the Israeli expatriates.

### *Results*

A desire to see the world and a wish for release from the constant stress experienced in Israel were the reasons that the majority of the participants (15, or 75 per cent) gave for their decision to leave Israel; eight stated that an additional motivation was to pursue further academic study (for oneself or for one's spouse); and four claimed that their non-Israeli spouse wished to return home (to Canada or the USA). For all but one, the central focus of their expatriate experience was the unfulfilled expectation to return permanently to Israel. All but one insisted that they had left Israel with the firm intention and expectation that they would return to live there; indeed, eight of them had made an active attempt to resettle in Israel — but the average duration of the period of return was one year, while one had remained in Israel for four years and another for five years, before returning to Canada. All but two (18, or 90 per cent) asserted that they could not completely abandon some hope that they would return permanently some day, and nine claimed that they were still planning in principle to return. Eleven participants admitted that they had learned to live with the fact that they had not returned.

All the participants had given Israeli names to their Canadian-born children and 13 still spoke Hebrew to their children — although only six reported that their children also replied in Hebrew. By socio-economic criteria, the expatriates were comparatively well-to-do: all but one owned the home in which they lived in Canada, all were gainfully employed, and they generally had a middle to high income. Peace of mind and a life free of stress were mentioned by 16 respondents as the most rewarding aspect of living in Canada; 11 specified that they valued the professional or career opportunities for advancement and the same number cited financial comfort.

Although they have left Israel of their own free will (in seven cases the departure had been self-initiated; in another seven, spouse-initiated; and in the remaining six, by mutual agreement between husband and wife), and although they had achieved a measure of success and ease in Canada, they expressed in the course of the interviews ambivalence, a longing to return to Israel, self-doubt, and moral conflict. When they were asked what it meant for them to be expatriates, all but one replied that they had a strong sense of alienation, of not belonging; 18 said that they had learnt to live with ambivalence and pain; 13 were sad that in the event they had ended as expatriates; 17 of the parents believed that their children were paying a price in loss of roots and in having no sense of connection to a specific country; 13 cited the loss of an extended family while they lived in Canada; and eight participants reported that they had

## ISRAELI EXPATRIATES

lost something of themselves by remaining in Canada and not returning permanently to Israel.

The respondents stated that they had experienced strong ambivalence in their relationship with the local Jewish community in Canada: eight have been directly involved mainly through work or because their children attended Hebrew classes sponsored by Canadian Jewry, and all but one of the rest said that they had no involvement whatever with the Jewish population in Canada. Since all the participants had grown up in Israel, it is not surprising that 12 of them said that they had strong bonds with a cohesive group of friends in the Jewish State or that all but three stated that they felt a need for Israeli company because there are things that only Israelis can understand and because there was a common background.

In 16 cases, we were told that the relatives in Israel had sadly accepted that the emigrants would not return permanently to Israel; 15 of the participants said that they were still upset by the stigma of having left Israel (highlighted by the negative term *yored*); and 16 were troubled when they considered, 'What would happen to Israel if everyone did what I did?'

### *Discussion*

In their accounts, the participants spoke of years lived as if in a 'waiting-room' with 'suitcases ready to move'. One of them explained:

In the first few years I did not know or seek Israelis. I knew I was going home soon and I saw this time as an opportunity to expand my horizon, to really get to know how other people see things, behave, and think. I didn't miss Israelis because I knew I had my friends back home and would have a whole life with Israelis upon my return.

Participants had various degrees of success when they initially attempted to speak Hebrew to their children, with the specific goal of sparing them the trauma of not being able to fit in easily when they returned to Israel. One immigrant said:

We named our kids these distinctly Israeli names . . . . We were expecting to go back and we were sure they would grow up there. Now we have to live with this broken dream. It is hard, as you know, and the names are a constant reminder of what we expected and did not happen. Sometimes, as I roll my tongue with my daughter's name in my Israeli accent or I hear how she teaches her local friends to say the impossible Ya'ara [a common Hebrew name for a girl], I think maybe there is still a hope, the same one which was embedded in her name.

The unfulfilled expectation to return permanently to Israel was not easily accepted: the accounts show that this non-event went unrecognized and denied for a long period, since there is no established manner of

## RUTH LINN AND NURIT BARKAN-ASCHER

marking the fact that the return is most unlikely to occur, no sort of rite de passage. Some participants remained in a state of uncertainty or indecision for extended periods of time and commented on the unsettling effects of this situation. One of them said:

You know, it's like being a mother of an MIA [missing-in-action] soldier . . . . When a soldier is killed, there is a physical reality, there is a funeral, a grave, you can start grieving, you sit *shiva* . . . . With an MIA nothing is certain, you have nothing to hold on to; what do you make of a possible death, a possible life, the memories and the forgetfulness? This is what not returning [to Israel] is like, there is nothing objectively certain about it. You can't put it behind you, bury it. There is an ongoing feeling of being not here and not there or both here and there . . . it can go on forever.

Eventually, most of our participants had to come to terms with their unfulfilled expectations and to stop having fantasies about their projected permanent return to Israel. One of them explained:

After a long time riding on this roller-coaster you have to get off, or at least to alter the expectation . . . to acknowledge the reality that the return home has not occurred and may not occur.

Another used the same metaphor:

It was like a powerful emotional roller-coaster, a kind of emotional game you must quit. As long as we said 'Next year' we couldn't get near the subject emotionally, a sort of self-deception. When we finally said, 'That's it, enough of this self-torture', it was possible to start attending to and living with the painful absence and losses. It still hurts, you know, but kind of less so.

Some respondents believed that since there was no 'solution' to their predicament, one had to arrive at a rational reaction to the circumstances. We were told: 'You must find some realistic resolution, make the best of what there is, otherwise you're stuck in this inner conflict for many years, you're forever holding onto this dream and not living your current life'. One said: 'You learn to live with more questions than answers'.

However, a large majority of the immigrants had continued to nourish the hope that they would return finally to Israel even after the reality of the non-return had been acknowledged, because they would become seriously depressed if they gave up all hope. One said:

When I realized we were not going home I was in shock. I never wanted to leave Israel to begin with . . . and there, slowly, not going back seemed more and more like a *fait accompli*. I lost all hope and I became extremely depressed, I did not have the guts, I did not want to go back alone, so I stayed . . . . It was very difficult . . . I had no hope.

When the participants finally admitted to themselves that not only had they not returned permanently to Israel, but that they were not likely to do so in the foreseeable future, they experienced a painful sense of being physically diminished or profoundly scarred: they sometimes used the metaphor of amputation, of a severed limb, or of a deep unhealed wound.

## ISRAELI EXPATRIATES

One of them explained: 'It was as if someone had amputated my leg . . . I felt that I no longer had a spinal cord, I could no longer tell what was right and wrong'. Another elaborated: 'You see, your intention was for something else; your image for the future, of yourself and your children all fell to pieces, and in the place of these plans and hopes, in your soul, there was now an open wound . . . . Unfortunately there is no dressing for the soul'.

Others could not acknowledge the reality of non-return and wanted to cling to their dream and found themselves retreating into an emotional no man's land: 'I learned to live in a dream, in a time out of time, and to create a fictional story of my life in real time', said one, while another confessed: 'I remain here with my life that is not my life'.

For those who no longer had a commitment to return to Israel, the future seemed uncharted. They often described how they felt unhinged, that they had lost their footing in what had been a more or less secure psychological-social world, and now had a prevailing sense of alienation and loss. One of them gave details of the reaction that had set in:

In the middle of this rain forest I found myself in a desert. I tried but I was unable to move from one life to another life simply by crossing the ocean. I tried to get rid of the past, I tried to immerse myself in forgetting, and erase all footprints, but I could not because it was my self I was losing, my own footprints which were being erased. This is the nature of the wound, it's like a life-sentence. Sometimes I need to go back home to visit, in order to return to myself. Now I have managed to distance the dream, but not to erase it.

Another put it succinctly: 'Every step I take is a threat to my identity'. Indeed, many accounts reveal a strong sense of uncertain or suspended identity. One participant stated:

Sometimes I think, I don't know who I am, and what I am, maybe I'm not an Israeli any more, but this is what I've always been, this is all I know how to be. You know, like, can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? . . . And I'm not a *yored* although maybe this is my designation in Israel, and I don't feel Canadian, I don't feel a sense of belonging here. I'm kind of in-between, in self-limbo.

### *Conclusion*

Our study suggests that the non-event is a central issue in the life and narrative of Israeli expatriates. It further supports Schlossberg's observation that a non-event is different from an expected normative event. By its very nature of being the absence of an event, a non-event is usually not acknowledged and is neither celebrated nor ritualized. Non-events are therefore potentially more difficult to endure than the occurrence of normative, expected, and recognized events. However, the accounts of our participants showed that expectations are more than individualized yearning: they are also social, in that they derive from the themes, myths,

and symbols made salient by one's particular culture and historical context, and are grounded in conscious or unconscious images of self in relation to others. The unfulfilled expectation causes or results in anxiety, because it presents a threat to the values one holds to be essential to existence and security of identity. The values which are fundamental to a coherent sense of self, are culturally, socially, interpersonally, and historically embedded. The people involved in all these contexts affect and are affected in various degrees by the non-event.

Schlossberg's model, in line with most models of coping mechanism and stress adaptation, generally conceives of transition as a period to be coped with and then transcended. The focus is on the individual as an isolated unit of analysis and the description of transition therefore often seems to pay minimal attention to background context. Our study of Israeli expatriates suggests that life fundamentally means life with others: the life of the individual is meaningful by virtue of participation in a larger whole — in relation with a group, a family, or the wider society.

When the expected does not happen in situations such as the one we studied, individuals think not only about themselves but also about what others think of them.<sup>50</sup> Generally, in ahistorical approaches, high value is placed on separation, individualism, and autonomy, and on letting go of losses and detachment from pathological attachments. We learnt from our interviews that a relational theory may be more fruitful for the understanding of the non-event experience. In contrast to classical theories which are embedded in the notion that the person is intrinsically and fundamentally separate, relational theory assumes that there is no 'self', in a psychological sense, in isolation, outside the matrix of relations with others.

#### *Acknowledgements*

Ruth Linn is grateful to Professor Alain Goldschlager and the Canada-Israel Foundation for Academic Exchanges for their support of the project.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See Nancy Schlossberg, *Overwhelmed: Coping with Life's Ups and Downs*, Cambridge, Mass., 1989.

<sup>2</sup> N. Golan, *Passing Through Transition: A Guide for Practitioners*, New York, 1981, and S. Dellarossa, 'The Professional of Immigrant Descent' in *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, vol. 59, no. 3, 1978, pp. 37-44.

<sup>3</sup> See C. E. Sluzki, 'Migration and Family Conflict' in R. H. Moose, ed., *Coping with Life Crises: An Integrated Approach*, New York, 1986.

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## ISRAELI EXPATRIATES

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<sup>29</sup> See A. Rubinstein, *To Be a Free People* (in Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 1977, and R. Gal, *A Portrait of the Israeli Soldier*, New York, 1986.

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<sup>35</sup> See Markus and Nurius, op. cit. in Note 7 above.

<sup>36</sup> See Meyer, op. cit. in Note 27 above.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>41</sup> See Peleg, op. cit. in Note 26 above.

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<sup>47</sup> See Yin, op. cit. in Note 45 above.

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# ISRAELIS IN TORONTO: THE MYTH OF RETURN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DISTINCT ETHNIC COMMUNITY

Rina Cohen and Gerald Gold

**M**EMBERS of immigrant groups often maintain strong emotional and direct ties with their homeland. This is especially the case when they depart not as a result of persecution or of discriminatory practices, and when their country had fought hard to achieve independence and had imbued its citizens with a spirit of nationalism, as well as of loyalty to the motherland.<sup>1</sup> Since emigration is actively discouraged in such cases, those who leave usually claim that their absence is temporary and they stress that they intend to return.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Israelis who are in such a situation, they are at pains to stress that they have remained Israeli loyal citizens, who look forward to returning to their homeland. They therefore make no visible efforts to assimilate to the culture of the country where they now live, or even to that of the native Jewish community. The Hebrew term for Israelis who have settled in the Diaspora is *yordim* (singular, *yored*), literally 'those who have gone down', who have chosen to leave Israel: in contrast to those who have made *aliya*, those who 'have gone up' to Israel, who have left their native land to settle in Israel. The *yordim* cope with their sense of guilt about deserting Israel by asserting that they have firm plans to return, and that since their absence is purely temporary, they do not need to take any steps to become integrated into the life-style of the new country.

The data for the present article were gathered during in-depth interviews, all in Hebrew, with 90 Israelis living in Toronto; the interviews were conducted in two phases — the first one took place in 1989–91 and the second one in 1992–93. We also used the method of participant observation. The principal economic activity of Israelis in Toronto is the management of small businesses — as is the case apparently in other

regions of North America.<sup>3</sup> An initial sample of 15 persons was selected from advertisers in a Hebrew newspaper distributed in shops frequented by Hebrew-speakers in an area known for being populated by immigrants from Israel. Subsequent interviews were administered randomly to a snowball sample derived from a list of names provided by each respondent. In 1991 we had a business sample of 62 individuals (43 men, 13 women, and three couples engaged in husband-wife enterprises). In the second phase, in 1992-93, we interviewed 28 additional persons who were employed as professionals and tradespeople.

These Israelis had been in Canada for a minimum of two years and an average of nine years. Our respondents had generally achieved a high standard of formal education; nearly half of them (44 per cent) had obtained university degrees before emigrating, and a further 21 per cent obtained such degrees in Canada. Most Israeli immigrants *chose* to go into business: they did not experience discrimination in their attempts to seek employment in their area of competence — as has often been the case with other immigrants in North America: Shokeid, for example, found that had been the reason why many newcomers had become taxi drivers in New York.<sup>4</sup>

All our respondents had finished their compulsory military service in Israel before emigrating. Almost half of the males had received training in the army in electronics, computers, mechanics, and avionics, and some were able to engage in commercial undertakings related to their specialist knowledge or training. A few respondents with army training in computer programming, for example, became involved in computer-related businesses in Toronto, and another Israeli, who trained as a pilot, developed an international aircraft rental business.

Nearly half of those we interviewed (45 per cent) stated that they had left Israel out of economic necessity. Many of them would have preferred to settle in New York or Los Angeles; but they had relatives in Toronto who were prepared to give them valuable assistance — such as finding a job, arranging for a loan to start a business, or housing them. The immigrants were mainly engaged in small-scale manufacture (such as plastics or jewellery), in printing, and in construction work. Several are in the estate agency business: selling or renting homes, commercial space, and offices. A few became involved in financial planning, loans, and mortgages. Some immigrants — all of whom are of North African or of Yemeni origin — work as car-washers, in hairdressing, in a bakery, and in an Israeli restaurant. Unlike Korean immigrants in North America, who are retailers of food and fruit and vegetables,<sup>5</sup> very few of our respondents were in the retail trade and only one Israeli shop sold groceries and packaged speciality food.

Some Israeli businesses have expanded into large enterprises with branch offices elsewhere in Canada and in the United States; but most of the immigrants have only a few employees, who are primarily not fellow

## ISRAELIS IN TORONTO

Israelis. Moreover, several respondents explain that it is risky to employ Israelis as they might attempt to gain control of their enterprise. Nevertheless, there is a potential Israeli ethnic market in Toronto, since many Israelis live in the same neighbourhoods.

According to the editor of *Hamekomon* and the Israeli consulate, there are about 30,000 Israeli residents in Toronto — not enough to provide a separate ethnic ‘protected market’;<sup>6</sup> the few exceptions are an Israeli restaurant, a travel agency, and several hairdressers — businesses which rely on Hebrew-speaking, Israeli clients. In the course of interviews, our respondents stressed that they prefer to distance themselves from other Israelis in their line of business, in case they tried to take advantage of them; but we found that, in fact, Toronto Israelis did tend to work with other Israelis. Most of our respondents live in Jewish neighbourhoods in Toronto and they aim to provide goods and special services which appeal to both a Jewish clientele and to others in the open market; but they rely on each other as clients of last resort: people to go to if something must be acquired or accomplished.

By 1993, it became evident that the Toronto Israelis were no longer a peripheral group; the 1991 Census of Canada listed 16,770 Israeli-born residents; more than half of them (61.5 per cent) lived in Toronto.<sup>7</sup> In addition, there were those who had been born in the Holy Land before the 1948 establishment of the State, those who had been born elsewhere before going to Israel and then to Canada, and the Canadian-born children of Israeli immigrants. The Israelis living in Toronto constituted in the 1990s a nascent sub-ethnic group, which was developing its own institutions quite distinct from those of the highly-organized Canadian Jews.

We decided therefore to go beyond the Israeli business circles and interviewed a further number of immigrants in other gainful occupations: journalists employed by a Toronto Israeli newspaper (printed in Hebrew); several individuals who worked for various social services; organizers and teachers of after-school cultural activities for Israeli schoolchildren; and entertainers (including a professional belly-dancer). We also engaged in participant observation in an Israeli community school; one of our researchers worked there as an assistant teacher and also helped an Israeli scout troop (*Tsabar*). That led us to encounter a generational conflict between parents (who claimed to be committed to return to Israel) and their children, who were acquiring a Canadian-Israeli identity. We also attended an Israeli film festival and participated in an Israeli literary circle. We then interviewed a further 15 Israelis who had come to Canada after the Lebanon War of 1982, none of whom were engaged in business activities. We found that these immigrants did not exhibit intense guilt at leaving Israel. Until the Lebanon War, all the earlier wars had been crucial for the very survival of Israel; but the legitimacy of the Lebanon War had been seriously questioned in Israel

and in the Diaspora. Later, the *Intifada* (the Palestinian Arab uprising) and the measures taken to repress it caused further unease. (On the other hand, the Gulf War of 1991 had directly threatened the security of Israel and had resulted in an upsurge of feelings of Israeli nationalism and loyalty to the State.)

During the second phase of our research, from 1992 to 1993, we were able to find several modes of Israeli exclusiveness, which culminated in the formation of an autonomous ethnic community.

*Modes of Exclusion: Defining Israeli Ethnicity*

Spoken Hebrew is the most effective distinguishing feature which sets apart Israelis from native-born Canadian Jews. Admittedly, Israelis, like other immigrant groups, experience difficulties in ensuring that their children become fluent in the language of their parents' motherland.<sup>8</sup> But they persist in using Hebrew, since communicating in that language creates for them a familiar and comfortable environment.<sup>9</sup> Modern Hebrew is an excellent vehicle for 'inside jokes, associations, references and memories'.<sup>10</sup> They can also use the manner of direct and blunt Hebrew speech, *dugriut* — a Hebrew adaptation of the Arabic term *dughri* which means straightforward; they dislike circumlocutions.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from the domestic context where the members of Israeli households speak Hebrew among themselves, the language is also used in informal social gatherings as well as on more formal occasions such as the High Holy Days and Passover. Hebrew can also be heard in Toronto in some schools, restaurants, and buses. Moreover, even on social occasions when Canadian Jews are present, Israelis will slip into using Hebrew when talking to one another, oblivious of the fact that the Canadian Jews who are present do not have any fluency in the language; and they then realize that they have caused embarrassment to their co-religionists. One immigrant commented that when this happens, 'the people who don't understand the language feel very bad about it . . . at the end, everybody speaks Hebrew, and the others are sitting like idiots!'

The immigrants also like to have informal gatherings in their homes, during which they sing Hebrew songs; and they sometimes rent a room or a hall in a building where they can meet and sing, giving vent to their nostalgia.<sup>12</sup> The songs release stress and they are manifestations of a symbolic return to Israel and emphasize the distinctiveness of the immigrants. Shokeid found that this mechanism occurred among Israelis in New York.<sup>13</sup>

Some Hebrew literary clubs were established in Toronto in the early 1990s; Israelis come together to discuss contemporary Hebrew writings. The Jewish Public Library of Toronto imports Hebrew books from Israel and the members of the club can borrow them. One of these books was a novel by Meir Shalev published in Hebrew as *Roman Russee* (A Russian

## ISRAELIS IN TORONTO

Novel) and immediately translated into English and published in New York as *The Blue Mountain* in 1991. The book is an Israeli best-seller set in a pioneering village during the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community of Palestine before the establishment of Israel). This novel and some new works are written in a post-modern literary Hebrew which the veteran *yordim* in Canada, as well as Hebrew-speaking Canadian Jews, do not appreciate as much as do more recent Israeli arrivals.

The immigrants have not found it easy to transmit an Israeli identity to their children. They founded the Zehavi school to provide after-school Hebrew classes because they were dissatisfied with the manner of the teaching of Hebrew provided by the Canadian Jewish day-school system which, they claim, emphasizes religious and cultural themes, suitable in a Diaspora context. They wished to transmit a specifically Israeli culture; but the Zehavi school was short-lived since it could not compete with the well-organized Jewish day-schools and the publicly-financed afternoon and Sunday Hebrew classes. Among the various Jewish communities in North America, Toronto is said to have the largest proportion of children enrolled in various types of Jewish educational establishments: kindergartens as well as primary and secondary day-schools.

### *Individual Life Narratives*

In most of our interviews, the respondents spoke at some length about the hardships they had endured in Israel, their experiences of army service, and their problems of immigration and settlement in Canada. Several of them had gone from Europe to what was then Palestine (before 1948) as pioneers and had then played an active role in the War of Independence. After the establishment of the State, there were years of severe austerity. One of our respondents, who was in her fifties, wished to stress that she had fought in Jerusalem during that War and added: 'So at the time I felt that I had served my country'. Another immigrant said that he had been a paratrooper during the War of Independence and had served with the heroic Yoel Palgi, the founder of the legendary paratroop unit. A third respondent told us that his parents were born in Poland and had come to Palestine in order to join a kibbutz. He commented: 'They were highly idealistic'. He himself was born in Jerusalem and remained there during the siege of the town and the War of Independence, and miraculously survived the bombardment of his home in 1948. He had gone to a naval school but had left Israel with all the members of his family in 1961; it was a matter of regret for him that he had not served in the Israeli navy.

Another immigrant said that he had lived in a kibbutz and gone to a high school there; but after his army service, he did not want to return to the kibbutz. He commented: 'Money became my first priority'. He had been an officer in the Reserves after the Yom Kippur War of 1973 and

his university courses were disrupted by his reserve duties: 'I was in the third year of university for two and a half years'. Meanwhile, he had married and he and his wife went to Canada, where they had relatives who helped them to settle in the country. He added: 'Sometimes we have reunions from the kibbutz and from the army as well. When we are together for a little bit, we try not to forget'. Thus, several *yordim* were at pains to show that they had fought for Israel and had endured many hardships. The implication was that they had not deserted a sinking ship, and that fundamentally they were still loyal Israeli patriots.

### *Stereotypes*

Stereotypes can be ethnic boundary markers and modes of both inclusion and exclusion.<sup>14</sup> Canadian Jews look upon Israelis in much the same way as non-Jews have traditionally characterized Jews: as loud, dishonest, arrogant, and rude. For their part, the Israeli immigrants claim that Canadian Jews are formal, cold, naïve, beer-drinking, and lazy — which is the stereotype that Canadian Jews have used about non-Jewish Canadians. Some of our respondents stressed the dissimilarities between Israeli Jews and Canadian Jews; one of them commented:

There's really no reason why Canadian Jews and Israelis should mix. It's like expecting Catholics from Greece and Italy to get together. Why should they? There's a different mentality, a different upbringing and way of thinking. I have friends on a one-to-one basis who are Canadian Jews. But even when Canadian Jews and Israelis are together in a crowd, you'll always find that there are six or seven Israelis in a corner speaking Hebrew. No Israeli will ever be really Canadian.

Another respondent insisted that there was a profound difference between Israelis and Canadian Jews. He observed that Israelis found it hard to communicate with Canadian Jews, in much the same way as if the latter were not Jews: the only things the two groups had in common were such things as the observance of religious festivals and a Jewish heritage 'and things like that'.

Our respondents stressed that they intended returning to Israel, they were not like Diaspora Jews who were happy to remain in their non-Jewish native land. One Israeli woman commented: 'We are a much warmer people. We are more family-oriented. Like I see lots of Canadian Jews: their son is 18 years old and they kick him out of the house. That will never happen in my house, never. I'm not Canadian yet, in that respect'. She then added that she was also 'not a Jew of the *galut*', not a Diaspora Jew. Another immigrant, a businessman in his thirties, confided that he had been going out with a Canadian girl for two and a half years and that she wanted to convert to Judaism; but he had decided that religion was not the only barrier between them — rather it was 'a different style of living'.



## ISRAELIS IN TORONTO

Several respondents used metaphors to do with warmth and coldness, claiming that Israelis were not lazy beer-drinkers parked in front of a television set, watching hockey or baseball. Israelis were culturally 'warmer'. One of them explained:

You pass by, knock on the door, and come in. To a Canadian you cannot do it. You have to telephone. You have to ask. And if they don't call you, they don't invite you . . . Everything is like protocol. And we're not, and I hope we'll never change. Because some people, from the Israeli community, are changing in that way, and I don't think it's good. I'll always be Israeli, no matter what, no matter how long I'm going to be here. I am an Israeli first, and then Canadian. And I think all the Israelis feel the same.

Most of our respondents go to Israel every year and during those trips they attempt to reintegrate into the fabric of Israeli society; these visits can be said to resemble what Baldassar refers to as 'visits to the shrine'.<sup>15</sup> On their return to Canada, they assert that they intend to return permanently to Israel in the future.

### *The Myth of Return*

Most of our respondents asserted that they were in Canada to make money and eventually return to Israel with some capital. As proof of that intention, some of them buy appliances with a dual electric voltage, so that they could be used in Israel. Shokeid has described such Israelis in North America as 'permanent tourists', who aim to return to the Promised Land.<sup>16</sup> But that return is indefinitely postponed. One couple told us that they were only temporarily in Toronto, with their suitcases ready to be packed, and added: 'Somehow we'll go back'.

On the other hand, a few of our respondents admitted that they had taken steps to settle permanently in Canada — but said that this did not preclude a change of plans and a return to Israel. One woman said that she had renounced her Israeli citizenship after living in Toronto for 20 years. Although it is possible to have dual citizenship, she had returned her Israeli passport in order to avoid Israeli taxation. But she had not burnt her boats since, she claimed, like all Jews she would be allowed to settle in Israel and added: 'If I can, I will someday return'.

Some Israelis, who have lived in Toronto for many years and appeared to find life congenial in that city, confessed that they were uneasy about settling permanently away from Israel. One immigrant we interviewed was engaged in real estate, had lived in Toronto since 1974, had a large network of Canadian (Jewish and non-Jewish) friends, and his home was distant from areas of Israeli or Jewish concentration in the city. He said:

I feel guilty in a way, that I left Israel. I think that every Israeli who has left Israel feels guilty. And I know that I'll go back. I think I would like my children to grow up in Israel — you live a very normal life until you are 18, when you get into the army . . . It's very hard, because you have to give 60

days, every year, to Reserve duty . . . I just felt that I would give myself an edge by living abroad. I can make here in a year what I would make in 10 years in Israel. So, if I work here, and I'm successful for five, six years, I can give myself an edge when I come back to Israel, financially.

Another immigrant, engaged in small-scale manufacture, also expressed his unease at having left Israel, stressing the difficult conditions which those who have remained in Israel have to cope with. He commented: 'I know it's a problem, and I'm one of the problems. This is what bothers me. I am part of the statistics. But I think I'll go back. Nobody knows. But I want to go back. It's my place to be'.

Some Israelis state that they will return to Israel after their 'next' business venture. One broker told us that for more than 15 years his family had remained distant from the Canadian Jewish community because if they had become integrated into a Diaspora community it would be tantamount to brandishing a banner with the words 'I am staying here. I am not going back'. He added: 'You see, I have a problem, probably a problem of many Israelis. We feel that our country is Israel despite the fact that we are at present living outside . . . I'm not getting involved in the internal politics . . . I don't belong to a synagogue. But on the other hand, I am very active in an organization which is raising funds for Israel'.

However, although Israelis in Toronto constantly speak of an eventual permanent return to Israel, they rarely refer to themselves as *yordim*: only three of our first 62 respondents did so. Many speak of their wish to return and they outline detailed plans for their resettlement in Israel. This stress on the impermanence of their residence in Canada helps them to maintain a distinct ethnic identity as well as emphasizing their intention of going back permanently to Israel.

### *Conclusion*

Israeli immigrants in Toronto whom we observed and whom we interviewed in depth from 1989 to 1993 asserted that, in spite of having lived in Canada for many years, they had retained a strong Israeli identity. They had deliberately distanced themselves from the highly-organized Toronto Jewish community, and they constituted an Israeli ethnic group in the city. At first, they were not successful in establishing their own organizations and when we embarked on our research, we were told by Toronto Jewish leaders that Israelis were incapable of self-organization. But matters have progressed since then. First, a weekly radio programme in Hebrew started in 1989, designed for Israelis; then two free Hebrew-language weekly newspapers, aiming at an Israeli readership, were distributed in shops and restaurants with an Israeli clientele. These newspapers chiefly promote Israeli businesses which aim to cater for a protected market. The Hebrew radio programme and the

## ISRAELIS IN TORONTO

Hebrew free newspapers are also a type of bulletin board which gives not only Canadian news, but also a summary of current events in Israel. The children of the immigrants were encouraged to join the Israeli Scouts organization *Tsabar*; it attracted some teenagers. Two clubs for senior citizens were established for the benefit of elderly parents who had joined their children in Toronto. The immigrants have formed Toronto Hebrew-speaking chapters of several Jewish secular, international, organizations: WIZO, Naamat (Pioneer Women); Ort (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training); and B'nai Brith. They also support an organization which caters for Israelis who have been injured or disabled during war service.

Finally, the Israelis have established two synagogues of their own in Toronto: one for the Sephardim and a Lubavitch (hassidic) synagogue for the Ashkenazim. This must be one of the most significant ways in which the immigrants have asserted their wish to retain their Israeli identity — since they could have become members of existing Toronto synagogues. They have institutionalized the myth of return with the creation in Toronto of these synagogues and of specifically Israeli branches of international organizations, and with their stress on the temporary nature of their residence in Toronto and on their continued allegiance to the State of Israel.

There may be some resemblance between that myth of return of Israelis in Toronto and the pious wish which Diaspora Jews express in the course of some Hebrew prayers: 'Next year in Jerusalem'.

### *Acknowledgement*

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### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See Gerald Gold, 'Israeli Immigrants and "Canadian Jews" in Toronto' in S. Fishbane *et al.*, eds., *Essays in the Social Scientific Study of Judaism and Jewish Society*, vol. 2, Hoboken, N. J., 1992; also the Introduction by Gerald Gold in Gerald Gold, ed., *Ethnicity and Relations with the Mother Country*, St John's, Newfoundland, 1985. See also Anthony Richmond, 'Explaining Return Migration' in Daniel Kubat, ed., *The Politics of Return: International Return Migration in Europe*, New York, 1983; Muhammad Anwar, *The Myth of Return: Pakistanis in Britain*, London, 1979; and Rosemarie Rogers, 'Return Migration in Comparative Perspective' in Kubat, ed., *The Politics of Return*, *op. cit.* above.

<sup>2</sup> See Gold, in Gerald Gold, ed., *op. cit.* in Note 1 above.

<sup>3</sup> See Marcia Freedman and Josef Korazim, 'Israelis in the New York Area Labor Market' in *Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 7, 1986, pp. 141-63; also Steven Gold, 'Patterns of Economic Cooperation among Israeli Immigrants in Los Angeles' in *International Migration Review*, vol. 28, no. 105, 1994, pp. 111-35.

<sup>4</sup> See Moshe Shokeid, *Children of Circumstances: Israeli Emigrants in New York*, Ithaca, 1988.

<sup>5</sup> See Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965-82*, Berkeley, 1988, p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> See Ellen Auster and Howard Aldridge, 'Small Business Vulnerability, Ethnic Enclaves and Ethnic Enterprise' in R. Ward and R. Jenkins, eds., *Ethnic Communities in Business: Strategies for Economic Survival*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> An estimate of 33,000 Israelis in Toronto was given in an interview with the editor of one of the free weekly newspapers (printed in Hebrew) distributed in Toronto. Some Israeli consular officials have also unofficially made a similar estimate in conversations with our interviewer. The 1991 Census figures are much lower because they do not include Israelis who were born either outside Israel or before 1948; nor do they include Israelis who immigrated after 1991.

<sup>8</sup> See J. Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American and Religious Groups*, The Hague, 1966; and Jeffrey Reitz, *The Survival of Ethnic Groups*, Toronto, 1980, p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> See T. F. McNamara, 'Language and Social Identity: Israelis Abroad' in *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, vol. 16, nos. 3-4, 1987, pp. 215-28.

<sup>10</sup> See Orvar Löfgren, 'The Nationalization of Culture' in *Ethnologia Europaea*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1989, pp. 5-23.

<sup>11</sup> See Tamar Katriel, *Talking Straight: Dugri Speech in Israeli Sabra Culture*, Cambridge, 1986.

<sup>12</sup> See Eugene Daniels, 'Nostalgia and Hidden Meaning' in *American Imago*, vol. 42, no. 4, pp. 373-83; and Stanley I. Olinick, 'Nostalgia and Transference' in *Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, vol. 28, no. 2, 1992, pp. 195-98.

<sup>13</sup> See Shokeid, op. cit. in Note 4 above.

<sup>14</sup> Harald Eidheim, 'When Ethnic Identity is Stigma' in Frederik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Boston, 1969.

<sup>15</sup> See Loretta V. Baldassar, *Visit to the Shrine: A Study of Migration as Transnational Interaction Between San Fiorese in Western Australia and Northern Italy*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Australia in Perth, 1994.

<sup>16</sup> See Shokeid, op. cit. in Note 4 above, p. 66.

# THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF STROUD, 1877-1908

Harold Pollins

'... a stranger here in Gloucestershire'

*Richard II*, Act 2, scene 3

THE organized Jewish community in the small town of Stroud lasted a mere three decades, from 1877 to 1908. A few individual Jews had lived there earlier, as some have done more recently. It was, it might be thought, just one of many new settlements, associated with the contemporary immigration from Eastern Europe. But most of these were located within the major, heavy industrial areas of northern England, Scotland, and South Wales, and there were only two new ones in the southern part of England. Moreover, the West Country in general, and the county of Gloucestershire in particular, have not been areas of significant Jewish settlement. The earlier-established congregations in that county, at Cheltenham and Gloucester, were always small and they declined during the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In Gloucestershire at the 1891 Population Census of England and Wales, only 134 people were recorded as having been born in Russia and Russian Poland. (Not all were Jews; one was the Revd Thomas Hodson, the incumbent of Slad Vicarage in Stroud, whilst at the 1881 Census the birthplace of Mary Haines Butcher, the wife of the curate of Painswick, was given as Russia.)

Stroud, being one of the two southern English towns in which new communities of Eastern European Jews were formed in the late nineteenth century — the other was Reading — is thus worthy of study. However, the community's records have not survived apart from the marriage registers which are in the custody of the Board of Deputies of British Jews; more information must be sought elsewhere. The Revd Brian Torode, an ordained Church of England minister, the first to write its history, was able to make use of the records of the nearby Cheltenham congregation, which have references to Stroud, as well as of a variety of local items. Moreover he was able to trace some descendants who provided him with family histories as well as some private records of the Hebrew classes. This paper is primarily concerned with a description of the sources which can be used and the data of the 1881 and 1891

## HAROLD POLLINS

Censuses are presented to indicate major sociological features of the community. There is also a discussion of the validity and deficiencies of such material.<sup>2</sup>

### *Newspapers*

The Jewish press is the first obvious source, but the weekly *Jewish Chronicle*, while containing greater coverage of the provinces during the existence of the Stroud community,<sup>3</sup> had to rely on whatever news reached it from local, lay correspondents. The first reference to Stroud came early — an advertisement in 1879 referring to funds collected for the burial in the Cheltenham Jewish cemetery of newly-born twins and their mother<sup>4</sup> — and regular news does not start for another eight years. Later, news items about Stroud are infrequent, on occasion the only reference being the names of *Hatan Torah* and *Hatan Bereshith*, or of those elected to lay office. But such news as it published provides some (albeit incomplete) information about the community. Usefully the paper for several years gave the names of members elected to office at dates more accurate than in the annual reports of the Board of Deputies.

The two local newspapers, the *Stroud Journal* (*SJ*) and the *Stroud News and Gloucestershire Advertiser* (*SN*), printed news of the community. Indeed, the first reference to the new Jewish community that I have come across is a letter in *SJ* in January 1878 (reprinted from a London newspaper) complaining about 'German' Jewish tailors being brought to Stroud. This thus fixes as 1877 the year of origin of the community.<sup>5</sup> It was followed by a letter entitled 'Messrs, Holloway and Jew Tailors', from Messrs Holloway Brothers, wholesale clothiers, the largest employers in Stroud, justifying their recruiting Jewish tailors, and answering what it described as the 'venomous and untruthful' letter of the previous week.<sup>6</sup>

It is quite true that we are engaging some workpeople from London, and although we have not enquired as to the fact, it is very likely that some of them profess the Jewish faith; but as we never allow bigotry to influence our business transactions, their religious convictions are no concern of ours. We believe them to be honest, as we have employed them for some time past in London, and that, with the quality of their work, is all we are justified in enquiring about.

The Holloway Brothers' letter continued:

Perhaps it is not generally known in Stroud that many thousands of the best tailors in London are Jews, and every wholesale and retail clothing firm of any importance employs them without let or hindrance, and we would ask why should our firm be singled out.

It was clearly most unusual for immigrant Jews to be specifically recruited in this way, especially by a non-Jewish firm. Most British Jews made their own arrangements about where they settled. This might be done through

## THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF STROUD

family or other connections; or the place where they came to live might have been alighted upon by chance.<sup>7</sup>

It is a common complaint in social history that often the main available information is of the pathological kind, and it is the case that in the first few years of the Stroud Jewish community virtually the only items about Jews in the local papers are reports of court cases. The end of the community in 1908 was, symmetrically, the occasion of a court case, this time about the ownership of various synagogue appurtenances.<sup>8</sup>

In the late 1870s there were so many cases that the chairman at a session in January 1879 of the Stroud Police Court, at the end of hearing cases of assault (by Solomon Bloom and Lewis Cohen on George Isaacs, and by Isaacs against the other two), exasperatedly stated<sup>9</sup> that he

hoped there was an end to these cases among the Jews. They had had more strife since this colony of tailors came to the town than they had amongst all the other inhabitants in the borough of Stroud. They seemed to lead a cat and dog life. It was only the other day that he remarked it would take the whole of a magistrate's time to dispose of their trivial cases.

The headlines in the local newspaper reports of the court cases echoed his sentiments: 'Another Jewish Dispute'; 'A Jewish Vendetta'; 'Mr. Holloway's Jews Again'; 'More of the Jews'; 'More Disputes Among the Jews'; 'A Jewish Dispute'; 'A Jewish Squabble'; 'The Jews Again' — some of these being after the assault cases of January 1879 mentioned above. In one of the assault cases, the 'vendetta', the same Solomon Bloom was accused of an assault in Stroud synagogue. This was in October 1878, thus establishing its existence at that early date.<sup>10</sup> The reasons for some of these conflicts, whether leading to physical action or not, are not necessarily apparent from the published reports, but it is clear that some arose from the methods of recruitment and from arguments over wage payment.

0 Quite clearly various master tailors were the recruiting agents, of whom Isidor Greensweig, the father of the first Jewish child born in Stroud, was one (and one with many frequent appearances in court). They would recruit from London or other towns — Leicester and Bristol are mentioned — by personal visit or an invitation by telegram, and inveigle tailors to go to Stroud sometimes at slightly higher pay than their current income (for example, £2 a week instead of a man's present 38 shillings).<sup>11</sup> Or if the pay were the same — for example, 34 shillings a week — more regular work was offered.<sup>12</sup> Sometimes the employer would also be the worker's landlord and there would be disputes about unpaid board and lodging.<sup>13</sup>

The evidence at the court cases is of interest for other reasons. Almost all the Jewish witnesses spoke English, only one or two needing interpreters, even though (as the 1881 and 1891 Censuses show) most Jewish adults in Stroud were born abroad. Work was given out by

Holloway's to be completed at various workplaces, sometimes no more than a room in another building — Solomon Bloom's was in the club-room of the Crown Inn.<sup>14</sup> Sometimes the evidence reveals kinship connections, especially among the master tailor/recruiters. Elias was brother to Isidor Greensweig whose brother-in-law was Adolph Cohen;<sup>15</sup> Hymen [*sic*] Levi was Isaac Levi's brother.<sup>16</sup>

The various court cases provide the names of about 30 Jews living in Stroud in the first few years. Given the chaotic nature of recruitment and wage payment it is not surprising that many of the employees were only temporarily in Stroud; only a few of them were recorded at the 1881 Census. Several of the employers had also disappeared by then.

Later on, once the community had settled down, the newspaper reports indicate a greater degree of acceptance and of integration. In 1889 a purpose-built synagogue was opened, apparently with some financial support from local non-Jews, and the local newspaper report of its consecration was full and detailed.<sup>17</sup> And one finds reports of events, which included names of Jews as a matter of course. Thus in 1896 a report of 'a grand assault-at-arms, in the guise of a series of keenly-contested fistic encounters with the gloves' listed the bouts, including 'two little boys, brothers, sons of Mr Englishman' as well as 'Goldstein'.<sup>18</sup>

There is indeed some evidence of easy integration of the Jews into Stroud society, of involvement in Stroud activities and cordial relationships with locals. In 1890 Isaac Minden Shane, for long the congregation's honorary secretary, was captain of the Stroud Bicycle and Tricycle Club (for which the Club members presented him with a gold medal at a dinner at the Imperial Hotel); Michael Greensweig won a silver cup at a meeting of the local athletics club; and he and Barnet Goldstein, a son of Joseph Goldstein, won prizes at sports at Cirencester and Stroud.<sup>19</sup>

On August Bank Holiday, 1896, Isaac Goldstein, the 23-year-old son of Joseph Goldstein, then President of the synagogue, organized a stage performance at a fête at Rodborough before an audience of a thousand. In June 1891, Revd G. T. Coster, a leading Nonconformist minister in Stroud, delivered a special Sunday evening address on 'The Glories and Sorrows of the Jewish People'. Many Jewish residents were in the audience and the synagogue committee decided to thank him officially for 'his sympathetic utterances'. A few months later another local Christian clergyman, Revd A. Rodway, wrote to the Tsar protesting against the persecution of Jews in Russia and expressing the belief that the famine in that country was a visitation of God.<sup>20</sup>

### *The Population Census*

The most useful source for much sociological data is the Population Census. Two of those held during the life of the community, those of 1881 and 1891, are available for research. Census materials comprise



## THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF STROUD

lists of names of those present on census night, written down by employed enumerators. There are details of age, marital status, family connection with head of household (or visitor, lodger or servant), occupation and whether employed or employer, place of birth, and (if appropriate) notification of naturalization as British Subject.

Since religion is not stated in the Censuses of England and Wales one has, usually, to select Jews on the basis of names, with obvious dangers of omission and commission. In the case of Stroud the dangers are fewer. The total population of the town was small and there is less likelihood of overlooking entries. And the Jews can normally be identified by a combination of name, occupation (almost all were tailors), and place of birth (mostly Poland or Russian Poland).

The difficulties of using this Census material are well known and do not need elaboration here. Apart from illegibility (indecipherable handwriting sometimes obscured by blots or other stains, as well as faded or torn originals) the enumerators had to rely on the information they were given. Spellings of names often varied (making comparisons between Censuses difficult), and ages might be approximate.<sup>21</sup> One comes across, in 1881, the occupation of Leon Finkelstone as tailoress.

Transcriptions of the Jews of Stroud in 1881 and 1891 have been published.<sup>22</sup> The main findings are set out here in Tables 1-6. The bald Census data sometimes raise many questions to which answers can be given from other sources. The footnotes to the Tables indicate these and the adjustments which have been made.

A few examples from the two Censuses indicate some of these points. The 1891 Census somewhat surprisingly listed three young grandchildren, named Goldstein, living in a family headed by Edward Williams. There was no mention of parents. The answer was found by reference to the marriage certificate of Emanuel Goldstein and Alice Williams in Slad Parish Church in 1880. Edward Williams was the bride's father. The 1881 Census listed Emmanuel Goldsteen living on his own and Alice Goldstine with her son David visiting elsewhere. I have counted them as one family in 1881 Table 1.

Table 6 shows the numbers leaving and arriving at Stroud between the two Censuses. The turnover was large. The Table gives 40 as the number recorded in both Censuses, whereas the 'Alphabetical Index of Stroud Census returns — 1881, 1891'<sup>23</sup> lists only 37. The difference of three arises as follows. The 'Alphabetical Index' lists separately two names: Morris Molicuski (1881) and Morris Malinskie (1891). The latter was a well-known member of the congregation and, indeed, his family was the last of the community to live there. He was there until the early 1930s and died in Bristol in 1933. Malinskie (more usually, Malinski) was certainly in Stroud in the early 1880s — he appears at that period on birth certificates as the father. No doubt the enumerator in 1881 got his name wrong.

## HAROLD POLLINS

TABLE 1.  
*Stroud Jews. 1881 and 1891 Population Censuses:  
Main Demographic Features*

	1881	1891
No. of families	28 [+1]	20
Total in families	124 [+6]	132
Average family size	4.4[6]	6.6
No. of families with non-Jewish servants	10	4
No. of parents	53 [2]	40
No. of offspring	71 [4]	92
No. of in-laws	7	5
Lodgers on own	29 [+2]	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>160 [+8]</b>	<b>141</b>
Non-Jewish wives and children	6	17

**NOTES:**

- 1881*
1. Figures in square brackets for 1881 refer to 'probable' Jews.
  2. A single mother whose child is at separate address (as 'boarder') counted as a family.
  3. A married couple at separate addresses counted as a family.
- 1891*
4. A husband separately recorded as hospital in-patient included with his family.
  5. A widow on her own included as in-law in one family.
  6. One Jewish woman, described as 'servant' in family with same surname, included in the family as in-law. Otherwise all other servants were non-Jewish and not included in above figures.

*Both Censuses*

7. Non-Jewish wives excludes two women converted to Judaism.

TABLE 2.  
*Stroud Jews. 1881 and 1891 Population Censuses:  
Place of Birth*

Country	1881	1891
Eastern Europe (Russia, Poland)	74 [+1]	31
Germany (incl. Posen, Prussia, Austria)	15	8
Holland	5	3
Belgium	1	1
USA	2	-
<b>TOTAL IMMIGRANTS</b>	<b>97 [+1]</b>	<b>43</b>
Stroud	26*	67**
UK Elsewhere	37 [+7]***	31****
<b>TOTAL POPULATION</b>	<b>160 [+8]</b>	<b>141</b>

**NOTES**

- \* Includes two Stroud-born wives.
- \*\* Includes five Stroud-born wives.
- \*\*\* Includes one wife born elsewhere in Gloucestershire, one wife born in Sunderland.
- \*\*\*\* Includes one child born Bristol although family resident in Stroud, one wife born Somerset, one born Leicester.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF STROUD

TABLE 3.  
*Stroud Jews. 1881 and 1891 Population Censuses:  
Lodgers and Boarders*

	MALE		FEMALE		TOTALS
	Married	Single	Married	Single	
<i>1881</i>					
Jewish House	2	5	1	—	8
Non-Jewish House	3	17 [+2]	1	2	23 [+2]
TOTALS	5	22 [+2]	2	2	31 [+2]
<i>1891</i>					
Jewish House	—	1	—	1	2
Non-Jewish House	—	1	—	—	1
TOTALS	—	2	—	—	3

NOTES

- 1881* 1. Four of the male married lodgers and one female lodger unaccompanied by spouses.  
2. One child aged one year described as boarder not included here.

The other two refer to Mark and Dora Leevy (1881) and Mark and Dora Levi (1891). The former were both aged 23, birthplace Germany. The latter were aged 34 and 29 respectively and born in Russian Poland. Moreover, the 1891 family recorded three children born in London and only one, aged one year, born in Stroud. I assumed these were two different couples, the latter arriving in Stroud in the late 1880s. However, the birth certificate of their eldest child, Sarah, supposedly born in London, gives her birthplace as Middle Street, Stroud. She was born there on 15 April 1881, 12 days after the Census — at which date Mark and Dora Leevy were living in Middle Street. I now conclude these are the same people, and although it seems their stay in Stroud was interrupted they are properly counted in Table 6 as being in Stroud in both Censuses. Given also the daughter's different birthplace I make the necessary adjustment in Table 4.<sup>24</sup> The age structure — Table 4 — shows that this was a young group and a fertile one. Moreover, the statistics of births, marriages, and deaths published annually by the Board of Deputies (beginning in 1882, the year when Jewish religious marriages were first authorized) indicate that it was a healthy community. No stillbirths were recorded and I have been able to trace only nine infant deaths (including those born to non-Jewish wives), most within 12 months of birth, between 1879 and 1898. Few births occurred after that year.

In 1881 there was a large number of lodgers and boarders, mainly single men. Most lodged in non-Jewish houses and most moved on quickly. But some remained, a few marrying local, non-Jewish women, three in the 1881 Census and five in 1891 (plus one from Somerset). Two of the 1891 wives were converted to Judaism and married in the synagogue (though both couples had produced offspring before marriage). It is not known if the unconverted wives and children were accepted in any way within the congregation. No guidance comes from

## HAROLD POLLINS

TABLE 4.  
*Stroud Jews. 1881 and 1891 Population Censuses:  
Age Structure and Place of Birth*

AGES					
1881	0-14	15-30	31-44	45+	TOTALS
Male	37 [+1]	45 [+2]	8 [+1]	4	94 [+4]
Female	30 [+3]	28 [+1]	4	4	66 [+4]
	67 [+4]	73 [+3]	12 [+1]	8	160 [+8]
<i>1891</i>					
Male	38	13	18	2	71
Female	42	13	10	5	70
	80	26	28	7	141

PLACE OF BIRTH					
UK					
Elsewhere					
	Stroud	UK Elsewhere	Eastern Europe	Elsewhere Abroad	TOTALS
<i>1881</i>					
Children (14 and below)	23	35 [+4]	4	5	67 [+4]
Adults	3*	2 [+3]	70 [+1]	18	93 [+4]
TOTALS	26	37 [+7]	74 [+1]	23	160 [+8]

### NOTES

Stroud totals include one adult (wife) and one child born in Wotton under Edge, south of Stroud.

\* Three non-Jewish wives.

<i>1891</i>					
Children (14 and below)	62**	15	0	3	80
Adults	5***	16	31	9	61
TOTALS	67	31	31	12	141

\*\* Includes one female recorded in Census as born in London but whose birth certificate shows birth in Stroud.

\*\*\*—These are non-Jewish wives, two of whom were converted to Judaism.

the fact that Charles Berman, the husband of the woman from Somerset, became a lay officer of the community.

### *Indexes of Births, Marriages, and Deaths*

It will be evident from the discussion so far that much useful supplementary information to help interpret the Census material can be found in the details of births and marriages. One can get a more precise date of birth of those born in England and Wales than the age given in the Census, from the Registrar-General's Index. Moreover, using the known family names one can find other Stroud births, not recorded in the Census — those who died young and children of families which

## THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF STROUD

TABLE 5.  
*Stroud Jews. 1881 and 1891 Population Censuses:  
Immigrants — Years of Settlement in UK*

	Number of Immigrants	
	1881	1891
Less than 10 years*	45	13
10-20 years*	10	19
Other immigrants without children: in-laws, lodgers, childless marrieds, on own	42	11
<b>TOTAL Born Abroad</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>43</b>

NOTE

\* Based on ages of first-born children in Britain or youngest born abroad.

TABLE 6.  
*Stroud Jews. 1881 and 1891 Population Censuses:  
Turnover between Censuses*

Population in 1881	160	[+8]
Population in 1891	141	
Total entries	301	[+8]
Same in both Censuses	40	
Leavers 1881-91	(160-40)	120 [+8]
In 1891 new names	(141-40)	101
Of which		
New arrivals	45	
Births in Stroud 1881-91		
in families in both Censuses	51	
in newly resident families	5	
	101	

moved from Stroud before the next Census. Yet there are gaps. The names of several people, stated in the Census to have been born in Stroud, cannot be found in the Index.

One slight problem encountered when searching the Indexes is the variation in spellings of names which compounds the chances of overlooking them. Marian Englishmann, who appears in the 1891 Census as a domestic servant in the household of Isaac Englishmann (presumably a relative, so I include her as an in-law in Table 1) next appears as the mother of two children born in Stroud in 1895 and 1896. In the former her husband is Maurice Slafford, in the latter he is Maurice Slaforth (and she becomes Mariam). I am uncertain if he was the Jacob Morris Sladford who married Rachel Miriam Englishmann in Stroud synagogue in April 1892, or whether he was the Morris Slefford recorded in the 1891 Census.

More positively, birth certificates can solve questions raised by the Census entries. The 1881 Census includes a reference to Hymen Moses, aged one year, female!, born in Stroud, shown as a boarder in a

## HAROLD POLLINS

household headed by a non-Jewish 57-year-old army pensioner. The child's birth certificate states that he is a boy and gives his name as Imon Moses Moses and his mother as Fanny Moses. 'Imon' was presumably his mother's version of 'Hyman' as told to the registrar. No father is indicated on the birth certificate. Fanny Moses, aged 20, is shown as a boarder at a different address. In Table 1 I put them together as one family.

Birth certificates can sometimes produce new but confusing information. One of the leading Jewish families in Stroud was headed by Samuel Hyman whose wife was Jeanette. The births Index indicated two Hyman children born in Stroud in 1884 and 1886. Their father, according to their birth certificates, was Samuel Hyman, tailor, but the mother was Eliza Park. Obviously there were two families, each headed by a Samuel Hyman. This second Hyman family is not in the 1891 Census so birthplaces cannot be confirmed and the family may not have been Jewish. As it happens the wife of Joseph Goldberg was also named Eliza Park (born in Stroud, according to the 1881 Census, and for that reason non-Jewish); they had two children, born in Stroud: Abraham in 1880 and Lilian Maud in 1881. I do not know if there were two women named Eliza Park.

Another question posed by a birth certificate concerns Maurice Malinski. His wife was born Sarah Ann Creed and the birth certificates of their children born before their marriage describe her as Mrs Sarah Ann Malinskie, formerly Creed. But the mother of Morris Malinskie's son Abraham Jacob, born in 1886, is given as Sarah Malinskie, formerly Hunt.

Annie Levey, aged 18, daughter of Lewis Levey, is recorded in the 1881 Census. Two months later Annie Leah Levy, aged 18, daughter of Lewis Levy, married Lewis Wineberg in Stroud Register Office. This was a year before Jewish weddings began in Stroud; oddly, one of the witnesses was Samuel Shynman who was one of the two Jewish ministers in Stroud in the 1881 Census. Lewis Wineberg is not in the 1881 Census and neither partner is in the 1891 Census: in fact the whole of Lewis Levey's family must have left Stroud some time in the 1880s. Presumably the Winebergs returned after the 1891 Census since they had children born in Stroud in that decade: for example, Isaac Weinberg, 26 May 1894, father Lewis Weinberg, mother Annie Weinberg, formerly Levi.

Three further points about such sources are worth making. First, not all oddities in the Census are soluble. In 1881 the household headed by Harris Levey (he and his wife born in Poland) contained three children with the same surname but also a daughter, Kate Soloman (born Poland), and a son, Wolf Rostel (born Russia). Perhaps they were kin of some sort, in her case taken in when her father died. (She was the bride at the first wedding in Stroud synagogue in June 1882. Her father was described as deceased.)

## THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF STROUD

Second, at the 1891 Census the oldest child of Morris and Sarah Malinski was Isaac, aged 12. This was obviously the boy who was bar mitzvah in Stroud in June 1891, the first bar mitzvah in the town. The *Jewish Chronicle* reported the event, noting that he had been 'made a *ger* eighteen months ago'.<sup>25</sup> He was Sarah Ann Creed's son, but Morris Malinski was not the father. The London Beth Din in December 1888, referring to her application for conversion, noted that she had a child by a non-Jew, Willie George, 10 years of age.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, it is noticeable that a large number of adults who signed marriage or birth certificates did so with a mark. This would be understandable if they had recently arrived from abroad and English was unfamiliar. But some of these marks were being made after many years in England.

### *Jewish Year Book*

Information about the community becomes thinner in the last decade or so of its existence, although there will be more when the 1901 Census returns become available. However, from 1896 there is *The Jewish Year Book* which included information from each town with a Jewish community: Jewish population, date of foundation of the synagogue, number of seatholders, annual income, the names of the main officers, the name of the headmaster of the Hebrew school and the number of pupils, boys and girls, and usually, the number of births, marriages, and burials, the vital statistics being provided by the Board of Deputies.

The information about Stroud for the first few years from 1896 appears to be reliable — the numbers change and so do the names of officers (apart from a surprisingly constant synagogue annual income of £75). But from about 1905 the annual entry hardly changes and from 1908 (after the synagogue closed) fictitious information about a phantom congregation continued to be printed (with typographical errors) until well after the First World War. Thus the (same) 22 boys and 10 girls were still at the Hebrew classes (which no longer existed) but the total is given as 38. The population remained at 100 when in fact it could have been counted on one hand. Even more bizarre was the supposed density of Jewish population in the town. For several years, in the early part of the century, the *Year Book* printed tables listing towns with Jewish communities in the United Kingdom, comparing their Jewish population with their total populations. Each community was ranked according to the ratio of Jews to total population. Stroud, with a supposed 100 Jews out of a population of just over 9,000, came near the top of the list.<sup>27</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The names in the Census, in the Indexes of births, marriages, and deaths, in newspapers, and in other sources — such as the Register of

## HAROLD POLLINS

Electors and local directories — produce a list of about 400 Jews who, mostly briefly, were in Stroud. If we deduct the non-Jewish wives and their children, we are still left with perhaps 380. More useful as an indication of the community's 'normal' size are the statistics of seating capacity in the 1889 synagogue, viz. 100, and the fact that its basement was intended for 40 children in the Hebrew classes. These are broadly consistent with the numbers in the Census. In fact the community relied on a small number of men to run its affairs. In the 1880s and 1890s there were normally, according to the figures published annually by the Board of Deputies, about 15 to 20 seatholders. The same names appear in the annual elections for office, which the *Jewish Chronicle* printed.<sup>28</sup> In the late 1890s and early 1900s several of the stalwarts moved away and it seems that very few replacements arrived. The number of seatholders fell to below ten, permanently, in 1899 and the congregation was no longer viable. The synagogue was sold and the remaining members dispersed.<sup>29</sup>

## NOTES

### *Abbreviations*

JC *Jewish Chronicle*

SJ *Stroud Journal*

SN *Stroud News*

<sup>1</sup> See Brian Torode, *The Hebrew Community of Cheltenham, Gloucester and Stroud*, Cheltenham, 1989; Michael A. Shepherd, 'Cheltenham Jews in the Nineteenth Century', *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXI, no. 2, December 1979. Similarly the small community in Bath declined and even the larger community in the city of Bristol did not attract Eastern European Jews: Malcolm Brown and Judith Samuel, 'The Jews of Bath', *Jewish Historical Studies*, xxxix, 1988, pp. 153-54; and Alex Schlesinger, 'Victorian Bristol' in A. Newman, ed., *Provincial Jewry in Victorian Britain*, 1975, n.p.

<sup>2</sup> I have also been in contact with descendants of several Stroud families: those of Isaac Englishmann (Mr Linden Rees); Isaac Ostroff — who married a daughter of another family, that of Mark Levy — (Mr Herbert Ostroff); Maurice Malinski (Mr A. W. Malin); and Aaron Shainan (Mr B. G. Feld). They have provided useful information. I am grateful also to Revd Brian Torode for his help and advice.

<sup>3</sup> David Cesarani, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry 1841-1991*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 69: 'Between 1878 and 1906, its provincial coverage was expanded. . . .'

<sup>4</sup> JC, 5 September 1879, p. 1; notices of deaths also in SJ, 30 August 1879, p. 4. A midwife was convicted of making a false statement that the children were still-born whereas they had lived for a few days: SJ, 6 September 1879, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> SJ, 12 January 1878. This is confirmed by other material. When Hyman Levy left Stroud in 1899 it was noted that he had been an active member and officer of the congregation for 22 years. Isaac Levy, another mainstay, left Stroud in 1900 after 23 years, both dates consistent with their arriving in 1877: JC, 3 February 1899, p. 26, and 5 January 1900, p. 25. The first Jewish



## THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF STROUD

child to be born in Stroud was bar mitzvah in July 1891. As early as March 1878 two Stroud residents were married in Cheltenham synagogue. There was correspondence between the secretary of Cheltenham synagogue and Stroud's secretary in April 1878 about Stroud Jews' use of Cheltenham's kosher butcher: Torode, *op. cit.* in Note 1 above, pp. 57, 58. In 1930 Maurice Malinski thought the settlement began 'about 55 years ago', that is, 1875. However, he was remembering in his old age. See Note 27 below.

<sup>6</sup> *SJ*, 19 February 1878. This was a very large company but, surprisingly, it is virtually unknown in the history of the British clothing industry. *The Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 4 August 1923, p. 5, has an account of the company. See also *Victoria County History, Gloucester*, vol. xi, 1976, p. 131.

<sup>7</sup> See Harold Pollins, *Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain*, London, 1989, pp. 27-33.

<sup>8</sup> The court case was reported in some detail in *SN*, 7 February 1908, p. 7, and briefly in *JC*, 7 February 1908, p. 28. The Board of Deputies, reporting the matter, complained that 'the petty differences in provincial congregations, dragged to the Courts as they sometimes are, not only make the local Jews a subject of derision and reproach, but reflect unsatisfactorily on the whole community'. It would have been better if the Board had been involved: London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews, *57th Annual Report*, October 1908, pp. 38-39.

<sup>9</sup> *SJ*, 25 January 1879, p. 5. The newspaper report was headed 'Another Jewish Fracas'.

<sup>10</sup> *SJ*, 26 October 1878, p. 5. It seems that Solomon Bloom induced Abraham Jacobs by means of a 'few glasses of spirits' to strike Abraham Schnurman. Presumably this was the same Jacobs who lit a fire under Isaac Levi's gateway: Isaac Levi v. Abraham Jacobs, *SJ*, 21 August 1880, p. 2. This first synagogue was at Rose Cottage, Slad Road, and can be seen on the Ordnance Survey map, 1/2500, Glos XLI, 16, 1885 issue. I understand this had been the residence of Isaac Englishmann, a tailor and publican, one of the earliest Jewish residents of Stroud. By coincidence the building became more recently the offices of the Stroud Creamery Ltd whose managing director was Mr Lutz Noack, who arrived in Britain in 1939 on a *Kindertransport* and has spent all his life in Britain in Gloucestershire: letter from Mr Noack dated 4 February 1996.

<sup>11</sup> Solomon Goldberg v. Mark Sidney, *SJ*, 17 August 1878, p. 5. £2 a week was a common figure, e.g. Joseph Cohen v. Isaac Levi, *SJ*, 7 December 1878, p. 2; Mark Abrahams v. Lewis Cohen, *SJ*, 8 February 1879, p. 3. But piecework was another method of payment, e.g. Isador [*sic*] Greensweig v. Pysor Goldberg, *SJ*, 8 February 1879, p. 3 (2s. 1d. per garment).

<sup>12</sup> Isaac Greenbaum v. Israel [*sic*] Greensweig, *SJ*, 24 August 1878, p. 5. In Stroud, Greensweig offered him only 30s.

<sup>13</sup> Solomon Bloom v. Abraham Calisher, *SJ*, 24 May 1879, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *SJ*, 25 January 1879, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *SJ*, 24 August 1878, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *SJ*, 7 December 1878, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> The consecration was reported in *JC*, 1 March 1889, pp. 5, 7-8, and *SN*, 1 March 1889. The latter article was reprinted in John Libby, *Twenty Years' History of Stroud 1870 to 1890*, Stroud, 1890, pp. 43-44. Libby refers to the

## HAROLD POLLINS

Jews as 'a respectable body of citizens'. Stroud Jews were encouraged to contribute to the Stroud Hospital Centenary Fund just as non-Jews had contributed to the synagogue building appeal: *JC*, 16 September 1890, p. 15.

<sup>18</sup> *SN*, 14 February 1896, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> *JC*, 12 December 1890, p. 16; 12 June 1891, p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 August 1896, p. 18; 19 June 1891, p. 18; and 11 December 1891, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> The Census material is on microfiche or microfilm. The task is sometimes made easier by the efforts of local historical societies and others who produce transcriptions and often indexes. The Church of The Latter Day Saints does the same. While the results are useful and helpful finding aids, the transcriptions are not always accurate.

<sup>22</sup> B. Susser, ed., *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History. No. 1: The Decennial Census*, London, Susser Press, 1995. Transcriptions by Bernard Susser of Jews in Devon and Cornwall at the Censuses of 1841-1891 form the bulk of this publication. The Stroud transcriptions by Harold Pollins are on pp. 93-107.

<sup>23</sup> 'Alphabetical Index of Stroud Census returns — 1881, 1891', in Susser, ed., *op. cit.*, in Note 22 above, pp. 105-07.

<sup>24</sup> In my introduction to the Stroud Census transcriptions in Susser, ed., *op. cit.* in Note 22 above, I stated (p. 94) that 'no Stroud-born Jew was married in its synagogue'. In fact Sarah Levy was married there in 1899. My statement thus needs amending.

<sup>25</sup> *JC*, 12 June 1891, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> London Beth Din, Minute Book, 1876-1903, p. 132. I am grateful to Mr Charles Tucker for this information. I am told by Mr A. M. Malin that there was an Uncle Will in the family. The Malinskis were married in Stroud synagogue in April 1889. The Beth Din minute of December 1888 begins: 'Sarah Ann Creed married by Resigster [*sic*] to Morris Mallinski. . .'. This presumably refers to a past event, but I have not found any reference to a civil marriage of this couple.

<sup>27</sup> In 1930 J. M. Rich, the secretary of the Board of Deputies, was in contact with Maurice Malinski in Stroud. A surviving letter, dated 21 May 1930, refers to an earlier one which has not survived. Rich's letter asks for information about the Stroud community, noting that *The Jewish Year Book* of 1929 said that the Jewish population of Stroud was 100 and asking if this was accurate. The copy letter is annotated in handwriting, 'From Mr Malinski'. His message was: 'Quite inaccurate now, & for many years. As a matter of fact only one Jew in Stroud at present time, namely Mr. Malinski'. It continues that the Jewish population had been introduced 'by Messrs Holloway Brothers about 55 years ago' and the number probably swelled to about 100. Then 'after some 15 or 20 years numbers declined considerably & for last 17 or 18 years to one only'. Greater London Record Office, B4/ST 32.

<sup>28</sup> 'At one time the bulk of the [Stroud clothing] trade was in the hands of Jewish subcontractors, who had the work done by home-workers in the surrounding villages, fetching it from the factories and distributing it to the workpeople. This practice has now entirely disappeared': S. P. Dobbs, *The Clothing Workers of Great Britain*, London, 1928, p. 61. He refers to three clothing firms. I am grateful to Anne Kershen for this reference. These

## THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF STROUD

subcontractors were the Jewish master tailors. Brian Torode states that Holloway's 'also owned a retail shop which sold the garments made' by the master tailors: Torode, *op. cit.* in Note 1 above, p. 64.

<sup>29</sup> It is said that Stroud was one of the towns to which Jewish families from London were sent by the Jewish Dispersion Committee, formed in 1903: Geoffrey Alderman, *The Federation of Synagogues 1887-1987*, London, 1987, p. 37. The collapse soon afterwards of the Stroud community clearly indicates that few, if any, could have gone there under these auspices. In fact very few families in total were helped by the Committee to settle in the provinces: Cecil Bloom, 'Jewish Dispersion within Britain', in A. Newman and S. W. Massil, eds., *Patterns of Migration, 1850-1914: Proceedings of the International Academic Conference of the Jewish Historical Society of England and the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London*, London, 1996, pp. 31-47. He refers especially to Stroud, noting that 'there is no evidence that the town was encouraged to receive immigrants from London' (pp. 44-45).

# THE IMAGE OF THE JEW IN ASIA

Walter P. Zenner

*(Review Article)*

DAVID G. GOODMAN and MASANORI MIYAZAWA, *Jews in the Japanese Mind: The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotype*, xvi + 360 pp., The Free Press, New York, 1995, \$24.95.

ANTISEMITISM has only too often been found in Christian and in Muslim countries, both in past centuries and nowadays. Jews have been branded as the murderers of Jesus Christ and they are used to being resented and vilified. However, it was with a sense of shock that many discovered that in Japan, a land with a tiny Jewish population, there is a flourishing sale of antisemitic publications. But historians and social scientists have been aware that stereotypes exist in the most unexpected areas. An American anthropologist who was working in a rural area of Baluchistan in the 1970s met a one-eyed man nicknamed 'Moshe Dayan';<sup>1</sup> that was only a few years after the spectacular successes of the Israeli army during the Six-Day War of 1967.

*The Jewish Journal of Sociology* published in its June 1978 issue (vol. 20, no. 1) a review article by R. J. Z. Werblowsky on 'The Japanese and the Jews'; it was about a book by David Kranzler entitled *Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938-1945*. A few years later, in its June 1987 issue (vol. 29, no. 1), this same Journal had an article by Tetsu Kohno — a Japanese professor in Tokyo — on 'The Jewish Question in Japan'. The Japanese are said to have been deeply impressed by Jewish economic power at the beginning of the twentieth century, when they secured a very substantial loan from an American investment bank through the good offices of Jacob Schiff, a partner of that bank; that loan helped them to win the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. (It has been stated that Schiff had sought revenge for the Russian massacre of Kishinev Jews and other Tsarist pogroms — although he had also ensured that the Japanese had substantial assets in Britain.) Apparently, from then on the Japanese authorities retained great respect for the international economic influence of the Jews and the inhabitants generally sought to acquire some knowledge about Judaism and world

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## THE IMAGE OF THE JEW IN ASIA

Jewry. Then during the Russian Civil War, the Japanese feared for the safety of their own empire and they dispatched an expeditionary force to Siberia to help the Tsarist army. The Tsarist officers persuaded some of the Japanese liaison personnel that the Jews had encouraged the Bolsheviks and were supporting them, and showed them copies of the infamous Russian fabrication, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The book was translated into Japanese and published in 1924; a new Japanese translation was issued in 1938, when Japan was closely linked with Nazi Germany; and it is worth noting that it was reissued in 1959.

Goodman and Miyazawa show that the Japanese both identify with Jews and see them as an almost supernatural, sometimes demonic, force in the modern world. Conspiracy theories existed in Japan before the country's modern contact with Europe. Before the First World War, Japanese Christians tried to integrate the Japanese people into Biblical cosmology by incorporating ideas about the Japanese as a 'Chosen People'. When Japan entered the Second World War at the end of 1941, there were 17,000 Jews in Shanghai; Tetsu Kohno says that German advice was that there were three alternatives in dealing with those Jews: they could be stripped of all their possessions, even of their clothes, 'and loaded on to several old and unseaworthy ships, which would be towed out to sea with their rudder cables cut; and they would die of thirst and hunger, after which a naval detail would sink the ships'; they could be put to work in mines with the minimum amount of food and they would soon die; while as a third option 'a concentration camp might be built in an island in the mouth of the Yangtse river to intern Jews, who would be used for medical experiments such as the extent of the human nervous system's tolerance of pain, for example'.<sup>2</sup>

Japanese officials gave serious consideration to these options but in the event the Jews were placed only in a ghetto in Shanghai and all but a handful left after the country's surrender in 1945. Werblowsky notes that, by 1957, only about one hundred remained in the city and by 1977, 'that number had dwindled to about a dozen old people'.<sup>3</sup> Goodman and Miyazawa agree with earlier authors that the Japanese did not follow the Nazi model because they saw Jews as a powerful people who must be appeased rather than destroyed. That strategy enabled Japan to take a pro-Israel position after the establishment of the Jewish State in 1948. Jews were then seen as victims and the Anne Frank story greatly contributed to that image; a Japanese version of Anne Frank's diary was published in 1952, became an immediate best-seller, and by 1973 it had been reprinted 150 times.<sup>4</sup> The Japanese saw themselves as victims of an atomic bomb holocaust after the devastating attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and found a parallel between the fate of the inhabitants of these cities and the German extermination of the Jews in concentration camps: both had been subjected to unprecedented atrocities. As recently as 1995, the mayors of Hiroshima and of Nagasaki are reported to have

again compared the atom bombs dropped on their cities with 'Hitler's genocide of the Jews'.<sup>5</sup>

There are also Japanese who have shown some interest in the kibbutz movement and there are a few small Japanese kibbutz-type communes in the country. They sent several members to Israel to study the structure of kibbutzim and the movement reached its zenith in the 1960s; but it now no longer commands the attention of the Japanese media. Many Japanese volunteers and visitors to kibbutzim report that their experiences were exhilarating, but the authors of the book under review see the interest in the kibbutz as a reaction to rapid industrialization and urbanization.

In the 1970s and 1980s, antisemitism became more prominent in Japan; the Japanese left-wing voiced their pro-Palestinian sentiments while the right-wing were anxious to ensure that Japan continue to be supplied with Middle Eastern oil from Arab countries. The authors state that during these decades there was a preponderance of anti-Israel publications, which outweighed any other literature dealing with Middle Eastern issues. As the conflicts between the United States and Japan over trade policy grew sharper in the 1980s, so did antisemitic books increase in popularity. Tetsu Kohno had already noted in his 1987 article that more than one million copies of two antisemitic paperbacks written by Masami Uno had been sold in Japan, after they were published in 1986; he added that according to Uno,

Japan's economic slow-down and industrial 'caving-in' have been engineered by the Jews who surreptitiously control almost all major American corporations . . . . As with those antisemitic libels which prevailed in the 1920s and 1930s, Uno's arguments are based on inaccurate data (he states, for example, that Rockefeller, Morgan, du Pont, Mellon, Roosevelt, Schultz, etc., are Jewish names) and hazy conjectures about an economic offensive being launched by international Jewish capital to take over one vulnerable Japanese enterprise after another.<sup>6</sup>

Stereotypes of Jews are found in unexpected contexts — as noted above. Edmund Scot, an English trader, was in Java in 1602 and he reported that the Chinese exploited the 'very dull and blockish' Javanese and 'like Jews . . . rob them of their wealth'.<sup>7</sup> The Chinese were also described as 'the Jews of Siam' by H. Warrington Smythe who was a British Director of the Royal Department in Thailand in the 1890s. A pamphlet was published in 1914, entitled *The Jews of the East*; the author used a pen name but is believed to have been the King of Siam himself, who as a young man had been sent to Oxford and to Sandhurst and who had become familiar with European antisemitic attitudes during the period of large-scale Jewish migrations from Eastern Europe to Britain. The pamphlet states:

To sum up: the Chinese have only one god more precious to them than all other Gods together, and that is the GOD MONEY. . . . To my mind . . . if one were obliged to have either the Jews or the Chinese, selection would be

## THE IMAGE OF THE JEW IN ASIA

difficult. Further, I do not believe there is any doubt that at some time in the future we shall see violence and disorder in countries where 'Jews of the East' reside.<sup>8</sup>

A Malaysian politician, who was later to become Prime Minister of his country, published in Singapore in 1979 a short book entitled *The Malay Dilemma*, advocating that Malays must regain control of their own country and reduce the economic power of the Chinese inhabitants. In a passage about the racial characteristics of Jews, Europeans, Malays, and Chinese, he states that Jews are 'not merely hooked-nosed, but understand money instinctively' while the Malays are easygoing and tolerant.<sup>9</sup> Paul Theroux was in East Africa during the expulsion of Kenya Asians and he cites comments that were made about them: 'They're just like the Jews'; 'They're the Jews of East Africa'; and 'There is a pathetic Jewishness about the Asians in East Africa'.<sup>10</sup>

Non-Jews may identify themselves with, or as, Jews in a metaphorical sense; Goodman and Miyazawa, for instance, point to an Osaka businessman who described himself as a 'Ginza Jew'. Overseas Chinese have themselves noted that they are like Jews and their own scholars have used sociological writings on Jews in making such comparisons. Alice Tay Ehr Soon commented on the similarities between Indonesian confiscation of Chinese property and the seizure of Jewish wealth by 'the Ukrainian pogromshchik'.<sup>11</sup>

Japan is not unique in Asia or any other part of the world in its adoption of a variety of ethnic stereotypes from European and other sources. In the nineteenth century, Chinese writers combined traditional Chinese ethnocentrism with views of the peoples of the world derived primarily from European sources. They also developed a 'discourse of race' which differentiated the Chinese from Europeans. They accepted the Western belief that there was a hierarchy of races. Several Chinese scholars showed, among other interests, an avid interest in eugenics; some were attracted to Nazi racism, but most of them paid little attention to antisemitism. There were Chinese intellectuals who were aware of Jews and the Jewish image and who saw a parallel between the fate of the Jews and that of the Chinese: both had fallen from past glories. An anthropologist active in the 1930s, Wu Zelin, remembered that he and his colleagues used to find the Jews 'laughable, despicable, pitiable, admirable, enviable, and hateful'.<sup>12</sup>

One consequence of such an attitude has been a negative view of Africans in China, including hostility against African students in the country in the 1980s, in spite of the fact that their numbers were infinitesimal in a land of one billion people. In spite of the domination of Marxism, which claims to be non-racist and non-nationalist in China, the 'discourse of race' has survived and continues to influence Chinese attitudes to others.<sup>13</sup>

What the Japanese case described in much detail by Goodman and Miyazawa and the other cases show is that the image of the Jews is a world-wide phenomenon, whether Jews are present in a particular country or not. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the story of Anne Frank, the Holocaust, are symbols of some import in a global culture. They are symbols which can be utilized for good or for ill in understanding the social and economic crises of our time. *Jews in the Japanese Mind* is the most thorough case-study of the image of Jews in an Asian society.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Pastner, 'Good Jew/Bad Jew: Dealing with Informant Stereotypes' in *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly*, vol. 14, 1989, pp. 4-9.

<sup>2</sup> See 'The Jewish Question in Japan' by Tetsu Kohno in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 29, no. 1, June 1987, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> See R. J. Z. Werblowsky, 'The Japanese and the Jews' in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, vol. 20, no. 1, June 1978, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Kohno, op. cit. in Note 2 above, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> See Paul Bluster, 'Mayors of Hiroshima, Nagasaki denounce American bombings' in *Albany Times-Union*, 16 March 1995, p. A3.

<sup>6</sup> See Kohno, op. cit. in Note 2 above, p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> See Walter P. Zenner, *Minorities in the Middle: A Cross-Cultural Analysis*, Albany, N.Y., p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Zenner, op. cit. in Note 7 above, p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> Zenner, op. cit. in Note 7 above, p. 58.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Alice Tay Ehr Soon, 'The Chinese in South-East Asia' in *Race*, vol. 4, 1962, pp. 34-48.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Frank Dikoetter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, Stanford, 1992, p. 114.

<sup>13</sup> Dikoetter, op. cit. in Note 12 above, pp. 49-50, 53, 68, 89-90, 193-94. The paragraphs about racism in China are based on this source.



## BOOK REVIEWS

EDOUARD CONTE and CORNELIA ESSNER, *La quête de la race. Une anthropologie du nazisme* ('Histoire des gens' series), 451 pp., Hachette, Paris, 1995, 160 French francs.

This large and scholarly volume, by a historian and an anthropologist, is the result of a well-documented study of the sources and the ways and byways of Nazi ideology, of German racial theories, and of some of the horrifying consequences of these beliefs. Since 1933, over a period of 12 years, the mental aberrations and the monstrous iniquities inspired by racism were 'rationalized' by alleged scientists and intellectuals, and put into effect by an 'élite corps' — mainly the SS (*Schutzstaffel*, a protection squadron). But the SS were not the only criminals.

The first chapter of the present volume, 'La foie nouvelle' (the new faith), describes and analyses a ceremony which took place in Munich on 9 November 1933, to honour the 16 'martyrs' who died as a result of the failed national-socialist putsch of 1923. The ritual, centred about the myth of spilt blood, had a quasi-religious context. A flag, stained by the blood of the victims or martyrs, was treated as a religious or saintly relic, and across it were the swastika banners of the various sections of the party. That party in turn gave rise to its own 'religion', with a Lord God, *Herrgott*, while Hitler, Saviour of the German People, was placed in the centre of a new Trinity: *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer* (One People, One Reich, One Leader). A ceremonial calendar was then established and put into action and the authors give a description of the summer solstice ritual. Other occasions were also marked with special innovative ceremonies: the authors describe a Nazi wedding which was solemnized in Pozman in 1942, with elaborate rites.

However, some resistance was manifested by the Catholic establishment, which persisted in performing baptisms along traditional practice, while the Protestant clergy was similarly firm about the traditional ceremony of confirmation; but the ceremonies of religious weddings were not as vigorously upheld. Here it must be stressed that the New Faith is not a Nazi invention. Since the days of Bismarck, the *Völkisch*, nationalistic movement had been developed; it encouraged antisemitism and advocated the 'moral renewal' of the German people. Christianity was also involved in that movement, in various ways. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an Englishman — who became a naturalized German in 1916 during the First World War — was a militant propagandist who elaborated the myth of an 'Aryan Christ' in a widely-publicized book

## BOOK REVIEWS

published in German in 1899; an English translation entitled *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* was printed in 1910. Chamberlain enjoyed the friendship of the Kaiser, Wilhelm II.

Other authors attempted to link Christianity and German nationalism; the more moderate among them called themselves *Deutschchristen*, German-Christians, while the more radical (with leanings towards neo-paganism) called themselves *Deutschreligiösen*. A number of Nazis became adherents to these Germanic religious 'denominations' while Hitler, who had never denied his Catholic background, took a pragmatic approach to the Christian churches. On 20 July 1933, Germany signed a Concordat with the Vatican, to the effect that the Catholic Church would be enabled to manage its own affairs but would henceforth take no part in politics. That meant the end of the influential *Zentrum* Catholic party. As for the Protestants, they did not have the hierarchical structure of the Catholics and were therefore not as easily controlled. Moreover, on the initiative of their religious leader Niemöller, a federation in defence of pastors was established, which aimed to show its opposition to the more extreme manifestations of Nazism.

In 1936, the German state officially recognized a third religion, that of the *Gottgläubigen*, the 'believers in God' — in effect, neo-pagans who displayed with complete freedom their anti-Christian and anti-Jewish passions. One of the most important strategies of the Nazi fight against the churches concerned the young, who were destined to become cannon fodder. However, when the authorities did not honour the terms of the Concordat, by controlling Catholic parish funds, the Vatican finally reacted: the encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge* (in a burning anxiety) of Pope Pius XI was read from the pulpits on Sunday 21 March 1937, denouncing the violations of the Concordat. The Catholic and the Protestant religious leaders did utter public condemnations of some Nazi practices, but when on 'crystal night' (9 November 1938) synagogues and Jewish establishments and homes were smashed without interference, most of the Christian religious leaders kept quiet. There were rare exceptions, such as the case of the friar Bernhard Lichtenberg in Berlin: he stated from his pulpit, 'Outside, the temple is being burnt, it is also a house of God'.

The second chapter of the volume is entitled 'Le dogme nordique des races'. Several 'distinguished' academics extravagantly elaborated on the theme of Nordic superiority but were faced with the difficulty of confronting the fact that the myth of the blue-eyed blond hero could not apply to great numbers of Germans (especially those from the south of the country, as well as Hitler himself and several of his henchmen) whose physical aspect bore no resemblance whatsoever to the Nordic 'model'. Moreover, apart from racial 'differences', there now began to appear a religious and geographical antagonism between the Protestants of the north and the Catholics in the south. Consequently, in spite of the 'Nordism' of Himmler, the authorities attempted to minimize the effect

## BOOK REVIEWS

of the new theories and myths. Nevertheless, 'Nordism' ruled among the SS, the élite corps of the new Germany. Indeed, as early as 1931, Himmler had instructed the Black Shirts to bear in mind the Nordic ideal when they chose their spouses; furthermore, when the SS did get married, they had to prove that they were pure-bred, that they had no Jewish blood, with a 'great certificate of Aryanism' which was delivered on the basis of a genealogical pedigree dating back to the eighteenth century!

The next chapter deals with marriage, which was of course to be a union permitted by the racist so-called Nuremberg laws of 1935: there could not be any marriage between Gentile Germans and Jews. The object was to establish a 'racial hygiene', which was to 'free' the German people of all the hereditary defects and flaws, of all contaminations resulting from a 'corrupt blood' — not only that of Jews but also that of mental patients and other 'degenerates'. Sterilizations and executions in the 1940s were carried out to remove such 'dangers'. But already since 1935 the state had been engaged in planning the future structure of the genetic and psychological elements of the population of the Reich. The ministries of Justice and of the Interior were to create an administration of lineages, *Sippenverwaltung*, which would determine, by means of exhaustive genealogical research, the 'genetic élite' of the country. That project met with strong resistance and was not finally realized, although certificates of Aryanity caused very serious difficulties in a land where Jews had often converted to Christianity more than a century earlier and had intermarried.

The notion of lineage in the Nazi *Weltanschauung* was based not only on ancestry, but also on future descendants. Thus, a quarter-Jew, married to a non-Jewish spouse, was tolerated as German according to the Nuremberg laws, in view of future generations which would erase 'Jewish roots'. Could this have been on account of Hitler's own ancestry? For he had a father who had been born outside wedlock, and one of his grandmothers had been a domestic servant in a Jewish household and might have become pregnant by one of the men of that family.

Such abominations could be imagined, up to this point. But the following chapters of the volume reveal unimaginable horrors, triggered off by the infernal logic of racist ideology. Thus, during the Second World War, 'professors' of the 'University of the Reich' in Strasbourg collected Jewish skeletons in order to make anthropological measurements. They had at first wanted to get together the skulls of political commissars who had been Jewish Bolsheviks and who had been assassinated in the Soviet Union. But in the end they went to Auschwitz for a murderous 'selection'. In September 1944, these 'specialists' consigned to the flames what remained of their 'collection', in an attempt to obliterate evidence of their nefarious deeds. Some of these men were sentenced to death, but others became honoured professors in German universities.

## BOOK REVIEWS

The chapter on the Germanization of the Zamosc region in Poland — which is a model of monographic research — shows to what extremes racism can lead. There were about 500,000 persons in that area; two-thirds of them were Poles, a quarter were Ukrainians, and ten per cent were Jews. In the eighteenth century, the local ruler had imported 732 settlers from the Palatinate, Alsace and Lorraine. Himmler and his disciples decided to trace the descendants of these 732 individuals while the Second World War was in progress, with the aim of Germanizing the region and forming the basis of a much larger Germanization after victory at the end of the war. There followed a horrifying carnage of the Jewish local population — a few of whose members rebelled — and the transportation of the survivors to the death camps; then it was the turn of the Polish peasants who were also to be deported so that ‘Germans’ selected by the Nazis could take over their farms. But the Polish peasants resisted and attacked those who were occupying their properties. The German authorities then made use of the rivalries between Poles and Ukrainians and let them engage in a pitiless armed conflict. The Nazis had also snatched local children of ‘Germanic race’ and sent them to Germany. The younger ones were forever lost to their parents; but those who were a little older were able to bear witness to what had been done to them and they were returned to their parents after the war.

This remarkable study is based on scholarly research of documents and files and on a careful analysis. The authors show clearly the contradictions and the strategies which the ‘scientists’ and the National-Socialist leaders used in order to validate their theories. Their racial megalomania was intended to result in an unparalleled ‘ethnic purification’. Alas, such beliefs and the justification of ‘ethnic cleansing’ can still be seen nowadays in the 1990s. One can only hope that this volume will be widely translated, especially into the German language.

JACQUES GUTWIRTH

MICHAEL KEREN, *Professionals Against Populism: The Peres Government and Democracy*, vii + 147 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y., 1995, \$16.95.

Professor Keren of Tel Aviv University has tried to combine in a single short book two objectives: to examine the record of Shimon Peres’s ‘Government of National Unity’ in 1984–86, making use of the private papers of Shimon Peres, and to suggest a typology for relations between governments in a democracy and the organized and self-conscious bodies of professionals upon whose work much of that government does depend. The author is writing from the perspective of a decade after that period, when there appear to be some hopes of the peace that he deems essential

## BOOK REVIEWS

to Israel's survival and prosperity being at least justifiable, in a way in which some hopes of peace were less justifiable in the aftermath of the Lebanon War.

It is a complicated operation, though Professor Keren does his best for the reader by setting out his goals at the beginning and recapitulating them in his 'Conclusion', which also contains a useful and not uncritical account of the Peres view that the Israel-Arab conflict can somehow be transcended by the development of new economic and technological structures linking together the entire region. When the book went to press, the tragic circumstances that propelled Peres once more into the premiership could not have been foreseen, and by the time this review of the book is published, we may have learned more about the outcome of the uneasy alliance in Peres's own personality of the dreamer and the arch-pragmatist.

The title of the book indicates the author's conviction that the political atmosphere of the Begin-Shamir-Sharon era is properly described as 'populist' — that is to say, the conscious creation of a demand for particular policies on the part of sections of Israeli society, notably those Jewish citizens of Oriental origin who believed that the Ashkenazi-dominated Labour establishment discriminated against them. The failures of that regime both in foreign policy and in economic matters brought about its defeat in the election of 1984. But no clear winner emerged, so that parliamentary arithmetic dictated the coming together of the two main blocs, with Peres and Shamir alternating as prime ministers. Peres was given the first two-year period and he was determined within the limits imposed by the cabinet balance to turn away from populist politics and to reassess the country's problems in the light of the best 'professional' advice obtainable. He wished to reinforce the idea of Israel as a society wholly governed by the rule of law in respect of all its inhabitants — Arab as well as Jewish. He wished to recover Israel's acceptance by the world community after the deterioration of its position resulting from aspects of the Lebanon war of 1982, and he wished to create the possibilities of ordered economic growth by tackling the problem of massive public expenditure and its accompaniment of high inflation. Democracy was not a matter of asking what was demanded in the streets; it was the rational application of knowledge.

In respect of the first of these aims, the Peres ministry was dominated by the repercussions of the 'GSS scandal' — the killing without trial of two captured terrorists. Peres was not altogether successful in his attempts to contain it; indeed, the role of the security services in all democracies is difficult to determine, and particularly difficult for a country under siege and internally so divided as it has been Israel's fate to be. But Professor Keren is inclined to lay the blame for some of the problems upon the relevant group of professionals — Israel's legal establishment which (with some notable exceptions) was keener to preserve its 'autonomy' by

## BOOK REVIEWS

keeping well outside areas of controversy than with fighting in public for what it knew to be right.

In the case of the specialists on strategic issues and international affairs recruited to advise the government on its quest for peace, Professor Keren discerns the opposite weakness. Not autonomy but co-optation was what they sought. The result was that so far from injecting new ideas, for instance in relation to the Palestinians, they broadly adopted the position already held by the government and simply contributed to its argument for sustaining it. The result, according to the author, was to continue to regard the problem as an external one, leading to reliance on nuclear deterrence and the vain pursuit of the 'Jordanian option' — giving Jordan in return for peace a role on the West Bank.

Where Peres was successful was on the economic front. Economic advice of a high quality was sought and accepted. But here Professor Keren sees another mode in the relationship between the professionals and government. The economists themselves, having something to offer — namely, their expertise — entered into a bargaining relationship with the government, exacting through participation in the public area the adoption of the policies which they deemed necessary. The author calls it the 'exchange model'.

Readers will judge for themselves the correctness and utility of this typology. But they should be warned that Professor Keren occasionally obscures the cogency of his argument by an apparent inability to distinguish between the very different meanings of 'may have' and 'might have' — alas, a weakness now common even to some native English-speakers.

MAX BELOFF

ANNE J. KERSHEN and JONATHAN A. ROMAIN, *Tradition and Change: A History of Reform Judaism in Britain, 1840–1995*, xiv + 393 pp., Vallentine Mitchell, London, 1995, £25.00.

Anne Kershen, in her section of this history — she was responsible for the first four chapters, up to 1929 — reports the reputed comment of Isaac d'Israeli at the consecration in 1842 of the first Reform synagogue in Britain. His dispute with the Sephardi synagogue some three decades earlier had led him to withdraw from it and subsequently to have his children baptized. If the Reform synagogue had existed at the time of his disagreement, he said, he and his family would have remained within the Jewish community. It is interesting, perhaps, although ultimately indecisive, to speculate on the consequences. His son Benjamin would not have been able to sit in Parliament as early as he did and, if elected after 1858, when the Commons changed its rules to enable non-Christians to sit, would probably not have become Prime Minister in the remaining years

## BOOK REVIEWS

of his life with, perhaps, important differences in subsequent British history.

Whatever the truth of the story it tells us something about the origins of Reform in Britain. Isaac d'Israeli's conflict with the synagogue was not over a matter of profound theological disputation and neither was the breakaway of 24 (male) members of wealthy families, mostly Sephardim, to form the new 'West London Synagogue of British Jews'. In part the schism arose from the refusal of the Sephardi Bevis Marks synagogue to permit the establishment of a synagogue in the West End of London in which a number of Jews had settled, in addition to such matters as having sermons in English, the lack of decorum at services, and general apathy about commitment to Judaism. The authors also examine other suggestions which have been put forward to account for the synagogue's formation, such as the desire to press forward with emancipation outside the existing Anglo-Jewish structures (finding that idea unconvincing).

There was in Britain none of the intense intellectual and theological discussion that took place in Germany. The talk was more about pragmatic details of changes in ritual and procedure, yet a great deal remained unchanged. The synagogue services were all in Hebrew and the doctrine of the personal Messiah remained. Women and men did not sit together. There were later more radical changes but — as the authors say — at first, and for some time, 'it was a mixed order, conservatism mingled with elements of progress' (p. 33). However, it was too much for the Orthodox establishment which pronounced a *herem* (in effect an excommunication) on the new synagogue. (At first that also applied to individuals but it was lifted after a few years, while the synagogue's *herem* remained.) For the Reformers went beyond questions of decorum and education and the use of English. There was a strong anti-rabbinical element in the ideas of the synagogue's first minister, David Woolf Marks, which was reflected in their prayer-book that deleted some prayers and removed the second day from certain festivals. Most importantly, the divine origin of the Oral Law was denied. This was of great significance then and indeed remains so today; a major cause of dispute between Orthodoxy and other forms of Judaism rests on the question of the divinity of Jewish law and practice.

Unlike in Germany, Reform made very slow progress in Britain. Up to the First World War only two other congregations were formed, in Manchester and Bradford. Each of them came into existence for particular local reasons; the West London synagogue did not act as a proselytizing body. Even by the outbreak of the Second World War only another four had been set up. Moreover, the various synagogues tended to act independently — there was no formal structure for them all until 1942. While in recent years the Reform movement has been the fastest growing element in Anglo-Jewry, it was remarkably stagnant in the nineteenth century, so much so that a new, more radical body, the

## BOOK REVIEWS

Liberal synagogue, came into existence in the early years of this century. But the great strides of Reformism in the last half-century or so — some 30 Reform congregations have come into existence since 1944 along with another five which are not yet full members of the national organization — can be accounted for in various ways. One was the role and influence of the American rabbi Harold Reinhart, minister of West London from the late 1920s to the 1950s. Another very significant influence was the immigration from Central Europe in the 1930s of many rabbis and lay Reform people. Yet again there has been rapid suburbanization, especially since 1945. Although it has to be said that unlike, say, the experience of the USA, British suburbanization has also been accompanied by an urban movement outwards of Orthodox synagogues.

The post-1929 section of the book is by Rabbi Jonathan Romain and deals with the vast expansion of the movement including important details of religious practice as well as with the continuing conflicts with Orthodoxy. Much of it, intentionally, deals with institutional matters covering a wide range of topics including in particular the establishment of the Sternberg Centre for Judaism in North London. That Centre has become a major focus of activity and not just for the Reform movement; it contains, *inter alia*, the London Museum of Jewish Life as well as specifically Reform educational bodies.

The book is well researched and well written, and the authors do not hesitate to find links with general British history and with Jewish developments elsewhere, and most notably they are reasonably even-handed. Obviously it is written from the Reform viewpoint yet it explores differences within the movement and looks dispassionately at its past history of opposition to Zionism. Altogether a worthwhile contribution to Anglo-Jewish history in general, social and religious.

Inevitably much space is taken up with the fraught relationships with the Orthodox bodies, right from the beginnings in the 1840s. Could the Reform synagogue be represented at the Board of Deputies of British Jews? What arrangements could be made for solemnizing Reform marriages since, by law, marriage secretaries had to be authorized by the Board? Although there was quite a degree of co-operation in the late nineteenth century and up to the late 1930s (Orthodox rabbis not hesitating to attend Reform synagogues on occasion, for example), since then conflict has returned. To many it is depressing to see that the hostility of Orthodoxy not only continues but has probably worsened with decreasing tolerance for different interpretations of Judaism. Thus, in late 1995 Orthodox rabbis were advised not to participate in an educational conference (*Limmud*) because non-Orthodox ministers would be present.

A current leaflet issued by the Oxford Jewish Congregation states: 'The Congregation is unique in that it encompasses all forms of Jewish worship; members come from different traditions, orthodox, reform and



## BOOK REVIEWS

liberal'. Both Orthodox and Progressive services are held, as well as women's services. This pluralism is underlined by the fact that 'the building is managed by a separate company, whose terms of incorporation guarantee its availability to all forms of Jewish worship'. Moreover: 'The Congregation welcomes all individuals where there is a Jewish adult (male or female); the children are welcome at classes'. I have not heard of any objections to these arrangements. A pity that such liberalism and tolerance are not more general in Anglo-Jewry.

HAROLD POLLINS

GENNADI KOSTYRCHENKO, *Out of the Red Shadows: Anti-Semitism in Stalin's Russia*, 333 pp., Prometheus Books, Amherst, 1995, £21.00.

The rewriting of the history of the Soviet Union in Russia has been an important by-product of the (no doubt far from complete) opening of the archives over the last decade. It has not been an easy task since the important decisions at the centre were probably transmitted by word of mouth. Hence the argument over the extent to which all aspects of policy were personally manipulated by Stalin. We do not even know whether Stalin died of natural causes, as has been the common belief, or whether he was murdered by members of his own circle, fearful of becoming his next victims, as a recent Russian historian has claimed and as Mr Kostyrchenko appears to accept. Some of the archives, in particular those of the KGB, remain uncatalogued in any serious way so that the author is forced to refer simply to KGB documents. It may be for that reason that the present useful — if not very elegant — translation of what was in its Russian version entitled 'In the Captivity of the Red Pharaoh' includes not only striking photographs of the main *dramatis personae*, but also reproductions of a sample of the documents.

Nevertheless, this is an important book since it does for the first time enable us to see the antisemitic measures of Stalin's time against the general perspective of the regime's domestic and foreign policies from the initiation of the purges in the 1930s to the 'doctors' plot'. It is neither easy nor pleasant reading: the mind boggles at the long lists of those dismissed, prosecuted, executed, or sent to the camps of the Gulag; and there are the accounts of the torture to which unwilling witnesses were subjected and of brutal murders, as in the case of the great ornament of the Russian theatre, Solomon Mikhoels. And the task of the historian has not been made any easier in that, as was not the case with Nazi Germany, the regime itself never formally professed antisemitism, and always insisted on other reasons for the measures being taken against individual Jews or groups of Jews. Some members of the hierarchy were no doubt personally antisemitic, including Stalin himself, but antisemitism was not

## BOOK REVIEWS

the overriding consideration that it was for some Nazi ideologues and leaders. And while popular antisemitism was an ever-present background, which could be exploited, it was kept in check like other popular sentiments.

It seems clear that by the mid-1930s, Stalin had come to the conclusion that the recognition of 'individual nationalities' as functioning political entities within the Soviet Union was to be abandoned in favour of placing the accent upon the creation of a new individual 'Soviet man'. But Soviet man himself was to be interpreted in Russian terms — that is to say, the policy implied forcible assimilation. To this aspect of policy, the Jews were particularly vulnerable, since while other nationalities had a territorial base to cultivate some kind of national existence, as has been shown since the break-up of the Soviet Empire, the Jews had none except for the simulacrum of 'Birobidjan', where in fact no Jewish identity was permitted to develop before or after the Second World War.

It was perceived that Russianization would be impeded by the presence of so many Jews in key aspects of the country's public and cultural life. Their elimination from these positions began in the late 1930s and was carried on during and after the War. What is striking to the student of these lists — in the professions, the media, the sciences, and the arts — is in fact the degree of Soviet dependence on Jewish brains and energies in all these fields, not least in those aspects of applied science that helped to bring victory in the Great Patriotic War (as the author still styles what the rest of us call the Second World War). How this actually came about is a sociological question that does not come within the author's terms of reference.

What the War did where Stalin was concerned was to draw attention to another aspect of Soviet Jewry (equally deplorable in his view, but now capable of being exploited): its international contacts, particularly in the United States, which had become the ultimate destination of many Russian Jews who had left the Soviet Union before the doors finally closed. Since assistance from the United States was an important key to the defeat of the Nazis, and since any resistance to the Nazis could be expected to appeal to American Jewry, a major propaganda effort was called for and set on foot. Hence the ill-fated Jewish 'Anti-Fascist Committee' and its leaders' mission to the United States.

The deep cynicism in this approach seems to have been ignored or at least underestimated by Mikhoels and his collaborators, who drew the false conclusion that Soviet policy was now prepared to recognize the Jewish component of the Soviet Union as having a permanent legitimacy. Hence the proposal that after the recovery of the Crimea from the Germans, Jews who had been largely displaced from German-occupied areas should be encouraged to move to the Crimea and there construct some kind of autonomous Jewish entity — a sort of improved and climatically superior Birobidjan.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Not only was this evidence of some kind of Jewish national sentiment anathema to Stalin, but in the immediate post-war years it collided with another passing aspect of his foreign policy: support for the embryonic State of Israel. This policy, marked by the important transfer of 'Czech' arms to Israel at the beginning of that country's War of Independence, was a fleeting one. It became clear that the USA would emerge as the true patron of Israel which could not be maintained as a Soviet satellite. The Soviet Union thereupon began its wooing of elements in the Arab world, particularly in the framework of the United Nations. But the earlier phase, while it lasted, was also to prove a disaster for Soviet Jewry, because of the enthusiasm it evoked in some Jewish quarters, as manifested during Golda Meir's tenure of the Embassy of Israel in Moscow. The reversal of the Soviet policy meant the onset of another more widespread and brutal purge of Jews which was itself bound up with the internicine struggles of the Soviet top élite, culminating in the final paranoia of the 'doctors' plot'.

It is worth noting that some of the argument, though not its main features, is to be interpreted in the light of the publications emanating from Russia which involve controversies not readily familiar to those relying on works such as the present one, which have been made available in translation. It is also clear that the Russian authors are not necessarily familiar with relevant aspects of Western historiography. No non-Soviet sources appear in the footnotes.

With reference to the deliveries of arms to Israel, the author writes (p. 102) of the 'young State that had started a war with the neighboring Arab Countries', which would not be the normal way outside Russia of describing the events of Israel's War of Independence. Again, in his account of the 'doctors' plot', Mr Kostyrchenko refers to a physician, L. B. Berlin, having been placed in an important clinic through an intrigue of his brother, a British citizen called Mendel Berlin. Then, according to a 'scenario retrospectively written in Lubyanka' (p. 282), L. B. Berlin proceeded to establish a channel of communication of espionage information through 'Isai Berlin', a second secretary of the British Embassy in Moscow. Clearly, the name Isaiah Berlin and his public role in Britain were unknown to Mr Kostyrchenko. L. B. Berlin survived torture and several suicide attempts in prison; he was released along with other survivors of the affair after Stalin's death.

The present book is required reading particularly for those Jews in the West who have continued to regard the Soviet era as a 'positive' one in Russia's history. Its relevance to the current situation in Russia, even now that so many Russian Jews have found refuge in Israel, hardly needs emphasizing.

MAX BELOFF

## BOOK REVIEWS

MOSHE SHOKEID, *A Gay Synagogue in New York*, xi + 264 pp., Columbia University Press, New York, 1995, £11.50.

Moshe Shokeid's latest book manifests his abiding professional interest in minority, often stigmatized, groups. His earliest study was of Moroccan immigrant farmers in Israel (1971), followed by his work among urban Arabs in Israel (1982). His most recent work has been conducted in New York City where he carried out fieldwork among Israeli émigrés, *yordim* (1988). These three studies document the concern of each minority to fashion and sustain a credible and dignified identity in often hostile social conditions. This new monograph addressed the existential dilemmas of a minority within a minority, namely the gay and lesbian constituency within New York Jewry.

The fieldwork took place at various times between 1989 and 1993 among the members of the Congregation Beth Simchat Torah (CBST) which was established in New York in 1973. Shokeid first became aware of CBST when he was researching *yordim*. He had been asked to advise a doctoral candidate in sociology who had embarked on research in this congregation and he had accompanied the student to the synagogue. A few years later on his return to New York, he discovered that the study had not been completed and so he adopted the project. Shokeid's sensitivity, integrity, and honesty show how a married, heterosexual anthropologist can gain access to a gay and lesbian community and produce a compassionate, informed ethnography. His rapport with the CBST was facilitated by his unintended participation in the Gay Pride March of 1990 when he was snatched from the watching crowd by a synagogue member whom he had accompanied as a spectator and found himself attached to the CBST's contingent of marchers. Shokeid describes his embarrassment on the march as he vainly tried to conceal his identity by 'pulling my miserably thin cap down as far as it would go over my head' (p. 8). His distribution of copies of the book on *yordim* to some members of the congregation also aided access. The research involved participation in committee meetings, regular services, the Talmud discussion group, social activities, formal interviews, and the examination of a variety of documentary sources. He acknowledges that his study is more detailed on the male than on the female membership since he found it easier to interact with the men who dominated the leadership during the main period of his observation, 1989-90. Moreover, it would appear that his membership of the Talmud circle was vital for this research and no women participated in that group.

At the heart of the study is the tension between the two identities, the Jewish and the homosexual. This tension is manifest in various areas. For example, the stress on the homosexual element demands that the CBST tolerate diverse religious views so that the members may adhere to the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or Reconstructionist forms of

## BOOK REVIEWS

American Judaism and also include agnostic and atheist Jews. Moreover one does not have to be Jewish to belong: Gentile partners are accepted as members. Some of the orthodox members also remain congregants of other synagogues, where they conceal their homosexuality. With a touch of humour, Shokeid reports the case of one orthodox member who found it possible to travel the long distance to the synagogue only when he acquired a Gentile lover who could drive him there on the Sabbath.

The homiletic sermon on the week's Torah reading, the *drashah*, frequently addressed the congregation's abiding concern, the issue of homosexuality, and its place in Judaism. Congregants, schooled by their learned peers, presented their interpretation of the text and related it to their twinned identities as both Jews and homosexuals. Analogies with biblical characters and events were linked to the persecution and suffering of homosexuals within the Jewish community and in the wider society. One member, whose family had cut off contact with him, concluded his presentation by stating: 'We are the family of those whose own families have rejected them' (p. 127). The idea that CBST constituted an extended family was also reiterated at the funerals of those whose families had refused to attend: 'His family was not there, *but we, his family*, have been with him' (p. 217).

Shokeid documents the impact of the AIDS epidemic on the political, social, and religious life of the synagogue. Between 1989 and 1992, 60 members had died, three-quarters of them from AIDS. The fact that the disease strikes men rather than women strengthened the political position of the lesbian members. Recognizing the devastating effects of the epidemic, the chairman of the board, Martin, himself HIV positive, devoted his diminishing energies to the appointment of a full-time rabbi who could minister to the ailing congregation. A few days after Martin's death the board appointed a rabbi, 'a woman, a lesbian, and a graduate of the Reconstructionist school' (p. 61).

This is an important book which makes several contributions to the ethnography of American Jewry and to the study of the lesbian and gay community in particular as well as to the discipline of social anthropology more generally. First, it adds to the small ethnographic corpus on American synagogues (oh, for a single British study!). Second, it presents a more complete and complex study of gay identity, one that is not confined, like so many sociological studies, to the sexual activities, often anonymous, of homosexuals. Shokeid demonstrates how that sexual identity, so often deemed to be primary, is but one element, albeit a crucial one, in the total social personality of Jewish lesbians and gays. He shows that the Jewish element is an integral part of the identity of CBST's members, both Jewish and homosexual. Writing of the congregation's aspirations, Shokeid comments: 'they wanted to recreate and innovate Judaism, theologically and socially, but within the framework of a synagogue' (p. 22). Third and finally, the author makes a passionate plea

## BOOK REVIEWS

for traditional ethnographic fieldwork which has come under attack from post-modern, deconstructionist anthropology; he has a personal credo (p. 31):

I take the risk of proclaiming again the great pleasure and potential contribution of the ethnographic project when applied to novel fields that explore the human condition in remote societies or those closer to home. In spite of our shortcomings as participant observers and the temporality of the theoretical tools we employ, I believe that the anthropologist's task to introduce his or her fieldwork experiences and ethnographic narrative, in a vocabulary intelligible to wide audiences, still remains our major vocation. If not for that who needs anthropology ?

LEONARD MARS

ERNŐ SZÉP, *The Smell of Humans: A Memoir of the Holocaust in Hungary*, translated by John Bátki and with an introductory essay by Dezső Tandori, xxvi + 177 pp., Central European University Press, Budapest, London, and New York, 1994, £10.95 (paperback).

The systematic persecution of Hungarian Jewry assumed an increasingly severe dimension following the German occupation of the country in March 1944. That development brought Adolf Eichmann in its train and all which that implies. The position of Hungary's Jews became even more acute in October 1944 when the Nazis removed the Regent, Admiral Horthy, who had dominated Hungarian politics since 1920, and replaced him with a puppet leader in the shape of Ferenc Szálasi, the leader of the Arrow Cross, the Hungarian Fascists.

Ernő Szép's memoir relates to the dark days towards the end of the war. Szép was born in 1884 and had achieved a reputation as a poet, playwright, and novelist. His first important collection of poetry had appeared in 1902. In the developing antisemitism of 1944, Szép was rounded up along with a number of his Jewish contemporaries and subjected to a forced march which began on 20 October 1944 and took the group to Erdőváros, at which place they were expected to erect barriers to halt the advance of the Red Army into Hungarian territory. *The Smell of Humans* recounts the prelude to his rounding up, the forced march, and also his release on 6 November 1944. Men over the age of sixty, the seriously ill, and people in possession of exemptions issued by the Horthy regime as well as passes from foreign governments — Szép had a Swedish pass — were suddenly freed. He arrived back in Budapest on 9 November 1944.

The chronicle covers a brief period in Szép's life but it constitutes an important testimony. It provides a first-hand account of wartime antisemitism and its consequences, including the attitudes of the persecutors and the persecuted and the latter's day-to-day survival strategies. In recounting such developments it becomes clear that in pursuit of their

## BOOK REVIEWS

policies in Hungary, as in many other parts of occupied Europe, the Germans could count upon the support of the local, non-Jewish population. That support, indeed, has influenced the publishing history of *The Smell of Humans*. The book was written ten months after the events it describes when it appeared under the title *Emberszag*. However, in view of the persistent Hungarian ambivalence on the question of collective responsibility for the attack on the country's Jews, it did not surface again until 1984.

The Central European University Press is responsible for the publication of the current edition. In venturing to reprint it, the Press succeeds in adding another item to the literature on survival. Death did indeed await many of those persecuted by the Nazis but some of the oppressed survived and Szép's account reveals the often capricious and arbitrary nature of this process. By relating his own survivor's experiences as well as his persecution and by taking a keen interest in the fate of those contemporaries with whom he lived in 1944, Szép helps to keep alive a memory which present-day Revisionists aim to obliterate. 'Thoughts sink into forgetfulness as quickly as rain into the earth', he notes (p. 130); but the written word, once committed to the page, can possess a massive durability. By 1953 Szép was dead. But his experiences and recollections, and their significance, remain with us still.

COLIN HOLMES

PIERRE VIDAL-NAQUET, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*, translated and with a foreword by Jeffrey Mehlman, xxv + 205 pp., Columbia University Press, New York, 1992, \$18.50 or £10.95 (paperback).

Jeffrey Mehlman tells us that the word *révisionnisme* had become associated by the end of the nineteenth century with those groups pressing for a judicial review or re-opening of the Dreyfus affair which tore apart French society between 1894 and 1906, and the effects of which reverberated long afterwards.

However, Revisionism has a contemporary meaning. It is now associated with those writers whose purpose is to deny the Holocaust. Hence the recent important study of Revisionism by Deborah Lipstadt carries the title, *Denying the Holocaust*. The emergence of such writings has posed an important and difficult question for those historians who have been worried by the promulgation of the denial literature. Should they ignore it? Should they treat it with contempt? Should they respond? Vidal-Naquet in *The Assassins of Memory*, first published in France in 1987, makes his position crystal clear. He is prepared to enter into a debate concerning the Revisionists, but he is not willing to engage in a debate with them.

## BOOK REVIEWS

The main thrust of his book is an attack on the work of the Revisionist, Robert Faurisson, who was born in England but has lived virtually all of his life in France. It is this Faurisson who has assumed a major role in the activities of the Institute for Historical Review, the body which from its American base has been chiefly concerned with propagating the literature of denial. His chilling lectures at the Institute make explicit why he has been regarded among the Revisionists as a key pioneer investigator.

A large part of Vidal-Naquet's book involves the reprinting of articles written between 1980 and 1987 and cumulatively they raise a number of important issues. The point is made that although a continual process of revision occurs among historians, such activity is markedly different from denying history. That distinction needs to be kept constantly in focus. Moreover, in his chapter, 'A Paper Eichmann' Vidal-Naquet offers students and the general reader a clear and concise analysis of the major principles of the Revisionists as well as of their method (pp. 18-19 and 21-24, respectively).

However, there are two themes which might have withstood further investigation. The first of these relates to the historical roots of Revisionism in France. The emphasis is upon the years from 1978 onwards. The history of Revisionism in other countries can be pushed much further back. An attempt to situate Faurisson within the Revisionist canon would benefit from a wider chronological sweep. In addition, a firmer and fuller linking of Revisionism with the complex and changing theme of conspiratorial antisemitism, and its relationship to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, is a further theme which might usefully have been explored.

Even so, the book remains a valuable tool. At one level it can be read as a debate within French intellectual circles. But, in fact, its implications and significance transcend its source. It provides a useful supplement to Deborah Lipstadt's more comprehensive work, *Denying the Holocaust*. At the same time, like Lipstadt's survey, it offers educators a means through which to confront the persistent barrage of Revisionist ammunition. There are some historians who are not yet fully alert to the Revisionist manipulation of the past and its implications. This position carries its own dangers and Vidal-Naquet's essays serve as an antidote against any such complacency.

COLIN HOLMES



## CHRONICLE

The Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) — formerly the Institute of Jewish Affairs — in London published last February a Report entitled *Social and political attitudes of British Jews: some key findings of the JPR survey*. The authors are Stephen Miller, Marlana Schmool, and Antony Lerman. The Introduction states: 'Assumptions about the attitudes and opinions of British Jews influence policy formation on key issues affecting Jewish life. Yet until now, on most issues — from internal communal problems, to social and political matters — there has been no reliable information on Jewish attitudes. Policy planning has suffered as a result. To fill this crucial information gap, the Institute for Jewish Policy Research . . . commissioned a survey of social and political attitudes of British Jews, the first of its kind. . . . This report summarizes and analyses some key findings. . . . The findings are based on 2,180 self-completion questionnaires obtained from a postal survey of British Jews between July and October 1995.'

In the Report, comparisons are made in some cases between the JPR findings and those from several other surveys, including the British Social Attitudes Surveys. The authors summarize at first some of the key points of their survey. They state that British Jews 'fall consistently to the left of those in equivalent occupations. For example, Jewish doctors and health professionals are far less likely to vote Conservative than non-Jewish colleagues in the same professions'. On environmental issues, the respondents showed more concern than the general population. A substantial majority are in favour of continued membership of the European Union. Nearly one-third of the respondents believe that antisemitism has increased in the last five years, while a larger proportion (nearly two-fifths) stated that there is more racism. Under half the respondents (42 per cent) reported a strong attachment to Israel and more than two-thirds (69 per cent) think that Israel should give up some territory in exchange for peace.

As for religious observance, the respondents were asked to state whether they considered themselves to be Secular, Just Jewish, Progressive, Traditional, or Strictly Orthodox. 'Secular and Just Jewish indicate low levels of observance of a core range of practices, while Strictly Orthodox shows complete adherence. Progressive and Traditional take intermediate positions.' The authors stress that for most Jews 'religious observance is a means of identifying with the Jewish community rather than an expression of religious faith'. In the younger groups (those under the age of 40), 44 per cent of the men have married non-Jewish women; but more than half (55 per cent) who have non-Jewish spouses claim that they are 'extremely conscious of being Jewish' or 'quite strongly conscious' while that is the case for 84 per cent of those who are single or who have Jewish spouses. It is estimated that about 20–25 per cent of women have a non-Jewish partner.

One in three Jews 'choose not to associate formally with a synagogue'. Finally, it is asserted in the Report that the data 'show a growing sector of British Jews who feel firmly and securely rooted in British society, have no sense of living in dispersion or "exile", do not see the Bible as the actual word of God, do not

## CHRONICLE

believe that Jews are more moral and tolerant and less racist than others, do not believe that Jews behave in such a way as to cause hostility towards themselves, and do not feel an imperative to find a Jewish partner'.

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The Institute of Jewish Affairs (London) and the American Jewish Committee published last January a Report of Proceedings of a three-day conference held in Prague last July on 'Planning for the Future of European Jewry'. The Report states that the aims of the conference were 'to share existing ideas, proposals and policy options, and to generate new ones, with the aim of providing those working for a viable Jewish future in Europe with the tools to achieve it; to develop a culture of strategic policy planning so that change can be managed as systematically as possible; to set up a dialogue between researchers and decision-makers with the aim of co-ordinating their work; to provide an opportunity to inform others about European Jewish problems'. There were seven plenary sessions and six workshops.

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The Institute for Jewish Policy Research published last March a Report entitled 'Does Islamic fundamentalism pose a threat to the West?'. The author is Professor Fred Halliday. The last paragraph in the Summary of the Report states: 'Many express concern about the international dimensions of the growth of Islam, and speak of "Islam's" challenge to the West. However, such arguments do not acknowledge the essential political failure of contemporary Islamic fundamentalism. Islam is not a united force, as demonstrated, for example, by the war between Khomeini's Iran and Hussain's Iraq, and the Afghan civil war. Although Muslim states have military arsenals and contribute to the supply of oil, and while Islamic fundamentalism is not likely to disappear, the Islamic world is not omnipotent and does not provide a serious economic, social or political threat to the West.'

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An official of the Ministry of Tourism of Israel is reported to have stated that about 115,000 Russian tourists came to Israel in 1995 and that Russia was the fifth largest source of visitors to the Jewish State — after the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. He added that many Russian tourists came to Israel to visit relatives but that at least half were non-Jews.

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*Sociological Papers* is a publication of the Sociological Institute for Community Studies of Bar-Ilan University. Volume 5, no. 1, February 1996, is entitled 'Russian Jewry Today: A Sociological Profile'. The authors are Robert J. Brym and Rozalina Ryvkina; they state in the Preface that in April and May 1995, '1,000 Russian Jews were interviewed in their homes by 70 trained and experienced interviewers from one of Russia's most respected public opinion institutes. The interviewers asked 111 structured questions about various aspects of the respondents' lives: their attachment to Jewish and Russian society and

## CHRONICLE

culture, their perceptions of antisemitism, their emigration plans (if any), their sociodemographic characteristics and so forth'.

According to official Russian usage, 'a Jew is a person who is registered as such in the internal passport that all Russian citizens are obliged to carry from the age of sixteen. A 1994 'mini-census' of the country, based on a five per cent sample of the population, showed that the average age of Russian Jews is 52 years — which 'makes them the ethnic group with the highest proportion of older people, their average age being more than twelve years above that of non-Jews'. The emigration in recent decades of a large number of younger Jews has accelerated the rate of decline of Russian Jewry. The authors distinguish between 'core' Jews and 'peripheral' Jews; they state: 'Core Jews may be defined as people who are registered as such in their internal passports. In contrast, peripheral Jews are (1) people who have at least one Jewish parent but are registered as non-Jews in their internal passports; and (2) the non-Jewish spouses and children of core Jews'.

The 1970 Census returned 807,915 core Jews. There was large-scale emigration in later years and the total fell to 551,047 by 1989, to 394,160 in the 1994 mini-census, and about 340,000 by January 1996. 'Russia, which had the largest Jewish population in the world a century ago, now ranks fifth behind the USA, Israel, France and Canada.' The interviewers were instructed to deal only with respondents who were over the age of 17 and were registered as Jews in their internal passports or who said that they identified as Jews. The survey revealed that there is a very high rate of intermarriage: nearly three-quarters of men and more than three-fifths of women have taken non-Jewish spouses.

The authors state that the main factors which increase a respondent's level of Jewishness (defined in terms of cultural or ethnic practice) are: '(a) having a mother who is or was registered as a Jew in her internal passport; (b) having been raised in the spirit of Jewish traditions; (c) being exposed to high levels of antisemitism; (d) having a university education; (e) marrying a spouse who is registered as a Jew in his or her internal passport; (f) planning to emigrate; and (g) planning to emigrate to Israel'.

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An International Colloquium on 'The Spanish-Jewish Cultural Interaction' was held at Harvard University last December. The Winter 1996 issue of *Tel Aviv University News* states that the aim of the Colloquium was to 'establish the extent to which the two cultures impacted on each other in the Iberian Peninsula during the late Middle Ages. Participants included prominent researchers of Spanish literature and Jewish culture from Spain, the US and Israel'.

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The January 1996 issue of *Les Cahiers de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle* has a report on the 46 establishments of the *Alliance*. There was a total enrolment of 21,185 pupils in the school year 1994-95 — which marked a small increase on the 1993-94 total of 20,831. There are *Alliance* educational institutions in France; in Iran (in Teheran, Ispahan, Kermanshah, and Yezd); in Israel; in Morocco; and in Spain. There are also many schools affiliated to the *Alliance* in Belgium, Canada, France, Israel, and Spain.

## CHRONICLE

There were 435 pupils in the schools in Iran, where the *Alliance* had to operate in conditions which continued to be difficult. In Israel there are three lycées — in Haifa, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv — and the School of Agriculture of Mikveh Israel. A Jerusalem school for the deaf and dumb had 94 pupils: 60 boys and 34 girls; some of the pupils are Arab children.

This same issue of *Les Cahiers* states that a 'Holocaust Education Center' was inaugurated in Fukuyama, Hiroshima, in June 1995; it includes a museum, a library, and a research centre. The sponsors are a group of Japanese Protestants who call themselves Japanese Christian Friends of Israel. They published their first Newsletter last September. They plan to hold exhibitions, lectures, and meetings in order that the Japanese people, particularly young persons, should learn about the Holocaust and be receptive to the importance of working for peace and for tolerance.

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The Refugee Studies Programme is hosting a Second International Conference on Displacement and Resettlement next September (9–13 September 1996). Those wishing to attend the Conference should write to Dr Christopher McDowell, Refugee Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 21 St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LA, England.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

(Books listed here may be reviewed later)

- Chilton, Bruce and Jacob Neusner, *Judaism in the New Testament: Practices and Beliefs*, xix + 203 pp., Routledge, London and New York, 1995, £11.99 (hardback, £37.50).
- Estèbe, Jean, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi toulousain au temps de Vichy*, 350 pp., Presses Universitaires du Mirail, Toulouse, 1996, 171 French francs.
- Friedman-Kasaba, Kathie, *Memories of Migration: Gender, Ethnicity, and Work in the Lives of Jewish and Italian Women in New York, 1870–1924*, xii + 242 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y., 1996, \$19.95.
- Goldstein, Sidney and Alice Goldstein, *Jews on the Move: Implications for Jewish Identity*, xxviii + 398 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y., 1996, \$19.95.
- Greenstein, Ran, *Genealogies of Conflict: Class, Identity, and State in Palestine/Israel and South Africa*, xi + 308 pp., Wesleyan University Press, published by University Press of New England, Hanover and London, 1995, £27.25 or \$48.00.
- Kitschelt, Herbert in collaboration with Anthony J. McGann, *The Radical Right in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis*, xiii + 332 pp., University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1995, \$49.50.
- Linn, Ruth, *Conscience at War: The Israeli Soldier as a Moral Critic*, x + 245 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y., 1996, \$17.95.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

- Linzer, Norman, *Ethical Dilemmas in Jewish Communal Service*, xxii + 188 pp., Ktav Publishing House, Hoboken, N.J., 1996, \$19.95 (hardback, \$39.95).
- Linzer, Norman, Irving N. Levitz, and David J. Schnall, eds., *Crisis and Continuity: The Jewish Family in the 21st Century*, xii + 193 pp., Ktav Publishing House, Hoboken, N.J., 1995, \$19.95 (hardback, \$39.95).
- Magonet, Jonathan, ed., *Jewish Explorations of Sexuality*, xxiv + 255 pp., Berghahn Books, Providence, R.I. and Oxford, 1995, £37.00 (paperback, £16.50).
- Morawska, Ewa, *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940*, xxv + 370 pp., Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1996, \$35.00 or £29.95.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter, Peter Voss, and Christiane Gern, *Origins of a Spontaneous Revolution: East Germany, 1989*, xv + 280 pp., University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1995, \$49.50.
- Parfitt, Tudor, *The Road to Redemption: The Jews of the Yemen 1900-1950*, xx + 299 pp., E. J. Brill, Leiden, New York, and Koln, 1996, 156 guilders or \$100.75.
- Paul, Robert A., *Moses and Civilization: The Meaning Behind Freud's Myth*, ix + 268 pp., Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1996, £22.50.
- Polonsky, Antony, Israel Bartal, Gershon Hundert, Magdalena Opalski, and Jerzy Tomaszewski, eds., *Poles, Jews, Socialists: The Failure of an Ideal*, xxi + 346 pp., Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, Vallentine Mitchell, London, 1996, £39.50.
- Rubinstein, W. D., *A History of the Jews in the English-Speaking World: Great Britain*, viii + 539 pp., Macmillan Press, Houndmills, Basingstoke, 1996, £60.00.
- Russell, Raymond, *Utopia in Zion: The Israeli Experience with Worker Cooperatives*, ix + 330 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y., 1995, \$19.95.
- Shimoni, Gideon, *The Zionist Ideology*, xvi + 506 pp., Brandeis University Press, published by University Press of New England, Hanover and London, 1995, n.p.
- Wasserstein, Bernard, *Vanishing Diaspora: The Jews in Europe since 1945*, xx + 322 pp., Hamish Hamilton, London, 1966, £20.00.
- Wexler, Paul, *The Non-Jewish Origins of the Sephardic Jews*, xviii + 321 pp., State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y., 1996, \$24.95.

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

- BARKAN-ASCHER, Nurit. Grew up in Israel and went to University in the United States and in Canada. She is now a psychotherapist in Canada, specializing in life transitions, trauma, and resiliency.
- COHEN, Rina. Professor of Sociology at York University in Toronto, Canada. Chief publications: 'Feminists: Explorers of Exploiters' in *Women and Environments*, vol. 10, no. 4, 1988; 'Women of Colour in White Households: Coping Strategies of Live-in Domestic Workers' in *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1991; 'Servants of Colour. A Brief History of Racism in Immigration Practices for Recruiting Domestic Workers' in *Canadian Women Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1994; and 'Children's Contribution in Three Sociocultural Contexts: A Southern Indian Village, a Norwegian Town and a Canadian City' in *International Journal of Comparative Family and Marriage*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1995.
- GOLD, Gerald. Professor of Anthropology, York University, Canada. Chief publications: ed., 'Working with Disability: An Anthropological Perspective' in *Anthropology of Work Review*, vol. 15, nos. 2-3, 1994; 'Israeli Immigrants and Canadian Jews' in S. Schohenfeld *et al.*, eds., *Essays in Social Scientific Study of Judaism and Jewish Society*, 1991; ed., *Minorities and Mother Country Imagery*, St John's, Newfoundland, 1985; and 'A Tale of Two Communities' in M. Richin, ed., *Jews in North America*, 1986.
- LINN, Ruth. Senior lecturer in the School of Education of Haifa University. Her most recent major publication is *Conscience at War: The Israeli Soldier as a Moral Critic*, 1996.
- POLLINS, Harold. Formerly Senior Tutor at Ruskin College, Oxford. Chief publications on Jewish History and Sociology: *A History of the Jewish Working Men's Club & Institute, 1874-1912*, 1981; *Economic History of the Jews in England*, 1982; *Hopeful Travellers: Jewish Migrants and Settlers in Nineteenth Century Britain*, 1989; and 'German Jews in British Industry' in W. W. Mosse, *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-Speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, 1991.
- ZENNER, Walter P. Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Albany. Chief publications: *Persistence and Flexibility: Anthropological Perspectives on the American Jewish Experience*, 1988 and *Minorities in the Middle: A Cross-Cultural Analysis*, 1991.